

Percy Grainger:
Sketch of a New Aesthetic of Folk Music

by

Graham Freeman

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements

for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Graduate Department of Music

University of Toronto

© Copyright by Graham Freeman, 2008



Library and Archives
Canada

Published Heritage
Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Bibliothèque et
Archives Canada

Direction du
Patrimoine de l'édition

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-57989-3
Our file Notre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-57989-3

NOTICE:

The author has granted a non-exclusive license allowing Library and Archives Canada to reproduce, publish, archive, preserve, conserve, communicate to the public by telecommunication or on the Internet, loan, distribute and sell theses worldwide, for commercial or non-commercial purposes, in microform, paper, electronic and/or any other formats.

The author retains copyright ownership and moral rights in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

AVIS:

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque et Archives Canada de reproduire, publier, archiver, sauvegarder, conserver, transmettre au public par télécommunication ou par l'Internet, prêter, distribuer et vendre des thèses partout dans le monde, à des fins commerciales ou autres, sur support microforme, papier, électronique et/ou autres formats.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur et des droits moraux qui protègent cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

In compliance with the Canadian Privacy Act some supporting forms may have been removed from this thesis.

While these forms may be included in the document page count, their removal does not represent any loss of content from the thesis.

Conformément à la loi canadienne sur la protection de la vie privée, quelques formulaires secondaires ont été enlevés de cette thèse.

Bien que ces formulaires aient inclus dans la pagination, il n'y aura aucun contenu manquant.


Canada

ABSTRACT

Percy Grainger: Sketch of a New Aesthetic of Folk Music

Doctor of Philosophy, 2008
Graham Freeman
Graduate Department of Music
University of Toronto

Percy Grainger collected English folk song only for a short period between 1905 and 1909 as part of the revival of interest in all things English among antiquarians, folklorists, and nationalists. Grainger's publication of his transcriptions and analysis in the *Journal of the Folk Song Society* in 1908 is considered by many to be one of the most insightful and groundbreaking examinations of English folk song of its time, far removed from the dilettante activities of many other collectors. His article was, however, harshly criticized by the Editorial Committee of the *Journal*, and Grainger subsequently never again published any significant transcriptions of English folk music.

Grainger's English folk song transcriptions have received their fair share of attention from ethnomusicologists. Thus far, however, no one has examined the connections between this aspect of his musical activities and his modernist philosophy of music. I contend that Grainger's article in the *Journal* contains the seeds of what would eventually become his mature, though never fully realized, musical aesthetic, and that it was this aesthetic that allowed him to examine English folk song in a manner never before imagined by other collectors. This dissertation follows the thread of his aesthetic throughout his numerous musical interests in order to demonstrate the potency of his philosophy as manifest in his examination of folk song in the *Journal*. To this end, I bring to bear a wide range of critical methodologies, including those of ethnomusicology, aesthetics, and critical theory. Grainger

never spelled out with any clarity the fundamental tenets of his aesthetic, but I believe that such an aesthetic can be reconstructed through a broad examination of his writings and his music. Grainger shares his role in this dissertation with many other characters including Benjamin Britten, Evald Tang Kristensen, Cecil Sharp, Bela Bartok, Ferruccio Busoni, and even Jacques Derrida, often even ceding his place in the spotlight to them. This is, however, a crucial occurrence, for as my examination demonstrates, this fully realized version of his aesthetic means that Grainger emerges as a far more important and revolutionary thinker in the history of music than he has thus far been considered.

For Sean.

Back to sleep, love. There's a good boy.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The people I need to thank for their assistance, both direct and otherwise, in the completion of this dissertation are legion. First and foremost I thank my advisor Prof. James Kippen, who over the course of a number of years has offered me wisdom, guidance, resources, and freedom to produce the dissertation I wanted to write. None of this work would exist if not for his benevolent yet rigorous guidance, and I am very much indebted to him. I also thank my advisory committee, Prof. Robin Elliott and Prof. John Haines, for their invaluable assistance, perceptive comments, and editing of my work. This was the team that brought this dissertation to fruition and to whom I owe much. I am also grateful to Prof. Gregory Johnston, who over the course of a number of years has been an unofficial advisor, a career councillor, and a great friend.

This work was funded in its early stages by an Ontario Graduate Scholarship award and in its final stages by a grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. The financial support delivered by these programs has been of tremendous assistance, and I thank them for their investment in and support of my work.

The guardians of all things Grainger have been extremely kind and generous over the years. Stewart Manville both guided me through the Grainger material in New York and provided hospitality during my stay there. In Melbourne, the staff at the Grainger Museum fulfilled many requests and answered many questions, both in person and via email. I am very grateful for the expert assistance from Monica Syrette, Jennifer Hill, and Astrid Krautschneider from the Grainger Museum at the University of Melbourne. I am also very grateful for the support and encouragement given to me by Prof. Michael Christoforidis and

Prof. Kerry Murphy at the University of Melbourne during the "Grainger at 125" conference in December of 2007.

Many other people have played significant roles during my journey. The library staff at the Faculty of Music Library at the University of Toronto were always willing to offer their expert assistance at tracking down rare materials for me. The Graduate Administrator at the Faculty of Music, Susan Ironside, helped cut me free from many administrative tangles of my own creation, assistance without which I might never have finished my degree. Further, my many fellow students at the Faculty of Music at the University of Toronto were always interested in hearing about my work and supportive of what they heard. Graduate student life is not always an easy one, but I am very grateful for the informal support network that exists in that environment. Thanks go especially to Stephanie Conn, Meghan Forsyth, and Roseen Giles for the many emails and coffee-fuelled conversations that provided great clarity and humour during particularly dark and frustrating periods. Also, many thanks to the staff at Lang Michener LLP, the firm at which my wife works, for providing technical assistance at unusual hours during the editing of this work.

I am very grateful to my parents and to my sister for instilling in me a love of music at a very early age and for listening to many endless hours of practice, much of which must surely have been very unpleasant. Special thanks go as well to my in-laws, the Kydd family, for their unrelenting support and encouragement throughout.

Finally, the big cadence. My wife, Emilie Kydd, was the one who persuaded me to go back to school, and to continue there, before we were married. During that time, we have both undergone many changes, altered plans, tremendous disappointment, and great success. I owe everything in here to her and to her unwavering support. I am who I am today, for

better or worse, because of her, and I cannot find words powerful enough to offer her my thanks. Emilie was also my front line editor, and she not only brought clarity to my writing, but forced me to think about my work in many new and helpful ways. This dissertation is almost as much her work as it is mine. My son, Sean, made his appearance in the first few months of my doctoral work. He brought a joy to my life unmatched by anything else, even the frustration of trying to get this work done with a toddler around. The sheer joy of watching Sean discover the world around him, dance to the music he loves, and read the same books over and over for hours on end made even the most torturous moments of this dissertation bearable. That being said, additional thanks again to Emilie for scooping him up on occasion, taking him away, and giving me space to get this work done.

Note to Reader:

Percy Grainger's use of the English language was fascinating, unique, and often wayward. I have retained his spelling in excerpts from all his writings, hopefully not at the expense of clarity. Given the frequency with which the reader will encounter Grainger's poor spelling, I have avoided the use of [sic], lest my editorial insertions threaten to dominate the entire passage.

All excerpts requiring copyright permission have been cleared by publishers and copyright holders. This information is contained in the List of Examples.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<i>Abstract</i>	<i>ii</i>
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	<i>v</i>
<i>Table of Contents</i>	<i>ix</i>
<i>List of Examples</i>	<i>xii</i>
INTRODUCTION	1
INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND	1
CHAPTER ONE	12
BIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL AND MUSICAL ASSESSMENT	15
GRAINGER AS PROTO-ETHNOMUSICOLOGIST	32
FOLK ASSESSMENT AND CRITICISM	37
Marxist Folk Criticism	38
Contemporary Folk Criticism	43
GRAINGER ON GRAINGER	49
CHAPTER TWO	53
INTRODUCTION	53
SABINE BARING-GOULD	54
FRANK KIDSON	62
ANNE GEDDES GILCHRIST	72
LUCY BROADWOOD	82
CECIL SHARP	91
CONCLUSION	101

CHAPTER THREE	103
GRAINGER MEETS FOLK SONG – THE SOURCES	105
GRAINGER AND NOTATION	107
Precedents for Grainger’s Method	107
Béla Bartók	112
Transcription After Grainger	117
THE PHONOGRAPH AND RECORDING TECHNOLOGY	134
Grainger and the Edison Phonograph	140
GRAINGER, THE ARCHIVE, AND THE INSCRIBING OF IDENTITY	144
CONCLUSION	156
CHAPTER FOUR	158
FREE MUSIC	160
Melody	161
Form	164
Rhythm	169
Polyphony	171
Formalism	172
Machine-Music and Platonic Forms	177
GRAINGER’S MUSICAL AESTHETICS	182
Grainger’s Philosophy of The Art of the Folk	182
The Nordic Ideal, Racialism, and Racism	187
Additional Musical Context: Busoni, Grainger and Futurism	192
The Changing Compositional Methodologies of Modernism, or The Failure of Free Music	199
THE AESTHETICS OF "COLLECTING WITH THE PHONOGRAPH"	204
Background, Caveat, and the Democracy of the Phonograph	204
The Fetish of the Song	208
Transcriptions, Ontology, and the Folk Song of the Future	229
The Art of English Folk Song	234
CONCLUSION	236

CHAPTER FIVE	237
PERCY GRAINGER AND EVALD TANG KRISTENSEN	238
Evald Tang Kristensen	240
Grainger and Kristensen in Denmark	245
THE STYLE OF GRAINGER'S FOLK SONG SETTINGS	252
PERCY GRAINGER, BENJAMIN BRITTEN, AND FOLK SONG	268
CONCLUSION	278
CONCLUSION	280
BIBLIOGRAPHY	288

LIST OF EXAMPLES

2.1: Anne Gilchrist's Modal Chart Used with the permission of The EFDSS	77
2.2: Analysis of Gilchrist's Chart	78
2.3: "Na Cried Iad" Used with the permission of The EFDSS	78
2.4: "Am Faca" Used with the permission of The EFDSS	79
2.5: "Fair Margaret and Sweet William" Used with permission. (c) Oxford University Press	100
3.1: Transcription by Bela Bartok	115
3.2: Transcription by Constantin Brailoiu Reprinted with the permission of Cambridge University Press	119
3.3: "High Germany" Used with the permission of Mr. Gwilym Davies, Dr. Ian Russell, and the EFDSS	128
3.4: "Bold William Taylor" Used with permission. (c) Oxford University Press 1932	130
4.1: "Hill-Song"	162
4.2: "Sea-Song" Reprinted with the permission of Mr. Stewart Manville and the EFDSS	202
4.3: "Lord Bateman" Reprinted with the permission of Mr. Stewart Manville and the EFDSS	210
4.4: "Lord Melbourne" Reprinted with the permission of Mr. Stewart Manville and the EFDSS	218
4.5: "Rufford Park Poachers" Reprinted with the permission of Mr. Stewart Manville and the EFDSS	224
4.6: "Georgie" Reprinted with the permission of Mr. Stewart Manville and the EFDSS	225
4.7: "The White Hare" Reprinted with the permission of Mr. Stewart Manville and the EFDSS	227

5.1: "Fluens Bryllop"	247
Reprinted with the permission of Mr. Stewart Manville.	
5.2: "Oksefaldet"	249
Reprinted with the permission of Mr. Stewart Manville.	
5.3: "William Taylor"	255
Used with the permission of Dover Publications, Inc.	
5.4: "The Trees they do Grow High"	258
Used with the permission of Dover Publications, Inc.	
5.5: "Bold William Taylor"	260
Copyright © 1991 by G. Schirmer, Inc. (ASCAP)	
International Copyright Secured. All Rights Reserved.	
Used by Permission.	
5.6: "Bold William Taylor"	262
Used with the permission of Mr. Stewart Manville and the EFDSS	
5.7: "Creeping Jane"	266
5.8: "The Trees they Grow so High"	272
© Copyright 1943 by Boosey & Co. (London) Ltd.	
Reprinted by permission of Boosey & Hawkes, Inc.	
5.9: "Lord Melbourne"	277

INTRODUCTION

All values must remain vulnerable, and those that do not are dead.

Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*.

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

Percy Grainger (1882-1961) was a minor yet colourful figure in music history; at least that is the sentence that has been rendered upon him by the guardians of the musical canon.

Although he is often cited as one of the finest pianists of the early twentieth century, Grainger's compositional output is generally deemed to have been of considerably less merit. This, combined with an extremely eccentric personal life consisting of now infamous sexual proclivities toward sadomasochism, as well as his racial and anti-Semitic ideas, has meant that Grainger is often referred to in general music history textbooks as a curious aside, an odd figure whose strange and sometimes offensive ideas provide the opportunity for an author to exercise a sad attempt at literary flair by making some witty reference to his sex life. Until recently, Grainger's reputation had been tried, sentenced, and executed by the guardians of Western musical culture; death by canon, if you will.

Grainger, however, was a figure of some complexity, and it is reasonable now to say that such shallow assessments of his work as mentioned above give us no indication at all of much of the fascinating, vital, and groundbreaking work that Grainger did in the field of music. While it would be far too ambitious to entertain the notion that the "three Bs" iconography of the giants of Western music history will ever include the letter "G", it is at

least fair to assert that his tarnished reputation deserves reform and that he ought to emerge somewhat from the cloistered shadows populated only by those most dedicated to him.

George Percy Grainger was born in Brighton, near Melbourne, Australia in 1882 to Rose and John Grainger. He began studying piano at the age of six, first with his mother, then with Louis Pabst. In 1895, Grainger and his mother raised enough money for him to study piano and composition at the Hoch Conservatory in Frankfurt-am-Main with James Kwast and Iwan Knorr. The most important legacy of Grainger's period in Germany was neither the teachers with whom he studied nor the instruction he received, but the lifelong friendships he struck with a number of other music students who would have impacts of varying degrees upon twentieth century music: British students Henry Balfour Gardiner, Cyril Scott, Roger Quilter, and the Danish cellist Herman Sandby.

In 1901, Percy and Rose Grainger moved to London, England as a means of beginning his concert career. Grainger appeared in a number of society concerts, both public and private, often as an accompanist. He struggled to make his name more widely known in English musical circles, and he relied on his work as an accompanist and private teacher to earn a living. He did, however, have a number of considerable musical successes on other fronts during this period, many of which would have a lasting influence throughout his life. In 1903, Grainger made a brief sojourn to Berlin where he studied with virtuoso pianist and composer Ferruccio Busoni. Busoni and Grainger had a somewhat difficult relationship: Grainger related that he was unimpressed with Busoni's general musicianship, and even less so with his compositions; for his part, Busoni had a difficult time relating to Grainger's unusual musical tastes and considered his compositions to be leaning somewhat toward the level of amateur. Nevertheless, both Grainger and Busoni shared a particularly modernist,

even avant-garde, philosophy of music, and it is one of my contentions in this dissertation that Grainger likely took more away from his time with Busoni than he ever let on.

In April of 1905, Grainger attended an English folk singing competition at Brigg, North Lincolnshire, in the company of Lucy Broadwood, a founding member of the Folk Song Society. Like many composers based in England in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Grainger had already tried his hand at setting some English folk songs, usually taken from printed collections, for various media. The competition at Brigg, however, was the first time Grainger had come face-to-face with the living tradition of English folk song performance, and he was inspired to begin collecting folk song directly from the singers instead of receiving it second-hand from books.

The complete story of Grainger's folk song collecting is the focus of this dissertation, and the details of his activities in this area will therefore receive much greater attention in the following pages. For the moment, however, it is important to set the stage by providing only some of the very general details. Grainger spent the years 1905 through 1909 collecting 435 folk songs in England. In this, Grainger was in no way unique. Many of the members of the FSS, including Cecil Sharp and Lucy Broadwood, spent time trawling for songs in rural England, far more time than did Grainger in the case of Sharp. In addition, this was by no means a uniquely English phenomenon: Bela Bartok is perhaps the most well-known example of the increasing interest in collecting rural folk music in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Thus, Grainger was just one of many in this regard. Grainger's story begins to get more interesting when we examine his collecting methodology and the conclusions to which he came based on his collecting. In 1906, Grainger began collecting his songs using an Edison phonograph, and was therefore among the very first people in England

to collect songs using this method. He also used the phonograph as a means of obtaining descriptive notations that were far more detailed and advanced than anything that had previously appeared in the field of English folk song. He did this by slowing the machine down so that each musical passage was played at half-speed one octave lower than the pitch at which it had been recorded, in addition to which he also carefully used a metronome played in conjunction with the phonograph to determine with great accuracy all the rhythmic variations.

In 1908, Grainger published examples of his collection, along with a detailed description of his methods and theories about the nature of English folk song performance, in an article entitled “Collecting with the Phonograph” in the *Journal of the Folk Song Society (JFSS)*.¹ Grainger’s theories, which included a contradiction of the generally accepted notion among English folk song collectors that English folk song was cast in the medieval modes, were soundly rejected by the Editing Committee of the *JFSS*, which put an editorial caveat in the article in which they distanced themselves from Grainger’s work and denied the validity of his assertions. The fact that Grainger ceased collecting folk song in England in 1909, and subsequently left England in 1914 for the United States, has led to some speculation, particularly by Grainger’s biographer John Bird, that Grainger was both hurt and offended by the published chastisement by the FSS, and that he took this so much to heart that he decided to stop collecting in England altogether.

The focus of this dissertation is ostensibly the Grainger English Folk Song Collection, and were this to be a standard scholarly examination of the topic, the biographical background could probably stop at this point. However, the purview of this work will be

¹ Percy Grainger. “Collecting with the Phonograph.” In *The Journal of the Folk Song Society* 12 (1908): pp. 147-242.

wide, and it is therefore necessary to carry the background proceedings just a little further. Throughout the rest of his life, Grainger pursued his passion for the indigenous music of both the Western and non-Western areas of the world. In addition to the folk music he collected in England, he collected music from Denmark and New Zealand, and studied passionately music from Africa, Indonesia, and America, as well as the music of the Western Middle Ages and Renaissance. Grainger was, at a very early date, a vociferous proponent of the idea that music from all parts of the world, from any era, existed on an equal footing with all other music of the world. His early rejection of the teleological model of music history and his embrace of musical universalism have won him some praise from ethnomusicologists such as John Blacking as a sort of proto-ethnomusicologist, as many of his ideals seem to resonate with modern conceptions of music within that discipline.

Grainger's single overriding passion, however, was his philosophy of what he referred to as Free Music, a very modernist and avant-garde aesthetic of music in which he advocated such musical materials as microtonality and extreme rhythmic complexity that defied conventional notions of pulse or what we might term "groove." Free Music was to be Grainger's lasting musical legacy, but it was, for the most part, a failure. Grainger wrote about his avant-garde musical ideas quite prolifically, and even went so far as to construct a number of homemade electronic music machines that would allow him to compose and perform such music with ease. However, this never amounted to very much. By the time Grainger had enough time to dedicate himself to his dream, by this point in the 1950s, the era of avant-garde electronic music had overtaken him and absolved him of the ownership over his ideas. Grainger had been nurturing these ideas since early childhood, but his prophetic musical thinking meant nothing when he had done little to realize it. By the time of his death

in 1961, only his “Free Music” machines and a few examples, both in manuscript and recordings, existed as proof of his compositional aesthetic. Grainger was ahead of his time with such thinking, but no wide recognition of the fact was forthcoming either before or after his death.

The portrait of Grainger thus provided is one of a man pursuing several different, and apparently disparate, threads throughout his life, picking up each in turn and putting it down in favour of the pursuit of another one more interesting. It would seem to be a reasonable assessment that Grainger’s life work was marred by a short attention span. That is often the way examinations of Grainger have progressed. So diffuse were his interests that it has often proven difficult to provide a complete assessment of his work without finding it necessary to divide his interests into segments and study them individually. Some commentators, such as John Blacking, have studied the possibility of the influence of the musical methods Grainger learned from his study of non-Western music upon his Free Music aesthetic; a logical and extremely plausible connection that certainly has a precedent in the work of other composers such as Bartok. What has been given considerably less attention, however, is the possibility of the influence of Grainger’s Free Music philosophy upon his folk music collecting, an influence that I intend to examine here.

It is my contention that the conclusions to which Grainger came concerning the nature of English folk song and the future of folk song collecting in England grew directly out of his Free Music aesthetic, and that it was his commitment to this aesthetic that allowed him to analyze folk music in such a revolutionary way. In other words, Grainger’s work in the field of English folk song was more than the antiquarian folklore that was so popular in England at the time: it was a reflection of his avant-garde musical philosophy. Grainger’s

article “Collecting with the Phonograph,” his only significant publication dedicated to his experience collecting English folk song, is therefore, I believe, one of the clearest and most focused expositions of Grainger’s musical philosophy as a whole, and it is therefore the document that will receive the most attention in this examination. It shall also prove necessary to widen considerably my focus to include the entirety of Grainger’s life and work, despite the primary focus of the dissertation, his folk song collecting in England, occupying a relatively short period of time in his youth. The simple reason for this is that I believe that Grainger’s many interests were far from random and that his attention span was anything but short. Instead, I contend that Free Music was always the over-arching philosophy that governed most if not all of his musical activity. I will therefore move around the events of his life quite freely, rarely in a chronological manner, in order to draw together the philosophical narrative I believe lay behind Grainger’s life and work.

Essentially, what I intend to do here is reconstruct the complex musical aesthetic that I believe lay at the heart of Grainger’s life and philosophy, and that I believe had its clearest exposition in his article “Collecting with the Phonograph.” It is my belief that such an extrapolation based on the work he left behind is the only way to assess correctly Grainger’s work and possibly to reform his reputation. As such, I believe it is therefore important that I attach my own caveat to this project. Ostensibly, the focus of this dissertation is Percy Grainger and his English Folk Song Collection. While it is true that this will always be the primary anchoring point of my examination, as well as the point to which it shall always return, it must be said that neither Grainger nor English folk song will always be in the spotlight: the cast of characters is very large, and Grainger will have to cede his primacy many times to a significant cast, if not of thousands, certainly of many. Part of my effort is to

place Grainger in a very wide context, both as a way of direct comparison with his contemporaries and of analyzing his place in the intellectual *zeitgeist*. In addition, the amount of direct quotation, both from the works of Grainger and others, is necessarily extensive. I have deemed it extremely important to allow the cast to speak for themselves as often as possible, even when their relevance to the subject at hand is matched only by their prolific loquacity.

Chapter One provides an overview of the secondary literature on Grainger. The purview in this section is general and is not limited to his folk song collecting in England. It is here that I make my case that the wider context that I intend to provide for Grainger is thus far missing from the standard literature. I am, of course, unable to attend to every book and article on Grainger, but I have focused on the best known examples from those who have studied and worked on Grainger both during his lifetime and after his death.

Chapter Two focuses entirely on the intellectual and scholarly climate of the study of English folk song around the period of 1905 when Grainger began collecting in England. I focus most of my attention on those personalities from the FSS who sat on the Editing Committee that received Grainger's article with such hostility. I examine closely the working methods and ideas concerning English folk song during this period as a way of comparing such views with those of Grainger and illuminating what it was about his work that led to the less than gracious reception of his work.

Chapters Three and Four constitute the nucleus of the dissertation, and they are thus by far the longest and most theoretically complex. Chapter Three provides an introduction to the items that constitute the Grainger English Folk Song Collection, which is, apart from the article "Collecting with the Phonograph," spread among a number of items that remain in

manuscript form in the Grainger museum in Melbourne, Australia. I continue with an extended look at the development of the methodologies of transcription and notation both immediately prior to and subsequent to Grainger's work in England. In doing so, I demonstrate that despite Grainger's revolutionary approach to this area, he remains absent from its historical narrative even when his influence is clearly to be found. I also examine the ways in which some ethnomusicologists have reacted with hostility to his methods of transcription, as well as those who have tempered the extremes of his descriptive notations with a more prescriptive approach as a way of making his work more accessible. Chapter Three also contains an extensive discussion of the phonograph. Here I provide both a general history of the phonograph and a more complex theoretical discussion of its impact on ideas of identity and psychology in the twentieth century, drawing primarily on the ideas of Jacques Derrida. This is an extensive examination, but its relevance to Grainger is, I believe, quite important and well overdue. This will elide with Chapter Four, where I provide a complete exposition of my reconstruction of Grainger's musical aesthetic and its reflection in his English Folk Song Collection and article "Collecting with the Phonograph." Here, I bring to bear upon Grainger the full weaponry of contemporary critical musicology as a means of assessing the prophetic nature of many of his musical ideas, moving throughout Grainger's life to explore the way in which his folk music collecting in England was both an extension and anticipation of his Free Music aesthetic. Again, the cast of characters here is large, ranging from Adorno to Xenakis, but this will allow me to show more clearly the relevance of Grainger's musical aesthetic to the more general philosophies of music in the twentieth century. The second part of Chapter Four is a close critical reading of the article "Collecting with the Phonograph." It is this hermeneutical exercise that will demonstrate how radical and

modern Grainger's ideas concerning folk music actually were, and help to contextualize and explain the hostile reception he was accorded by the more antiquarian members of the FSS in England.

Chapter Five extends my examination beyond England to the way in which his musical aesthetic developed in subsequent years. Here, I examine Grainger's folk song collecting in Denmark with Evald Tang Kristensen that took place between 1923 and 1927, as well as the arrangements for voice and piano he made of the songs he collected in England. Finally, I will examine carefully the influence of Grainger's folk song collecting on Benjamin Britten, an avowed enemy of the folk-inspired pastoral school of English music who nevertheless arranged a number of English folk songs and directly acknowledged the influence of Grainger in doing so.

In many ways, this is a somewhat atypical dissertation. After all, the primary focus of my dissertation will be absent much of the time as I set the stage and provide the appropriate context in which he can appear. Further, my reconstruction of Grainger's aesthetic is accomplished by placing him within a musical and critical discourse in which he has thus far played no role. Grainger's name is rarely mentioned in conjunction with Theodor Adorno, Carl Dahlhaus, or Jacques Derrida, and I realize that attempting to insert him into this discourse is fraught with danger and stern resistance. To accomplish this as thoroughly and completely as is necessary would require far more space than is available to me in the dissertation format and would most likely occupy an entire dissertation dedicated solely to that task. For now, what I hope to provide are sites of resonance and communion with aspects of critical aesthetic discourse throughout the twentieth century in order to point the way for others to succeed where I may have fallen short. Nevertheless, I believe quite

sincerely that Grainger deserves a place within the critical aesthetic discourse of the twentieth century, and I therefore make no apologies for either the lengths to which I go to earn him his place there or the complexity of the vehicle I construct in order to allow him to make such a journey. It will be, I very much hope, a rewarding journey both for Grainger and for the reader.

Research on primary documents, most of which remain unpublished, was undertaken both at the Grainger Museum in Melbourne, Australia, and the Percy Grainger House in White Plains, New York. It is my sincere hope that both these locations will eventually become the focal point of a new and different level of Grainger research, of which this dissertation is but a small and very preliminary part.

CHAPTER ONE

Clearing space among the literature on Percy Grainger is a daunting task, not least because such literature varies in terms of quality and scholastic rigor. Grainger documented his life from a very early age, and the body of correspondence and criticism he left means that his creation of a museum dedicated to himself seems like not merely an act of egotism but a practical necessity for the storage and study of such a huge mass of material. Sadly, much of this material has only recently begun to be organized in any coherent way. During his lifetime, Grainger lived on three different continents, and his papers were therefore strewn throughout libraries all over the world. The Grainger Museum in Melbourne, much neglected after Grainger's death, is now the central repository of most of this material. Many other locations, such as the Ralph Vaughan Williams Library in London, The Percy Grainger Library in White Plains, New York, and the Library of Congress in Washington, continue to hold copies of all the material that has been sent to Melbourne. Nevertheless, organization was never one of Grainger's strongest qualities, and there is no small amount of material that remains either uncatalogued or unaccounted for. Scholars working on Grainger have in the past faced seemingly insurmountable obstacles in terms of accessing all the material one might expect to use in a thorough treatment of their subject, and it should come as no surprise that the subsequent quality of much Grainger research is commensurate with the state of the Grainger archives at any given moment.¹ Essentially, as the archives advance, so to does the secondary research.

¹ At the time of this writing, the Grainger archives had been meticulously organized by an exceptional group of Grainger historians and archivists. However, the archives have been removed from the Grainger museum

The unfortunate by-product of this situation is that much of what we think we know about Grainger is based on some of the earliest research, which, groundbreaking and admirable though it may have been, can no longer claim to represent the most accurate portrayal of Grainger and his work. Research on Grainger is therefore constantly being revised as the documents in the archives reach a manageable state of organization.

The scope of this chapter is somewhat broader than that of the dissertation as a whole. My thesis focuses essentially on Grainger's life until about 1914 when he left England for the United States. The scope must broaden occasionally to account for some later developments and to illuminate some of his earlier actions by tracing them through to their logical conclusions and ramifications at later periods in his life, but it is the period of his folk song collecting in England that will remain the primary focus throughout. As a result, there are two primary elements relating to Grainger that will receive comparatively little attention: sexuality and racism. Grainger's enthusiastic and unrepentant sado-masochism is an elephantine presence in Grainger research: it is not always relevant to the subject at hand, but it has become such an obvious facet of Grainger's identity that it can hardly be ignored. It has, I believe, little if any relation to Grainger's folk song collection, but it is of such significance in most critical discussions of him that it shall be aired to some extent in this chapter, although it should be noted that the extent of the tawdriness with which secondary sources deal with Grainger's sexuality is often an accurate indicator of the level of academic rigor of the scholar. As for racism, that is a somewhat more difficult topic. Grainger was from an early age an enthusiastic *racialist*, by which we should understand that he was interested in the ways different cultures and races projected and embraced their racial

because of extensive repairs being conducted on the building and are not expected to be returned there for some time. They are currently being housed, and are accessible in, the library of the University of Melbourne.

identity. Not surprisingly, he was also possessed of a certain anti-Semitism that was both inherited from his mother and not terribly uncommon in early twentieth-century Europe. The lines along which his thinking in these matters progressed, however, provides the primary germ of my assertion that Grainger's philosophical thinking was degenerative throughout his life. As will be discussed below, David Pear points to Grainger's reading of the work of such writers as Madison Grant as a period of transition whereby his interest in racialism turned into a much darker racism. The way in which much of the work on Grainger deals with this awkward element of his personality will also be seen in this chapter to be a primary determinant of the quality of the secondary research.

This chapter is divided into four primary sections: first, covering by far the largest amount of material, is that of biography and general musical assessment. It is here that much of the aforementioned material concerning sexuality and race will be dealt with and disposed of. Second is the view of Grainger as a proto-ethnomusicologist, an assessment promulgated primarily by the work of John Blacking. Third, and most vital for the purposes of this work, is the criticism and assessment of Grainger by the folk music scholarly community. It is here that I will introduce most of the secondary material that will continue to play a substantial role in subsequent chapters. Finally, I will conclude with a short section on Grainger's own assessment of himself. Having left such a mass of autobiographical material, much of it now being published for the first time, it seems only fitting that Grainger be allowed to speak for himself regarding his life and work. Grainger's thoughts concerning himself are always illuminating, sometimes even entertaining, but must always be taken with a certain amount of skepticism.

BIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL AND MUSICAL ASSESSMENT

This section is presented in a mostly chronological fashion, not merely for the sake of convenience when dealing with such a large body of material, but also to demonstrate the trajectory of Grainger criticism from the hagiographic through to the derisive.

Some of the earliest published biographical material on Grainger came from Cyril Scott, a fellow composer whom Grainger had met in Frankfurt as a teenager and with whom he remained close friends throughout his life. Scott had little doubt about Grainger's genius as a composer, saying that Grainger's was a "creative genius which, I have no hesitation in saying at the outset, will leave an imperishable name in the history of English music."² Scott also credited Grainger with the ingenuity of using the whole-tone scale some time before having heard the music of Debussy. Given Scott's own proclivities toward mysticism and spirituality, it should come as no surprise that his assessment of Grainger was strewn with esoteric language and ideas, such as the following comments on the influence of Rudyard Kipling upon Grainger:

We may take it, then, that there is an artistic link between two souls, and as much the outcome of a self-made destiny, i.e. the law of sequence and consequence, as there are links of hatred and love: and that great law destined Kipling and Grainger to exist on the material plane at the same time.³

Scott even went so far as to attribute Grainger's love of the Scandinavian north as evidence of his having lived there in a previous incarnation. Scott's laudation of Grainger was so over the top, however, that we cannot help but get a sense that much of this was less praise than it was apologia. Grainger's oddities, such as his use of vague English dynamic and tempo markings in his scores, were seen as evidence of a unique individual who did not follow the

² Cyril Scott. "Percy Grainger: The Music and the Man." In *The Musical Quarterly* 2, No. 3 (July, 1916): p. 425.

³ Scott, p. 426.

mainstream. Scott must also have been aware that Grainger's compositional muse was already in the early stages of deserting him, for he mentioned the many sketches of unfinished works that Grainger intended to complete, and the rapt anticipation Scott himself felt for the day when this completion might actually occur. Scott was, of course, a prolific if not enormously successful composer, and his long friendship with Grainger gave him an excellent perspective on Grainger's work. This must surely have created some conflict for Scott, who wished to promote Grainger's work being all the while aware of the shortcomings of both Grainger's music and his working methods. Given the relationship of the two men, we should not be surprised at such a glowing critical assessment, even if the purple hue of the prose betrayed a hint of the disingenuousness of his praise.

By far the most influential and important work in Grainger biography is *Percy Grainger* by John Bird dating from 1977, with an expanded second edition published in 1999.⁴ Bird's biography has long been the standard work with which to approach Grainger research and is a work of tremendous importance. Perhaps the most vital element of the work is the light it shed on Grainger's sexuality, a character trait that had been politely swept under the rug by Scott, as well as his turbulent relationship with his mother. Yet it is also a work with significant shortcomings. Bird's work was almost entirely a biographical one with no attempt at any insightful musical analysis or critical assessment. He seemed simply to take it for granted that Grainger was a mad genius and that his work is somehow therefore deserving of canonical status. Perhaps nowhere was this better demonstrated than in the following passage:

Percy Grainger was mad. And he was made mad by a mother who never allowed him to grow up. But great art is often the product of madness.... What made him stand alone was his obsessive

⁴ John Bird. *Percy Grainger* (Oxford, 1977, Rev. 2nd edition 1999).

determination to drag his fantasy into the world of reality. Yet mad though he may have been – and the present writer is aware of the disputable qualities of such an adjective – he was never certifiably or clinically so. He was a ruthlessly self-critical man and each mental and spiritual aberration seems to have been more than compensated for by an intellectual and emotional strength...He was also a genius and he knew it. His mother had said so. His music was now inane, now inspired and sometimes both. His self-deprecatory attitude towards his piano playing, his inability to follow through his pioneering work on folk-song, his rejection of prestigious music posts and his obsessive fears all resulted from his sense of insecurity created by the emasculating effects of an overwhelming mother love. His dread of quitting a world which had forgotten or might forget him drove him to forge of himself the man of stature that he undoubtedly was. He lived in that strange realm where madness and genius merge imperceptibly.⁵

Bird's clichéd trope of the mad genius provided no real evidence for such assertions, and his reluctance to define either 'mad' or 'great art' made both terms seem badly misused. Further, although there is no question that Grainger's relationship with his mother was a complicated and unhealthy one, Bird implied that Grainger's life was entirely beholden to her as though he had no will of his own and was simply a player in her demented drama. Such pseudo-psychoanalysis adds little to our assessment of Grainger the musician.⁶ It should be noted that David Josephson, in his scathing review of the 1978 edition of Bird's work, used this passage as an example of the strange combination of uncritical praise and tawdry scandal-mongering that seems to pervade much of Bird's work, and that despite such criticism, the passage stands unaltered in the 1999 edition.⁷

Pursuing the idea of tawdriness a little further, the reader of Bird's book will notice that it is not only Grainger's relationship with his mother that was examined and hypothesized in such a fanatical manner, but also Grainger's sexual proclivities. Bird delved deeply into Grainger's sexuality, a topic that, to give credit to Bird, had certainly received

⁵ Bird, p. 205-6.

⁶ It is of interest that the somewhat tawdry 1999 film *Passion* about Grainger's relationships with his wife and girlfriend Karen Holten is drawn from Bird's biography.

⁷ David Josephson. "Percy Grainger by John Bird." In *The Musical Quarterly* 64, no. 2 (April, 1978): p. 260.

little attention prior to his book. Nevertheless, Bird took Grainger completely at his word concerning his sexual interests, and offered a number of letters as proof of his erotic dysfunctions, such as the following:

What troubled my mother was either my enjoyment of flagellation or my declaration that I, if I had any daughters, would probably establish a lustful relationship with them – either through flagellation or by incest with them. It is indeed true that I, seriously, felt the inclination to do this. But it is also true that I liked to exaggerate a little bit in this respect when talking to my mother.⁸

Tantalizing though this might seem, there is no evidence either in Grainger's writings or in accounts of his behavior to suggest that he was in any way a pedophile or abuser of children or that he ever harbored or expressed such a desire with any frequency. This is, I suspect, either an exaggeration or outright lie on Grainger's part. Further, the date of 1940 in the letter quoted above suggests that Grainger was entering the extended period of self-hatred that enveloped the last years of his life and coloured his accounts of his personality. Interestingly, when Grainger did not seem to say enough about this facet of his life, Bird solicited the opinions of others. The book also contained a letter to Bird from one of Grainger's doctors, Dr. K. K. Nygaard, presumably solicited by the author, in which Nygaard provided a pseudo-psychiatric assessment of Grainger's sexual practices that aligns well with Bird's vision of Grainger as a "mad genius." This, I suspect, is the real motivation behind Bird's excessive interest in Grainger's sexuality: a moral shortcoming that would gain Grainger entry into the pantheon of tragic geni alongside figures like Byron, whose incestuous relationship with his half-sister Augusta Leigh has only heightened his reputation as the ultimate figure of romantic passion and angst. Unfortunately, what has happened instead is that Grainger's sexuality has become the epitaph for his musical reputation, and he is often remembered

⁸ Bird, p. 154.

more for his sexual proclivities than he is for his many remarkable contributions to music. Bird's intentions might have been strangely laudable, but it must be said that much of the blame for the disproportionate amount of attention paid to Grainger's sexuality ought to be laid at Bird's feet.

Bird was also the guilty party in the promulgation of the assertion that it was the unrelenting criticism by Cecil Sharp and the Folk Song Society concerning his 1908 article in the *Journal of the Folk Song Society* that forced Grainger from the arena of folk song collecting in England. As much of my dissertation is dedicated to demonstrating the fallacy of such an assertion, little need be made of it here. Suffice to say that it is an assertion based upon no evidence other than the timely coincidence of the publication of Grainger's article and the cessation of his collecting activities, a coincidence that I intend to demonstrate is easily explainable by other less scandalous factors.

Perhaps the most significant problem with Bird's work was his willingness to accept Grainger's version of events as reliable and honest. Grainger was notorious for his selective memory, love of a good lie, and, in his later years, a victim complex that made his perspective quite questionable. To an extent, the problems with Bird's research can be blamed on the state of the material with which he had to work at the time. As noted above, the Grainger archives were in a relative state of disarray and neglect until quite recently, being divided between locations in Melbourne and New York, and it is perhaps remarkable that Bird thought fit to tackle such a task in the first place. Nevertheless, Bird's reliance upon Grainger's accounts of events, his reluctance to cite his material (a shortcoming that has been only half-heartedly addressed in the 1999 edition), and his uncritical acceptance of his own

assertion that Grainger's music deserves canonical status, make the work nearly useless for anything beyond basic biographical facts.

The beginning of a serious engagement with Grainger's music and philosophy came with Margaret Hee-Leng Tan's 1972 article "The Free Music of Percy Grainger," a remarkable and insightful assessment of Grainger's compositions and compositional aspirations.⁹ Tan traced the development of Grainger's Free Music philosophy from his early works through until the electronic music experiments that began in the 1930s, providing as well a context in which she placed Grainger alongside his contemporaries Harry Partch and Henry Cowell. Tan's analysis of Grainger's musical philosophy, as well as her contextualization of Grainger amongst the musical modernists, derived from a close reading of both his scores and published analysis of his own music, remains an excellent introduction to Grainger's compositions, and shames Bird's work of ten years later for its complete lack of anything similar. It was a sober and frank assessment that made no pretensions to giving Grainger's music any canonic recognition beyond his ingenuity in the development of some of the more ultra-modernist musical materials such as microtonality, irregular rhythm, and rhythm derived from speech inflection. It was not, however, a work undeserving of criticism, for her assessment of Grainger's folk music, though it played a minor role in the article, was fraught with errors. Some of the errors were quite small, such as her assertion that Grainger returned to spending his summers collecting folk songs in England after the conclusion of the First World War. Grainger, of course, had moved to the United States in 1914 and never again collected English folk song after that time. One error, however, was perhaps of greater significance. When discussing the relationship between Grainger and Bela Bartok, Tan cited

⁹ Margaret Hee-Leng Tan. "Free Music of Percy Grainger." In *The Journal of the British Institute of Recorded Sound*. No. 45-46 (January-April 1972): pp. 21-37.

uncritically a story related by Grainger's pupil Storm Bull (later a pupil of Bartok) concerning Grainger's influence in Bartok's use of the phonograph in his own collecting activities:

Bartok did refer to an article by Percy which Bartok had read in about 1903 or 1904 (perhaps a few years off) in which Percy had described his folk-music research in Haiti, during which time Percy had used an Ediphone cylinder recorder (I am not certain of the proper name for this device). Bartok said that this article gave him the idea of using a similar recording device in his early folk-music research in Hungary.¹⁰

The errors in such an assertion are legion. Grainger did not, as far as I can determine, collect folk music with a phonograph in Haiti in 1903, nor did he publish an article in which he made such an assertion. The article to which Bull must have been referring is "Collecting with the Phonograph" from the 1908 edition of the *Journal of the Folk Song Society*, an article that was printed well after the time at which Bartok had begun using the phonograph. To be sure, the fault of the inaccuracy lay with Bull (or perhaps Bartok), but these were not difficult facts to check even in 1972. However, these are but tiny blemishes on an otherwise exemplary article.

Theresa Balough's 1993 lecture *The Inner Fire: Spirit and Evolving Consciousness in the Work of Percy Grainger* marked a turning point in Grainger studies.¹¹ Balough made a thorough study of Grainger's writings in an attempt to create a cohesive whole that would illuminate the wider musical philosophy by which Grainger lived his life. Her primary assertion was that the disjointed and random natures of Grainger's interests were in reality "connected by a wonderful thread of unity."¹² Balough determined that Grainger's work was centered on two distinct themes: the first, *The Folk-Soul of the People*, was concerned

¹⁰ Tan, p. 22.

¹¹ Teresa Balough. *The Inner Fire: Spirit and Consciousness in the Work of Percy Grainger* (Nedlands, 1993).

¹² Balough, *Inner Fire*, p. 4.

primarily with local elements and could be further subdivided into the following categories:

1) The Nordic Message; 2) English Music and Language Reform; 3) English Gothic Music;

4) Ethnic Musics; 5) Folk Music. The second category, *The Spirit of the Age*, was the

category of the universal and contained the following subcategories: 1) Free Music; 2)

Kipling Settings 3) Music Education; 4) New Forms and Orchestrations; 5) Piano Reform.

Further, each of these subcategories was again divided into subgroups, thereby creating

diagrams of thought-balloons too extensive for either discussion or reproduction here.

Balough essentially portrayed Grainger's philosophy as meticulously thought out and

systematized, a system upon which she expounded throughout the article. Balough's research

was careful and considered, and she correctly pointed out that Grainger was very much ahead

of his time with his assertions concerning the breaking down of the barriers that divide 'high'

and 'folk' categories of art. However, Balough's thesis falls apart on three different levels:

first, the evidence of Grainger's life and writings indicates quite plainly that he was rarely

organized or systematized in anything he did, and that he was too much a flibbertigibbet to

remain focused on one activity for too long. The system Balough expounded in her work was

a very impressive one, but it was more hers than it was Grainger's; second, Balough

demonstrated a fundamental misunderstanding of the aesthetic categories into which

Grainger saw his own music fitting. She asserted that Grainger's musical goals were of

"nature" music and the sounds of nature, even going so far as to say that *Free Music No. 1*

bears a remarkable similarity to the howling of wolves as a way of demonstrating that

assertion.¹³ Grainger however, as will be discussed at length in Chapter Four, was

consistently emphatic in his assertion that his music was expressive and not mimetic. In 1902

he wrote the following:

¹³ Balough, *Inner Fire*, p. 30.

I take it (perhaps erroneously) that the 'program musician' desires to reproduce in composition sensations resulting from phenomena & events, that he frequently seeks to imitate natural noises, & that he further believes such reproductions & imitations to be capable of intimating to the hearer the exact phenomena, events, & noises which he regards them as standing for. The basis of my works bearing the above-mentioned titles has nothing in common with this. In a SEA-SONG I do not in the least wish to imitate the sound of the sea, nor to reproduce musically *sensations* connected with the sea, but only to give expression to *emotions resultant* on sensations & impressions having for cause THE SEA.¹⁴

Balough's assignment of Grainger's Free Music to the aesthetic category of mimesis was incorrect. It was, in fact, expression: Grainger's music was not an imitation of the sounds and freedom of nature but an expression of the impact of such phenomenon on the subject. Further, Free Music did not imitate corporeal elements of the natural world as much as it did a manifestation of the sort of freedom from stipulated rules by which Grainger saw nature as operating. Finally, and perhaps most seriously, Balough's extremely hagiographic treatment of Grainger blatantly ignored the way in which he undermined his own philosophy through racism, anti-Semitism, and an unrepentant belief in the superiority of Nordic culture. An example of Balough's idealism is the following:

Percy Grainger believed that each ethnic group, each race, each nation has its part to play in the continuing evolution of humanity. He believed that it is through the realization of one's unique national and racial heritage that one can come to an understanding of the cultural heritage of others. And he believed that it is our duty as humans to share the benefits of these heritages with each other; that the way of all progress is from the local to the national to the universal.¹⁵

There is no question that such a sentiment is indeed a lovely one and that Grainger would have been a remarkable man if he had in fact lived his life according to such a creed. It is difficult, however, to reconcile such a thought with Grainger when he wrote:

¹⁴ Percy Grainger. "My Musical Outlook." In *Grainger on Music*. Edited by Malcolm Gillies and Bruce Clunies Ross (Oxford, 1999).

¹⁵ Balough, *Inner Fire*, p. 31.

I view all planting of Jews (whether as individuals or as groups) in our midst as just one more of the countless and endless set-backs nature sets in trying to launch Nordic impersonalness (tenderness, peaceableness, etc). In the end they (the poor Jews) will hate their life with us as much as we will hate having them amongst us.... When a Jew paints, he paints as if with bird-shit. They have so little singing voice that even their love of ease and wellbeing cannot turn them into successful opera and concert singers, despite the easy earnings of a singer.¹⁶

These are not the words of a man who believed whole-heartedly in the doctrine Balough created for Grainger. Balough was clearly an admirer of Grainger and she had studied the primary material very closely. However, the edifice she erected eventually crumbles due to the weight of the evidence she chose to ignore.

Wilfrid Mellers' 1992 book *Percy Grainger* made no pretense of being a biography.¹⁷ Instead, Mellers' primary focus was the music, and he provided insightful commentary and analysis of a number of Grainger's original works. Mellers' work was most notable for his frank and unapologetic assessment of Grainger's music. He acknowledged that Grainger was nothing approaching a good or even important composer according to canonic standards, but praised him instead as a unique individual who did things his own way. Mellers did have some praise for Grainger's folk song settings, and used the relative success of this music to offset, if not explain, the failure of Grainger's art music:

The authenticity of Grainger's folk-song settings...lies precisely in their apparent non-authenticity, for in them old tales and ballads are re-enacted in a manner closer to ritual festivity than to concert performance, so that they become valid now, as they had been then. In the long run Grainger wasn't trying to be an 'art' composer in the European sense; he was rather a maker and activator who sundered barriers between aural-oral and literate traditions, and between the genres we arbitrarily call art, folk, and pop.¹⁸

¹⁶ Percy Grainger. *The All-Round Man: Selected Letters of Percy Grainger 1914-1961*. Edited by Malcolm Gillies and David Pear (Oxford, 1994): p.160.

¹⁷ Wilfrid Mellers. *Percy Grainger* (Oxford, 1992).

¹⁸ Mellers, p. 5.

According to Mellers' assessment, Grainger's folk music collection and settings, as well as the philosophy with which he approached them, were far more successful ventures than most of his art music compositions.

With the advent of new critical methodologies in musicology in the 1990s, scholarly work on Grainger began to move in a more penetrating and critical direction. At the forefront of this movement were Malcolm Gillies and David Pear, Australian musicologists who envisioned a series of five publications that would become the basis upon which future work could be constructed. Of those five publications, four are primary sources that will be addressed in the final section of this chapter dedicated to Grainger's own critical assessment of his life. The fourth was an issue of *Australasian Music Research*. The articles contained in this issue were associated with the 'new musicology' and brought to bear many sorely needed critical methodologies, of which I shall discuss the most pertinent.

Kathleen E. Nelson's "Living, Deathless, Timeless Music: Grainger and Early Music" examined Grainger's interest in early music and the impact it had upon his general musical aesthetic.¹⁹ Nelson saw early music as appealing to Grainger on three levels: first, like folk music, it was a way of connecting with an idealized vision of the past; second, it was music that Grainger saw as having great educational value, as he demonstrated through his elastic scoring of consort music for high school music classes; third, and perhaps as an extension of the second level, early music was an important element of Grainger's universalism. Grainger was interested not in authentic or historical reconstruction of the music, but in making such music relevant to contemporary audiences. In his rejection of a teleological development of music, Grainger saw the music of medieval and renaissance

¹⁹ Kathleen E. Nelson. "Living, Deathless, Timeless Music': Grainger and Early Music." In *Australasian Music Research* 5 (2000): pp. 83-104.

Europe as being as timely and important as the music of the twentieth century. Further, Grainger also saw writ large in such music strong connections between the music of the West and that of various societies from around the world, even going so far as to discuss the influence of African polyrhythm and the music of Machaut.

Simon Perry's article "Grainger's Autobiographical Writings" was an examination of the sort of problems that so vexed John Bird: the extent to which we can trust Grainger's words concerning his own life and work.²⁰ Perry noted that the death of his mother in 1921 seemed to be a dividing point in Grainger's ability to recall details of his life, and that after this time he was prone to recalling emotions rather than facts. It was after this time, Perry asserted, that Grainger's writings began to show a loosening of his grip on reality as he became increasingly bitter and isolated, and that his increasing use of 'Blue-Eyed English' showed a man who no longer had any wish to be understood by others. Perhaps most interesting was Grainger's description of himself as an "over-soul" instead of a traditional genius, the difference being the emphasis on emotion and instinct over skill and intellect. Grainger's assertion that he was not a typical genius led him to accuse other composers, even those whose success had come posthumously, of having sold out to the popular masses, sacrificing their artistic vision for commercial success. This was something Grainger thought the true "over-soul" would never do, preferring instead to languish in obscurity with his intact emotions and values. As Perry pointed out, Grainger's philosophy of the "over-soul" as a step beyond even the trope of the suffering genius provided him with a convenient explanation for his own failures. Unfortunately, it was also indicative of a man whose grip on

²⁰ Simon Perry. "Grainger's Autobiographical Writings." In *Australasian Music Research* 5 (2000): pp. 127-134.

reality had become so increasingly tenuous that his writings now have little or no value as reliable records of factual information.

David Pear's article "Walt Whitman and the Synthesis of Grainger's Manliness" examined the influence of Whitman upon Grainger's lifestyle.²¹ According to Pear, Grainger saw in Whitman's image everything that he himself wanted to be, in particular a rugged manliness that demonstrated an obvious connection with the authenticity of the rural life instead of the effeminate existence of the urban dandy personified by Oscar Wilde. For Grainger, Whitman was an "All-Round Man", a poet but also a man connected with nature who could not afford the luxury of the aesthetic life. Grainger derived his view of "All-Roundedness" from his readings of the Icelandic Sagas, which described a harsh life where everyone needed to play multiple roles such as cook, hunter, musician, etc. This was what Grainger viewed as the most authentic human existence, and it stood in stark contrast to the world he saw around him. To specialize was to sacrifice human feeling to skill, thus rendering individuals weak and ineffectual in society. Whitman was one of the few men in whom Grainger saw such authenticity realized. Pear also asserted that Grainger adopted Whitman's exaggerated manliness to fend off questions concerning his own sexuality. Grainger was not a homosexual, nor was he uncomfortable in their presence, but he nevertheless feared the accusations of homosexuality that came with being a musician. It seems ironic that Grainger should use Whitman, who was a homosexual, to fend off questions about his own sexuality. Yet Whitman personified a connection with his own body that spoke to Grainger of the unique qualities of the male physique, as though it were designed for higher, purer purposes than simply the mundane existence of life. Pear saw in

²¹ David Pear. "Walt Whitman and the Synthesis of Grainger's Manliness." In *Australasian Music Research* 5 (2000): pp. 61-81.

these ideas the explanation for Grainger's unusual dedication to physical stamina and feats of strength, obsessions that remained with Grainger until the end of his life.

Pear was also the author of the most significant paper in the collection, "Grainger on Race and Nation."²² This was perhaps the first hard look at Grainger's thoughts on race without any attempt at cloaking them in a facade of "wonderfully unified philosophy." Pear traced the development of Grainger's racialism from the early days of reading the Norse sagas to the development of fully fledged racism in 1919-20 after reading *The Passing of the Great Race* by Madison Grant and *The Rising Tide of Color against White World Supremacy* by Lothrop Stoddard, two American scholars who believed that the white race, particularly the Nordics and Teutons, were responsible for civilization and were therefore superior to all others, opinions that Grainger reinforced with readings of Stewart Chamberlain's *Die Grundlagen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* and Otto Weininger's *Geschlecht und Charakter* in 1926. Pear identified this period in the early-mid 1920's as that during which Grainger began his descent down a slippery slope of racism and prejudice. After this date, Grainger began obsessing over the racial qualities of his friends and colleagues, desperately looking to find ways of turning them into Nordic characters and explaining away non-Nordic characteristics like brown eyes or Jewish ancestry, a phenomenon that explains his unusual habit of photographing the eyes of his friends. As seen in the discussion above concerning Teresa Balough, Grainger's anti-Semitism went from a perhaps fashionable manifestation in the early 1900's to a vicious brand of hatred, even into the 1930's and 40's when the plight of the Jews in Europe became increasingly clear. Grainger distilled his thoughts about races into two basic types: Nordics and non-Nordics. Nordics were the workers, geniuses, and

²² David Pear. "Grainger on Race and Nation." In *Australasian Music Research* 5 (2000): pp. 25-47.

peasants who produced goods and art, while the non-Nordics were the parasitic middle-class, an intermingled mix of racial hybrids that fed off the honest work of the Nordics.

It is difficult to reconcile this horrendous vision of Grainger with the cosmopolitan champion of world culture often presented to us. Pear saw this as well, and accused most Grainger scholars, including John Blacking, of whitewashing Grainger's character clean of his racist tendencies. Blacking is a scholar to whom we shall return in the next section, but even this cursory examination of the literature on Grainger bears out Pear's assertion of a communal idealization of Grainger's racial theories.

Malcolm Gillies' article "A Musical Hyde Park Corner: Grainger's Use of Texture" examined Grainger's emphasis of musical texture over the more predominant contemporary interest in structure.²³ Gillies acknowledged that Grainger's musical style is unique for its emphasis on melody and intervallic texture over rhythm and form. For Grainger, texture was the fingerprint of the composer, and it was through the managing of intervallic relations that the character of the composer was manifest. Gillies examined Grainger's *The Warriors* and *Colonial Song* in order to demonstrate the possibilities of the textural approach. Ultimately, however, Gillies was forced to conclude, like Mellers, that such an approach can work only in the short term and is incapable of sustaining long-term interest, a fact that explains also Grainger's avoidance of sonata form in favour of miniatures.

Australasian Music Research 5 contained some of the most frank and insightful insights into Grainger's work thus far by musicologists well versed in the critical methodology of the 'new musicology.' However, aside from a brief article concerning the

²³ Malcolm Gillies. "A Musical Hyde Park Corner: Grainger's Use of Texture." In *Australasian Music Research 5* (2000): pp. 17-24.

use of mode in Grainger's arrangement of *Lincolnshire Posy*, there was no critical discussion of Grainger's English folk song collecting.²⁴ This might seem like an unfair criticism against so fine a collection; but as it is my assertion that the English folk song collection represents the best work Grainger ever did, it is disappointing to see so little attention given to it.

A more recent assessment of Grainger comes from Daniel Grimley's book *Grieg: Music, Landscape and Norwegian Identity*.²⁵ Grimley used Harold Bloom's theory of the Anxiety of Influence, in which a younger poet seeks to assert his or her own artistic presence by recalling, modifying, and finally besting his or her influences in an Oedipal struggle to clear the creative space, to cast new light on the relationship between Grainger and Edvard Grieg, who had begun a close friendship in 1906. According to Grimley, Grainger's *Brigg Fair* adopted Grieg's *I Ola-Dalom* as a compositional model that demonstrated both attraction and resistance, as well as fear of artistic isolation that was desired on the subconscious level. Grimley applied Bloom's category of *apophrades*, in which the poet recalls the creative spirit of the past and seeks to re-assert it as his or her own identity.²⁶

Grimley's thesis is a fascinating one, and Grainger would certainly benefit from an extension of such an application. Bloom's theory is a six-step process, not merely a single one, and there is certainly plenty of material in Grainger's life and his relationships with other musicians that would bear fruit when examined with this particular critical lens. We might extend Grimley's argument even further as a way of characterizing Grainger's relationships with his influences both living and dead. Grainger's struggle to find a creative

²⁴Warren Bourne. "Folksong and Mode in Grainger's 'A Lincolnshire Posy.'" In *Australasian Music Research* 5 (2000): pp. 105-112.

²⁵Daniel M. Grimley. *Grieg: Music, Landscape and Norwegian Identity* (Woodbridge, 2006).

²⁶Bloom's theory is found in his book *The Anxiety of Influence* (New York, 1973). For some interesting musical applications of this theory see Kevin Korsyn. "Towards a New Poetics of Musical Influence." In *Music Analysis* 10 (1991): pp. 3-72, as well as Joseph N. Straus. *Remaking the Past: Musical Modernism and the Influence of the Tonal Tradition* (Cambridge, 1990).

space for himself with his ultra-modernist philosophy of Free Music while never really being able to break free of traditional tonality in any convincing way for most of his life speaks of an artist locked in a struggle with the traditions of the past that he is unable to overcome. Grainger was full of praise for composers like Grieg and Delius even while he promulgated a modernist philosophy of music that would render their contributions archaic. If we think of the situation in Bloom's terms, Grainger recalled tradition in order to reconfigure it and then assert it as his own identity. In other words, Grainger summoned the father in order to kill him, assume his identity, and then do what he thinks the father ought to have done, which is the basic process of the Anxiety of Influence. Grainger, however, failed in the final step of vanquishing the father. He was never able to break from tradition convincingly enough, as his Free Music experiments had to wait until a period of his life too late to be fully realized. If we take the application even further, Bloom would see this as the reason behind Grainger's exclusion from the canon, as the overcoming of tradition is the necessary final step in realizing the purity of artistic vision and reaching a creative space unique to the artist. In failing to kill the father, Grainger failed to become himself, remaining forever a pale imitation of his forebears.

Finally, there is a curious article from 2006 by Stuart Favilla and Joanne Cannon entitled "Fetish: Bent Leather's Palpable Visceral Instruments and Grainger."²⁷ Favilla and Cannon are members of an experimental music ensemble named "Bent Leather Band" that performs on a series of avant-garde instruments, many of which are homemade. Ostensibly, this article was to provide some insight into Bent Leather's attempts at realizing Grainger's Free Music in an improvisational electronic music setting. What we get, however, is a

²⁷ Stuart Favilla and Joanne Cannon. "Fetish: Bent Leather's Palpable, Visceral Instruments and Grainger." In *Contemporary Music Review* 25, no. 1 / 2 (February / April 2006): pp. 107-117.

discussion of Grainger that revolves around the tired trope of his sexuality. The article began with a reference to Grainger's collection of whips in the Grainger museum:

Whether this collection is complete or only contains his lasting favorites, we could not be certain. Although there is a recurring scale and dimension. Grainger's whips demonstrate great variance in design, striking and impressive. Some whips are no doubt prototypes, while others are well used (in fact, bloodstained). The whips document Grainger's fetish, his obsessive/compulsive and socially unacceptable behavior. They also represent a long artistic process and we could not help making some parallels regarding our own leather instrument work.²⁸

After that, Grainger disappeared from the article altogether. Favilla and Cannon used Grainger's fetish as a means of transitioning from the music itself to the idea of the fetishization of the technical processes of experimental electronic music. Grainger never reappeared in the article, as Favilla and Cannon used the fetish trope to discuss their own technical fetishes and those of electronic music in general. This is very disappointing, as the album they produced based on these experiments with Grainger's Free Music, "Children of Grainger," is a fascinating documentation of the confrontation between Grainger's Free Music aesthetic and the improvisational electronic music movement. The article promised to be an interesting examination of Grainger's relevance to contemporary electronic music. In the end, however, Grainger was little more than a sexually titillating prop in a discussion that had very little to do with him. As we saw previously with the work of John Bird, Grainger's sexuality has trumped any critical engagement with his musical legacy

GRAINGER AS PROTO-ETHNOMUSICOLOGIST

John Blacking's 1986 work *A Commonsense View of all Music: Reflections on Percy Grainger's Contribution to Ethnomusicology and Music Education* is the clearest expression

²⁸ Favilla and Cannon, p. 108.

of the relation of Grainger's work to the field of ethnomusicology, or, more strictly, comparative musicology.²⁹ In the preface to the book, Blacking explained its genesis:

I am greatly indebted to Sir Frank Callaway for the pleasure and the challenge of preparing this volume for publication. First, as Professor and Head of the Department of Music, he invited me to spend March to May of 1983 on the beautiful campus of the University of Western Australia, as Misha Strassberg Visiting Fellow. And secondly, he generously gave me a superb idea for my public lectures on ethnomusicological topics: he suggested that I should comment on what Percy Grainger had had to say about so-called 'folk' and 'non-Western' musics, in particular on the synopsis of Grainger's broadcast lectures of 1934, from which I have taken the title of this book, *A Commonsense View of all Music*.³⁰

Blacking essentially used Grainger's lectures as a jumping-off point for his own ideas, some of which were related to Grainger's material, some of which were not. The book contained no musical transcriptions of any sort, a decision Blacking defended in a curious manner in the preface:

I have not provided transcriptions, since even an exceptionally accurate score...does not convey the reality of performance to someone who is not acquainted with the sounds of the music. Besides, I have come increasingly to doubt the merits of printing transcriptions of music of different cultural traditions without accompanying recordings that reveal their incompleteness: transcriptions can too easily be divorced from the reality of performance in context, and the structure and meaning of the music that they portray can be grossly distorted in the cause of some academic exercise.³¹

As much of Blacking's material was drawn from Grainger's article "Collecting with the Phonograph," the transcriptions in which had caused such a stir in the Folk Song Society, Blacking surely could not have been unaware of the irony of his statement, for what he effectively did is undermine one of the most significant positions upon which Grainger's reputation as a proto-ethnomusicologist, a reputation Blacking allegedly set out to clarify and

²⁹ John Blacking. *A Commonsense View of All Music: Reflections on Percy Grainger's Contributions to Ethnomusicology and Music Education* (Cambridge, 1987).

³⁰ Blacking, p. ix.

³¹ Blacking, p. xi.

defend, rests. This took place only a few pages before Blacking discussed Grainger's transcriptions, at which point he described the folk song transcriptions as having set "a standard that has too often been ignored."³² The issue must be left unresolved, however, as Blacking left us with both of his opinions on the matter.

Blacking was in agreement with Grainger concerning the basic tenets of his lectures: that the sweeping label of 'ethnic' or 'folk' music denies the existence of the individual creative impulse; the importance of music by people of all social strata outside the formal confines of the concert venue; and the contribution of both performer and audience to the primacy of the performance event as both musical invention and re-invention, therefore making each performance of a work as important as the next and denying the possibility of an 'authentic' musical event. As these are now commonly held convictions amongst ethnomusicologists, there ought to be no surprise that these are hardly contentious issues, although Blacking quite correctly praised Grainger for hitting upon them some time before the academic mainstream.

Blacking did find plenty with which to quibble with Grainger. Again, he was mostly quite correct in doing so, for many of Grainger's assessments of non-Western music have subsequently been overturned. This is also no surprise: Grainger's studies of non-Western music were spread across many different musical cultures and were hardly bastions of systematic investigative methodology. Grainger would sometimes draw his conclusions about such music after having had only the briefest exposure to it during a break from a concert tour. Grainger's assertion, for example, that the variation he found in the musical practices of folk singers could be traced back to their inherent connection with nature has more to do with the narrative demands of the text than it does the supposed primeval Ur-state

³² Blacking, p. 5.

of the peasant character. Blacking had an even easier task in dismantling Grainger's metamorphosis of his observations of 'folk' music into the historical justification for his own Free Music philosophy. African music, to take the most obvious example from Blacking, does not demonstrate the avoidance of the repetition of rhythmic and melodic thematic material that Grainger imagined his Free Music would have, using the African rhythmic system as its historical precedent. Subsequent research has demonstrated that African rhythm is in fact very much the opposite of what Grainger imagined it to be; it is generally based on cyclic structures laid one on top of another, and is very much the sort of repetitive cycle-based music Grainger wished to avoid.

Blacking, however, was not without his own foibles, for he also committed some fundamental errors in his assessment of Grainger's work, as in the following:

Percy Grainger emphasized the creative work of individual singers...What Grainger did not make clear was that these renderings are not haphazard or lacking in artistic control. Performances of each are consistent and standardized for that performer at a particular period in his / her life. The version has been thought out carefully, like an original composition.³³

However, Grainger's article "Collecting with the Phonograph," one of Blacking's primary sources for his book, contains this passage:

It is my experience that, in the case of singers with alert memories, very little of even the minutest details is random, but that the smallest rhythmic irregularities are repeated with no less uniformity than are regular rhythms...This frequent uniform repetition of irregularities, goes, to my mind, to prove that very many of them are not mere careless or momentary deviations from a normal, regular form, but radical points of enrichment, inventiveness, and individualization, evolved in accordance with personal characteristics, and hallowed and cemented by consistent usage.³⁴

³³ Blacking, p. 45.

³⁴ Percy Grainger. "Collecting with the Phonograph." In *Journal of the Folk Song Society* 12 (1908): 154-155.

Blacking not only demonstrated a poor reading of Grainger, but he did him a fundamental disservice. The consistency of the variations in which folk singers engaged was a primary determinate in Grainger's assertion of the artistic value of the performance. Grainger struggled against the prevailing ideas of other folk music collectors that such variations were random or accidental and required ironing out in the final presentation of the transcription, and he saw the preservation of the variations and their role as the locus for much of the artistic merit of the performance as the impetus for his meticulous transcriptions.

As stated earlier, David Pear has accused Blacking of willfully whitewashing Grainger's image and excising any elements of racism or prejudice from his presentation. Initially, it is difficult to argue with this assertion. Blacking made no mention of Grainger's racism, which was in full swing by the time the lectures - upon which Blacking's book was based and which appeared in the book as an appendix - were broadcast in 1934. Indeed, it does not take a particularly close reading of Lecture Six entitled "The Superiority of Nordic Music" to come to the conclusion that Grainger was, to say the least, conflicted in his assertions of universalism. Nevertheless, we might remember the words that open Blacking's book concerning the circumstances in which it was born. Blacking was invited to the University of Western Australia and there given the suggestion by Sir Frank Callaway that he write a book about Grainger. As a guest at a foreign university, Blacking may well have thought it both unprofessional and ungrateful to answer such a request with a book that accused Australia's most famous musical export of hateful racism and anti-Semitism, and we should perhaps allow him that discretion and overlook the omission of such information from the book. Regardless, Blacking's book is an important contribution to the study of the development and impact of Grainger's musical philosophy.

FOLK ASSESSMENT AND CRITICISM

The division of Grainger criticism into the categories presented here is not an arbitrary one. It is an unfortunate reality that very little of the secondary literature on Grainger encompasses a holistic approach to his work. In one sense this is only logical: Grainger's interests varied so widely that it seems almost impossible to take stock of it all within the scope of a single critical work. However, it is my contention that such a fragmented approach can give us little more than an incomplete glimpse of Grainger's motivations and philosophy. Nevertheless, as the current literature seems to fall quite naturally into the divisions laid out here, I shall continue to retain such a structure and examine each section in isolation.

Criticism concerning Grainger's work in the field of English folk song also falls into some fairly obvious divisions. Because Grainger essentially abandoned folk song collecting in England after 1909, a period that also coincides with the beginning of the conclusion of the first folk music revival in England, serious critical assessments of his work did not really begin in earnest until the second revival of the 1960s. However, the prevailing emphasis of the second revival was very much changed from that of the first. Collecting and publishing songs, the primary activity of the scholars of the first revival, gave way to an emphasis on the social context in which songs were performed. The initial spark of this movement lay in the 1963 publication of E. P. Thompson's Marxist-inspired *The Making of the English Working Class*.³⁵ Thompson's 1000-page tome was an exhaustive account of the working class in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in which he offered evidence that the working class had a culture entirely their own, that they were not simply acted upon by the higher classes but were, in fact, a vital and politically conscious society that played a significant role in shaping their own lives. For folk scholars such as A.L Lloyd, the spearhead of the second revival,

³⁵ E.P. Thompson. *The Making of the English Working Class* (London, 1963).

Thompson's work provided the groundwork for examining the role of folk song in the lives of the urban and rural working class. Whereas scholars of the first revival studied melodies for evidence of archaic modes, scholars of the second revival examined song texts for evidence of political consciousness and class dissent.

As might also be expected, the first revival came under heavy fire from the new generation of folk scholars. Indeed, scholars for whom folk song was a vital element of the political consciousness and social culture of the working class found plenty to criticize in their assessment of earlier scholars who had collected such songs, arranged them for public performance in the parlor or on the stage, and then sold them in the marketplace, often without any acknowledgment of the singers from whom they were taken. As a result, Grainger occupied an unusual position for the second revival. He was very much a collector in the traditional sense; but he was also an enemy of the Folk Song Society who had dedicated much of his scholarly attention to recording the details of the lives of his singers. For the second revival, an enemy's enemy was a friend, albeit a suspect one, and Grainger was accorded a grudging respect by many of the later folk scholars.

This section therefore presents the folk literature in two subsections: the early Marxist-inspired criticism of the early stages of the second revival; and the more considered contemporary criticism that was often a reaction against the Marxists.

Marxist Folk Criticism

A.L. Lloyd's 1967 work *Folk Song in England* was the first major contribution to the second revival.³⁶ It was a remarkable blending of melodic analysis, comparative analysis of English folk song with that of other nations, lyrical analysis, and industrial song, the latter of which

³⁶ A.L. Lloyd. *Folk Song in England* (New York, 1967).

was a primary concern for Lloyd, and one that he accused the first revival of having neglected. Lloyd's was a very tempered and thoughtful criticism. He was an avid admirer of folk music from all over the world and was also a singer who made a number of recordings of English folk music. As a result, he maintained an interest in the musical elements of the song, an interest that would become less prominent in the work of some of the later scholars.

Grainger did not play a significant role in Lloyd's work, but that which he did play illustrates Grainger's rising fortunes among folk music scholars fifty-nine years after the publication of "Collecting with the Phonograph." Lloyd accepted without hesitation Grainger's mixed-mode theory, as well as his assertions about the use of variation by folk singers. In considering Grainger's contributions, Lloyd wrote the following:

To vary the psychological climate he [the singer] would not as a rule put drama and pathos into his voice...more likely he would convey the mood of the song by a small alteration of pace, a slight change of vocal timbre, and almost imperceptible pressing or lightening of rhythm, and by nuances of ornament that our folklorists, with the exception of Percy Grainger, have consistently neglected in their transcriptions; more's the pity.³⁷

Grainger's transcriptions were now the standard against which those of other collectors failed to measure up, an assessment with which we might imagine Grainger would have been rather pleased had he lived to read it.

With the second revival in full swing, there appeared in 1985 a work of monumental importance in English folk scholarship: Dave Harker's *Fakesong: The Manufacture of British 'Folksong' 1700 to the Present Day*.³⁸ Influenced by Thompson, Eric Hobsbawm's Marxist-inspired concept of 'Invented Tradition,' and the revisionist work of folk scholar Vic

³⁷ Lloyd, p. 83.

³⁸ Dave Harker. *Fakesong: The Manufacture of British 'Folksong' 1700 to the Present Day* (London, 1985).

Gammon,³⁹ Harker set out to attack and dismantle the pretensions of the scholars of the folk song revival.⁴⁰ Far from the collegial tone of Lloyd, however, Harker was aggressive in his polemical attacks on the early collectors and bitterly harsh in his assessments of their work.

Harker initially praised Grainger for his stance against the norms of the FSS. Grainger's use of the phonograph, so frowned upon by the FSS, was a particular source of praise from Harker, for it allowed for the removal of the collector as a mediator of the material and allowed the songs to pass from the singer directly to a recorded medium. More importantly, Grainger had written that the phonograph "puts valuable folk-song, sea-chanty, and morris-dance collecting within the reach of all possessed of the needful leisure and enthusiasm."⁴¹ This, as Harker correctly pointed out, would have put an end to any proprietary attitudes the collectors might have felt towards the songs they collected, for they would lose their exclusive access to them if hoards of folk song enthusiasts with phonographs began scouring the fields of rural England. Harker also pointed out that the standard complaints about the phonograph, i.e. that it was inaccurate; that it frightened singers that were unfamiliar with it, etc. probably had their origins in the collectors' feelings of being threatened by the machine.⁴² By undermining the FSS in such a way, Grainger earned high marks from Harker. Harker also praised Grainger's meticulous transcriptions, for by asserting that there was no single version of the tune, only that which existed in each

³⁹ Vic Gammon. "Folk Song Collecting in Sussex and Surrey, 1843-1914." In *History Workshop* 10 (Autumn 1980): pp. 61-89.

⁴⁰ Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds. *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983).

⁴¹ Grainger, "Collecting," p. 149.

⁴² Cecil Sharp had indicated to Grainger that he had never been able to get a singer to give a good performance in front of the phonograph, as it was too frightening for them to sing in front of a machine they had never seen before. Grainger refuted this claim by saying that not only had many of them seen phonographs in bars and taverns, but that they were often so curious about the machine that they were eager to sing into it. Indeed, Grainger seems to have had a tremendous social touch that put singers at ease in front of the phonograph machine. Bartok recounts a similar experience of his experience with the phonograph in *The Peasant Music of Hungary*. See Bela Bartok. *Studies in Ethnomusicology*. Edited by Benjamin Suchoff (Lincoln, 1997): p. 139.

individual performance, Grainger forced the FSS to confront the fact that the working class from whom they collected were a vital and living culture that created music and didn't simply transmit it. The art and culture of the working class was as important as that of the bourgeoisie, and Grainger's championing of this cause set him well apart from the other collectors for whom Harker had such disdain.

So far so good, but Grainger did not escape Harker's assessment unscathed. Harker saw Grainger as innovative, but essentially no different in his attitudes towards the working class as the other collectors. Harker cited Grainger's characterization of Joseph Taylor as a 'peasant,' despite the fact that he was the bailiff of a large estate, as indicative of Grainger's attitude of condescension toward the working class. Further, by arranging the music he collected for piano, choir, and orchestra, Harker accused Grainger of commodifying the culture of the working class. Harker's reading of Grainger's article in the *Journal* was clearly a shallow one, for Grainger made clear his allegiance to the rural artist, as has been demonstrated elsewhere in this assessment. Further, although it is true that Grainger arranged the music he collected and gained financially from doing so, he was adamant about presenting the names and details of the lives of the singers from whom he collected. The accusation of commodification is a weak one, and is only about as damning as accusing Harker of commodifying the concept of working class culture by writing about it and selling copies of his book. Harker quite effectively used Grainger as a stick with which to beat collectors such as Cecil Sharp, but his relentless determination to ensure that none of the collectors from the first revival escape his wrath was undermined by his own lack of understanding of Grainger's work and philosophy.

Cooler heads began to prevail in the 1990s as evidenced by Richard Sykes' article "The Evolution of Englishness in the English Folksong Revival, 1890-1914."⁴³ Sykes took his cue from Harker and reiterated the nationalist agenda and hegemonic practices of the early collectors. However, Sykes' most valuable contribution was his carefully considered assessment of the relationship between printed broadside ballads and oral transmission. The debate concerning whether or not orally transmitted tunes have their origin in printed ballads is a long-standing one. Early collectors often scorned the idea of folk songs existing in the same print format as popular song and being treated in much the same way by the singer. Similarly, the scholars of the second revival used the concept of singers learning material from broadsides to demonstrate the basic literacy of many of the singers from whom the music was collected. Determined to strike a compromise, Sykes used Grainger to offer a solution:

Had they admitted the long-standing dialogue between commercially produced songs and oral tradition, they might have recognized that the media of transmission of the 'folk songs' which they were collecting were not wholly dissimilar to those of contemporary popular songs. What Percy Grainger termed 'the impress of personality' together with the continued importance of oral transmission, even of texts and tunes in print, and the absence of any concept of a definitive text (written or unwritten) on the part of the laboring classes, renders the impressive variation understandable.⁴⁴

Grainger's concept of 'the impress of personality' was thus the focal point for the transformation of printed music to individual musical expression. According to Sykes, the transmission of printed text to oral transmission was most likely reciprocal, with songs learned from broadsides being learned, stamped with the impress of the personality of the singer, collected, and printed again as a broadside or arrangement. It was a highly intricate

⁴³ Richard Sykes. "The Evolution of Englishness in the English Folksong Revival, 1890-1914." In *Folk Music Journal* 6, no. 4 (1993).

⁴⁴ Sykes, p. 459.

web in which Grainger's philosophy stood as a vital element in the evolution of the folk song.

Contemporary Folk Criticism

In 1992, two articles appeared in the *Folk Music Journal* (the current incarnation of the *Journal of the Folk Song Society*) that signaled a re-assessment of Grainger's contributions to folk music research. Gwilym Davies' "Percy Grainger's Folk Music Research in Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, and Warwickshire, 1907-1909" provided details about many of Grainger's collecting trips including the singers and the dates on which he collected, and addressed some of the inconsistencies that occur in his work, such as transcriptions of songs that were clearly made from a phonograph recording despite the absence of any phonograph cylinders of the song.⁴⁵ The most important aspect of this work, however, was a direct comparison of Grainger's transcriptions with those of Cecil Sharp. Davies was careful to weigh evenly the merits of prescriptive and descriptive notation: Sharp's straightforward prescriptive transcriptions were meant to record the song for posterity and encourage performances of the tunes; Grainger's highly complex descriptive transcriptions were meant to enhance our understanding of the musical aesthetic of the folk singer as manifested in each individual performance. Neither one is better than the other, but Grainger's transcriptions tell us a great deal more about the manner of performance than do Sharp's. Davies also demonstrated unequivocally that the phonograph yielded more prolific results than the traditional method. Grainger and Sharp crossed paths at Winchcombe workhouse, which Grainger visited in 1908 and Sharp in 1909, each recording a number of the same songs from

⁴⁵ Gwilym Davies. "Percy Grainger's Folk Music Research in Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, and Warwickshire, 1907-1909." In *Folk Music Journal* 6, no. 3 (1992): pp. 339-358.

the same singers. Grainger collected thirty-five songs from nine different singers, while Sharp got only nine songs from three singers. Not only do such figures validate Grainger's opinion that the phonograph was a more efficient method of collecting, it puts paid to Sharp's assertion that the phonograph intimidated singers who did not want to sing in front of it.

Davies also noted that Grainger had begun writing music that featured an abundance of detail and time signatures that change in every bar prior to his collecting activities in 1905, and that he may, as a result, have been preconditioned to listen to this in folk music. This is a minor point in the context of the article, but it will take on additional significance in my own work in which I intend to demonstrate that it was Grainger's ultra-modern sensibilities that provided him with the tools to produce such remarkable transcriptions and analysis.

The second article from 1992 is Michael Yates' "Percy Grainger and the Impact of the Phonograph."⁴⁶ Yates described some of the initial reactions of the Editing Committee of the *Journal of the Folk Song Society*, particularly the private correspondence between members contained in the FSS archives in London. Yates printed excerpts from a lengthy letter from Anne Gilchrist to Lucy Broadwood in which she delivered a withering critique of Grainger and the phonograph. Yates also provided an anecdotal story in which Ralph Vaughan Williams described Grainger's transcriptions as "mad." The importance in such revelations lies in the illumination of which members of the Editing Committee were most vehemently opposed to Grainger's work, for while Harker and others described the primary

⁴⁶ Michael Yates. "Percy Grainger and the Impact of the Phonograph". In *Folk Music Journal* 4, no. 3 (1982): pp. 265-275.

opposition as having come from Cecil Sharp, it is clear that both Gilchrist and Vaughan Williams were equally vociferous in their condemnation of Grainger.

Yates also engaged in some interesting speculation concerning why Grainger's work had so little immediate impact in Britain. He considered that the answer might be sheer musical ignorance on the part of the collectors who failed to realize that the musical aesthetic with which the folk singers treated their own material was more artistic and genuine than that of the concert hall singers who interpreted the arrangements of the music produced by the collectors themselves. Further, Yates related that the belief of the FSS that Grainger was wasting his time collecting what amounted to simple variants of songs continued unabated, as A.H. Fox Strangways told the Society in 1931 that "there are no more folk-songs, only variants, to collect."⁴⁷ The FSS therefore continued to believe that their task was to collect songs as objects, not as part of a living tradition, and that once the well of objects had dried up, as they believed it had, their job was done. Against such ideology, Grainger's engagement with the musical aesthetics and lives of the rural folk singers stood no chance. As Yates reminded us, however, Grainger has triumphed in the long run, for most musicologists and folk scholars today prefer Grainger's conclusions to those of Sharp and Gilchrist.

Eventually, as might be expected, folk scholars mounted a concerted counter-attack against the revisionism of Harker and his followers. Of these, two are of considerable significance. Dorothy De Val's article "Lucy Broadwood and Folksong" took Broadwood as the protagonist, with Grainger playing a significant role as her young protégé.⁴⁸ De Val made

⁴⁷ Yates, p. 271.

⁴⁸ De Val, Dorothy. "The Transformed Village: Lucy Broadwood and Folksong." In *Music and British Culture, 1785-1914: Essay in Honour of Cyril Ehrlich*. Edited by Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley (Oxford, 2000): pp. 341-366.

her intentions explicit from the beginning, naming Harker as her target in the redemption of the early collectors from his accusations of having invented the folk music tradition. De Val wrote that Grainger and Broadwood had a relationship in which ideas concerning the study of folk song were exchanged reciprocally. After Grainger attended her lecture on folk song at the Musical Association in 1905, Broadwood not only introduced him to the living tradition of folk music, but also assisted him in setting up collecting opportunities with her many acquaintances. Grainger, for his part, convinced Broadwood of the merits of collecting with a phonograph, which she began employing in her own collecting in 1907. The primary thrust of De Val's argument was that both Grainger and Broadwood are immune from the accusations of inventing tradition because of their involvement with individual singers as part of the living tradition of folk music. Grainger's involvement, as noted previously, can be seen in his keen interest in both the lives and musical aesthetics of his singers. Broadwood's involvement was philanthropic. As a member of the People's Entertainment Society, founded in 1879, Broadwood was dedicated to bringing high culture to the working classes through musical performance. She would perform in such concerts singing early music as well as her own arrangements of the folk songs she had collected. She thus used the music to mediate between classes, transmitting the music in such a way as to continue its propagation among the people and breathing vitality into the living tradition of folk song.

The second scholar is of such significance as to be deserving of extended treatment, for it is with him that Harker's revisionism seems to have met its match. C.J. Bearman's 2003 article "Percy Grainger, the Phonograph, and the Folk Song Society" was a harsh attack

on Harker and the Marxist criticism.⁴⁹ Bearman began by stating his opposition to John Bird's claim that the criticism from the folk song society hurt Grainger to the point of driving him from the field of English folk music, citing this as an example of the hagiographic treatment Grainger has received without any critical examination. Bird was simply a minor target, however, for Bearman quickly identified Harker as the source of praise for Grainger at the expense of the other early collectors. Bearman pointed out that because of his difficult relationship with the FSS, Grainger's fortunes have risen as those of collectors such as Sharp have withered under the attacks of Marxist criticism. Grainger has therefore become an alternative hero who has escaped any sustained criticism and is, as Bearman put it, "one of the sticks with which to beat Sharp and the movement generally."⁵⁰

Bearman attempted to put the caveat in the *Journal* into context by suggesting the motivations that led to it. He pointed out that if the FSS were really so opposed to Grainger's work, they would not have spent so much money on publishing that edition of the *Journal*, which, at about 66 pounds instead of the usual cost of between 34 and 46 pounds thanks to Grainger's extensive transcriptions, was a serious strain on the meager accounts at the time. For Bearman, the caveat was a justified measure because of the mechanical shortcomings of the phonograph and the contentious nature of Grainger's modal theories, theories of which Bearman claimed the other members had a right to be suspicious.

In opposition to De Val, Bearman found Broadwood's collecting methods, which were quite similar to Grainger's, to be disreputable in comparison to the collector who seemed to be the real beneficiary of Bearman's rescue attempts, Cecil Sharp. He further claimed that Broadwood and Grainger both collected songs from the comfort of houses,

⁴⁹ C.J. Bearman. "Percy Grainger, the Phonograph, and the Folk Song Society." In *Music and Letters* 84, no. 3 (August 2003): pp.434-455.

⁵⁰ Bearman, p. 435.

usually the homes of some of Broadwood's many acquaintances, instead of trundling through the fields like Sharp did, and that Grainger used the phonograph not simply to collect more songs from more singers, but more songs from the very best singers. Thus, according to Bearman, far from using the phonograph to remove the role of mediator, Grainger was able to use the phonograph as a quality control machine in a way that represented an extreme form of mediation.

Bearman launched a number of other minor assaults on Grainger, including his editing and pruning of erotic text before publication and the scarcity of material collected from women in his published work. In essence, Bearman's argument was that Grainger ought not be an alternative hero for the Marxists, for he was at least as bad as everyone else.

Bearman's research was meticulous and was based on many hundreds of hours of research in the FSS archives in the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library. Many of his arguments, however, do not stand up to close scrutiny. First, Bearman is not a musician, and his arguments concerning Grainger's modal theories, theories that have subsequently proven correct, are too simple.⁵¹ As for the phonograph, while it may well be the case that it was a fragile machine prone to malfunction, the surviving cylinders show no obvious signs of mechanical failure or misrepresentation. As far as Grainger's relationship with his singers is concerned, it does not require a particularly close reading of Grainger's article to determine that his interest in his singers far exceeded that of his peers in the FSS, especially Sharp, and that such an interest was in fact at the very core of his musical philosophy. Bearman's failure to represent such a basic tenet of Grainger's musical outlook is thus a fundamental misrepresentation of Grainger and his work. Concerning the editing of prurient texts, this is

⁵¹ That Bearman is not a musician was communicated to me during an extensive email correspondence with the author.

an old chestnut in the debate about the early collectors that should perhaps be retired. No collector who wanted his work studied or disseminated could hope to do so if it contained vulgarity or explicit sexuality, and editing was not done for any sinister purpose of misrepresentation. Indeed, Grainger was no prude, and the idea of a sado-masochist who enjoyed pornography balking at some heavily metaphorical sexual lyrics is both ridiculous and amusing. Bearman showed his cards in the following statement:

No reasonable person would feel anything except deep gratitude towards Grainger for making Joseph Taylor's 1908 recordings possible, a gratitude that should far outweigh the relatively harmless deception about the methods employed. But the whole point about recent left-wing criticism is that it has not been reasonable. It has been a wholly negative and destructive force that has ignored the achievements of the pre-1914 folk music collectors and seriously suggested that those achievements are to be discredited because of practices that were certainly no worse than Grainger's.⁵²

From this statement we can see clearly Bearman's motivations. None of the criticisms he leveled against Grainger were of any significance – even if they had been well founded: Grainger was, to use Bearman's own parlance, simply a stick with which to beat Dave Harker and the Marxist critics and rescue Cecil Sharp. In some ways, Bearman's attacks upon Harker were almost as aggressive and relentless as those by Harker against the early collectors. This is unfortunate, for Bearman had some interesting conclusions based on meticulous research. In the long run, however, his arguments fail to convince that Grainger was anything other than a league apart from his FSS colleagues.

GRAINGER ON GRAINGER

This final section is designed simply as an introduction to some of the more important editions of primary sources. I have, essentially, allowed Grainger to speak for himself

⁵² Bearman, p. 452.

throughout this chapter, as I have used his own writings and opinions to counter those attributed to him in the secondary material. Grainger would perhaps have been succinct in his opinion of his life and work: failure. Most likely, however, he would have been extremely verbose while arriving at exactly the same conclusion. Grainger's loquaciousness is a significant stumbling block in studying the primary documents, for he could be so extensive in his factual and emotional examination of the events in his life as to be extremely repetitive. Further, as noted previously, many of Grainger's later writings demonstrate a degenerative element in his thinking as he embraced a philosophy of racism and martyrology. The sources listed below will be of great importance in my own work.

Kay Dreyfus' monumental work *The Farthest North of Humanness: Letters of Percy Grainger 1901-1914* remains perhaps the most valuable collection of documents in Grainger research, particularly for the present study, as it covered the years of his folk song collecting in England.⁵³ Dreyfus's work was a masterly engagement with a mass of correspondence in English, German, Dutch, and Danish. Much of the material concerning Grainger's thoughts and opinions on his folk song collecting come from this source.

Conceived as a sequel to Dreyfus's work, *The All-Round Man: Selected Letters of Percy Grainger 1914-1961* by Malcolm Gillies and David Pear detailed Grainger's life from his emigration to the United States to his death.⁵⁴ Although the scope of this work extended beyond his folk song collecting in England, it covered the further developments of his philosophy as well as his collecting of folk song in Denmark with Evald Tang Kristensen in 1922. A no-less impressive work by the same editors, though perhaps of less relevance here,

⁵³ Percy Grainger. *The Farthest North of Humanness: Letters of Percy Grainger 1901-14*. Edited by Kay Dreyfus (Melbourne, 1985).

⁵⁴ Percy Grainger. *The All-Round Man: Selected Letters of Percy Grainger 1914-1961*. Edited by Malcolm Gillies and David Pear (Oxford, 1994).

was *Portrait of Percy Grainger*, a collection of writings about Percy Grainger by his contemporaries. It was an insightful and illuminating collection of anecdotes, few if any of which, however, were related to his folk music activities.⁵⁵

Two final works are of considerable significance. *Grainger on Music* by Malcolm Gillies and Bruce Clunies Ross was a collection of Grainger's writings about his own music and his published music criticism.⁵⁶ The book contained such seminal articles as "The Impress of Personality in Unwritten Music" and "Free Music," and will be an important source in the work to follow.

Self-Portrait of Percy Grainger by Malcolm Gillies, David Pear, and Mark Carroll, was an important work for a different reason.⁵⁷ This book was a collection of writings by Grainger about himself and was the closest thing to an autobiography we are ever likely to have. He logged the material into the Grainger museum just before his death in 1961. Grainger was an obsessive writer about his feelings and ideas, and this collection covered his entire adult life, presenting his unadulterated thoughts on his family, music, sex, even his diet. His personality, from his youthful years of exuberant brilliance to his later years of intellectual decline, were evidenced throughout. Grainger was often more candid here than he was in his published writings, and this remains a valuable source for its portrayal of him.

Such a plethora of writings by Grainger is not necessarily the blessing it seems, for we have already determined that Grainger was often so contradictory as to make his own opinions and thoughts on matters next to useless. As a result, much of my work is speculative, a decision that I consider aptly justified by the unreliable nature of the sort of primary source material that would normally be used to confirm such speculations.

⁵⁵ Malcolm Gillies and David Pear eds. *Portrait of Percy Grainger* (New York, 2002).

⁵⁶ Percy Grainger. *Grainger on Music*. Edited by Malcolm Gillies and Bruce Clunies Ross (Oxford, 1999).

⁵⁷ Percy Grainger. *Self-Portrait of Percy Grainger*. Edited by Malcolm Gillies et al (Oxford, 2006).

Nevertheless, this chapter has demonstrated the pitfalls of speculation without a complete and insightful knowledge of Grainger's thoughts and philosophies. Speculation, after all, must be based upon a reasonable foundation of facts lest it fly off into the realm of the fantastic, as some of the authors presented here have been wont to do.

CHAPTER TWO

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is not so much the furtherance of the argument of this dissertation concerning Grainger and his folk song collecting as much as it is a familiarization with the personalities involved in the conflict. With the exception of the publication of Rev. John Broadwood's *Old English Songs* in 1843 and Rev. J. Collingwood Bruce and John Stokoe's *Northumbrian Minstrelsy* from 1882, the collection of folk song in England was still in its infancy in the early 1900s, while the study, analysis, and categorization of the repertoire was practically nascent. Nevertheless, much work had been undertaken by the time Grainger published his 1908 article, and in order to grasp fully the impact it had upon the scholarly community it is important to be familiar with the lay of the folk scholarship land.

Although all of the people examined below played a significant role in the formation and activities of the FSS in 1898, it must be stressed that this section is not intended to be a history of the Society, for which interested parties ought to consult C.J. Bearman's meticulously researched *The English Folk Music Movement: 1898-1914*.¹ The intention here is to provide a summary of the theoretical construct in existence around the time of Grainger's foray into the field of English folk music. To that end, the scholars examined below are as follows: Sabine Baring-Gould; Frank Kidson; Anne Gilchrist; Lucy Broadwood; and Cecil Sharp. With the exception of Sabine Baring-Gould, each of these individuals was also a member of the Editing Committee of the *JFSS*, in which Grainger's

¹ C.J. Bearman, *The English Folk Music Movement: 1898-1914* (PhD dissertation, University of Hull, 2001).

article appeared, and each supplied editorial commentary to the article when it appeared in print. The keen eye will no doubt notice the omission of a few high-profile names from this list, not the least of which is Ralph Vaughan Williams. The reason for this is quite simple: I have emphasized only those individuals whose scholarship had a direct bearing on the reception of Grainger's 1908 article, and I have therefore sought to avoid providing a summary of individuals whose work, impressive and important though it may have been, has already been appropriately summarized during the consideration of those already included. Further, anyone interested in studying in depth the work of Ralph Vaughan Williams in the field of folk music should consult Julian Onderdonk's *Ralph Vaughan Williams Folk Song Collecting: English Nationalism and the Rise of Professional Society*.²

SABINE BARING-GOULD

In 1888, Sabine Baring-Gould (1834-1924) was the minister at a small parish in Lewtrenchard, Devon, and a successful writer whose works ranged from Victorian fiction to a treatise on lycanthropy. As he related in his autobiography, *Further Reminiscences, 1864-1924*, during dinner with a friend, Daniel Radford, the conversation turned to Devonshire folk songs. A few members of the party were able to recall some more well-known airs, such as *Widcombe Fair*, but none could name very many. Radford insisted that Baring-Gould was the person to collect and publish the Devonshire folk songs before they were lost forever.³ One can only wonder what qualifications Radford considered appropriate for such a venture, and whether or not he truly considered Baring-Gould to be the best person in the area for the job, or merely the best person at that particular table that evening. Baring-Gould

² Julian Onderdonk. *Ralph Vaughan Williams's Folk Song Collecting: English Nationalism and the Rise of Professional Society* (PhD dissertation, New York University, 1998).

³ Sabine Baring-Gould. *Further Reminiscences, 1864-1924* (London, 1925): p. 184.

was, by this point, fifty-four years of age, perhaps past the point at which many scholars consider wandering the countryside looking for folk songs. Further, and more crucially, Baring-Gould had no significant musical training whatsoever and would, if working entirely with his own resources, be unable to accomplish the task. He got around these difficulties in two ways: first, whenever possible, he would have singers brought to him at Lew House where he would be able both to avoid strenuous travel and to avail himself of the piano so that he could, slowly, pick out the tunes at the keyboard while the singers repeated them to him;⁴ second, he recruited accomplished musicians to assist him in transcribing the tunes: Rev. H. Fleetwood-Sheppard, rector of Thurnscoe in Yorkshire; and F.W. Bussell, a candidate for the Mus. Doc. at Oxford. When neither of these solutions were possible, and Baring-Gould was forced to travel to a singer's rural home without his musical assistants, he was left with no choice but to make the journey home while humming the tune to himself repeatedly so that he might remember it long enough to transcribe it at his piano at home.⁵ There is something rather humorous about the image of the dignified Rev. Baring-Gould running home humming folk songs over and over in order to remember them, but we also recognize here a somewhat sloppy working method that must surely have led to numerous distortions of the melodies and texts he collected.

Baring-Gould met singers in a total of twenty-nine locations, centered almost entirely on Dartmoor and concentrated within Lewtrenchard, his own parish.⁶ Not all tunes were literally "collected" however; many were sent to him from singers or antiquarians who read

⁴ Bickford H.C. Dickinson, *Sabine Baring-Gould: Squarson, Writer, and Folklorist, 1834-1924* (Newton Abbot, 1970): p. 127. Baring-Gould also relates that some of the singers were very hard on him during this process, with one chastising him quite badly, saying "Thicky wi'n't do, you've gotten that note not right. You mun know that I'm the master and you'm the scholar." Further, Baring-Gould reports that although most sang unaccompanied, some would accompany themselves with a violin across their knee.

⁵ Dickinson, p. 127.

⁶ Roly Brown, "Revisiting Baring-Gould." In *Musical Traditions Internet Magazine*, February 21, 2005, http://www.mustrad.org.uk/articles/b_gould1.htm.

his advertisements in the *Western Morning News* asking people to send him any folk songs or references to folk songs they could remember. When we add the locations from which songs were sent, we can add a further twenty-nine locations within the same geographic parameters.⁷

Baring-Gould made contact with approximately sixty male singers and three female singers, both in and away from his home.⁸ Most of these singers he met through his parish work, which was an advantage of his position, or through the complex system of networking that would become more commonplace with future collectors. Mr. Spence Bate, for example, was a retired Plymouth dentist who wrote to Baring-Gould to tell him of two singers, John Helmore and Robert Hard, who lived near him in South Brent. Relationships such as these proved quite fruitful, as putting the word out among his friends and colleagues would often lead to very productive song collecting. Baring-Gould and Sheppard subsequently made multiple visits to Robert Hard over several weeks and collected a number of useful items.⁹

Baring-Gould's first major publication of folk song was *Songs and Ballads of the West: A Collection made from the Mouths of the People*.¹⁰ The somewhat unusual term "from the mouths of the people" was clearly meant to illustrate that these songs were collected from oral tradition and not simply reprinted from broadside ballads or other print traditions, as they were in other collections such as William Chappell's *Popular Music of the Olden Time*.¹¹ Yet Baring-Gould had a complicated relationship with the ideas of oral

⁷ Brown, "Baring-Gould."

⁸ Dickinson, p. 125.

⁹ Baring-Gould, *Further Reminiscences*, p. 190.

¹⁰ Rev. Sabine Baring-Gould and Rev. H. Fleetwood Sheppard. *Songs of the West: A Collection made from the Mouths of the People*. 4 Volumes (London, 1889-1895, 5th Edition in One Volume, 1905, Reprinted 1913).

¹¹ William Chappell. *Popular Music of the Olden Time; A Collection of Ancient Songs, Ballads, Dance Tunes, Illustrative of the National Music of England, with Short Introductions to the Different Reigns and Notices of the Airs from Writers of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. Also a Short Account of the Minstrels* (London, 1859).

tradition and print culture. He was vehement in his attestation that broadside ballads were worthless reproductions of songs already in oral tradition. Yet he also said that the songs that the singers gave to the broadside publishers were often themselves corruptions of earlier tunes, and that the broadside publishers made no effort to verify the authenticity of the tunes by comparing them to earlier print sources.¹² It seems that although he was collecting songs “from the mouths of the people”, it was important to him to establish that these tunes had their origin in a print culture that specifically excluded broadside ballads, although he himself had a large broadside collection to which he often referred in his notes to the songs. Those sources that were acceptable included the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, in which he claimed to find precedents for the melodies he was collecting, such as *Go from my Window*.¹³ Thus, to summarize, Baring-Gould’s line of descent for folk song moves from art music traditions from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, to oral tradition, with occasional distorted detours through broadside ballad production and back into oral tradition.

None of this is, so far, unusual, for collectors such as Frank Kidson and Lucy Broadwood would also look for historical precedent for their song collections in print sources, as we shall see. Baring-Gould, however, was by no means committed even to his own historical scenario concerning the genesis and dissemination of folk song. He wrote the following concerning the origins of folk song melody:

At first I supposed that village organists and conductors of village choirs had originated these melodies, but I have come now to an entirely different opinion. A great many of the compositions of these worthies, mostly carols, exist in manuscript. Collections of them have been published, and not one of them is worth the paper on which [it is] printed; what is more, not one of them has survived to be sung by any choir. The real composers were either ancient wandering minstrels, whose tunes live still, orally transmitted through many generations; or else they were the spontaneous

¹² Baring-Gould, *Further Reminiscences*, p. 185-6.

¹³ Baring-Gould, *Further Reminiscences*, p. 199.

compositions of ignorant village song-men, who chirped, supping their cyder in the settle by the fire of the taverns.¹⁴

According to this account, print culture and art music had no impact on folk song at all, although later in the same volume, Baring-Gould recalled running into a friend in the British Museum while “examining old published music there, as well as the printed garlands of words, to discover if possible the origin of the tunes and the ballads circulating among our people.”¹⁵ More curious still is the attribution of these melodies to “ancient wandering minstrels.” Baring-Gould made no attempt to identify the sort of figures to whom he might be referring. One is reminded of the similar attributions by collectors in Ireland where there was a minstrel, or bardic, tradition which boasted such musical luminaries as Turlough Carolan (1670-1738). Whether Baring-Gould might have been concocting a similar musical heritage is hindered by his lack of any specific identification of these shadowy minstrels. He may well have been inspired by the Irish model, but the only substantial reference to Irish music and music collecting occurred in *A Garland of Country Song*, in which he derided Bunting for publishing tunes that Baring-Gould claimed were, in fact, of English origin.¹⁶

Baring-Gould’s concern for the authenticity and pedigree of the melodies was not, however, mirrored by a similar concern for the text, as he wrote in the Preface to *Songs and Ballads of the West*:

In giving these airs to the public, we have been scrupulous to publish the airs precisely as noted down, choosing among the variants those which commended themselves to us as the soundest. But we have not been so careful with regard to the *words*. These are sometimes in a fragmentary condition, or are coarse, contain *double entendres*, or else are mere doggerel. Accordingly, we have re-written the songs wherever it was not possible to present them in their original form.¹⁷

¹⁴ Baring-Gould, *Further Reminiscences*, p. 187.

¹⁵ Baring-Gould, *Further Reminiscences*, p. 214.

¹⁶ Baring-Gould, *A Garland*, p. vi.

¹⁷ Baring-Gould, *Songs and Ballads of the West*, p. 10.

He cited an occasion on which Helmore and Hard were performing songs for a distinguished group of ladies and gentlemen at the home of Spence Bate. During the performance, some of the more ribald songs forced the audience from the room, and brought the evening to an abrupt conclusion.¹⁸ The editing of prurient text was therefore thought very necessary if these songs were to find any audience whatsoever and be saved from oblivion. The technique of careful rewriting of texts, as was often done by Sir Walter Scott and Robbie Burns, provided Baring-Gould with sufficient precedent to engage in this rather curious step of preservation-through-destruction, and rewrite he did. Of the fifty songs in *A Garland of Country Song*, for example, Baring-Gould admitted in the editorial comments to textual editing of twenty-eight of them, although the number is probably much higher than that. Such editing ranged from the filling in of missing texts, to omitting the occasional stanza, to a complete rewriting of text he considered prurient to public taste. This is suitably shocking in the current academic climate; but one must not lose track of the public tastes to which Baring-Gould would have to cater in order to fulfill his ambition of broader dissemination of the music, although we must also be fully aware that the tune as he presented it in publication was, more often than not, not the same product that he collected.¹⁹ As he wrote in the Preface to *A Garland*, “Some offensive songs can be made unobjectionable by the use of a pair of scissors.”²⁰

As a successful novelist, Baring-Gould must surely have savored the challenge of adding his own literary touch to these musical items he imbued with such an ancient historical pedigree. Indeed, the antiquity of the folk song would become a very important

¹⁸ Baring-Gould, *Further Reminiscences*, p. 189-190.

¹⁹ To be fair, we should not assume that the obscene matter of these texts was due entirely to chaste Victorian tastes. Folk song collectors in England often maintained a collection of tunes with lyrics gritty enough to make even popular music scholars of the 21st century blush. See Vic Gammon, “Song, Sex, and Society in England, 1600-1850” in *Folk Music Journal* 4, no. 3 (1982): pp. 209-245 for a selection of the sort of sexually explicit song texts Baring-Gould might have encountered.

²⁰ Baring-Gould, *A Garland*, p. ix.

element of the folk revival of which Baring-Gould was an early exponent, and we have already observed him moving in this direction when he sought to link folk song to printed sources from the Tudor reign and before. In *Further Reminiscences*, he praised contemporary composers who were “diving into the old cisterns of Elizabethan and Stuart music, and of folk music as well, for inspiration,” thus demonstrating that his pursuits, as he saw it, were no mere antiquarianism, but an attempt to encourage the nation to look back at its impressive musical pedigree and establish a new golden age of musical culture.²¹ Here again, however, Baring-Gould had a hard time determining his own frame of mind, for in the same volume, one page earlier, he wrote that performers were unable to deal with the modality and melodic structure of folk song when they have been bred for so long on boring, overly motivic art music melodies. As for composers, he wrote that “the only chance for a musician to be original is for him to spend many years of his life on an uninhabited island, or in the middle of a vast moor, whither no published music is imported.”²² Like his opinions concerning the authenticity of print sources, Baring-Gould vacillated considerably on this point as well. In *A Garland of Country Song*, he showed hostility to the idea that folk song had any links with the Tudor and Stuart music he would eventually praise so highly, saying almost spitefully:

The professional musician in Queen Elizabeth’s reign despised utterly, and loudly expressed his contempt for, the ballad music of the people; but the ballad lives after three centuries, and the Elizabethan contrapuntal composition is dead - dead for ever.²³

²¹ Baring-Gould, *Further Reminiscences*, p. 214. For a more in-depth analysis of the fascination with Tudor and Stuart music in the early twentieth-century, see Meiron Hughes and Robert Stradling. *The English Musical Renaissance 1840-1940: Constructing a National Music* (Manchester, 1993): pp. 52-82.

²² Baring-Gould, *Further Reminiscences*, p. 213.

²³ Baring-Gould, *A Garland* p. ix. In fact, it seems that Baring-Gould’s opinions on such things shifted more, perhaps, due to the direction of the wind than any research into the matter on his part. Composers of the Elizabethan period were very interested in the music of the people, as evidenced by the works of Thomas Ravenscroft and the collections and settings of London street-cries by such composers as Thomas Weelkes and Orlando Gibbons. See David Wulstan. *Tudor Music* (London, 1985) pp. 39-68.

Clearly, it is difficult to get any sense of what Baring-Gould's opinion on the historical pedigree of folk song might have been.

Although Baring-Gould's tireless work to obtain folk song "from the mouths of the people", whatever that may have meant given his various qualifications of the term, made a considerable contribution to the study of English folk song during the early years of the revival, his musical philosophies, as well as his policy of extreme intervention into the textual elements of the songs, make it difficult to endorse those contributions as possessing any real academic rigor. Further, his methods and ideas contain several problems that contribute to the dilemma. His lack of musical training meant that he had to rely on his transcribers when they were available and his poor ear when they were not. His musical knowledge was so execrable, in fact, that when he attempted to explain to the reader the significance of the church modes, he simply reproduced a few paragraphs on the subject from Cecil Sharp's *English Folk Song: Some Conclusions*.²⁴ Finally, the details of his collecting experience seem to have slipped his mind on numerous occasions. In *A Garland of Country Song* from 1895, he gave the year in which he began collecting as 1887, and omitted Daniel Radford from the account.²⁵ In *Further Reminiscences*, from 1925, he gave the date as 1888.²⁶ He might be forgiven for a memory lapse concerning an event of thirty years ago; but perhaps not for those occurring in his collecting methods. His personal copy versions of many of the tunes he collected reveal that he crossed out the given names of singers and replaced them with other names on many occasions, indicating that he either added the names later and could not clearly remember what they were, or wrote them down without

²⁴ Baring-Gould, *Further Reminiscences*, p. 211.

²⁵ Baring-Gould, *A Garland*, p. v.

²⁶ Baring-Gould, *Further Reminiscences*, p. 184.

paying much attention to them.²⁷ Whatever the details, it seems clear that Baring-Gould's work, though valuable in that it brought many fine songs to public attention and paved the way for future collectors, had a sloppy and heavy-handed methodology that casts a shadow over his contributions to folk song scholarship.

FRANK KIDSON

Frank Kidson (1855-1926) was born and lived his entire life in Leeds. His first form of boyhood employment was with his Uncle Joseph, an antique dealer. Through this apprenticeship, Kidson learned about and developed a great love for paintings, ceramics and antiques, and one of his first publications was *Notes on the Old Leeds Pottery* (1892), written with his older brother. It was through this early vocation that Kidson also developed an interest in landscape painting. He was, in fact, so dedicated to painting that he continued to list his profession as "landscape artist and painter" well into the 1900s.²⁸ Folk song collecting, in which he began to develop an interest in the late 1870s, was in some ways a subsidiary interest to his painting, as his song collecting trips were often based around locations that might provide the most scenic subjects for his paintings.²⁹

Kidson's greatest accomplishment was surely his massive personal library, which allowed him to do much of his research on the history of printed music without ever leaving his home. With such resources, he was able to produce *British Music Publishers, Printers and Engravers from Queen Elizabeth's Reign to George the Fourth's* (1900), his most successful book during his lifetime, 365 articles for Fuller Maitland's edition of *Grove's*

²⁷ Roly Brown, "Revisiting Baring-Gould."

²⁸ John Francmanis. "The Roving Artist: Frank Kidson, Pioneer Song Collector." In *Folk Music Journal* 8, no. 1 (2001): pp. 57.

²⁹ Francmanis, p. 51.

Dictionary, and a remarkable work entitled *Index of Airs*, a series of fifty-seven handwritten volumes, each containing one-thousand entries on the provenance of folk songs, which remains unpublished to this day.³⁰ Just before his death, he offered his entire library, a total of nine thousand volumes, to the Leeds library, which declined to accept it. After he died, his niece renewed the offer, which was again declined. In 1930, most of the collection went to the Mitchell Library in Glasgow; some additional manuscripts were disposed of privately; other volumes of this precious collection were lost.³¹ He also used his library to vet contributions to the *JFSS*, the Editing Committee of which Lucy Broadwood had invited him to join in 1898, to determine if the musical selections of the contributors had previously appeared in print.

Kidson's most significant contribution to folk song scholarship was his 1891 volume *Traditional Tunes: A Collection of Ballad Airs, Chiefly Obtained in Yorkshire and the South of Scotland; Together with their Appropriate Words from Broadsides and from Oral Tradition*, published at his own expense in a limited run of two-hundred copies. Kidson's total collection, those obtained either by himself or through the assistance of others, totals only 223 tunes, which is a relatively small collection. Many of these tunes, however, were collected near his home in Leeds, and he was one of the first collectors to search for songs in urban as well as rural settings.³²

For Kidson, folk songs were those songs "used by people exclusively; the people being those for whom education of a literary kind is largely absent."³³ This is generally in accordance with the opinions of collectors both before and after this period. Kidson,

³⁰ Roy Palmer, "Kidson's Collecting," In *Folk Music Journal* 5, no. 2 (1996): p. 151.

³¹ Palmer, pp. 151-52.

³² Palmer, p. 156.

³³ Frank Kidson and Mary Neal. *English Folk Song and Dance* (Cambridge, 1915): p. 10.

however, did not consider the folk song to be a unified entity. Text and tune were very different: folk melodies had been created by non-professional musicians and passed down orally either as originally composed or altered by the minds of other musicians; texts were most likely learned from a printed source, such as a broadside ballad, and wedded, often carelessly, to the much more valuable melody.³⁴ As he wrote in *English Folk Song and Dance*:

The folk song collector cannot ignore the ballad sheet, for upon it are found the words of many folk songs of which he may only obtain very fragmentary versions from the singer. It is not to be understood that the ballad sheet version of a folk song is always an accurate one, but it is worth having, for the folk-singer has generally learned his words, or at any rate refreshed his memory, from the broadside copy.³⁵

For Kidson, while melodies circulated almost exclusively within oral tradition, texts were generally derived from a printed source, and as a consequence of such an awkward and seemingly arbitrary marriage, melodies could have dozens of different texts by which they were known, and vice versa. Although current scholarship values the song as an indicator of the tastes of the informant and the society in which he or she lives, for Kidson, tune and text were separate, with the text being little more than a vehicle for the tune. This is very much contrary to the way in which the people who sang songs understood them, as they valued the texts and the stories they told very highly. Indeed, Kidson noted the value singers attached to the texts when he observed that very rarely did singers perform songs that expressed sentiments they did not themselves feel.³⁶ Hunting and harvest songs, for example, were important due to the messages and narratives they contained about the lifestyles of the people

³⁴ Palmer, p. 160.

³⁵ Kidson, *English Folk Song and Dance*, pp. 85-86.

³⁶ Kidson, *English Folk Song and Dance*, p. 36.

who sang them. Nevertheless, for Kidson, the text was often little more than mere doggerel that tainted the tune.

We can observe the effects of Kidson's ideas concerning print sources and texts in his editorial approach to the music. *Traditional Tunes* contained 111 items including variants. Of these items, only thirty-two were reliable records of performance, meaning that, as best as can be ascertained, both text and tune came from the same source, and at least sixteen items had texts supplied by Kidson entirely from broadsides.³⁷ For most of the songs, Kidson gave little indication of how invasive his editing had been. He was very much like Baring-Gould, and many others, in his disdain for bawdy and ribald texts. Unlike the Reverend novelist, however, Kidson simply either omitted such texts instead of replacing them with more appropriate prose of his own composition, or replaced them with text directly from a broadside he pulled from his library and determined to be the precedent, which is, as he noted in the quotation above, the original source from which the text was at one point learned. His 'restoration' of the text, as he saw it, even of a lowly broadside text, was far better than allowing doggerel of an even lower species to impinge upon the melody.

A.E. Green, in his introduction to the 1970 edition of *Traditional Tunes*, wrote: "Not to put too fine a point on it, Frank Kidson, with most of his contemporaries, did not actually like folk songs."³⁸ While it is certainly true that Kidson had disdain for the texts, and that he was therefore dismissive of one of the significant elements of the tune / text relationship that make up folk songs, it is perhaps unfair to attribute to him a dislike of folk song. In his notes to *The White Hair* in *Traditional Tunes*, he wrote: "...a fine sterling air. I wish I could say as

³⁷ Frank Kidson. *Traditional Tunes* (Oxford, 1891, reprinted 1970): p. vii.

³⁸ Green, in Kidson, *Traditional Songs*, p. ix.

much for the words.”³⁹ Further, although he generally stressed the absence of printed sources for melodies, he used those few instances in which he claimed to have located a melodic source in print to point to the obvious inherent qualities of the melody:

I have had many old airs sung to me which I have been told had descended down, strictly orally, from some far back relative, the period of time covered being from fifty to a hundred years. In the instances I name I have been able to verify the airs from printed copies contemporary with the original singers, and, in most cases, I have found a wonderful accuracy. In these examples, none of the singers had sufficient musical knowledge to read or play from the “prick.”⁴⁰

It was the inherent beauty of the melody, as Kidson sees it, that protected it during the process of oral transmission and prevented corruption.

The origin of folk melodies occupied a great deal of Kidson’s attention, far more than did song texts. He was a vociferous opponent of the idea of melodic evolution espoused by Cecil Sharp:

Those who hold this theory appear to assert that a folk song with its music has had a primal formation at some early and indefinite time, and that this germ, thrown upon the world, has been fashioned and changed by numberless brains according to the popular demand, and has only met with general acceptance when it has fulfilled the requirements that the populace have demanded. This change is called its “evolution”, and it is sometimes claimed that this evolution still goes on where folk songs are yet sung; this means that the folk song is virtually in a state of fluidity.⁴¹

Kidson maintained that melodic change, exemplified by the numerous versions of the same song taken down by collectors, was neither evolutionary nor communal, but was, in fact, the result of error on the part of the performer. Changes to the melody would occur as a result of imperfect remembrance of the tune, difficulty in the correct execution of certain intervallic

³⁹ Kidson, *Traditional Tunes*, p. 139.

⁴⁰ Kidson, *Traditional Tunes*, p. xiv.

⁴¹ Kidson, *English Folk song and Dance*, p. 14.

structures, or a conscious change of the melody to accommodate the abilities of the performer or the idioms of the instrument on which he or she was performing. Oral tradition, for Kidson, was an attempt on the part of each performer to recreate exactly the predecessor of the melody in a series of nearly infinite regressions, the genesis of which was the original version of the melody, presumably in a printed form. Subsequent changes that were the result of a flawed recollection of the melody, which was then compounded with each stage of the oral tradition, were not an “evolution” but a “corruption.”⁴²

Corruption of melodies could also occur in a much more capricious manner. Kidson stated that although the melodies found in contemporary broadside ballads were hackneyed and dull, they could, nevertheless, be of great use to the folk-singer, for they gave him or her a stock repertory of patterns either to fill in sections of the melody that had been forgotten, or to create a composite melody to a song of which they knew only the text.⁴³ Further, variant melodies to folk song texts often occur when a folk singer, unable to read printed music, adapted the text to a tune he or she already knew.⁴⁴ In each of these instances, Kidson asserted a metamorphosing of folk melody that was devoid of the organic unity of the evolutionary model, but was instead based upon the ignorance and ineptitude of the singer in the corruption of the Ur-melody as found in the printed text.

Kidson’s conviction that there was, in fact, an Ur-melody to be found led him to rewrite melodies he collected numerous times in an effort to extrapolate what he believed the singer was trying to get at. In a letter to Anne Gilchrist, he wrote of one of his singers: “Like

⁴² Greene, in Kidson, *Traditional Tunes*, p. xii.

⁴³ Kidson did not pursue this point any further; but it is worth noting the similarity between this theory and the work on oral tradition pursued by Albert Lord in Yugoslavia, as well as the subsequent applications of this work to the body of ‘centonate’ plainsong by Leo Treitler. See Leo Treitler. “‘Centonate’ Chant: Ubles Flickwerk or E pluribus unus?” In *Journal of the American Musicological Society* xxviii, (1975): p. 5.

⁴⁴ Kidson, *English Folk song*, p. 34.

all melodies noted down by him it is jerky and cut up. It wants all the creases ironing out and the demi-semi-quavers clearing away.”⁴⁵ The idea of doing such a thing to a tune provided by an informant seems appropriately appalling to current scholarship; but such was Kidson’s dedication to folk melody, and to the print culture upon which he assumed it to be based, that he undertook such work as to dig through the "corruptions" in an attempt to locate the kernel of the original creation.

It was on account of Kidson’s dedication to the idea of the original version of the melody, and his conviction that performances by contemporary singers were, when they deviated from whatever print sources he could locate, "corruptions", that he opposed the use of the phonograph with such vehemence. As Kidson’s attitudes in this regard will prove to be of considerable consequence in the examination of Grainger’s submission to the *JFSS*, of which Kidson was a member of the Editing Committee at the time, it is worth quoting his words in full:

The phonograph at once suggested itself as a ready and accurate instrument for the work of noting traditional melody, and many collectors employ it for this purpose. There is, however, a section of workers in folk song who rather mistrust its claim to give the best results. The motive that inspires the use of the phonograph is praiseworthy in the extreme, but those opposed to its use suggest that these results are sometimes not very satisfactory where transcriptions taken directly from phonograph records have been published. They are generally complex and confusing, and for examples of the excessively elaborate rhythms and shifting tonality from phonographic records, the reader is invited to refer to some particular Journals of the Folk Song Society. The transcriber should certainly bear in mind that mixed rhythms (2-4 time changing to 6-8, 7-8, 4-4, 5-8, and so forth in one short air) can hardly belong to the original structure of the tune, but rather to the method of singing it. If the performance of any great singer were phonographed, and its actual note-value faithfully transcribed, this would scarcely be considered a fair way of treating it. It would show a complexity of rhythms of which both the singer and the audience would be quite unaware. The composer would most certainly repudiate such a notation, though he

⁴⁵ Palmer, "Kidson’s Collecting," p. 168.

might be quite satisfied with the singer's treatment of the piece. He would claim that the most legitimate method would be to indicate time-deviations by the ordinary accepted marks of expression...It is the business of the folk song collector not to make a hard and fast recording of one rendering of a folk-tune, with all its accidental inaccuracies, but to obtain what the singer obviously means...In many cases, as before observed, he sings his tune with some differences on occasions...Therefore the collector to give a true rendering of the original folk-melody should get as many notations of it as possible.⁴⁶

Kidson didn't mention him by name, but it is clear that he was targeting Grainger in this criticism, for if variation on the part of the performer was nothing other than corruption of the purity of the melody, Grainger's transcriptions were giving a permanence and validity to caprice and error on the part of the performer.

Kidson had relatively little to say on the subject of the modes, certainly in comparison to Cecil Sharp and Percy Grainger. He acknowledged that folk song was indeed modal, but that certainly most melodies were in the major mode, and that many were, in fact, pentatonic in origin, although he dismissed as rubbish the idea that the pentatonic scale was derived from the limited range of primitive instruments.⁴⁷ He also gave no credence to the notion that modality connected folk music in any way with the music of the medieval church, or that a melody was necessarily ancient by virtue of being modal. Kidson made no grand claims about the place of modes in English folk song or about the sort of antique pedigree the presence of the modes might represent. Green provided the following breakdown of the melodic materials that make up the 109 melodies of *Traditional Tunes*:

Tetratonic: 1
 Pentachordal: 2
 Pentatonic: 1
 Hexachordal: 7
 Hexatonic: 10
 Aeolian: 3

⁴⁶ Kidson, *English Folk song and Dance*, pp. 49-51.

⁴⁷ Kidson, *English Folk song and Dance*, p. 24.

Dorian: 6
 Major: 66
 Mixolydian: 4
 Unclassifiable: 9⁴⁸

The category of ‘unclassifiable’ represented those tunes in which notes such as the seventh degree were altered chromatically in different registers, therefore making modal classification nearly impossible. According to this analysis, only thirteen of the 109 tunes adhered to the church modes. If Kidson had any significant claims to make on behalf of the modal structure of English folk song, *Traditional Tunes*, as his most significant collection would surely have been the place to make it. As it stands, Kidson’s claims for the modes accorded fairly well with that of Sharp and Grainger, although he might have been somewhat chagrined to hear it.

Kidson’s relationships with the singers from whom he collected material were generally similar to those of other collectors, although the social divide between them was perhaps less so than with Baring-Gould. There were sixty-four informants for the 266 items he collected in total.⁴⁹ He was not always specific concerning the names and details of his informants, with some being recorded in his notes simply as "a singer" or "fisher folk." Those whom he did name he generally referred to as “Mr” or “Mrs.”, and he complained about the lack of respect Baring-Gould demonstrated by referring to his informants in print by their first names.⁵⁰ As was the case with many other collectors, Kidson often found himself in the local tavern trying to lubricate singers’ throats with alcohol, although this method did not always reap significant rewards:

I remember once walking some miles and spending a small fortune
 in beer at a moorland ale house in the hopes of getting some folk

⁴⁸ Green, in Kidson, *Traditional Tunes*, p. xiii.

⁴⁹ Palmer, “Kidson’s Collecting,” p. 162.

⁵⁰ Palmer, “Kidson’s Collecting,” p. 160.

songs. The rustics silently imbibed the beer, and I went away songless, after several hours of expectancy.⁵¹

Obviously, even the relaxed relationship Kidson had with his singers was not always able to charm them into giving him material.

An overall assessment of Kidson is difficult. There is no question that his working methods and philosophies present numerous difficulties: he had a careless and haphazard approach to the texts; was not terribly curious about the lives and details of his informants; and collected a very small number of tunes. Further, he apologized to the readers of *Traditional Tunes* for the texts, telling the reader that they were composed for a generally simple audience:

They were simple homely ditties, such as were sung by the humbler classes in England round the fireside of farm kitchens or at the plough tail, and the little wit or brilliancy they may possess must not be judged by a very high standard.⁵²

Such a statement seems crass and offensive in its dismissal of the culture of the working class. However, there is something almost refreshing in Kidson's honesty about his feelings. He was no hypocrite, feigning sympathy for the working classes, and as a result he did not imbue folk song with any of the grand nationalistic power that collectors such as Cecil Sharp did. He was also keenly interested in the accurate notation of folk song, and could document the pedigree of tunes and locate versions through his vast knowledge of printed sources. Although he had disdain for the texts, he genuinely loved the music and was willing to challenge prevailing opinion in order to protect it. He was not, for example, in favour of Sharp's efforts to have folk song performed in schools, as he felt that not only was the subject-matter inappropriate for children, but that the songs would become degraded by

⁵¹ Frank Kidson and Alfred Moffat. *A Garland of English Folk Songs, Being a Collection of Sixty Folk Songs*. (London, 1926): p. v.

⁵² Kidson, *Traditional Tunes*, p. xii.

being associated with schools and children, particularly when the songs appeared in choral arrangements.⁵³ He was also particularly critical of those collectors whose methods he considered sloppy, especially Baring-Gould:

He is among a perfect treasury of old traditional songs but I'm afraid his ear is not quite quick enough or his memory too defective to retain the subtle points in an air (in note & in time) that makes the air so beautiful...for unless great attention is paid to this, it is terribly easy to snip corners off of an air. The air that he thus gets imperfectly he sends to Mr. Sheppard who possibly seeing technical defects of the tune thus noted down again alters or corrects. From what you have hinted he does not think much of my book because he has the impression that I have not gone among the people to collect my tunes. He is in this mistaken. I have not sat at home and received tunes ready noted by post.⁵⁴

As a founding member of the FSS, Kidson was in a position to make his opinions quite influential, particularly when his personal library was the primary source of vetting for the editorial board. Overall, Kidson's achievements were not as a collector, but as an antiquarian and a scholar of printed and manuscript texts. He had stopped collecting from singers by 1900, and turned instead to adjudicating folk song festivals, including the one at Brigg in 1905, at which Percy Grainger discovered English folk song and heard the singing of Joseph Taylor for the first time. Kidson was one of the most significant of the early collectors of English folk song, despite his flaws, and the influence of his scholarship and opinions had a tremendous impact upon the formation of folk music scholarship.

ANNE GEDDES GILCHRIST

Anne Geddes Gilchrist (1863-1948) was born to Scottish parents in Lancashire, where she lived her entire life. Unlike collectors such as Baring-Gould, Gilchrist had the benefit of an

⁵³ Francmanis, p. 59.

⁵⁴ Palmer, "Kidson's Collecting," p. 159.

extensive musical education at the Royal Academy of Music and at Trinity College.⁵⁵ As a child, she heard her father singing modal folk songs around the house, and she then transcribed them exactly as she heard them without altering them to reflect the diatonic scales on which she was drilled at school.⁵⁶ In later years, she was inspired to study folk song after reading Baring-Gould's *Songs of the West*, even sending him a transcription she had made of one of the tunes her father had sung. Baring-Gould passed this song on to Frank Kidson, with whom Gilchrist became close friends, and who gave her even more incentive to dedicate her life to the study of folk song.⁵⁷ Gilchrist never professed any particular interest in English nationalism or the nationalistic tendencies associated with the folk revival. Her motivation to study folk song was simply that of her own interest in and love of the music itself.⁵⁸

Gilchrist joined the FSS in 1905, and was a member of the Editing Committee of the *JFSS* from 1906-48. Her role in the society enabled her to form close friendships with Cecil Sharp, Ralph Vaughan Williams, and Lucy Broadwood. She shared a love and knowledge of printed sources and manuscripts with Kidson, and the two of them exchanged books and manuscripts and often hunted down obscure print sources of tunes together. Between 1906 and 1948, she contributed forty articles and seven book reviews to the journal, thirty articles to *The Choir* magazine, and numerous smaller articles to newspapers and magazines. One of her most important roles, however, was that of editor of the songs submitted to the journal by

⁵⁵ Although all biographical material makes reference to her musical education, Lyn Wolz has found no record of her attendance at the Royal Academy of Music, and no student records for that period of the nineteenth-century exist at Trinity College. This is not to say that her education was in any way a fabrication, but that it cannot be verified with attendance records. Lyn Wolz. "Resources in the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library: The Anne Geddes Gilchrist Collection." In *Folk Music Journal* 8, no. 5 (2005): p. 629.

⁵⁶ Wolz, p. 620.

⁵⁷ Wolz, p. 620.

⁵⁸ Margaret Dean-Smith. "The Work of Anne Geddes Gilchrist, O.B.E, F.S.A., 1863-1954." In *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* (84th Sess., 1957-1958): p. 47.

other collectors. She contributed annotations and commentary to hundreds of tunes printed in the *JFSS*, often doing many hours of research to find parallel print sources or references.⁵⁹ Unlike most of her fellow collectors and scholars, Gilchrist never published any of her own collections or works in a book, preferring the article format and the role of editor for the work of others. In her later years, when her age prevented her from traveling to London and other regions of the country to visit her friends, she enjoyed correspondence with younger scholars who solicited her help, to whom she was affectionately known as “Aunt Anne.”⁶⁰

Gilchrist collected songs during the 1890s until about 1909 from friends and family. Her collection was very small: 214 tunes from thirty-five singers, all within a relatively small geographical area.⁶¹ She did not make any special collecting trips, but preferred to collect songs from acquaintances and family. She gathered a number of songs while visiting her brother in Sussex, whose position as the local Presbyterian minister helped her to make contact with people who could provide her with some good songs.⁶² She also received a number of songs through correspondence after placing an advertisement in the correspondence columns of the *Manchester City News*. The role of collector, therefore, is really not one for which Gilchrist is best known, as, in comparison with some of her peers, “collecting” is something she did only in the very loosest sense of the term. She did, however, collect an unusually large cross-section of tunes, including children’s songs, Morris tunes, pace-egging tunes, carols, street cries, nursery songs, Child Ballads, broadsides, and sea shanties. Some of her most important scholarship is her work in tracing the fragments and themes of old ballads in children’s singing games, an example of which is her article

⁵⁹ Wolz, p. 620-622.

⁶⁰ Wolz, p. 627.

⁶¹ Wolz, p. 634-635.

⁶² Wolz, p. 623.

entitled “Note on the ‘Lady Drest in Green’ and Other Fragments of Tragic Ballads and Folk-Tales Preserved Amongst Children,” in which she examined an unusual form of the ballad “The Cruel Mother” among little girls using it in a singing game called “The Lady Drest in Green.”⁶³

Gilchrist’s interest was primarily with the melody, while the text of the tune was of only secondary importance. Nevertheless, she had a very straightforward approach to the idea of variation of text and tune that avoided any assertions of contamination of material:

A factor in a ballad’s evolution which has often been entirely ignored by our folk song scholars – either from lack of knowledge or interest, or from lack of realization of its importance – is this relation between the text and the tune. Speaking generally, a new ballad coming into currency would not be sung to a new tune. The singer brings to the new words some tune he already knows and so makes them acquainted. Often the tune brings with it some of the words – perhaps only the refrain - the singer already associates with it, which may have no relation whatever to the new ballad. The contact of tune and words results in the adaptation of the one to the other. Sometimes one, sometimes each, insensibly yields something of its rhythm, or stretches or contracts its line or melody, and before long the pair settle as it were into place, and the old tune may then be half-way towards a new one.⁶⁴

Kidson had already observed the tendency of singers to create hybrid versions of songs by matching texts with melodies they could not read to melodies they had already learned. What is striking about Gilchrist’s observation, however, is that she seemed to consider such a process a natural and healthy stage of the evolution of a ballad. This particular stage of evolution was, presumably, one that preceded the ballad being put into a written form in print or manuscript, after which the print version of the tune became authoritative, which seems to accord with the view Gilchrist shared with Kidson. What Gilchrist has given us here, then, is

⁶³ Wolz, p 624.

⁶⁴ Anne Gilchrist. “Lambkin: A Study in Evolution.” In *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* 1, no. 1 (1932): p. 15.

not simply a comment about the evolution of a ballad, but the initial process of its composition / re-composition, first by a single author, and then, presumably, by the community in which the ballads finds currency.

Perhaps the most significant contribution Gilchrist made to folk music scholarship was an article from 1911 entitled “A Note on the Modal System of Gaelic Tunes”, which was a preface to a collection of Scottish tunes gathered by Frances Tolmie, for which Gilchrist also provided annotations.⁶⁵ The preface was an analysis of music from the Scottish Highlands which was not simply a parroting of contemporary modal theory into which the music was made to fit, but, like the observations of Grainger, conclusions based on the analysis of the music at hand, small though that collection of 108 tunes might have been. Unlike Grainger, however, Gilchrist turned her observations into a system that allowed her to categorize tunes according not to the church modes, but to a complex system of pentatonic alteration.

The music of Gaelic Highland Scotland is, according to Gilchrist, as different from that of the Lowland Scots as the language they speak. Gaelic music is based primarily on a pentatonic system, whereas the Lowland music uses seven-note diatonic scales absorbed from English influence. According to her analysis, all of the tunes in the Tolmie collection adhere to this pentatonic system, with none showing any influence of major or minor tonalities.⁶⁶ The Gaelic pentatonic system differs from the traditional pentatonic scale, in which the fourth and seventh are omitted, using instead a scale built on three fifths: *C-G; D-A; F-C*. The resulting scale is therefore akin to a major scale without a third or seventh, and it is this scale, which Gilchrist described as “primitive,” that forms the nucleus of Gaelic

⁶⁵ Anne Gilchrist. “A Note on the Modal System of Gaelic Tunes.” In *Journal of the Folk song Society* 4, no. 3 (1911): pp. 150-153.

⁶⁶ Gilchrist, “Modal System,” p. 150.

music.⁶⁷ Each of the notes in this Gaelic pentatonic scale, *C-D-F-G-A*, can act as a tonic, and therefore produce five different modes. By performing a frequency analysis on the Tolmie collection, Gilchrist determined that the gaps between *D-F* and *A-C* are filled in with *E* and *B*, with the *E* occasionally being flattened, particularly if it falls on the seventh degree of the scale. When one or the other of the two “filler” notes are used, the result is a hexatonic scale; when both are used, the result is a series of heptatonic scales, based on the principle that only the primary pentatonic notes can serve as tonics, not the filler notes, that resemble the Mixolydian, Aeolian, Ionian, Dorian, and Phrygian modes. Example 2.1 shows the chart provided by Gilchrist showing the relationships.⁶⁸ Gilchrist included fifteen potential modes (the initial mode plus two hexatonic variants), but the table below shows a total of twenty, which includes the heptatonic modes produced by mixing the two hexatonic variants together. Example 2.2 provides a breakdown of Gilchrist’s analysis of the tunes in the Tolmie collection. The columns show each mode with its four derivatives and the number of tunes in the collection that can be assigned to each of the modes as defined in Example 2.1:

Mode 1	Mode 2	Mode 3	Mode 4	Mode 5
1a	2a	3a	4a	5a
1b	2b	3b	4b	5b
1a+b	2a+b	3a+b	4a+b	5a+b

Example 2.1

⁶⁷ Gilchrist, “Modal System,” p. 150.

⁶⁸ Gilchrist, “Modal System,” inserted between pp. 153-4.

Mode 1: 2	Mode 2: 5	Mode 3: 13	Mode 4: 7	Mode 5: 1
Mode 1a: 4	Mode 2a: 7	Mode 3a: 15	Mode 4a: 2	Mode 5a: 4
Mode 1b: 2	Mode 2b: 0	Mode 3b: 11	Mode 4b: 8	Mode 5b: 2
Mode 1a+b: 3	Mode 2a+b: 5	Mode 3a+b: 11	Mode 4a+b: 4	Mode 5a+b: 2

Example 2.2

Seven of the 108 tunes within the collection feature mixed modes, meaning that they are either hexatonic scales or use different modes in different sections of the tunes. Examples 2.3 and 2.4 show two tunes from the collection, No. 9: *Na Creid Iad* (*Believe Them Not*), and No. 10: *Am Faca Tu'n Gobha* (*Hast Thou Seen the Smith*) that demonstrate Gilchrist's analytical methods for determining the modes. No. 9 adheres to Mode 3 of her system, and contains pitch material derived only from Mode 3, while No. 10 is in Mode 3a, with pitch material derived from Mode 3 with the inclusion of *E* to fill in the gap as a passing note between *F-D*.⁶⁹

Example 2.3: *Na Cried Iad*. Mode 3.

⁶⁹ *Journal of the Folk song Society* 4, no. 3 (1911): p. 165.

The image shows two staves of musical notation in 3/4 time. The first staff contains a melody of 8 measures, ending with a double bar line and the word "Fine". The second staff begins at measure 9, indicated by a "9" above the staff, and contains a melody of 8 measures, ending with a double bar line and the instruction "D.C. al Fine".

Example 2.4: *Am Faca Tu'n Gobha*. Mode 3a.

As demonstrated by Example 2.2, some of the modes seem to resemble each other in terms of their intervallic material, such as Modes 1a and 3b, which makes it difficult to determine to which of the pentatonic modes a tune might adhere. Gilchrist's solution to this dilemma provides evidence of an extremely subtle and acute musical mind, and an appreciation of modal melody quite removed from the usual modal theories postulated by other collectors:

The distinction between "Mode 1a" and "Mode 3b," which appear to correspond in scale, lies in whether the 3rd or the 4th degree of the mode be an essential note, belonging to the original framework. Similarly, in the case of "Mode 2a" and "Mode 4b," the distinction lies in whether the 2nd or 3rd degree be the imported note. This is the principle upon which tunes have been assigned to one or another mode. The five essential scale-notes and the one secondary bridge-note can usually be identified with ease in a one-gapped (*i.e.* six-note) mode, and, when found, locate that mode.⁷⁰

Filler notes, or "bridge-notes," are therefore not only weak within the modal framework, but they are structurally weak within the melody itself and are therefore easily identifiable and distinguishable from the primary tones of the modes. Imported notes are more likely to be employed as passing notes in rhythmically weak positions than they are accented notes of greater duration, as shown in No. 10 from Example 2.4. Although this might seem like a rather elementary deduction, particularly for anyone with even a passing familiarity with

⁷⁰ Gilchrist, "Modal System," insert between pp. 153-154.

Schenkerian analysis, Gilchrist's analysis of the structural importance of certain scale degrees was far more advanced than was current amongst English Folk song scholars at the time, and shows a subtle understanding of the melodic qualities of the music with which she was dealing.

Gilchrist also acknowledged some of the difficulties of categorizing melodies according to any modal system. She was particularly insightful in her observation that many tunes defy classification because the final note is not always the tonic:

No doubt there will be differences of opinion regarding classification in the case of some tunes, especially those in which the modes are mixed, and certain others in which it is difficult to believe that the last note of the tune is the true tonic. In examining the tunes in MS., there was also some uncertainty in certain cases as to where the tune really ended, owing to the fact of the song beginning with the chorus or refrain...Some of these tunes, being of the 'circular' class, have no definite ending.⁷¹

Although she did not go so far as to imply that some tunes do not have any tonic, as is almost certainly the case with many tunes, she certainly bettered many of her contemporaries by acknowledging the difficulty in classifying those tunes in which some element of doubt concerning the tonic might exist, particularly "circular" tunes in which an imperfect final cadence implies a repeat of the material but provides no closed cadential formula to determine the final of the tune.

Gilchrist's assertion of a modal system of music was unique in the field of folk music scholarship in England in the early 1900's, and although she made no assertion that English folk song made use of a similar system, her observations of such a closely related body of song have had tremendous influence on subsequent scholars such as Bertrand Bronson. Gilchrist's most important contributions to modal classification of tunes were her

⁷¹ Gilchrist, "Modal System," p. 152.

observations concerning the structural value of “filler” notes used to bridge minor-third gaps in pentatonic scales, and her distinction between the tonic and the final of certain tunes, as well as hinting at the difficulty of establishing any tonic for some tunes.

Her work was not, however, without its problems and contradictions. Her analysis was often a reaching attempt to incorporate all the tunes into a pentatonic framework, and her theory of a heptatonic scale that is simply a filling-in of a pentatonic framework sometimes seems like a desperate attempt to incorporate tunes that may well have originated from a regular diatonic or modal system. In addition, although she provided the idea of a modal analysis based on the intervallic and structural elements of the tune, she still placed great weight on the traditional notion of identifying the mode of a tune by its final, even though, at the same time, she raised doubts about the final as a determinant of the modes. Finally, the reputation of her work rests on the ever-shifting opinions among scholars concerning modal classification of folk-tunes. Bertrand Bronson was heavily indebted to her work in his own theories, particularly in his article “Folk Song and the Modes” from 1946.⁷² Others, however, such as Norman Cazden, have been critical of the idea of hexatonic scales. According to Cazden in his article “A Simplified Mode Classification for Traditional Anglo-American Song Tunes” from 1971, a melody that consistently lacks the appearance of a certain scale degree should not require a hexatonic classification, neither modal nor pentatonic, any more than a paragraph that lacks any appearance of the letter Z should be classified as being in a gapped version of the English language, or conversely, that the appearance of a single imported note in an otherwise pentatonic tune should necessitate its classification as

⁷² Bertrand Bronson. “Folk song and the Modes.” In *Musical Quarterly* xxxii (1946): p. 37-49.

hexatonic any more than the appearance of the French word *naivete* in this otherwise English chapter should require its designation as a new language, neither English nor French.⁷³

We might also ask whether Gilchrist's observation in her 1911 article of the prevalence of structural tones from the pentatonic scale in Gaelic melody was in any way influenced by Grainger's similar, although less systematized, observations concerning the tendency of certain scale degrees to act as passing tones in English folk song in his article from 1908. Gilchrist's extant editorial response to Grainger's article, of which more will be said later, was almost wholly negative concerning Grainger's theory of modal mixing and the use of the phonograph, but she had clearly given his theories very careful consideration, and there is no reason to assume that they did not have any influence on her in the years following the publication of Grainger's article.⁷⁴ They also shared a close mutual friend in Lucy Broadwood, and it would be reasonable to assume that they must have crossed paths at some point, whether or not a record of any meeting exists. Nevertheless, Gilchrist's contributions to folk scholarship have been enormously influential, and she remains a person of great distinction in the early years of the folk revival.

LUCY BROADWOOD

Lucy Broadwood (1858-1929) was born into the illustrious piano-making family in Scotland, but moved to Lynn on the Surrey / Sussex border in 1865, and then to London in 1893. Her uncle was Rev. John Broadwood, who had published one of the first collections of English

⁷³ Norman Cazden. "A Simplified Mode Classification for Traditional Anglo-American Song Tunes." In *Yearbook for the International Folk Music Council* iii (1971): p. 45-78. For an excellent examination and problematizing of the folk modality in Scottish traditional music see Matthew Gelbart. *The Invention of "Folk Music" and "Art Music": Emerging Categories from Ossian to Wagner* (Cambridge, 2007): pp. 111-152.

⁷⁴ The letter is reprinted in Michael Yates. "Percy Grainger and the Impact of the Phonograph." In *Folk Music Journal* 4, no. 3 (1982): pp. 265-275.

folk song, *Old English Song*, in 1843. The Broadwood home was a frequent destination for musicians visiting England, including Franz Liszt, with whom Lucy was very much entranced.⁷⁵ It was, however, the family affinity for folk song that infected the young Lucy, and she began collecting tunes from the local residents on her own in the late 1880's.⁷⁶ She was not interested in romanticizing the "folk" in the manner that would become so popular when the folk revival was in full-swing: she claimed simply to love Sussex county and its people, and she therefore pursued the music for its own sake and for the sentiment she held for the sense of place invoked by it.⁷⁷

Throughout her life, Broadwood maintained a steady footing in both the world of art music and that of traditional music. She was a well-respected singer and occasional composer, having written a song entitled "Nae mair will I wander," which was well-received by the critics who attended her performance.⁷⁸ Her career as a composer of original material was quite short lived, and she ceased composing after 1894. She was also a great lover of early music, performing songs by Henry Lawes with the early music pioneer Arnold Dolmetsch (1858-1940), as well as with a madrigal group known as the Magpies.⁷⁹ Art music was, therefore, a very important element in her life, and provided her with an acute musical sensibility that served her extremely well in the field of traditional music.

During the course of her collecting throughout the 1890's, Broadwood came into contact with other scholars and collectors, including J.A. Fuller-Maitland, with whom she published *English County Songs* in 1893, the book that established her reputation as a folk

⁷⁵ Ralph Vaughan Williams. "Lucy Broadwood, 1858-1929." In *JEFDSS* 5, no. 3 (1929): p. 136.

⁷⁶ C.J. Bearman. "Resources in the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library: The Lucy Broadwood Collection: An Interim Report." In *Folk Music Journal* 7, no. 3 (1997): pp. 357.

⁷⁷ Vaughan Williams, p. 137.

⁷⁸ Dorothy De Val. "The Transformed Village: Lucy Broadwood and Folk song." In *Music and British Culture, 1785-1914, 1785-1914: Essays in Honour of Cyril Ehrlich*. Edited by Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley (Oxford, 2000): p. 347.

⁷⁹ De Val, p. 349.

scholar. Her close relationships with the songs and with the people from whom she collected them had initially led her to believe that folk songs were treasured possessions for private study, and that publishing the songs was a betrayal of the singer who had entrusted her with his or her most prized possession.⁸⁰ According to Vaughan Williams, it was the realization that neither she nor the singer were the owners of such songs, but merely their guardians, that pushed her to relent on this point, and which led to the publishing of *English County Songs*.⁸¹

Her increased profile resulted in a correspondence with Kidson and Baring-Gould which not only featured griping about one another's collecting methods, but laid the seed for the foundation in 1898 of the FSS, for which she was Secretary from 1904-10, on the Editing Committee of the *JFSS* for the same period and again after 1914, and Honorary President in 1928. According to Vaughan Williams, the early meetings of the FSS were very much of a "dilettante and tea-party" order, and featured a conflict between those who favoured the scholarly study of folk song in print, in such forms as broadsides, and the collection of tunes from singers in the field.⁸² Broadwood, as an advocate of field-collection, was influential in steering the FSS into the direction of a more rigorous and respected academic institution. She was also at the forefront of another debate concerning the mandate of the FSS: its name. A number of members advocated the inclusion of the term "English" or "British" in the title. Broadwood, however, had no interest either in submitting the Society to the agenda of the English nationalists or of restricting its mandate to music of England. As ever, Broadwood carried the day, and the *JFSS* subsequently carried not only music from England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, the Orkney Islands, Skye, etc., but included articles on music in Scandinavia and music of the Jewish Synagogue.

⁸⁰ Vaughan Williams, p. 138.

⁸¹ Vaughan Williams, p. 138.

⁸² Vaughan Williams, p. 138.

Broadwood also became a member of the People's Entertainment Society, a group founded in 1879 to bring high-culture to the working classes. The group was primarily a philanthropic one, but also had the aim of establishing better relations between the classes through social contact with one another.⁸³ Despite her view that contemporary culture and music was "slow poison dished up...by vulgar caterers in the art, literature, and popular amusements of the day," Broadwood often mixed contemporary popular tunes into her vocal program of art music, as well as using the performance venue as a testing ground for her folk song arrangements for voice and piano.⁸⁴

Broadwood stressed the importance of folk melody over text, and was dismissive of the idea that broadsides or print culture were responsible for putting folk melodies into circulation. Her opinion was that broadsides were simply garbled versions of tunes that were already in circulation through oral transmission and which had been collected and put into print by unscrupulous publishers.⁸⁵ Objectionable though she may have considered them, Broadwood did advocate a certain respect for the broadsides, if only because of their links to the past. They were, after all, the descendents of a long line of printed narratives that she claimed reach back to Chaucer, Boccaccio, and the folk-tales they drew upon for inspiration, corrupted though they may have become over time.⁸⁶ As for the tunes, however, no print precedent for them could be found, and she was usually content to allow their origin to remain a mystery.

⁸³ For more on the intellectual cultural exchange between classes and the phenomenon of the 'social-betterment' class see Jonathan Rose. *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* (New Haven, 2001).

⁸⁴ Lucy E. Broadwood. "On the Collection of English Folk song." In *Proceedings of the Musical Association* 31 (1904-1905): p. 97.

⁸⁵ Broadwood, "Collection," p. 90.

⁸⁶ Broadwood, "Collection," p. 90-91.

For Broadwood, the collection of folk song was a means of not only preserving but also reinvigorating a tradition that had been under siege since ballad-singers and minstrels had been declared vagabonds by Elizabeth I in 1572 and then persecuted under the Vagrancy Act of 1597. Unlike some of her fellow collectors, however, Broadwood did not believe that folk song was moribund or on the verge of extinction. In the Preface to *English County Songs* she wrote: “It is worth remembering that the habit of inventing songs has not yet died out among the country people, a fact which may account for the existence of many totally distinct airs for a set of favourite words.”⁸⁷ This view accords well with those of Kidson and Gilchrist, with whom she had very close friendships, who held that the composition of new folk songs was often borne out of a sort of re-composition of a melody, comprised of motives and fragments of melodies the singer already knows, which complemented a new text, the process taking place because of the inability of the singer to read the notes on the broadside from which the text is taken. In contrast to Baring-Gould, who maintained that such tunes were usually quite poor, Broadwood testified to the very high musical standards of many of these songs.

Broadwood advocated the idea that English folk song was not only primarily modal in terms of its melodic material, but that such melodic material most likely had its origins in the plainsong tradition of the Church:

Indeed, the most characteristic English folk-tune is more closely allied to the plainsong of the Office Book or Gradual than to any other form of music; and, absurd though it may sound, nothing so vividly calls to my mind the rough choruses of our south country labourers as the unaccompanied plain-chant of the sweet-voiced choir in the Westminster Cathedral.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Lucy Broadwood and J.A. Fuller-Maitland. *English County Songs* (London: Cramer, 1893): p. iv-v.

⁸⁸ Broadwood, “On the Collection of English Folk Song,” p. 92.

This seems to contradict her previous statement from the same lecture that the origin of modal folk-melody is shrouded in mystery, for although she did not state unequivocally that plainchant is the origin of folk-melody, the connection she made between the two seems implicit. She also explained that any similarity between the modal and pentatonic melodies of English folk song and that of Ireland and Scotland was the result of prevailing English influence, not vice versa:

Remember England's glorious musical record throughout the Middle Ages. Surely then, is it not more probable that, when importing our language into Scotland and Ireland, we should import thither our own ballad-airs, than hypothetical Scotch and Irish singers should have taught to the English labourer their tunes set to his English words?⁸⁹

Although Broadwood expressed no particular sympathy with the English nationalists, it would be hard not to view this statement as a reaction to the criticism that while Ireland and Scotland celebrated their own folk song, England was *Das Land ohne Musik*. Broadwood seemed to be wresting back some control over the production of indigenous music from the Irish and Scottish bards and minstrels by making them subordinate to English musical influence.

Broadwood's promotion of England to musical dominance over the whole of the British Isles was not, however, meant to denigrate the music of Ireland and Scotland. Indeed, Broadwood's collecting excursions to Ireland are documented in the 1907 edition of the *Journal*, entitled "Songs from County Waterford, Ireland."⁹⁰ Like Gilchrist's songs from Scotland, Broadwood's Irish collection provided her with the material for some of her more interesting and insightful observations concerning the melodic material used in folk song. One of Broadwood's primary singers in this collection, Bridget Geary, performed the tune

⁸⁹ Broadwood, "Collection," p. 96.

⁹⁰ Lucy Broadwood. "Songs from County Waterford, Ireland." In *Journal of the Folk song Society* 11 (1907).

“The Bunch of Rushes” (*An Beirtin Luachra*). Sometimes Geary would adhere strictly to the C Major tonality of the work, while at other times she would replace the third and seventh degrees with B-flat and E-flat. This accords well with Gilchrist’s assertion, based on her Gaelic collection, that folk songs were often pentatonic in origin, and that the third and seventh degrees were often used as passing tones, as well as with Grainger’s assertion that those tones that are not structurally important melodic material were often of indeterminate pitch and could be altered at will by the singer to suit the text, a fact to which Geary herself testified when Broadwood quizzed her on the pitch discrepancy, to which Geary replied “Well, it doesn’t matter; one sings different ways at different times, with the changing of the words.”⁹¹ Broadwood also noted from Bridget a version of *Shule Agra* in a major key instead of the usual minor key, marking a rare occurrence of a tune moving not merely between closely related modes, but between polarized ones.⁹² The music of Ireland also allowed Broadwood to theorize about the probable influence of the music of Southern Europe and the Orient upon Ireland, not only in the use of highly ornamented melodies, but also in the use of pentatonic scales determined originally by the tuning of instruments such as the Arabic *oud* and primitive Sicilian flutes. These were by no means universally accepted ideas, of course, and we can see the sort of criticism even close colleagues can deliver to one another when we remember that Kidson determined the theory of the derivation of the pentatonic scale from primitive instruments to be rubbish in *English Folk Song and Dance*.

⁹¹ Broadwood, “Ireland,” p. 20. This observation has been verified by Peter Van der Merwe, who wrote “Classical intonation is foreign to folk music. Generally speaking, and certainly in Britain, folk musicians sing the third, sixth, and seventh of the scale relatively flat. These folk intervals can in fact be anything between the orthodox major and minor, and often different inflections will appear in the same piece, a third or seventh, say, being flatter in the eighth than in the second bar.” Peter Van der Merwe. *Origins of the Popular Style: The Antecedents of Twentieth-Century Popular Music* (Oxford, 1989): p. 21.

⁹² Broadwood, “Ireland,” p. 27.

Broadwood was inspired by the Irish collectors such as Bunting and Moore, whom she correctly lauded for having anticipated the English collectors by as much as a century.⁹³ It was on account of this desire to bring England up to the standards set by the Irish collectors, and her difficulties in capturing precisely the subtle intonations of singers such as Bridget Geary, that Broadwood embraced the idea of collecting with a phonograph. She noted in her diary that Grainger was collecting with one in 1906, but she had, in fact, broached the subject as early as her 1904 lecture to the Musical Association:

And then it strikes me that there is one thing about which we should be very careful in inviting people to gather these tunes, and that is in putting down precisely what they hear. I could almost wish, for the first time in my life, for a gramophone. I should like them noted down with all their errors, and not have them changed according to the good taste or the bad taste or the whim or humour of those who take them down. There is no doubt they are sometimes changed...and so I think it is quite possible that the folk songs may be very materially changed by the medium through which they pass before they come to me.⁹⁴

Broadwood finally bought a phonograph for herself in 1908, and it became an integral part of many of her subsequent collecting trips, providing a commonality between her and Grainger, her young protégé, as well as a point of contention between her and her own mentor, Kidson, whose objection to the phonograph as a collecting tool has been previously noted.

Broadwood made a very clear distinction between the tunes she published for the *JFSS*, which were for specialized audiences, and those for public consumption. *English County Songs* was presented with piano arrangements by Broadwood and Fuller Maitland, some of which, they admitted, were clearly influenced by Schubert and Chopin.⁹⁵ She stated in the preface that the piano arrangements are necessary in order to make the songs useful to “educated” musicians. This comment may well appear somewhat elitist and condescending

⁹³ Broadwood, “Collection,” p. 101.

⁹⁴ Broadwood, “Collecting,” p. 107.

⁹⁵ Broadwood, *English County Songs*, p. v.

toward the singers from whom she collected such material; but it is worth considering this remark from her 1904 lecture to the Musical Association:

Country singers are extraordinarily quick in catching up a new tune, and joining in the chorus. They also like the collector to sing to them. I have often sung, unaccompanied, songs quite unknown to the assembled singers, asking them to join in the chorus. Whether my song happened to be in modern major or minor scale, or in modal, it mattered not. After the first verse all the audience would be in full cry, and *singing with unconscious ease and accuracy intervals that would puzzle many conventional musicians sorely* [italics mine].⁹⁶

“Educated”, with this observation in mind, seemed to be more of a derogatory term, perhaps implying that the piano accompaniment was necessary to provide a reference for the negotiation of difficult folk-intervals by the “educated” classical singer.

English County Songs was arranged by county in the following manner: 1) North Counties; 2) North-Western Counties; 3) Midland Counties; 4) Eastern Counties; 5) Home Counties; 6) South Coast; 7) Songs of the Sea. Broadwood made no assertions that the songs arranged under these headings were the exclusive property of said counties, or that they were in any way unique to them. Such an arrangement does, however, emphasize Broadwood’s own conviction, evident from her earliest collecting, of the power of folk song to evoke a sense of place, such as the Sussex County that was so important to her.

Lucy Broadwood had an enormous impact upon folk music scholarship in England, from her pivotal role in the foundation of the FSS, to her collecting from across the British Isles, to her friendship with such luminaries as Kidson, Gilchrist, and Grainger. It is, however, with Cecil Sharp that the study of English folk song began to develop a more rigorous methodological framework.

⁹⁶ Broadwood, “Collecting,” p. 94.

CECIL SHARP

Summarizing the contributions of Cecil Sharp (1854-1924) to folk music scholarship seems like an impossible task. He is, after all, considered to be the most influential and prolific scholar in the field of English folk music. Nevertheless, as the entirety of his life and biographical detail are not of primary concern here, it is possible to summarize those points that are of specific concern to the topic at hand.

Sharp attended Cambridge University where he majored in music and mathematics, after which he became Principal of Hampstead Conservatoire and Music Master at Ludgrove Preparatory School, both of which were appointments he held until 1910. He was, therefore, well-equipped as a musician to deal with the topic of folk song, of which he became aware in 1903 after hearing his gardener, John England, humming the tune “Seeds of Love.”⁹⁷ Sharp subsequently became a tireless scholar of folk song and an advocate for the idea that folk song was a part of English heritage that belonged to everyone, believing that its prominence in the lives of the people ought to be restored. Children, in particular, needed to be turned away from empty popular entertainments, and to this end he used his role as an educator to attempt to get a wider exposure for folk song.

Sharp’s reputation rests on the professionalism he brought to the task of field collecting, as well as his prolific publications for both public and scholarly consumption. He was one of the first collectors to visit his singers multiple times in order to explore the variations in their singing and to collect large swatches of their repertoire. His most famous publication resulting from his collecting was *Folk Songs from Somerset*, a five-volume work he gathered with his friend Charles Marson,⁹⁸ for which he spent 330 days in the field

⁹⁷ A.H. Fox Strangeways and Maud Karpeles. *Cecil Sharp* (London, 1933): p. 34

⁹⁸ Cecil Sharp and Charles Marson. *Folk Songs from Somerset*, 5 Vols (London, 1904-1909).

collecting more than 1500 tunes from 300 singers. It was this vigor that allowed him to amass one of the largest collections of folk songs, nearly 5000 by the time of his death in 1924. Because of the demands upon his time such collecting entailed, Sharp was not shy about publicity, both for the dissemination of his work and the advertisement of his publications. This, combined with his argumentative and combative nature, led to many difficult relationships with his colleagues in the FSS, which he joined in 1905, although he was more popular with the younger generation of collectors and musicians, particularly Vaughan Williams, Gustav Holst, and George Butterworth.⁹⁹

Sharp defined art music as the work of the individual that expresses the artist's personal ideals and is forever fixed in one unalterable form. In stark contrast, folk song is a product of race, and reflects feelings that are communal. Further, the creation of folk song is never completed, and the song exists not in one unalterable form, but in many that are as distinct and unique as the singers in whose repertoires they reside. This communal aspect of folk song was of central importance to Sharp, as he believed that it was also through communion that folk song evolved by means of oral transmission:

One man sings a song, and then others sing it after him, *changing what they do not like*. Oral transmission is not merely one by which the folk song lives; it is a process by which it grows and by which it is created.¹⁰⁰

Sharp's theory about oral transmission and the communal evolution of folk song is perhaps his most famous contribution to the debate concerning its origin. He referred to his evolutionary model of folk song as a process of *Continuity, Variation, and Selection*.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ C.J. Bearman. "Cecil Sharp in Somerset: Some Reflections on the Work of David Harker." In *Folklore* 113 (2002): p. 12.

¹⁰⁰ Cecil J. Sharp. *English Folk Song: Some Conclusions* (London, 1907): p. 10.

¹⁰¹ Sharp, *Conclusions*, pp. 16-31.

Continuity is simply the transmission of the basic melody through oral transmission, during which time the basic aspects of the melody, such as melodic contour, will remain relatively true to the form in which each individual first heard it. *Variation* occurs at the level of the very small alterations each individual makes to the melody. Such variation can be very small, perhaps at the intervallic or minute rhythmic level, or significant, including change of mode. These variations can occur for many reasons, ranging from the simple caprice of each individual singer, to absent-mindedness, to the adapting of new text to an old tune, which was often the case for singers who could not read standard notation and were confronted with broadsides. Small variations can lead to significant deviations from the tune over time, and, true to his evolutionary model, Sharp gave the example of an extra feather in a bird's tail leading to the emergence of the fan-tail pigeon.¹⁰² Finally, the principle of *Selection* is the taste of the community. Those variations that appeal to the community are retained, and those that do not are omitted. To summarize: 1) *Continuity* is not the cause, but the condition that prepares the way for evolution of song material; 2) *Variation* creates the material that allows for development; 3) *Selection* allows variation to result in organic growth and development. Sharp was careful to avoid the implication that the initial composition of the tune is communal: indeed, at some point, the tune was, in fact, created, by an individual. The community selects, but does not invent. As Sharp wrote:

The community's part is to weigh, sift, and select from the mass of individual suggestions those that most accurately express the popular taste and the popular ideal; to reject the rest; and then, when more variations are produced, to repeat the process once more, and again once more. The process goes on unceasingly while the ballad lives, or until it gets into print, when, of course, its process is checked, so far as educated singers are concerned.¹⁰³

¹⁰² Sharp, *Conclusions*, p. 28.

¹⁰³ Sharp, *Conclusions*, p. 31.

The moment of origin of the tune, therefore, is by far the least important in its evolution. The process is also, as Sharp pointed out, endless, as the tune that has been "edited" by the community simply becomes another version of the tune to be learned by singers in other communities and subjected to the same process. He also considered the process to be arrested once the song is put into print. The implication that print culture is the death of the orally transmitted tune might, however, be too reactionary, as Sharp's own scheme implied that each song is undergoing this process at various times and at various locations, meaning that the capturing of one version of the tune in the form of a printed song sheet need not arrest the evolution of the tune on other fronts. Indeed, it is perfectly logical to assume that print should have no impact whatsoever, as it simply provides another means by which tune and text might be transmitted and subjected to the entire process once again.

The evidence of this evolutionary process is to be found in the many different variations of tunes he collected from different singers:

The upholder of the individualistic theory of origin contends that these variants are merely incorrect renderings of some original, individual composition that, never having been written down, has orally survived in corrupt forms. On the other hand, there are those – and I count myself amongst them – who maintain that in these minute differences lie the germs of development; that the changes made by individual singers are akin to the 'sprouts' in the flower or animal worlds, which, if perpetuated, lead to further ideal development and, perhaps, ultimately to the birth of new varieties and species.¹⁰⁴

We must again note that Sharp was not here dismissing the act of individual composition of at least a germ of the song, but the importance of that particular event in terms of its long-term evolution.

¹⁰⁴ Cecil J. Sharp. *English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians*. Edited by Maud Karpeles (London, 1932): p. xxviii.

In the initial stages of his collecting and folk song study, Sharp championed the view that English folk song was modal, cast in the original church modes of Dorian, Phrygian, Lydian, Mixolydian, and Aeolian. Modality unto itself was not, however, a testament to the antiquity of the melodies, and Sharp was scornful of the idea that folk melodies might have some connection with the plainchant melodies of the mediaeval church, as Broadwood had stated.¹⁰⁵ Infusing the melodies with such antiquity in fact worked contrary to Sharp's evolutionary scheme, for a melody that had retained its strict modality over the course of centuries clearly cannot have undergone a very significant evolutionary process. Modal singing was not a moribund throwback to the Middle Ages, but a vital musical tradition that lived in the English folk. Moreover, it was a tradition that the English had developed of its own accord:

The diatonic mode is the natural idiom of the English peasant, not one, be it noted, originally acquired from without, but one which he evolved from his own instinct. That the mode has always been, and is still, his natural vehicle of melodic expression, and that it should not, therefore, be regarded in any way as evidence of antiquity, is shown by the manner in which the folksinger will frequently translate into one or other of the modes the "composed" songs which he takes into his repertory.¹⁰⁶

Not all of the modes were fairly represented in Sharp's collection. In fact, he admitted that two-thirds of the melodies were in the major mode, while the remaining one-third was split between Dorian, Mixolydian, and Aeolian. He considered Lydian and Phrygian to be extremely rare, and occurrences of the Harmonic and Melodic Minor to be non-existent.¹⁰⁷ According to Sharp, the preponderance of the Ionian mode was not a strictly modern practice, nor was it evidence that the melodies in this mode were of contemporary origin, for

¹⁰⁵ Sharp, *Conclusions*, p. 36.

¹⁰⁶ Cecil J. Sharp. *One Hundred English Folksongs* (New York, 1916): p. xv.

¹⁰⁷ Sharp, *Conclusions*, p. 55.

it was common in the Middle Ages, during which time it was known as *modus lascivus*, and was reserved only for ribald secular music of which the Church disapproved.¹⁰⁸

Sharp observed that the modes, while providing convenient nomenclature, were far from a perfect fit for the folk melodies. He identified circular tunes, such as dance tunes that have no closed final cadence in order to allow for repeats of previous sections, as well as tunes that did not end on the tonic, as particularly problematic in terms of modal classification.¹⁰⁹ Further, and here providing evidence of the subtlety of Sharp's powers of musical observation, he noted the instability of certain scale degrees within the mode. He observed that the third in Mixolydian tunes was often flattened in order to produce the minor third of the Dorian mode, thereby producing a unique form of modal mixing within a tune.¹¹⁰ He also observed the general instability of the third, seventh, and second degrees of the mode, stating that singers will often alter the intonation of these notes, particularly in the Mixolydian and Dorian modes.¹¹¹ Sharp also asserted that these variations of intonation are by no means arbitrary, but systematic in every verse. Many of these observations were remarkably similar to those Grainger would make one year later in his famous article on collecting with the phonograph. Indeed, in a passage that seems almost prophetic in this regard, Sharp wrote:

The question of intonation is a very interesting one, and a very important one, too, and one which will, I hope, engage the serious attention of the collector. Subtleties of intonation can best be noted and studied on the phonograph.¹¹²

These subtleties of intonation led Sharp toward a melodic theory that relied less on the traditional modal classification and more upon a flexible system based on the pentatonic

¹⁰⁸ Sharp, *Conclusions*, p. 55.

¹⁰⁹ Sharp, *Conclusions*, p. 64.

¹¹⁰ Sharp, *Conclusions*, p. 71.

¹¹¹ Sharp, *Conclusions*, p. 71.

¹¹² Sharp, *Conclusions*, pp. 71-72.

scale. In 1907, he was still only hinting at such a system. He noted that the “tonal” degrees of the mode, the first, fourth, fifth, and eighth, were the most stable, and that they were also the most stable notes of “primitive” scales.¹¹³ For the folk singer, these degrees were still the most stable, and he or she approached the filling in of the gaps between them with trepidation, often choosing a note closer to the one from which the he or she started than the arrival note (e.g. the gap of G descending to D would be filled in with an F-sharp, not an E). By the time of the appearance of *English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians* in 1917, a full-scale system for modal classification based upon the pentatonic scale had been developed by Gilchrist. For his American collection from the Appalachians, the songs of which are demonstrably English and Scottish in origin, Sharp adopted Gilchrist’s system almost verbatim, reiterating her theories about the difficulties in the classification of circular tunes, and the method of classifying tunes that could adhere to either of two identical heptatonic modes by determining the notes of structural importance.¹¹⁴ The only change he made was to maintain that the filling in of the lower gap was always with an E-natural, disallowing the possibility of E-flat, although for the 1932 edition of the work Maud Karpeles noted that Sharp eventually allowed for the inclusion of E-flat with the collecting of additional material which warranted its addition, thereby bringing his system into complete alignment with Gilchrist’s.¹¹⁵

Sharp speculated that the melodies must have come either from northern England or the Lowlands of Scotland, claiming that the melodies were more akin to those found in England, pentatonics notwithstanding, and ignoring Gilchrist’s adamant distinction between

¹¹³ Sharp, *Conclusions*, p. 85.

¹¹⁴ Sharp, *Appalachians*, p. xxiii-xxiv.

¹¹⁵ Sharp, *Appalachians*, p. xix.

the Highlands and Lowlands music.¹¹⁶ He also posited a unique theory that allowed for the retention of English origin of the tunes: pentatonic practice, and not the fully-evolved seven-note diatonic scale, may have been the norm in England when the people of the Appalachians emigrated from England, which he assumes to have been sometime in the seventeenth-century.¹¹⁷ Sharp offered no proof for his assertion, but it is worth noting the extent to which he would go to maintain the theory of an English, not Scottish, origin for the songs.

The people from whom Sharp collected such material were generally of a similar type. Most were over sixty years of age, and many were female, as he often found them more approachable than the men and were usually employed in the home during the workday, making the task of collection easier than it would have been from the males working in the fields.¹¹⁸ He preferred collecting from the “common people,” but it is important to note his definition of such a group, which was those whose “mental development has been due not to any formal system of training or education, but solely to environment, communal association, and direct contact with the ups and downs of life.”¹¹⁹ Within this group he drew a further distinction between the “un-educated,” who were the illiterate, and the “non-educated”, who were literate but unlettered. Sharp enjoyed a very easy relationship with his singers due to the genuine respect he afforded them. One comment from a woman who remarked “We like you – you are so nice and common,” was a special source of pride to him, as he felt it brought him into closer communion with his singers. Sharp, though educated, was effusive in his praise of the wisdom and practical knowledge his singers possessed of rural life and survival. Such a relaxed relationship with his singers allowed him to visit some

¹¹⁶ Sharp, *Appalachians*, p. xxxiv.

¹¹⁷ Sharp, *Appalachians*, p. xxxiv.

¹¹⁸ Cecil Sharp. “Folk songs Noted in Somerset and North Devon.” In *Journal of the Folk song Society* 9 (1905): p. 2.

¹¹⁹ Sharp, *Conclusions*, p. 3

of them many times, allowing him to note variations and singing styles and to collect a greater number of tunes.

Sharp was tireless in his pursuit of songs in the field. Between 1916 and 1918, for example, he spent a total of forty-six weeks collecting about five-hundred songs in the Appalachians, depending upon the hospitality of his singers in giving he and Karpeles shelter for the night as he explored the territory for songs.¹²⁰ Prior to his death in 1924, as his illness progressed, he made plans to collect songs in Newfoundland, for which he accepted a generous offer of funding from Percy Grainger.¹²¹ Maud Karpeles made the journey in his stead in 1929-30, during which time she collected two-hundred tunes.

Sharp also became more interested in the inventiveness of the individual singer, and he took greater care in providing notations of the variations the singer provided on successive repetitions of the tunes. Example 2.5 is the transcription for *Fair Margaret and Sweet William* from *English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians*, in which Sharp notated thirteen melodic variations to the initial statement of the tune.¹²²

¹²⁰ Sharp, *Appalachians*, p. xii.

¹²¹ Strangways, p 194.

¹²² Sharp, *Appalachians*, p. 132.

(a) (b) (c) (d)

Sweet Wil- liam he rose in the month of May, He a decked him- self in_ blue, Say- ing: I long to_ know that.

6 (e) (f) (a) (b)

long, long love has been Be - twixt La- dy Mar- get and me.

11 (c) (c) (c) (c) (d)

17 (d) (e) (e)

20 (e) (f) (f)

Example 2.5: *Fair Margaret and Sweet William*. Hexatonic. Mode 3b.

Like his contemporaries, Sharp had a different approach to his works published for the musical public. He composed his own piano arrangements, eschewing the sort of melodic detail and attention to variation he displayed in his scholarly publications. His harmonic treatments emphasized a simple style free of identifying characteristics from any particular period of harmonic practice. For Sharp, the melodies were timeless, and clothing them in the contemporary modern accompaniment style would serve only to link them to one time and place, and make them dated and antiquated to future generations.¹²³

Sharp was, by far, the most influential and prolific of the early collectors in England, and although much has been written about him, no definitive biography has appeared since that by A.H. Fox Strangways and Maud Karpeles, which provided useful biographical facts,

¹²³ Sharp. *One Hundred English Folksongs*, p. xv-xvi.

but is perhaps too hagiographic to be of serious scholarly use. What is provided here is simply a summary of some of the most salient points of his life and work, insofar as they shall illuminate the work of Grainger and his complex relationship with Sharp and the collectors of the first revival.

CONCLUSION

The foregoing examination of the pre-eminent scholars of the first English folk revival has provided some contextualization concerning the scholarly environment into which Grainger ventured when his article appeared in the 1908 edition of the *Journal of the Folk song Society*. What stands out clearly is how many of Grainger's observations about the performances of his singers, and his subsequent extrapolations about English folk song in general, do not seem as out of place as they might first appear. His ideas about the instability of certain scale degrees, so much so that it may appear that the singer is switching modes, particularly when the fluctuating third turns the Dorian into the Mixolydian, or vice versa, were already precipitated by Sharp in 1907. Further, although Gilchrist's systemization of the Gaelic modes, and her more advanced postulations concerning the instability and fluctuating intonation of tonal scale degrees, was not published until 1911, it would be hard to believe that the ideas and rudimentary observations of such a system were not already in the formative stages before Grainger made similar observations in *Collecting with the Phonograph*. It seems that although the Editing Committee's chief concern was ostensibly about Grainger's theories concerning the interchangeability of modes, theories that were already being hinted at by some of the members of the Editing Committee itself, the grudge against Grainger's work had its roots elsewhere. What is also apparent is that dissent and

criticism between folk song scholars were by no means unusual, as is made evident by such incidents as Kidson's dismissal of Sharp's theories of evolution. Indeed, in light of such criticisms between these scholars, those leveled against Grainger seem almost pedestrian, and there ought to be no question that they are in any way responsible for the cessation of his collecting activities after 1909.

CHAPTER THREE

As indicated first in the introduction, and as might be obvious by now, Grainger is the focal point of this dissertation without always being its main star. In order to provide for him the sort of context that will allow us to understand as fully as possible the role he played in the folk music revival, as well as the role that same revival played in his life and aesthetics, Grainger requires a very large supporting cast, many of whose members will upstage him at various points throughout the following pages. This is a vital and necessary occurrence: the literature review provided in Chapter One has shown that too many Grainger studies are hampered by a perspective too insular and limited to Grainger and his immediate surroundings. It is my contention that by bringing to bear upon Grainger a full barrage of contextual and critical approaches we can assess his much broader role in the discourse not only of folk music studies but also of twentieth century music and aesthetics in general.

With this in mind, the present chapter moves through a number of different contexts and approaches, all rotating around the focal point of Grainger's collecting activities, his transcription methodology, and his use of the phonograph. Grainger himself will always be weaving in and out of the action here, but more often than not he will be lurking at the side of the stage, observing a large and motley cast of characters and waiting for his cue to join them in the spotlight and provide the vital plot details that tie up the far-ranging and convoluted narrative. Lest such a metaphor lead to the conclusion that Grainger was simply an actor in a drama over which he had no control, I hope to demonstrate that although this was in fact often the case, equally often Grainger was actually the mastermind and unaccredited author of the dramatic proceedings in which he appears here.

This chapter contains four distinct sections that move progressively from the factual to the critical to the speculative. Section One provides the nuts and bolts of the sources of the Grainger folk song collection, plus some additional insights into his introduction to English folk song not covered in the initial introduction to this dissertation. Section Two is a substantial portion in which I examine the transcription and notational methods of English folk song, including the precedents for Grainger's methods in ethnomusicology and their subsequent developments in the later decades of the twentieth century. Section Three provides the first examination of the phonograph, a topic that will continue to receive considerable attention in Chapter Four; this section will include an exploration of Grainger's role in the early stages of the use of the phonograph in folk music fieldwork, a look at the use to which it was put by Grainger's contemporary collector Béla Bartók, the technical specifications of the machine he used, and his transcription methods when working with the phonograph. Section Four is the most theoretical and speculative portion of this chapter; in this section, I discuss the implications of the use of the phonograph in the archiving of knowledge, in this case folk song, the impact such technology has on the inscribing of identity of human subjects, and the way in which Grainger managed to use the phonograph to overthrow the hegemonic discourse of the folk music archive. This final portion of Chapter Three is designed to elide with Chapter Four: another highly theoretical and speculative chapter concerning Grainger's aesthetics. As such, Chapters Three and Four constitute the nucleus of the dissertation. I make no apologies for providing Grainger with what might at times appear to be a too-complex critical perspective, for it is my contention that it is not needlessly so and that the theoretical framework I construct demonstrates that Grainger's intellect and aesthetic necessitate such an approach. In essence, Grainger was a complex

figure, and he requires a more advanced critical methodology to engage him than has been provided by others thus far.

GRAINGER MEETS FOLK SONG – THE SOURCES

Although scholars generally refer to the period during which Grainger collected folk song as having extended from 1905 to 1909, in reality he spent a mere fifty-two days spread over that four-year span. His primary collecting locations were Lincolnshire, Gloucestershire, and Warwickshire, with brief sojourns to Durham, Yorkshire, Westmoreland, Inverness, Suffolk, and West Sussex.¹ The Grainger English Folk Song Collection, consisting of Grainger's harvest during these collection journeys and currently housed at the Grainger Museum in Melbourne, comprises 435 English folk songs in manuscript, 216 wax phonograph cylinders, the Gramophone recordings of Joseph Taylor made in 1908, the pad and pencil manuscripts, and the cylinder transcriptions of all save 64 of the songs.² As with so many things, it is best to let Grainger speak for himself concerning the collection and its genesis, as he does here in the "Description of Collection" from 1940:

I started collecting (noting down from the singing of folksingers) English folksongs around 1905, maybe after being fired by a lecture on folksong (illustrated by songs she had noted) by Miss Lucy E. Broadwood, in London (I was touched by the expressive quality of her harmonization – simple though they were). Some of my first collecting was done at Brigg, N.E. Lincolnshire, where a prize for folk singing was part of the Competition Festival organised there by Gervase Elwes, Lady Winefride Elwes, Everard Fielding, and others. Miss Broadwood and I noted down some of the folksongs sung (in competition) by old singers on that occasion. Also Lady Winefride Elwes took me to the Work House at Brigg, where my collecting began in earnest. I combed the district Brigg-Barrow-Barton-Scunthorpe, etc, pretty thoroughly for folksongs. My first collecting

¹ Bob Thomson. "Unto Brigg Fair." Liner notes for *Unto Brigg Fair: Joseph Taylor and other traditional Lincolnshire singers recorded in 1908 by Percy Grainger*. Gramophone Company recording, issued 1908, reissued 1972 with additional material from the Grainger English Folk Song Collection, p. 2.

² Jane O'Brien. *Grainger English Folk Song Collection* (Nedlands, 1985): p. ix.

(Nos 1-99) was without a phonograph. But by 1906 (if not earlier) I bought an Edison-Bell phonograph, being impressed with the excellent results of phonograph-collecting as shown in Madama Lineva's notations of Russian folk-partsinging. My notations from my phonographic records I (and my mother, Rose Grainger) wrote out on hektographic paper and made these hektographic prints, mainly Nos 100-300, and the index pages A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K. With the exception of Nos 19, 26, and 44 I did not hektograph my notations of folksongs 1-99. From my collection I compiled a volume for the (English) Folk Song Society: *Journal 12 of the Folk-Song Society*, May, 1908. Where differences in notation occur, between these hektographed copies and *Journal 12*, the latter is to be considered the more accurate. *Journal 12* also contains a description of the singing-wonts and personalities of my folksingers and a summing up of the conclusions I arrived at in collecting with the phonograph (as far as I know I was the first collector to use the phonograph in England)."³

As Grainger indicates, the phonograph was not used until early 1906, and the first folk songs in the collection (1-99) were taken by ear and are therefore less detailed in the transcriptions. 1-99 were also not hektographed by Grainger, perhaps indicating a lack of enthusiasm for those early songs taken without the aid of the phonograph.⁴ Indeed, O'Brien, and likely Grainger as well, considered 100-300 to be the core of the collection, as they demonstrate the most advanced state of organization and contain 73 songs transcribed from the phonograph cylinders.⁵ The fact that the above-mentioned "Description of Collection" dates from 1940, well after Grainger had stopped collecting in England and had moved to the United States, and the fact that he took so much care in hektographing the most important items, would seem to indicate that he still had plans to arrange and publish the collection even in the last years of his life, although this would never come to fruition.

Although Grainger's article in the *Journal of the Folk Song Society* is only one of eighteen sources listed by O'Brien as comprising the collection, I must stress that it is by far

³ O'Brien, p. 21.

⁴ The hektograph, or gelatin duplicator, was a means of transferring material on one printed page to another page by means of special ink and a gelatin pad. It was a time-consuming process, but the only one available for document reproduction prior to the photocopier.

⁵ O'Brien, p. 1.

the most important source for the purpose of this dissertation. Such value is accorded to this source for two reasons: first, as Grainger freshly transcribed all the songs in the article from the cylinders for the express purpose of publication, they represent his most advanced and precise examples of the notation of English folk song; second, as the article was his only publication dedicated to English folk song, it contains his extensive analysis of the songs, his biographical material on the singers, and the most significant forays into the aesthetics of folk music. As such, it contains material far more relevant for my purposes than do any other items in the extensive collection. Readers who wish to inspect directly the individual items in the collection, their origins, as well as the general organization of the collection, are therefore referred to Jane O'Brien's excellent and meticulously researched book, as well as the vast boxes of unpublished folk song material in the Grainger Museum at the University of Melbourne.

GRAINGER AND NOTATION

Precedents for Grainger's Method

One of the most contentious issues of Grainger's article in the *JFSS* was the manner in which the songs were transcribed. The morass of notes, constantly shifting time-signatures, and attention to minute detail were a striking contrast to those transcriptions that had appeared in previous editions and were, as observed in Chapter Two, quite unpopular with some of the more senior members of the FSS Editorial Committee such as Frank Kidson. Given the enormous importance Grainger afforded the role of notation in conveying as much detail as possible about the song, this section will provide some background into the development of theories concerning the role of notation in the study of folk song both before and after

Grainger's work in England. With that in mind, I feel it is also important to add some significant caveats to the following discussion. Firstly, no dissertation chapter, no matter its length, could hope to do justice to the complex and multi-faceted history of transcription as exercised in the field of ethnomusicology, and it is far beyond the scope of this study to attempt to provide one. The focus will therefore remain on those elements that are of particular relevance for the understanding and contextualization of Grainger. As a result, some figures might play very minor roles incommensurate with the roles they played in the general history of transcription. Further, although some mention must be made of the various attempts at graphic notation by later ethnomusicologists such as Charles Seeger and theorized by Grainger, a complete history of these developments is not possible here; it is transcription within the confines of Western notation that will remain the primary subject, allowing for tangential forays into the world of graphic notation only when Grainger's proximity to the idea makes it necessary. Finally, transcription is frequently seen as a means of allowing for the classification and cataloguing of songs, as seen most obviously in the work of Béla Bartók and later by Roger Abrahams and George Foss. The distinction between transcription on the one hand and classification on the other is important, as transcription is a prerequisite for the classification process without such a progression being in any way a necessity. In other words, transcription can stand alone without leading to the sort of classification found in Bartók's collections of Eastern European music. For Grainger, transcription was a means of analyzing the performance styles of the singers themselves and not of classifying and cataloguing songs, a distinction that is examined more closely in Chapter 4. There is no real evidence that Grainger had any interest in song classification, and the only significant method of organization governing the songs in Grainger's collection

appears to be a chronological one. As a result, the means by which folk song transcriptions have been used as a method of classification, being of little interest to Grainger, will not be pursued here.

Grainger was by no means the first to recognize that the simplistic transcriptions of music from outside the limited purview of Western art music were not only distortions of the way such music actually sounded but really contributed very little to the understanding of such music, the way it was performed, or the cultures from which it derived. By the end of the nineteenth-century, scholars such as Alexander J. Ellis (1814-1890), Carl Stumpf (1848-1936), Erich M. von Hornbostel (1877-1935), and Carl Engel (1818-1882) had become acutely aware of the shortcomings of traditional notation in providing a description of music from outside the Western canon that was in any way accurate.⁶ Ellis' development of the cents system, in which the semitone is divided into one-hundred equal units, allowed him to measure precisely the pitch intervals of Java and Thailand, prompting him to make the now-famous declaration: "the Musical Scale is not one, not 'natural', nor even founded necessarily on the laws of the constitution of musical sound...but very diverse, very artificial, and very capricious."⁷ In a rather prophetic statement, Ellis further speculated that future methods of transcription would require "physicists who have some notion of music, rather than of musicians whose ears are trained to particular systems."⁸ Engel attacked directly the simplicity of such earlier notations, writing that collectors and antiquarians "considered anything which appeared defective to the unaccustomed European ear as accidental mistakes... [and may] have taken the liberty of making alterations which they deemed improvements", a criticism now very much alive after the analysis in Chapter Two of the

⁶ Ter Ellingson. "Transcription." In *Ethnomusicology*. Edited by Helen Myers (London, 1992); p. 111.

⁷ Quoted in Ellingson, "Transcription," p. 120.

⁸ Quoted in Ellingson. "Transcription," p. 120.

methods employed by the FSS in England. Despite such criticism, other figures such as Erich M. von Hornbostel and Otto Abraham sought a middle-ground in their own transcriptions, as indicated in the following:

The melodies have been transcribed from the recordings in European notation. This notation would be completely correct only if the Turkish tonesystem [sic] corresponded exactly to our European one. Although in fact this is not really the case, we decided we should not make the understanding of the music examples more difficult by a special sign language and were content to indicate the most striking deviations from our tuning by + and – (to indicate sharpness and flatness).⁹

Although Abraham and Hornbostel acknowledged the shortcomings of such a method, it quickly became the standard methodology of many collectors and transcribers, including Grainger. Grainger, however, saw it as merely a temporary stopgap measure, and was constantly on the lookout for more effective methods of transcription. A far more important figure for Grainger in this regard was Benjamin Ives Gilman (1852-1933). Gilman distinguished between transcriptions made from general observations of a repeated performance and those made from a recording of a single performance, thereby anticipating Charles Seeger in the distinction between descriptive and prescriptive notation. To this end, Gilman developed a precise, although cumbersome, forty-five line staff to accommodate the minute details of his transcriptions of Pueblo songs. Further, and of particular interest to Grainger, Gilman was an early advocate of automatic machine-derived graphic notation to obtain the greatest amount of detail possible. Grainger sent to Gilman a copy of his *JFSS* article shortly after its publication. Gilman's reply is worth quoting in full:

I am very greatly pleased that my book on "Hopi Songs" has seemed to you to give a true outlook into such a field. Another such is given by your charming volume, for which I send you my thanks. It is an

⁹ Otto Abraham and Erich M. von Hornbostel. "Turkish Melodies Recorded on the Phonograph." In *Hornbostel Opera Omnia Vol. I*. Edited by Klaus P. Wachsmann, Dieter Christensen, and Hans-Peter Reinecke (The Hague, 1975): p. 93.

especial attraction of the new world you open that it is at our feet, passed over in ignorance like the happenings in meadow grass until some resolute student reveals it. Doubtless you have had the same pleasure in tracing the creative instinct at work amid the seeming anarchies of intonation and phrasing in folk song as in the music of aliens. Your proposition to make diagrams in which horizontal direction would mean time and vertical tone seems antecedently reasonable and in some form would, I think, be most desirable. Various ways in which it might be attempted are discussed in the "Vorshlaege", as to notation, offered by Dr. E. M. von Hornbostel and Dr. O. Abraham in the eleventh *Sammelband der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*. While such diagnostic records would not be legible and would have to be supplemented by an approximate score, it seems to me that in many cases, perhaps most, they would be indispensable. I sincerely trust you will continue these inquiries. The combination of patience, skill and intellectual grasp with vital artistic comprehension is exceedingly rare. Yet it is this combination alone that endows for the study of fine art. Thanks to the phonograph your being tied to Europe is not an absolute bay. I know a series of Patagonian records taken by Mr. Furlong, a member of your Geographical Society, which would be admirable material never yet studied and which could be obtained, I think, in electrotype. I myself took some records of Samoan singing a number of years ago, but have never had the leisure to study them. I think the museum where they are now deposited would be very good to furnish electrotypes for your study should you like to compare them with your Rarotongan songs. The question of missionary influence is a puzzling one. I remember that much of the Samoan music struck me at the time as Europeanized. A machine to register the pitch of a sequence of notes is a theoretical possibility, but I doubt whether it is practicable at present. I send herewith a copy of my essay on the "Study of Exotic Music." I wish you would write another like it, bring out some of the results to which the phonographic study of folk song seems to point. The study of performance, that is, actual music, is in its infancy. I heartily welcome you as a contributor to it.¹⁰

Gilman's endorsement of his work must surely have pleased Grainger, especially the exhortation to continue in the burgeoning field of comparative musicology. Nevertheless, Gilman and his methodology represent an ideal to which Grainger could aspire but never really attained. Grainger is never mentioned in association with Gilman any more than he is mentioned as having played any significant role in the development of transcription in the field of ethnomusicology. If Grainger is mentioned at all in this discourse, it is usually as a

¹⁰ Benjamin Ives Gilman to Percy Grainger, Dec. 13, 1909 (Series 1: Miscellaneous Incoming Correspondence 1910-1913 E-K, Bay 1, Box 3, Grainger Museum).

tangential connection with a figure of considerably greater influence: Béla Bartók, to whom I now briefly turn.

Béla Bartók

Bartók is a prerequisite cast member in any discussion of the notation of European folk song, and he occupies this role far more often than does Grainger, despite the many parallels between them. An examination of Bartók's contributions to folk music will allow us not only to provide a more complete picture of the developments of folk music transcription in the early twentieth-century, but will also highlight the reasons that he consistently overshadows Grainger in the accepted history of such developments.

Bartók's introduction to folk music came in 1904 when he heard the casual singing of "Piros alma leesett a sarba" by eighteen-year-old Lidi Dosa, a Székely girl who was a nursemaid to a family from Budapest summering in the region of Gerlicepuszta.¹¹ In much the same way that Joseph Taylor's singing ignited an interest in folk song in Grainger, so too was Bartók fired with all the enthusiasm of the newly converted. After having collected for a few years, Bartók struggled with a means of organizing an ever-expanding mass of musical material, and it was at this point that he adopted the system of Finnish collector Ilmari Krohn (1867-1960). This system was to serve him throughout his collecting for the rest of his life and can be found described in full detail in *Serbo-Croatian Folk Songs* from 1951. For our present purposes, a general description of Bartók's modification of the Krohn system will suffice:

¹¹ Béla Bartók. *The Hungarian Folk Song*. Edited by Benjamin Suchoff (Albany, 1981): p. xviii.

1. All tunes end on the note “g” for ease of comparison;
2. Tunes are divided and categorized according to the number of lines;
3. Tunes classified according to the placement of the final note of various tune lines with the final note indicated by figures;
4. Sub-groups are categorized according to the number of syllables to each tune line;
5. Tunes are categorized according to their melodic compass with the lowest and highest note of each tune labeled.¹²

We can determine two important elements of this methodology even from this very general initial perusal: first, Bartók’s transcriptions were designed to be the preliminary step of a large-scale method of song classification; second, this method gave Bartók a great deal more power of organizational clarity over his collection than Grainger was able to exercise over his.

It is, of course, the appearance of the transcriptions themselves that draws the greatest number of comparisons between Bartók and Grainger. Yet here too we can observe a number of significant differences both in methodology and motivation that distinguish one from the other. Bartók shared with Grainger the conviction that it was only through attention to the most minute details of the performance that one could get any sense of the complexity of the music, commenting as well on the shortcomings of traditional notation in facilitating this understanding and even hinting at a crude version of what would become graphic notation:

The transcription of recordings of folk music should be as true as possible. It should be realized, however, that an absolutely true notation of music (as well as of spoken words) is impossible because of the lack of adequate signs in our current systems of notation. This applies even more to the notation of folk music. The only really true notations are the sound-tracks on the record itself. These, of course, could be magnified, photographed, and printed instead of, or with, the usual notation. But this complicated procedure would not be of much use, in view of the all-too-complicated nature of the curves in the tracks.¹³

¹² Bartók. *The Hungarian Folk Song*, pp. 6-8.

¹³ Béla Bartók and Albert B. Lord. *Serbo-Croatian Folk Songs* (New York, 1951): p. 3.

Bartók saw transcription as a vital element in understanding such music, and as a skill that even a seasoned collector ought always to hone and polish:

Although perfection cannot be attained in transcribing and classifying folk music, we must always endeavor to approach an ideal of perfection, an ideal which in itself is still but dimly perceived. We should never tire of improving and changing our methods of work in order to accomplish this task as well as is humanly possible.¹⁴

Bartók understood, however, that the transcriber's skill could, when sharpened to such a fine edge, prove difficult for many readers, even specialists in the field. It was this realization that led him to adopt a dual-layer method of transcription as shown in Example 3.1, in which one stave would contain the simple melodic skeleton of the tune in prescriptive notation, and the other would contain the more ornate version derived from performance in descriptive notation, thereby providing both the general reader and the specialist, or perhaps the performer and the scholar, with as complete a picture as possible of the song in a sort of before-and-after snapshot. Bartók described the value of such a presentation as follows:

When we look at the skeleton form of the melodies as given in this book below the first melody stanza of most melodies, we get the picture of rather simple, less appealing melody formations. Reading the melody as it was actually performed, we get the impression of having an incredible wealth of melodic design before us.¹⁵

¹⁴ Bartók and Lord, p. 20.

¹⁵ Bartók and Lord, p. 74.

Although Grainger certainly did not advocate transcribing obvious errors on the part of the singer, we will see that he did allow considerably greater leeway in determining what constituted such a mistake and whether or not such a performance ought to be transcribed. One might even catch in Bartók's comments the faint scent of condescension toward the singer, of a devaluing of the individual performance. In fact, Bartók himself confirmed such a view with such statements as the following:

Whether peasants are individually capable of inventing quite new tunes is open to doubt. We have no data to go by. And the way in which the peasant's musical instinct asserts itself encourages no such view.... It is obvious, indeed, that no essential alteration of a musical element can come from one individual peasant.¹⁷

The individual musical utterance so valued by Grainger as indicative of a complex musical aesthetic on the part of folk singers was clearly of less importance to Bartók, who seems to have subscribed more to the idea that creation among the folk is not individual, but communal, a perspective I have already shown to have been shared by the FSS in England and by Cecil Sharp in particular.

Despite the fact that Bartók's reputation as a collector continues, for the most part, to overshadow that of Grainger in every way, we can observe that in many ways Grainger, in fact, had the more penetrating insight into folk music. True, Grainger's lack of a classificatory method by which to organize his collection is certainly a deficiency compared to that of the methodical Bartók; but we should also see that Bartók's method was not a classification of the performance of the song but of the song itself as though it existed apart from the performer, a view with which Grainger would come into direct conflict in his own work. Bartók's detailed transcriptions might well be considered the standard by which others are measured; but the fact that they were designed as a means of classifying songs, not

¹⁷ Béla Bartók. *The Hungarian Folk Song*, p. 2-3.

performances, in addition to his denunciation of the idea of artistic expression among individual folk songs as well as the relative infrequency with which he bothered to record the names or personal details of his sources, should indicate to us that it was Grainger, not Bartók, who actually possessed the greatest insight into what would eventually become the founding principles of ethnomusicological fieldwork in the later twentieth century.

Transcription After Grainger

Although Grainger's theories concerning the ability of the individual folk singer to create new music will be considered more extensively in Chapters Four and Five, we cannot wait that long to treat the subject, for the question of the value of individual ornamentation and melodic variation is both at the very heart of the debate concerning transcription and the driving impetus for the more advanced and precise methods of transcription. Why, after all, would anyone need enhanced methods of notation and transcription if not to accommodate the infinite number of interpretations and performances of any given piece of music? Why not collect a single performance of each song and be done with it (or perhaps two, in keeping with the self-aggrandizement of collectors such as those of the FSS who saw themselves as Noahs gathering up the defenseless folk songs and protecting them from the onslaught of modernism)? This might seem a ridiculous question, but if we remember the comments of Fox Strangways to the FSS in 1929, as mentioned in Chapter Two, that there were, in essence, no more songs to collect, only mere variations which were of inherently less value, we can see that it continued to be a disturbingly frequent question for some time. It was, however, the more insightful collectors, such as Grainger, who saw that increasingly advanced methods of transcription were going to be necessary if scholars were ever to have a

reliable means of analyzing the seemingly infinite creativity of the instinct for variation among folk singers.

Constantin Brailoiu (1893-1958) was among the first to fire a barrage of criticism at the communal school of Bartók and Sharp:

Firstly, are we to imagine a non-localized creative act, a universal collaboration, to some extent tacit, in one and the same work, a plural brain working as a single organ? Surely not, one answers from this side of the barricade: only a mystic could imagine such a mechanism or believe in it blindly, but sane reason rejects it. It is not the entire mass that creates but only some well-gifted individuals who are poets...acting, as it were, in the quality of mandatories of the group to which they belong: this group receives their discoveries and spreads them. To which Bartók, that eminent expert, would reply: 'There is absolutely no sign that individual peasants (*Bauerindividuen*) have ever invented melodies, which in fact would be hard to explain from the psychological point of view'.... Some people see in variation fortuitous vicissitudes, inevitable 'accidents of circulation' of no great significance: 'failure of memory' arbitrary transfers or mutilations, amplifications due to chance reminiscences. The Germans call this perpetual decomposition and recombination *Zersingen*. But the prefix *zer* implies a sense of destruction: *zerfallen* – to fall into ruin, be entirely destroyed, *zerfleischen* – to lacerate, to tear to pieces.¹⁸

Brailoiu had in mind not only Bartók but also the idea of folk culture as consisting of little more than art music cast-offs, with the folk capable not of musical invention but of mere organizing, of creating a melodic pastiche out of the scraps of melody tossed to them from the gilded plates of high culture. In fact, according to Brailoiu, the study of melodic variation is of enormous importance:

The study of these variations, hardly begun, may be the most difficult, and is certainly the most important in musical folklore; here we are touching on the very sources of folk creation. In fact it seems probable – and certain findings have been witness to it – that the 'variations' due to some good singer or another sometimes become fixed in collective usage and so give birth to new melodic types by the transformation of old ones.... Therefore, from the scientific viewpoint one must consider as an error the habit of recording the folk melodies only once or twice on the ground that they 'repeat

¹⁸ Constantin Brailoiu. *Problems in Ethnomusicology*. Translated by A. L. Lloyd (Cambridge, 1984): p. 6-8.

themselves'. To act properly it is always necessary to let the informant sing or play as long as he thinks necessary.¹⁹

Example 3.2 shows Brailoiu's method for transcribing this instinct for variation, or

Variationstrieb, as found in a funeral lament from Southern Transylvania sung under the influence of what he termed "strong emotion."

Bocet

Example 3.2

He analyzed his transcription as follows:

The melody – made up of three phrases – was sung ten times in all. It is written out in full on the first staff. At the repetitions, when the melodic line remains intact, only the text has been transcribed, in such a way that each syllable falls exactly under the note to which it corresponds; when it varies, the variations have been noted under the initial melodic formula; the rhythmic variants are noted, each in its place, only by the signs of duration. At a glance, one may see the way in which the *Variationstrieb*, the instinct for variation, operates;

¹⁹ Brailoiu, p. 74.

the portions of the melody which it has shaped for preference (the black part of the line block) and those which it avoids (the white spaces) are immediately visible.²⁰

Despite the many ways in which Brailoiu's ideas resonated with Grainger's, there is no evidence to suggest that the former had ever heard of the latter. That is not to say, however, that there is no connection to be found between them, for the English translator of Brailoiu's *Problèmes d'ethnomusicologie* was A. L. Lloyd, who had been among the first of the later generation of folk scholars to champion Grainger's folk music transcriptions in his book *Folk Song in England*, as mentioned in Chapter One. Lloyd was himself an ethnomusicologist, in addition to being a folk singer, and *Folk Song in England* recruited both Brailoiu and Grainger to his side as champions of his conviction of the performance of the song itself as being the site, however ephemerally, of the ontological existence of the folk song.

As some ethnomusicologists struggled to create new and ever-more complex methods of transcription, there was a growing number who became wary of the ability of any sort of notation ever to capture the important details of the music. Charles Seeger (1886-1979) provided a sharp rebuke to those scholars who continued to maintain Hornbostel's notational methods:

In employing this mainly prescriptive notation as a descriptive sound-writing of any music other than the Occidental fine and popular arts of music we do two things, both thoroughly unscientific. First, we single out what appear to us to be structures in the other music that resemble structures familiar to us in the notation of Occidental art and write these down, ignoring everything else for which we have no symbols. Second, we expect the resulting notation to be read by people who *do not carry the tradition of the other music*. The results, as read, can only be a conglomeration of structures part European, part-non-European, connected by a movement 100% European. To such a riot of subjectivity it is presumptuous indeed to ascribe the designation "scientific."²¹

²⁰ Brailoiu, p. 74.

²¹ Charles Seeger. "Prescriptive and Descriptive Music-Writing." In *The Musical Quarterly* 44, no. 2 (Apr., 1958): p. 186-7.

Even those collecting folk music in Europe were not safe from Seeger's attack:

At this point it is necessary to say a word of warning about the fetish of extreme accuracy in the writing of music. (See, for example, one of the most valiant attempts at descriptive accuracy using conventional notation (Bartók-Lord. *Op. cit.*), in many of whose transcriptions there are passages in which it is difficult or impossible to decide to what extent the notes represent 1) unequal articulated divisions of a beat sung in strict time, 2) equal articulated divisions sung with rubato, 3) either of these with written out or partly written out vibrato, 4) an uneven vibrato, or 5) a vibrato that a less sensitive ear would hear as a single tone, i.e. whose mean, instead of actual, variance would be the musical fact).²²

Setting aside his insistence upon once again holding up Bartók over Grainger as the foremost exponent of descriptive notation, Seeger would seem to have left ethnomusicology in a bit of a bind: what options are available for the study of such music if one of the primary tools for musical communication is denied us? Seeger had an answer for this:

The hand-made graph based upon the notation has its uses. But for purposes of formal description – our main concern here – the objectivity of the electronic reduction of the oscillographic curve, especially of the sound-track of high-fidelity sound-recording, is vastly superior. As Bartók rightly said, “The only true notations (music-writing is what he might have said) are the sound-tracks on the record itself.” These, unfortunately, are legible only through laborious mathematical calculation. For when large enough to be seen in detail by the human eye they are several feet long per second. Electronic analysis can reduce or compress them automatically, as desired. Compression with a range of about 2.5 to 25mm per second produces a graph legible enough by anyone who can read conventional notation and is willing to do a little practice.²³

As is discussed further in Chapter Four, Seeger's solution to this problem would have pleased Grainger immensely, although Seeger was well aware of the potential shortcomings of this method, adding: “...where the individual notation may give too much norm and too

²² Seeger, p. 192.

²³ Seeger, p. 187.

little detail, the individual graph may easily give too little norm and too much detail.”²⁴ Like Grainger, Seeger looked to a day far in the future when notation was done with “an automatic music writing that would comprehend the total physical stimulus in a single, continuous process of writing or reading”, a vision to which he would come much closer in terms of realization than would Grainger through his involvement with the melograph at the University of California at Los Angeles in the late 1970s.

One individual who seemed to have had a certain unacknowledged intellectual kinship with Grainger was Ruth Crawford Seeger, who also happened to have been the second wife of Charles Seeger. Between 1937 and 1941, Crawford Seeger prepared transcriptions based on the field recordings of Anglo-American folk songs taken by John and Alan Lomax for their book *Our Singing Country* from 1947. Crawford Seeger provided meticulous transcriptions in traditional Western notation as well as extensive analysis and commentary on the songs in addition to a thorough explanation of the methodology she essentially constructed for herself as she went along. Her work entitled *The Music of American Folk Song* was intended to be a companion volume to *Our Singing Country*, or perhaps even an extended preface. Unfortunately, it was decided that such a move was inappropriate for a commercial publication, and Crawford Seeger’s contributions were limited to the transcriptions themselves and a very truncated version of her commentary. Crawford Seeger’s manuscript of *The Music of American Folk Song* sat unpublished until 2001, when it was edited and published by Larry Polyansky and Judith Tick.²⁵ Although Crawford Seeger was greatly influenced by the work of Béla Bartók and George Herzog, Tick credits her sensitive ears, open mind, and probing intellectual curiosity to her role as a

²⁴ Seeger, p. 193.

²⁵ Ruth Crawford Seeger. *The Music of American Folk Song*. Edited by Larry Polyansky and Judith Tick (Rochester, 2001).

post-Ives modernist composer, an argument similar to that I intend to make about Grainger in Chapter Four. Like Grainger, Crawford Seeger saw no reason why she should not bring to bear the entire arsenal of her musical aesthetic and intellect upon the world of folk music. As Polyansky wrote in the introduction to *The Music of American Folk Song*:

Her work for *OSC* contains no remnants of the romantic pondering the primitive. She finds folk song as difficult to explicate as a Webern string quartet. Like Béla Bartók, that other great composer / transcriber, she could not, and *would* not, in good faith, intellectually *allow* for the possibility of any musical idiom being aesthetically inferior to, or less sophisticated than any other.²⁶

Crawford Seeger did not mention Grainger in the book, and there does not seem to be any evidence that she was aware of his work. It should also be noticed that Bartók, once again, is seen as her most immediate predecessor despite her work and the repertoire on which it is based having a greater resonance with that of Grainger.

For Crawford Seeger the question of the value of the phonograph was, in fact, no question at all:

It is becoming increasingly recognized that the transcription from phonograph recording, as compared with dictation direct from folk singer or intermediary, is capable of giving a more accurate and objective picture of the song *and of its performance*. Transcription from recording affords a notation of one singing of a song as sung by one singer or group of singers. Dictation from the folk singer or intermediary affords, in most cases, a composite of several singings of a song by one singer or group of singers, or sometimes of the collector's memory of such. The transcription (notation) made from the recording can be checked and re-checked by the transcriber for accuracy and for the finer nuances which are vital attributes of the singing-style, and which on first hearing may well elude him, especially when dealing with the more complex singing-styles. In dictation, checking or re-checking is problematical. Transcription from the recording offers, in addition, the possibility of check by others upon the work of the transcriber. Dictation from the singer is scarcely ever subject to such a check.²⁷

²⁶ Larry Polyansky in Crawford Seeger, p. xxxiii.

²⁷ Crawford Seeger, p. 9.

Although aware of the shortcomings of traditional notation, and thus an advocate of a compromise between the descriptive notation of the scholar and the prescriptive notation of the singer, Crawford Seeger was unapologetic about the amount of detail contained in her transcriptions, summing up the argument with what must surely be one of the most apt and wittiest descriptions of the conflict:

It has often been remarked that too much small detail discourages the average reader of music notation. He loses the concept of the whole – the flow. In the words of the old adage, he cannot see the forest for the trees. On the other hand, too great simplification in notation results in his not even seeing the trees, for the piles of logs they have been sawed into.²⁸

The compromise she struck between these two positions involved determining which songs demanded a more complex treatment than the others and the extent to which interstanzaic variation ought to be included in the transcription as a fundamental element of the music. For the more obviously melodically complex tunes, which consisted of only about one-tenth of the repertoire, Crawford Seeger provided as much detail about each performance as possible in much the same way as Grainger did with English folk song. For the vast majority of simpler tunes, for which an overly descriptive transcription could provide a very distorted picture of the song, Crawford Seeger omitted the following details:

- 1) Deviations of less than a semitone from the tunings commonly accepted in Occidental art music;
- 2) Deviations of less than a beat from an established measure-length at a moderately or fast tempo;
- 3) Certain extended tones and extended or inserted rests that appeared irregularly between stanzas;
- 4) Certain complex types of anticipation and delaying of the beat;
- 5) Complex wavering of the voice, as well as unaccented slides to and from the clearly established, and therefore notated, notes of the tune.²⁹

²⁸ Crawford Seeger, p. 14.

²⁹ Crawford Seeger, p. 25.

The extent to which these parameters were to be applied was determined by what Crawford Seeger referred to as “majority usage,” in which a melodic variation or ornament occurs with enough frequency among the stanzas to be considered important enough to be included in a single-stanza transcription of the tune for the purpose of publication. In other words, if the variation occurs more often than not, its frequency would thus warrant its inclusion. The parameters of interstanzaic variation included the following:

- 1) A major tendency in the singing of some stanzas, as against a minor in the singing of others;
- 2) A more complex metrical pattern in the singing of several stanzas, as against a simpler pattern in another;
- 3) Occasional deviation from an established meter in the singing of some stanzas, as against continued adherence to it in others;
- 4) Rhythmic interstanzaic variation in relative tone-durations with the limits of the measure-length involving no deviation from an established meter;
- 5) Interstanzaic variation in location and length of extended tone and of extended or inserted rest – involving deviation from an established meter;
- 6) Interstanzaic variation in location and types of slides and ornaments.³⁰

Crawford Seeger recognized that in order for a transcription to have any currency either in the scholarly or educational community, it must be as flexible and dynamic as the music upon which it is based. She therefore advocated two different types of transcription: descriptive for scientific study; and prescriptive for schools and community singers.³¹

Unfortunately, Ruth Crawford Seeger’s work clearly resonates deeply with that of Grainger on a level beyond that of mere transcription and folk aesthetic, for, like Grainger, her work was considered unpalatable for the purposes to which others wished to put it. Although she has had some degree of fame for those transcriptions that did see the light of day, her *magnum opus* languished in obscurity for nearly sixty years, far exceeding her own

³⁰ Crawford Seeger, p. 25.

³¹ Crawford Seeger, p. 58.

lifetime. Nevertheless she set a standard for the transcription of Anglo-American folk song that remains that by which others are measured to this day.

The most commonly used method for the transcription of Anglo-American song today is that devised by Roger D. Abrahams and George Foss and found in their 1968 book *Anglo-American Folk Song Style*.³² By 1968, with a considerable body of folk music scholarship in place, most folk scholars, seemingly without having taken any notice of Grainger, had abandoned the search for print or art music precedents in folk song and had come to view the performance by the singer as the most important source for the study of the song. As such, the ability of the singer to weave variations and modifications of standard tunes was a vital element of the song that needed to be accounted for in the transcription. As Abrahams and Foss wrote:

These modifications, rather than being an irreversible process of decay and degeneration, are the outcome of a shifting emphasis, a changing function, and an evolving esthetic fashion. This can only be considered as a vitally creative process. Since these songs were and are intended to express a dramatic situation in an effective manner, any change which makes them more effective must be considered creative and not degenerative. Within the older story-songs are to be found the modifications which compromise musical abstraction in favor of natural and colloquial speech. Within this body of song is also found the greatest flexibility of meter due to its long disassociation with abstract music and / or dance music.³³

Lest the reader be lulled into thinking that folk music scholarship had finally reached a stage of enlightenment and open-mindedness, we might also observe the rather crude approach to the *emic* versus *etic* dichotomy that continues to be so hotly debated in ethnomusicology:

...the discussion of musical factors with the folk singer or traditional musician is virtually pointless. Only a discussion of the most general and nontechnical aspects of music is possible such as a tune being “pretty”, “lively”, “played in a far-off tuning”. This is due to the traditional performer’s lack of a specialized technical vocabulary. In

³² Roger D. Abrahams and George Foss. *Anglo-American Folk Song Style* (New Jersey, 1968).

³³ Abrahams, p. 144.

musical matters we cannot learn from the performer directly what is meaningful to his esthetic point of view.³⁴

Nevertheless, Abrahams and Foss created a thorough and meticulous method for the transcription of Anglo-American folk song that provided a reasonable compromise between descriptive and prescriptive notation.

The methodology of Abrahams and Foss was later adopted by Ian Russell, one of the foremost scholars of English and Scottish folk music in the world today. Russell provided a tidy summary of the method as it applied to his own work in his article “Stability and Change in a Sheffield Singing Tradition” from the 1987 edition of the *Folk Music Journal*:

The method of transcription follows the recommendations made by Roger D. Abrahams and George Foss in *Anglo-American Folksong Style*...p. 210-224. All the songs are transposed so that their finals are on G. Metrical inconsistencies are denoted by placing the time signature in parentheses. Melodic variations are shown at the end and are referenced by an abbreviation, for example ‘IIIe2’ refers to Verse III, fifth phrase, second bar. Variations of a solely rhythmic nature are not given. As far as possible, spelling attempts to represent each word as sung without resorting to phonetic script. Appended to each transcription, there is a brief summary of melodic and other information. They are represented numerically as given below [*g below middle c to the next octave are I-VII. G above middle c to b a 10th above are given Arabic numerals 1-10-Italics mine*]. The summary details the pulse, the metre, the original pitch, the range, the scale used plus inflections, the melodic form, and the length of phrase in the bars. The major seven-tone scale is referred to as ‘Standard’. The date of the recording and the singer’s title, where it varies from that given, are listed. The tape archive number and the transcription are also given. The transcriptions attempt to represent faithfully what is actually sung, as far as it is possible with the limitations of conventional staff notation. Serious appraisal of the transcriptions should, of course, be undertaken in conjunction with the field recordings from which they were made.³⁵

Russell provided the transcriptions for the Gwilym Davies’ 1992 article “Percy Grainger’s Folk Music Research in Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, and Warwickshire, 1907-1909” in

³⁴ Abrahams, p. 152.

³⁵ Ian Russell. “Stability and Change in a Sheffield Singing Tradition.” In *Folk Music Journal* 5, no. 3 (1987): p. 336-7.

the *Folk Music Journal*, thus allowing us to compare and contrast Grainger's transcriptions of the music he collected with those undertaken after more than eighty years of scholarly reflection.³⁶ These transcriptions were taken from cylinders in the Grainger collection that Grainger himself never got around to transcribing. Example 3.3 shows the transcription of "High Germany," performed by Archer 'Daddy' Lane on April 5, 1908, as found in Davies' article.

Oh, Pol - ly, dear Pol - ly, a rout has just be - gun. And we must march a - way by the
 7 beat-ing of the drum. Come dress your-self up - in your best and come and go with me. An' I'll
 14 take you to the wars, love in High-Ger-man - y. Like-wise, my dear-est Bil - ly I am in child with
 22 thee; Oh, cur-sed be those And out - of old - Eng-a-land pressed sits smil-ing on my knee.

Example 3.3

In accordance with the method of Abrahams and Foss, Russell provided the following summary of the transcription:

Scale: 1234567 / 7#. Pitch: V / VI ↑ Range: V-8. Phrase: 4 bars. Form:
 ABB'A / B'AB'A/ABB'A/ABB'A/ABB'AB'A/B'AB'A. Pulse: Quarter-note
 = 180. Metre: 4/4. Song: 328. Cylinder: 177.³⁷

In other words, the scale used is g-a-b-c-d-e-f-g with the occasional use of f#; the original pitch is approximately d# above middle c; the range is from d above middle-c to an eleventh

³⁶ Gwilym Davies. "Percy Grainger's Folk Music Research in Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, and Warwickshire, 1907-1909." In *Folk Music Journal* 6, no. 3 (1992): pp. 339-58.

³⁷ Russell in Davies, p. 337.

above; the phrases are each four-bars in length and are in the form given above; the pulse is that of a quarter-note at 180 beats-per-minute; the metre is 4/4; and it is song 328 as recorded on cylinder 177 according to the system found in the O'Brien catalogue. The appearance of this transcription itself shows a quite striking difference from those of Grainger, perhaps the most significant being the lack of any attempt to capture the rhythmic elements of the performance. Russell clearly struck a compromise between the need to provide an accurate and meticulous depiction of the performance and the requirement that such a depiction be accessible to all readers without the nearly impenetrable level of detail found in Grainger's transcriptions. Further, Russell's caveat that a real understanding of the music can only come from consulting the recordings themselves seemed to resonate with prevailing attitudes that no method of graphic representation can ever substitute for the actual musical experience.

A further example of a reconsideration of Grainger's methods comes from Patrick O'Shaughnessy's 1968 book *Twenty-One Lincolnshire Folk-Songs: From the Manuscript Collection of Percy Grainger*.³⁸ Complete with guitar chords and quite clearly designed for the practicing folk singer, O'Shaughnessy provided a candid assessment of Grainger's work and its place in the repertoire of current folk singers:

The accuracy of his transcriptions from the cylinders, pinning down as well as possible under a scarcely adequate system of notation a singer's idiosyncrasies, rhythmic irregularities, dynamic shadings, peculiarities of pitch and stylistic embellishments, variable from one day to another, has certainly created a problem in editing. (It is hoped that the solutions offered here will not unduly perturb his spirit.) Some of the songs he printed in the *Journal*, for instance, are so full of the singer's highly personal mannerisms as to be pretty well unperformable in precise detail by anyone else – from print, at any rate. It may well be true that certain of the Lincolnshire singers whose songs he took down were exceptionally quirky, or rusty, or, like Mr. Joseph Taylor, unusually gifted in the art of ornamentation, but the suspicion nevertheless remains that some of Percy Grainger's

³⁸ Patrick O'Shaughnessy. *Twenty-One Lincolnshire Folk Songs: From the Manuscript Collection of Percy Grainger* (London, 1968).

colleagues were not as meticulous as he, their ears, however fine, being less retentive than the phonograph anyway, and that many folk songs published up to that time, and since, are only approximations to what was actually sung.... Indeed, were they other than approximations, they would often be unsingable by most people who aspire to sing folk songs today, though this does not detract from the scientific value of Percy Grainger's work as a collector.³⁹

O'Shaughnessy's insightful assessment of Grainger's legacy was both a civilized and welcome alternative to much of the aforementioned polemic surrounding Grainger and the debate over the merits of transcription in general. Example 3.4 shows O'Shaughnessy's arrangement of *Bold William Taylor* as performed by Joseph Taylor, which can be compared to Grainger's transcription of the same song in Example 5.6 of Chapter Five.

Gm B^b F Gm B^b C

I'll sing you a song - a - bout two lo- vers, O' - from Lich- field town they came. The

5 Gm C F B^b F B^b Gm

young man's name was Wil- liam Tay - lor, - Sar - ah Gray was the mai- den's name.

Example 3.4

O'Shaughnessy managed to capture much of the spirit of the performance while making it accessible to the singer who actually wants to learn how to sing it to a guitar accompaniment, thus making his arrangements one of the more successful attempts at bridging the gap in Grainger's work between descriptive and prescriptive transcription.

It is not the case, however, that all folk music scholars have been impacted in a positive way by the legacy of Grainger and Bartók, even in the field of Anglo-American folk song. Norman Cazden's 1982 book *Folk Songs of the Catskills* is a collection of songs from

³⁹ O'Shaughnessy, p. v.

Camp Woodland in the Catskill Mountains region of New York State from between 1941-1948. As the collection both derived from and was intended for community and didactic singing, it is unabashedly prescriptive in its approach to transcription. Indeed, Cazden was not only unapologetic in this regard, but aggressive in his righteousness:

Compared to the meticulously detailed transcription, let us say, of Eastern European songs by Béla Bartók, of Lincolnshire songs by Percy Grainger, or of American traditional songs by Ruth Crawford Seeger, the tunes as notated in this book may therefore appear somewhat oversimplified, relatively bare of indications that would evoke more vividly their original singing style, as well as render them factually more accurate. Yet, precisely because of the paucity of inflected detail, the tunes here may represent something closer to the truth. For, to the degree that musical staff notation permits a registering of sufficient detail, the more accurately a transcription renders the quality of an individual performance event, the more it becomes restricted to a report of that single performance, and in that very measure it becomes an inaccurate approximation of the next performance, even by the same singer.... Using what Charles Seeger has termed the *descriptive* function of musical notation...leaves us with at best a near-perfect description of a one-time event that is already past.⁴⁰

Cazden was certainly correct in the basic premise of this assessment: detailed transcription of a performance does provide a description of a one-time event, and that event will be different the next time the song is performed, even by the same singer. It is also true that a collection of songs designed to be used for the teaching of folk songs to children at a summer camp needs to be packaged in a somewhat more user-friendly manner than the transcriptions in Grainger's article in the *JFSS*. With this we ought really to have no argument. The problem, however, is that Cazden did not put the problem in such diplomatic terms, and although we should be pleased that someone has (at last) acknowledged Grainger's role in the narrative of the history of folk song transcription, we should be dismayed that such an acknowledgment was only for the purpose of abusing and denigrating the work Grainger and others did.

⁴⁰ Norman Cazden et al. *Folk Songs of the Catskills* (Albany, 1982): p. 24.

Cazden's insistence that a simple transcription is "something closer to the truth" than the descriptive notations of Grainger either denied or was simply ignorant of the validity of the individual performance of the singer, a validity about which Grainger was very clear in his article and which has become a staple of ethnomusicological methodology. Although the purpose of Cazden's transcriptions was clearly didactic, he seemed disdainful of the possibility that the study of an individual performance, with all its variations and unpredictability of interpretation, could be of any interest whatsoever. Were it the case that the subtlety of performance had no aesthetic or intellectual merit, we would have no record, for example, of such things as transcriptions of Corelli's ornate performances of his own music and the enormous amount of insight such transcriptions gave us into Baroque performance practice. Cazden left little room for doubt in his indictment of those he deemed responsible for the heinous atrocity of inflicting descriptive notation on his poor young singers:

Hence, while the old-fashioned method of notating the tunes by common pencil-and-paper dictation may be faulted as seemingly careless, or as merely expedient, more careful consideration may show that its results instead provide what is in principle the most valid representation possible of "the way the tune goes." Anything more specific would, by that very token, become restricted to "the way the tune went on one specific occasion." Thus wholly descriptive notation must remain, in the end, inadequate.... In sum, despite the increased care and subtlety with which transcribers of traditional music have learned to work, and despite the evident and even dramatic improvement in the attention given to tunes by folklorists, we remain unconvinced that the resulting notation treatments show much advance over the less formalized pioneering collections on the American scene by Cecil Sharp. For all the technological magic offered by push-button tape recording, a keen ear and an easy command of dictation skills remain the chief requisites for getting a tune down right.⁴¹

⁴¹ Cazden, 24-26.

The phonograph, and Grainger by apparently criminal implication, was to blame for distracting us from “the way the tune goes”. Curiously, Cazden used the phrase “the way the tune goes” three times in the course of about two pages, giving us some insight into how little value he ascribed to the performance. Despite nearly eighty years of development in the methodology of transcription and the ontology of the musical work after the publication of Grainger’s article, Cazden retreated into the now-familiar antiquarian mindset of the FSS, in which a performance was simply an imperfect rendering of a tune that existed in its perfect Platonic form either in a broadside ballad or perhaps some more valuable art-music trinket from the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book. Cazden did not even allow for the possibility that the recording itself might be of any value, as asserted by everyone from Bartók to Seeger, stating instead that only a good set of ears and a pencil and paper can get to the heart of what lies underneath the singer’s molestation of the tune.

What I have shown in the foregoing section on the history of transcription is a narrative that is anything but linear: a visionary like Grainger was ignored in favour of Bartók who, while certainly of monumental importance, paled in comparison to Grainger in many ways; traditional notation was denounced quite early in the twentieth-century as inadequate for the purposes of notating anything other than Western art music, yet continues to be used by many in much the same way as it was used by Grainger and Bartók; ethnomusicologists strove for more advanced technological means of collection and transcription, yet antiquarians like Cazden continue to toe a line most scholars backed away from well over half a century ago. For the most part, what remains constant throughout the narrative is Grainger’s absence for a great deal of the time. Despite paving the way for many that would follow him, Grainger has rarely received the credit due to him for his visionary

attempts at capturing the skill of the performer, and although he has subsequently been revived and rehabilitated by scholars like Russell and Davies, he has also been burnt in effigy by Norman Cazden. Naturally, it is Grainger who suffers the infliction of the most severe injury here, for he has consistently been denied his rightful place in this historical narrative. Nevertheless, we should also consider the injury sustained by ethnomusicology as a whole, for the omission of Grainger from the story of transcription is, in fact, a denial of a very important element of the historical pedigree of the discipline of ethnomusicology. This is an important point, for as I will demonstrate in Chapter Four, Grainger was not simply a figure within the field of ethnomusicology who was working within well-defined parameters: he was an outsider who brought to bear a methodology and aesthetic derived from a myriad of modernist and avant-garde sources. In other words, Grainger brought more to the discipline of ethnomusicology than he took from it. Ethnomusicology has benefited enormously from the infusion of unusual ideas Grainger brought with him, and without an acknowledgment of this, the historical narrative of the development of the discipline of ethnomusicology is incomplete.

At the heart of much of the debate concerning the methodology of transcription is the technology used to gather all the musical material that requires such laborious transcription, and it is with that in mind that I turn my attention to the phonograph itself.

THE PHONOGRAPH AND RECORDING TECHNOLOGY

The phonograph, an amalgamation of the technology used to produce the telephone and the telegraph, was developed by Thomas Edison in 1877. According to Edison:

The new phonograph is to be used for taking dictation, for taking testimony in court, for reporting speeches, for the reproduction of vocal music, for teaching languages...for correspondence, for civil

and military orders...the distribution of the songs of great singers, sermons and speeches, the words of great men and women.⁴²

Those involved in the nascent stages of comparative musicology were quick to pick up on the potential such a machine had for revolutionary changes in their methodologies for collection and transcription. In 1905, Hornbostel and Abraham published “On the Significance of the Phonograph for Comparative Musicology,” in which they summed up the advantages of the new machine:

Musical performance can be studied in a two-fold manner. One can transcribe it by ear with all its deviations from the intonation of our accustomed intervals; this is extremely troublesome. One must have the same piece of music played many times and make one’s notations with the most strained attentiveness. In addition such an analysis requires first-rate musical hearing.... Recently the phonograph has come to our aid. With the phonograph one can record a piece of music and study it at leisure in the studio, where attention is not so much distracted visually as it is at performances by exotic peoples. It can be adjusted to run fast or slow at will, and thus one can bring within the ear’s comprehension pieces of music whose tempo was too quick to be analyzed at its original speed, by playing them at a slower tempo, in corresponding transposition.⁴³

Hornbostel related in the same article that the machine was, in fact, first used in 1890 by Grainger’s correspondent from 1909 Benjamin Ives Gilman in the study of Zuni melodies and Chinese music.⁴⁴ It was not, however, only the work of the ethnographer and transcriber that was made easier by the phonograph, but also that of the performer. Albert Lord related the experience of Yugoslav folk singers performing for collectors of the pad and paper variety:

But writing, with all its mystery, came to the singers’ people, and eventually someone approached the singer and asked him to tell the song so that he could write down the words. In a way this was just one more performance for the singer, one more in a long series. Yet

⁴² Friedrich A. Kittler. *Gramophone, Film, Typewriter* (Stanford, 1999): p. 78.

⁴³ Otto Abraham and E. M. von Hornbostel. “On the Significance of the Phonograph for Comparative Musicology.” In *Hornbostel Opera Omnia Vol. I*. Edited by Klaus P. Wachsmann et al (The Hague, 1975): p. 196.

⁴⁴ Abraham and Hornbostel, “Phonograph,” p. 196.

it was the strangest performance he had ever given. There was no music and no song, nothing to keep him to the regular beat except the echo of previous singings and the habit they had formed in this mind. Without these accompaniments it was not easy to put the words together as he usually did. The tempo of composing the song was different, too. Ordinarily the singer could move forward rapidly from idea to idea, from theme to theme. But now he had to stop very often for the scribe to write down what he was saying, after every line or even after part of a line. This was difficult, because his mind was far ahead. But he accustomed himself to this new process at last, and finally the song was finished.⁴⁵

Grainger had, of course, been aware some years earlier of the potential disruption of the performance caused by asking singers to stop and repeat every few lines so that they could be taken down by hand, and we need only refer back to the methods of Sabine Baring-Gould, as described in Chapter Two, to witness the very real destruction wrought upon the song by failing to allow the singer to perform in the usual manner, that is, without incessant interruption.

This is not to say, however, that such technology as the phonograph eliminated both the potential for error and a methodology among some collectors that continued to be somewhat less than scrupulous. Ter Ellingson provided a litany of both ignorance and incompetence that had its origins in the adoption of the phonograph within what were, perhaps, already shoddy methodologies, including recording the background hum of the motor as an instrumental drone, forcing the performers to alter the style of performance to accommodate the limited frequency range within which the early phonograph could record, and truncating performances in order to make them fit onto a phonograph cylinder with a total recording time of between two and two-and-a-half minutes.⁴⁶ Among the members of the FSS in England, both Anne Gilchrist and Cecil Sharp expressed deep reservations about

⁴⁵ Albert B. Lord. *The Singer of Tales*. Edited by Stephen Mitchell and Gregory Nagy (Cambridge, 2000): p. 124.

⁴⁶ Ellingson, "Transcription," p. 132.

the ability of the phonograph to capture the subtleties of performance, a conflict that will be examined in greater depth in Chapter Four.

Despite such criticisms, even the most vociferous exponents of the phonograph, including Grainger, rarely saw it as a solution to all their problems as much as it was a stopgap measure. Quite frankly, one really requires only the basic ability to hear in order to determine the dynamic shortcomings of the phonograph, and we must assume that Grainger, Gilman, and Hornbostel, having the exceptionally well-trained ears of musicians, were very much alive to these concerns. Indeed, the very fact of the persistent drive for better and more accurate recording technology is a testament to how aware of such shortcomings collectors were and had been from the very beginning. Ellingson cited some of the very first attempts at the development of an automatic transcription machine as having occurred in the 1870s by Benjamin Ives Gilman.⁴⁷ During his collecting in Yugoslavia in 1934-5, Milman Parry commissioned the Sound Specialties Company of Waterbury to construct a special recording device consisting of two turntables connected by a toggle switch. The operator could then use the switch to move quickly from one turntable to another, switching the discs on the inactive table while the other was recording and thereby eliminating the need to stop the performance in order to change discs. As ingenious as such a solution might have been, it was not without its own shortcomings: the machine was cumbersome and did not travel easily. Nor did the discs onto which the music was recorded. As Parry relayed: "I have already written to the purchasing agent at Harvard instructing him to order for me from the aluminum company another half-ton of discs, which will be approximately 3,000 discs."⁴⁸ Prior to the advent of contemporary digital recording technology, the apotheosis of the

⁴⁷ Ellingson, "Transcription," p. 95.

⁴⁸ Lord, p. x.

development of recording technology was probably the Seeger Melograph, which produced a graph on 16mm film of pitch, amplitude, and overtone spectrum. Ellingson reminded us that an increase in the complexity of the technology, however, often invites a commensurate increase in the complexity of the product produced, sometimes with unwelcome results, warning us that: “Despite their obvious microanalytic value, autotranscriptions produce a curious result of musicality submerged in a sea of acoustic detail, where essential musical illusions vanish into objective complexity and ambiguity.”⁴⁹

Grainger well understood that the task of putting the notes of the performance on the page was only the first and perhaps most basic step in the process involved in studying the art of folk song, for music in the world of the folk was not a mere artistic object to be picked up, played with when time permitted, and then put down again at will, but a fundamental aspect of the lives of the singers and of the community. This is an aspect of Grainger’s philosophy to which I shall return with greater scrutiny in Chapters Four and Five. In the meantime, we ought to observe the following warning sounded by Brailoiu, one that resonates closely with Grainger’s philosophy:

At last with the coming of the phonograph, we could believe we were on the verge of a properly scientific age. With other tools to complement it, every uncertainty seemed banished for ever; the reign of the unimpeachable was about to start. In effect, if at first rudimentary, the new equipment traced between the past and the future a demarcation line so obviously indelible that a real idolatry of the machine soon seized some minds and still dominates many of them. From 1912 an authority assures us that the absolute pitches of sounds can, once for all, be measured with ‘physikalisch’ exactness. How? By putting them in accord (if they allow it) with a graduated diapason before calculating the vibrations.... But the danger of excessive confidence in the automatic slave does not lie there. It is in the naive and all too stubborn conviction of certain scholars that once the detail of a music is presumed to be perfectly reproduced

⁴⁹ Ellingson, “Transcription,” p. 135.

and irreproachably transcribed, we have nothing more to learn about it, when in reality it has revealed to us nothing of its true nature.⁵⁰

Thus music, especially folk music, consists of far more than simply the notes we hear or see, but of the environment in which it takes place and the lives and personalities of those who bring it to life through their roles as both performers and audience. Brailoiu noted that the phonograph would quickly require the reinforcement of additional sensory technology:

The infallible ear of the recording machine finds a trustworthy collaborator in the infallible eye of the photographic lens. This is where the auxiliary documentation of which we have been speaking begins. Iconographical in part, its prime task is to fix the background of the music, the musical occasion. Cut in wax or ebonite, the melody sung on a certain day in a certain place at the dressing of a certain bride will retain a throb of life in the face of this bride, the posture of the singers, the look of her surroundings remain perceptible to us. The sight of the ritual scenes of a burial will likewise lend a special expressive intensity to the recording of a funeral song and will make its text more easily understood.⁵¹

Looking forward as ever, Brailoiu further predicted in 1931 that just as the phonograph would give way to better technology in the future so too would such new technology require a more capable photographic partner, as the movie camera would soon come to supplant the inadequate still camera.⁵²

The narrative of the development of recording technology clearly reflects throughout many of the same concerns with which Grainger found himself dealing between 1905 and 1909, a period to which I now turn my attention.

⁵⁰ Brailoiu, p. 95.

⁵¹ Brailoiu, p. 64.

⁵² Brailoiu, p. 65.

Grainger and the Edison Phonograph

The phonograph machine Grainger used was an Edison “Standard” Phonograph measuring fourteen inches by ten inches and weighing about ten pounds. As noted above, the machine was designed for a wide variety of uses, but ethnographic fieldwork was not one of them. It was therefore not a very durable machine and was prone to the hazards of the field environment. The wax cylinders allowed for between two and two-and-a-half minutes of recording time, but were apt to be too hard to record anything at all if the temperature sank below approximately sixty degrees Fahrenheit.⁵³ Christopher Bearman detailed a story of some confusion concerning the fate of the machine Grainger actually used.⁵⁴ Grainger did not buy his own phonograph until 1908, and so the question concerns which machine he would have used prior to that date. Dr. George Gardiner of the FSS made a donation of five pounds to the Society for the express purpose of the purchase of a phonograph in 1906. This appears to have taken place, for other members were using the machine in 1907, presumably during those periods when Grainger was otherwise occupied. However, Lucy Broadwood, who was Secretary of the FSS and the recipient of the donations, appears not to have entered such a purchase into her diaries, the omission of which would have been an unusual occurrence. On the basis of this, Bearman asserts that it must have been Grainger, not the FSS, who purchased the machine in 1906, that he loaned it to the FSS for use when he was not present, and that he subsequently donated it to the FSS after having purchased another in 1908.⁵⁵ Grainger’s machine from 1908 is in the Grainger Museum in Melbourne, but Bearman concludes that one of the two phonographs currently on display at Cecil Sharp

⁵³ C. J. Bearman. “Percy Grainger, the Phonograph, and the Folk-Song Society.” In *Music & Letters* 84, no. 3 (August 2003): p. 441.

⁵⁴ Bearman, p. 455.

⁵⁵ Bearman, p. 455.

House in London, the headquarters of the FSS, must therefore have been the machine Grainger used in 1906 and then donated. This all seems very plausible. One of the two machines at Cecil Sharp House was the property of Lucy Broadwood, having been purchased for her own private use in 1908. The other is almost certainly the one that Grainger used in 1906, but I am uncertain about Bearman's assertion that it was Grainger, not the FSS, that purchased the machine. Unless the machine from 1906 was in disrepair or had been superseded by superior technology, it seems unusual that Grainger should have made such an expensive donation, not really being in any financial position to do so. It seems far more likely that the machine was, in fact, purchased by the FSS and that Grainger purchased his own when the queue to use it began to get unwieldy. Grainger did state in the aforementioned "Description of Collection" having purchased the machine in 1906 instead of 1908, but we should perhaps give less credence to a document written some thirty years after the fact. We can also note the rich irony in the FSS becoming enamored with the phonograph, despite having been so critical of Grainger for his extensive use of it.

Grainger's method of transcription from the phonograph cylinders is familiar to anyone having done transcription, if perhaps a touch more crude, as he relates in a letter to his girlfriend at the time, Karen Holton, from April 21, 1908:

You mustn't take it amiss that I write to you so meaninglessly as I do lately. The truth is that Journal 12 is a jealous wife. It wears me out so tired that I haven't strength to think of anything else. I am moreover working colossally eagerly at it, but doubt all the same that it will be ready in time. I sit with the phonographic (rubber) hearing apparatus fixed to my head, while a metronome ticks away all it's worth. But I am still discovering new important things about folksongs! No one knows anything except me, and I have scarcely begun.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ Percy Grainger in Dreyfus, p. 207.

This passage is important for two reasons: first, it provides some insight into the date of the circulation of the article in the Journal. As I discuss further in Chapter Four, the date of May 1908 must be incorrect and should be put back to at least July of that same year. Grainger was working on the transcriptions on April 21, and although a subsequent letter from April 25 relates that he had finished the transcriptions, he also stated that he still had the fair-copying to do and the introduction to write, never mind the circulation to and commentary from the Editing Committee;⁵⁷ second, Grainger's comment "no one knows anything but me" foreshadows quite remarkably the discussion of his musical aesthetics which will take place in Chapter Four, as well as the disdain he had for the methodology and general musical aesthetics of his fellow collectors.

It is perhaps pertinent at this stage to refer once again to the relationship between Grainger and Bartók, as it appeared to be centered upon the idea of using the phonograph to collect folk-songs. As mentioned in Chapter One, Margaret Hee-Leng Tan referred to a discussion with Storm Bull in which he related an anecdote about Grainger's influence on Bartók. I repeat it here for ease of reference:

Bartók did refer to an article by Percy which Bartók had read in about 1903 or 1904 (perhaps a few years off) in which Percy had described his folk-music research in Haiti, during which time Percy had used an Ediphone cylinder recorder (I am not certain of the proper name for this device). Bartók said that this article gave him the idea of using a similar recording device in his early folk-music research in Hungary.⁵⁸

Once again, this appears to have been more fable than fact, as Bartók had begun using the instrument in 1905, well before the publication of Grainger's article in the *JFSS* from 1908.⁵⁹

It therefore appears somewhat unlikely that Bartók took the idea of using the phonograph

⁵⁷ Grainger in Dreyfus, p. 207.

⁵⁸ Tan, p. 22.

⁵⁹ Bartók, *The Hungarian Folk Song*, p. xx.

from Grainger, although it is very possible that Bartók did take some general encouragement both from Grainger's use of the phonograph and his method of transcription, as is evidenced by the following letter Bartók wrote to Frederick Delius in 1910:

I have great pleasure in letting you know that your *Brigg Fair* is to be played here, in February, under a relatively good conductor.... For the following season I would like to suggest something by Grainger to him – for the simple reason that I would like to hear it. But then I don't know how to get the scores, whether the composer would give his consent, what to choose, etc. Please do give me your advice. If you have the opportunity, I would be glad if you could speak about me to Grainger; I would like to write to him on the subject of folklore, and would not like to approach him as a complete stranger.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ James Porter. "Bartók and Grainger: Some Correspondence and a Hypothesis." In *Studia Musicologica Academiae Hungaricae*, T. 25, Fasc. 1 / 4 (1983): p. 221. Grainger and Bartók did have subsequent interactions, although they never met in person. Grainger published an article entitled "Melody Versus Rhythm" in *Australian Musical News* in August 1933, and then again in *Music News* (Chicago) in September and October 1933 containing the following passage: "It seems evident to me that it is melody and harmony rather than rhythm that is empowered to turn our natures towards the angelic state. What do we mean by melody? I think we all mean fundamentally the same thing by the term 'melody'. Even the most unmusical person will hardly speak of 'a melody on the bugle' or a 'melody on the drum'; so we may assume that even the popular conception of melody does not associate melody primarily with broken chords or with rhythm. Melody, I take it, is single-line sound that follows the nature of the human voice. The human voice occasionally gives out shouts and barking sounds and other detached sounds: but in the main it tends towards long, continuous, sustained legato sounds - 'prolonged utterances' - and it is these sounds that we call melody.... Rhythm is a great energizer, a great slave-driver; and the lower-types of mankind (the tyrants; the greedy ones; the business-minded people) have not been slow to sense the practical advantages to be drawn from rhythmically-regular music as an energizing action-bearing force. When these 'hard-headed', practical people want young men to go and get themselves killed, they play marches to them and they encourage sailors and road workers to sing at their jobs in order that the maximum of hard work may be forthcoming as economically as possible.... During the last thirty years there has been a regular orgy of rhythmic music, both in the jazz and in the classical fields. Well, the results are before us, and we of the dreamy and anti-active persuasions may ask if they really are so good-from even a 'practical' standpoint. Mankind has responded most loyally to rhythmic intoxication; millions have been killed or had their lives upset by wars and still more millions have allowed themselves to become needlessly and uselessly 'hard-boiled' in all sorts of ways, responding to the calls of energy and worldliness. We may now ask ourselves whether or not we would have been worse off, from any standpoint, if we had listened less to the energizing suggestions of rhythm and more the spiritualizing influences of melody." Bartók responded to Grainger as follows: "I have read the profound consideration in Mr. Grainger's article 'Melody versus Rhythm' with great interest. Permit me merely to make two observations in regard to this subject: both observations being derived from a consideration of the primitive state of music which I had the opportunity of observing among certain Eastern European and North African peoples. In this primitive state we see two kinds of music exclusively: one in a free parlando rhythm; the other in a strict dance-like rhythm. Taken as a whole, the first kind is regular but in a general sort of way, and the details may be subject to very slight, often scarcely perceptible variations (the result of momentary inspiration or linguistic diction). But, and this is what I would like to emphasize as my first observation, both kinds possess rhythm, even though of divergent characters. For melody without rhythm is inconceivable, provided rhythm without melody is conceivable. Now both these kinds of music are equally justified among peoples living nearly in a primitive state: that in a free parlando rhythm when no movements are linked to the music; that in a strict rhythm, on the other hand, when movements are coupled with the music (hence especially when dancing). One cannot perceive that of these kinds, one is

Despite Bartók's interest in Grainger's work, there is no evidence to suggest that anything came of it or that Bartók pursued it any further.

Thus far my examination of the connections between the methods of recording and transcribing into the world of writing the music of oral tradition has been primarily factual, having followed the general narrative of the developments of such methods so as to locate and analyze Grainger's role. Having determined Grainger's role in the narrative, I would like now to turn from the historical and factual role he played to a more speculative one in a critical framework I intend to construct for him.

GRAINGER, THE ARCHIVE, AND THE INSCRIBING OF IDENTITY

At this point I need to banish most of those on stage, including Grainger, to the sidelines for a little while in order to provide a sufficient backstory for their reappearance. They will all return at the end, but we need to spend a bit of time first with some heretofore unmentioned characters.

There can be no question (or there really ought not to be, despite some of the aforementioned objections) that recording technology such as the phonograph has exposed for analysis many of the subtleties and minutiae that make folk song such a captivating and

preferred to the other; each must and can only be used under the proper circumstances. That the creation and performance of the strictly rhythmic music is as much of a necessity as the creation and performance of the other kind is obvious to us, as we can see from the existence and wealth of strictly rhythmical music, especially from the mere existence of dances. And on that account there can be no talk whatever of a 'slave-driver' spirit; peoples living in primitive circumstances can only make music in accordance with their own instincts, can only make music spontaneously. The free parlando music of these peoples, by the role it fills and its characteristics, answers to that which Mr. Grainger calls the 'melodious' kind, to the higher art music; on the other hand, the strictly rhythmical corresponds to that called 'rhythmical' by him. The music of every people living in a primitive condition reflects in any case a completely ingenuous and natural state; and this ingenuous and natural state appears to confirm my comprehension of the matter - that as a natural consequence it follows that 'nature-people' desire and feel the need of 'melodious' as well as 'rhythmical' music in equal parts. I feel an equal justification for both kinds and I consider the most perfect musical work that in which both kinds are blended. And this work, insofar as my knowledge and consciousness goes, is that of J.S. Bach." All extracts found in Porter p. 221-226.

influential art. Nevertheless, as both Grainger and Brailoiu were so aware, far more is at stake than simply recording the notes themselves in more detail than was possible with the human ear. In his 1936 essay “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction,” Walter Benjamin made the following observation about the use of the movie camera in capturing human behaviour, with which we might easily draw the comparison of using the phonograph to record the human voice. It is lengthy, but its insight compels me to quote it in full:

The characteristics of the film lie not only in the manner in which man presents himself to mechanical equipment but also in the manner in which, by means of this apparatus, man can represent his environment. A glance at occupational psychology illustrates the testing capacity of the equipment. Psychoanalysis illustrates it in a different perspective. The film has enriched our field of perception with methods which can be illustrated by those of Freudian theory. Fifty years ago, a slip of the tongue passed more or less unnoticed. Only exceptionally may such a slip have revealed dimensions of depth in a conversation which had seemed to be taking its course on the surface. Since the *Psychopathology of Everyday Life* things have changed. This book isolated and made analyzable things which had heretofore floated along unnoticed in the broad stream of perception. For the entire spectrum of optical, and now also acoustical perception the film has brought about a similar deepening of apperception. It is only an obverse of this fact that behavior items shown in a movie can be analyzed much more precisely and from more points of view than those presented on paintings or on the stage. As compared with painting, filmed behavior lends itself more readily to analysis because of its incomparably more precise statements of the situation.... By close-ups of the things around us, by focusing on hidden details of familiar objects, by exploring commonplace milieus under the ingenious guidance of the camera, the film, on the one hand, extends our comprehension of the necessities which rule our lives; on the other hand, it manages to assure us of an immense and unexpected field of action. Our taverns and our metropolitan streets, our offices and furnished rooms, our railroad stations and our factories appeared to have us locked up hopelessly. Then came the film and burst this prison-world asunder by the dynamite of the tenth of a second, so that now, in the midst of its far-flung ruins and debris, we calmly and adventurously go traveling. With the close-up, space expands; with slow motion, movement is extended. The enlargement of a snapshot does not simply render more precise what in any case was visible, though unclear: it reveals entirely new structural formations of the subject.

So, too, slow motion not only presents familiar qualities of movement but reveals in them entirely unknown ones “which, far from looking like retarded rapid movements, give the effect of singularly gliding, floating, supernatural motions” Evidently a different nature opens itself to the camera than opens to the naked eye – if only because an unconsciously penetrated space is substituted for a space consciously explored by man. Even if one has a general knowledge of the way people walk, one knows nothing of a person’s posture during the fractional second of a stride. The act of reaching for a lighter or a spoon is a familiar routine, yet we hardly know what really goes on between hand and metal, not to mention how this fluctuates with our moods. Here the camera intervenes with the resources of its lowerings and liftings, its interruptions and isolations, its extensions and accelerations, its enlargements and reductions. The camera introduces us to unconscious optics as does psychoanalysis to unconscious impulses.⁶¹

We ought to compare this insight with the almost painfully simplistic views of the members of the FSS concerning the use of the phonograph under similar circumstances, such as the following by Anne Gilchrist:

Artists speak of the early lost ‘innocence of the eye’, by which a young infant, supposing he had the skill to reproduce what his eye beheld, would draw a scene in correct proportions and perspective etc., simply because he had not found out by experience (for example) that the furthest away of a row of lamp posts was an object in reality exactly the same size as the nearest one - he would simply draw things exactly as they appeared to his infant eye, and therefore correctly. As we have already lost this innocence of the eye (generally) before the period of our first attempt to draw, so no doubt, as Mr. Grainger seems to suggest, we have lost a presumable similar innocence of the ear (*possibly* surviving to some extent amongst folksingers), and as musicians are *apt* to reproduce tunes as we think they ought or are meant to be rather *than* as we hear them; but by training, experience and *conscientious* pains, I think it is undoubtedly possible to more than regain what has been lost, and granting the limited ‘accuracy’ of an unreasoning recorder, whether an infant eye or ear, a sensitive plate, or a vibrating needle, the trained ear or eye of musician or artist is surely able to reproduce with more real *truth* – because with understanding and sympathy – the sounds or the sights impressing the sensitive surface – whether human or artificial – of an ‘innocent’ receptive medium.⁶²

⁶¹ Walter Benjamin. “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction.” In *Illuminations*. Edited by Hannah Arendt (New York, 1968): p. 235-237.

⁶² Anne Gilchrist in Michael Yates. “Percy Grainger and the Impact of the Phonograph.” In *Folk Music Journal* 4, no. 3 (1982): p. 266.

Or this from Cecil Sharp in a letter to Grainger:

...an analogy may be drawn between the phonograph and the photographic camera. It is often said that the latter cannot lie, that it can only record what is a matter of fact in front of it. This is, of course, only partly true, scientifically speaking; but even if it were strictly accurate it would diminish rather than increase the value of the camera as a picture maker. The artist does not want to put upon his canvass [*sic*] just what is in front of him, but only that part of it that he sees, and even that, not *as it is*, but as it *appears* to him. Now, the usefulness of the phonograph is limited in much the same way as that of the camera, and I fancy that many of the chromatic notes which you have transcribed from your records, although no doubt they were *in fact* sounded, were nevertheless in performance practically inaudible, and would have been omitted, and I contend rightly so, by the ordinary collector.⁶³

Gilchrist's and Sharp's assertion, that the weakness of the phonograph was its lack of judgment, and its inability to provide the sort of filtering mechanism provided by both the consciousness and aesthetic sensibility of the human artist, was countered by Benjamin's contention that this is exactly the strength of such technology. For Benjamin, recording technology was a means of bypassing the consciousness and laying bare the actions of the unconscious mind. In other words, the phonograph could record all the utterances of the singer, whether intentional or otherwise, without them being filtered by the discerning hearing of the collector. All the minute elements of the performances were recorded by an "unreasoning recorder" that had no choice but to hear them.

Benjamin's connection between recording and the unconscious was significant, for it is the ability to filter, the ability to ascertain through reason those elements to which we ought to pay attention and those we ought to ignore, that lies at the heart of the identity of the human subject; a high-tech version of the Cartesian *Cogito ergo sum*. In his 1999 work *Gramophone, Film, Typewriter*, Friedrich A. Kittler examined the implications of the use of the phonograph in the archivization of human knowledge, writing:

⁶³ Cecil Sharp in Yates, p. 269.

Ever since that epochal change [the invention of the phonograph] we have been in possession of storage technologies that can record and reproduce the very time flow of acoustic and optical data. Ears and eyes have become autonomous.... The phonograph does not hear as do ears that have been trained immediately to filter voices, words, and sounds out of noise; it registers acoustic events as such.⁶⁴

Kittler wrote that the phonograph has been used by both musicians and psychologists to bring order to the seemingly chaotic:

To record the sound sequences of speech, literature has to arrest them in a system of 26 letters, thereby categorically excluding all noise sequences. Not coincidentally, this system also contains as a subsystem the seven notes, whose diatonics from – A to G – form the basis of occidental music. Following a suggestion made by the musicologist von Hornbostel, it is possible to fix the chaos of exotic music assailing European ears by first interpolating a phonograph, which is able to record this chaos in real time and then replay it in slow motion. As the rhythms begin to flag and “individual measures, even individual notes resound on their own,” occidental alphabetism with its staves can proceed to an “exact notation”.⁶⁵

In psychoanalysis, the phonograph was used to record the speech of hysterics in order to analyze the noises and fragments of speech that normal human hearing could not capture. As Kittler wrote, in a manner perhaps offensive to both psychiatrists and ethnographers: “Only technological media can record the nonsense that...technological media alone were able to draw out into the open.”⁶⁶ The phonograph was, therefore, used to impose reason upon the unreasonable, whether it was the hysterical fragmented speech of the mentally ill or the unfamiliar music of the non-Western “other.”

Despite its remarkable abilities as a purveyor of order, the phonograph itself, it should be remembered, is an unthinking, non-filtering, and therefore inherently unreasonable machine, and Kittler was adamant that we not lose sight of the fact that it is, in fact, a perfect mirror of the human unconscious because of this fact:

⁶⁴ Friedrich Kittler. *Gramophone, Film, Typewriter* (Stanford, 1999): pp. 3 and 23.

⁶⁵ Kittler, p. 3.

⁶⁶ Kittler, p. 89.

Upon speaking into a phonograph, the vibrations of one's voice are transferred to a point that engraves lines onto a metal plate that correspond to the uttered sounds – uneven furrows, more or less deep, depending on the nature of the sounds. It is quite probable that in analogous ways, invisible lines are incessantly carved into the brain cells, which provide a channel for nerve streams. If, after some time, the stream encounters a channel it has already passed through, it will once again proceed along the same path. The cells vibrate in the same way they vibrated the first time; psychologically, these similar vibrations correspond to an emotion or a thought analogous to the forgotten emotion or thought.... If the phonograph disk had a self-consciousness, it could point out while replaying a song that it remembers this particular song. And what appears to us as the effect of a rather simple mechanism would, quite probably, strike the disk as a miraculous ability: memory.... The principal difference between the brain and the phonograph is that the metal disk of Edison's still rather primitive machine remains deaf to itself; there is no transition from movement to consciousness. It is precisely this wondrous transition that keeps occurring in the brain. It remains an eternal mystery that is less astonishing than it appears, however. Were the phonograph able to hear itself, it would be far less mystifying in the final analysis than the idea of our hearing it. But indeed we do: its vibrations really turn into impressions and thoughts. We therefore have to concede the transformation of movement into thought that is always possible – a transformation that appears more likely when it is a matter of internal brain movement that when it comes from the outside. From this point of view it would be neither very imprecise nor very disconcerting to define the brain as an infinitely perfected phonograph – a conscious phonograph.⁶⁷

Both psyche and phonograph are palimpsests upon which the faint traces of past events continue to influence the flow and ebb of the inscriptions newly painted or scratched onto the surface, and the decision-making ability of the conscious mind is increasingly subservient to the predetermined etchings that lie just below the surface.

For Kittler, what could simply be nothing more than a clever metaphor upon which to found his book actually had far greater implications on perhaps the most important institution in human history: the archive of human knowledge. By allowing for the archiving of knowledge recorded by a machine that makes no discernment between sources or value judgments about their archival suitability, recording technology has displaced the privileged

⁶⁷ Kittler, p. 31-33.

role of the written document, and has therefore brought about a rupture in the archival process. In any archive or collection of documents, even the “anonymous” document to which no attribution can be made had a thinking and reasoning author who made decisions about what information ought to be included and that which was to be excluded. The phonograph, however, will record anything within range, such as the sounds of birds or the passing of a nearby train heard in the background during a collecting outing to record the songs of a folk singer. The thinking subject can, of course, filter these sounds out to a certain degree and concentrate on the intended object of its attention, but the phonograph has no such ability, as Ian Russell noted when he wrote: “Sadly, the tape recorder will save only sound and even then, unlike the human ear which is able to home in on one particular element, records indiscriminately.”⁶⁸ As Kittler put it in one of the most powerful phrases in the book: “Ever since the invention of the phonograph, there has been writing without a subject. It is no longer necessary to assign an author to every trace, not even God.”⁶⁹ For better or worse, it is now possible to have an archive consisting entirely of knowledge upon which no one has made judgments and which no one has attempted to filter or sift. It is, thus, possible to have an archive in which no one has an identity.

With that thread sufficiently loosened, we need to leave Kittler for a little while and provide another thread in the weave. Jacques Derrida’s 1995 work *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression* is a masterwork on the process of the archiving of human knowledge that is both erudite and insightful concerning this most vital of human activities.⁷⁰ In it, Derrida uncovered and defined both the origins and the parameters of the archives and the archival protocol:

⁶⁸ Ian Russell. *Singer, Song and Scholar* (Sheffield, 1986): p. 37.

⁶⁹ Kittler, p. 44.

⁷⁰ Jacques Derrida. *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*. Translated by Eric Prenowitz (Chicago, 1995).

The meaning of “archive,” its only meaning, comes to it from the Greek *arkheion*: initially a house, a domicile, an address, the residence of the superior magistrates, the *archons*, those who commanded. The citizens who thus held and signified political power were considered to possess the right to make or to represent the law. On account of their publicly recognized authority, it is at their home, in that *place* which is their house (private house, family house, or employee’s house), that official documents are filed. The archons are first of all the documents’ guardians. They do not only ensure the physical security of what is deposited and of the substrate. They are also accorded the hermeneutic right and competence. They have the power to interpret the archives. Entrusted to such archons, these documents in effect speak the law: they recall the law and call on or impose the law. To be guarded thus, in the jurisdiction of this *speaking the law*, they needed at once a guardian and a localization.⁷¹

The responsibility of the *archons*, therefore, was not simply to house and protect the documents, but to interpret them and use them to provide a basis for a common law, or that which was to be considered acceptable within the community. The role of the *archons*, the rulers, was thus a hermeneutic one, as the sole responsibility for the exegesis of the documents lay with them. This authority, what Derrida referred to as “archontic power” extended far beyond simply dealing with a pre-existing archive that lay before the *archons* awaiting interpretation: it was also an authority of organization and selection:

The archontic power, which also gathers together the functions of unification, of identification, of classification, must be paired with what we will call the power of *consignation*.... *Consignation* aims to coordinate a single corpus, in a system or a synchrony in which all the elements articulate the unity of an ideal configuration. In an archive, there should not be any absolute dissociation, any heterogeneity or *secret* which could separate or partition, in an absolute manner. The archontic principle of the archive is also a principle of consignation, that is, of gathering together.⁷²

The *archons* thus insure that the archive presents a unified doctrinal front that allows neither for additional interpretation nor dissent within the community. This is, of course, a scenario familiar to us from the experience of having witnessed just such a process occurring in

⁷¹ Derrida, *Archive Fever*, p. 2.

⁷² Derrida, *Archive Fever*, p. 3.

totalitarian states throughout the twentieth century, for as Derrida wrote: “There is no political power without control of the archive, if not of memory.”⁷³ The archive is thus inseparable from the position of power required to provide the homogenous interpretation of its contents. Essentially, the archive itself defines what can be said. In this regard, the work of Michel Foucault can lend some additional assistance:

The archive is not that which, despite its immediate escape, safeguards the event of the statement, and preserves, for future memories, its status as an escapee; it is that which, at the very root of the statement-event, and in that which embodies it, defines at the outset *the system of its enunciability*. Nor is the archive that which collects the dust of statements that have become inert once more, and which may make possible the miracle of their resurrection; it is that which defines the mode of occurrence of the statement thing; it is *the system of its functioning*. Far from being that which unifies everything that has been said in the great confused murmur of a discourse, far from being only that which ensures that we exist in the midst of preserved discourse, it is that which differentiates discourses in their multiple existence and specifies them in their own duration. Between the *language* that defines the system of constructing possible sentences, and the *corpus* that passively collects the words that are spoken, the *archive* defines a particular level: that of a practice that causes a multiplicity of statements to emerge as so many regular events, as so many things to be dealt with and manipulated. It does not have the weight of tradition; and it does not constitute the library of all libraries, outside time and place; nor is it the welcoming oblivion that opens up to all new speech the rules of a practice that enables statements both to survive and to undergo regular modification. It is *the general system of the formation and transformation of statements*.⁷⁴

The archive is the definition of what constitutes the acceptable parameters of discourse. In other words, the archive is the discourse, for as Derrida wrote: “...it keeps, it puts in reserve, it saves, but in an unnatural fashion, that is to say in making the law (*nomos*) or in making people respect the law.”⁷⁵

⁷³ Derrida, *Archive Fever*, p. 4.

⁷⁴ Michel Foucault. *The Archeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*. Translated by A. M. Sheridan Smith (New York, 1972): p. 129-30.

⁷⁵ Derrida, *Archive Fever*, p. 7.

It is now time to reintroduce some key players into the story, although we need at this point to reassign them to some new roles. Within the discourse of folk music scholarship as it existed in England during the period of Grainger's collection, the Folk Song Society was very clearly the *archons*, and the *Journal of the Folk Song Society* was the archive over which it ruled and exercised its hermeneutic prerogative. As described by Derrida, the goal of the Editing Committee was to provide a united doctrinal front protected against heterogeneous elements and interlopers such as Grainger, and although they were never so tyrannical as to deny him entry into the discursive archive, they did feel the need to disavow his interpretation of the material and deny their official stamp of approval.

This might provide little more than an interesting analogy if it were to stop there; but there is more, and I need to return to Derrida in order to give chase. In a collection of essays published posthumously in 2005 under the title *Paper Machine*, Derrida referred to the term *sans-papiers*, a term used in France to refer to someone without identity papers, literally “paperless” or “without sufficient documents.”⁷⁶ Derrida used this idea to ruminate on the importance of paper and writing to the formation and maintenance of identity, and on the value we continue to give it in society:

Paper often became the place of the self's appropriation of itself, then of becoming a subject in law...the ultimate juridical resource still remains the signature done with the person's "own hand" on an irreplaceable paper support...capable of confirming aloud: "Here I am, this is my body, see this signature on this paper – it's me, it's mine, it's me so-and-so, I sign before you, I present myself here; this paper that remains represents me.... The law is guaranteed by the holding of a "paper" or document, an identity card (ID), by the bearing or carrying (*port*) of a driving permit or a *passport* that you keep on your person, that can be shown and that guarantees the "self," the juridical personality of "here I am."⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Jacques Derrida. *Paper Machine*. Translated by Rachel Bowlby (Stanford, 2005): p. ix.

⁷⁷ Derrida, *Paper Machine*, pp. 56 and 61.

The ability to produce a piece of paper with writing on it is thus of fundamental importance for identity. In a very practical sense, paper and writing are the only means by which we can prove our identity, prove who we are.⁷⁸ This is an idea that resonates closely with the way in which the early collectors from the FSS accorded roles to those singers from whom they gathered songs. First, many collectors failed to record even the names of the singers for entry into the archive of the *JFSS*, thus denying them any identity or role in having been in possession of the song. Then, collectors went to great lengths to emphasize the illiteracy of their singers, making a great show of such a fact even when it was not always found to be true.⁷⁹ By denying the singers their names in the *JFSS*, by insisting on their inability to read or inscribe words onto a page, the FSS denied the singers entry into the world of paper: they became *sans-papiers*, without identity by virtue of being without the authority bestowed upon them by paper. In this way, it was much easier for the *archons* of the FSS to present the archive as a unified collection of documents derived exclusively from the communal pool of oral tradition in which individuals, people with names and identities, did not make individual artistic decisions that threatened the homogeneity of the archontic exegesis. Singers were not people with names: they were tradition-bearers without identities.

Enter Grainger, storming the ramparts of the archive with his determination not only to challenge the prevailing hermeneutic practice of the *archons* but to inscribe onto paper the identities of the singers not merely by listing their names but by expounding the details of their lives and roles in the community. And the tool Grainger would use to breach the archive

⁷⁸ Even today, when so much legal and commerce communication takes place over the Internet, Derrida still provides a salient point. For example, the Ontario Electronic Commerce Act of 2000, S.O. 2000, c. 17 writes into law the ability to provide an ‘electronic signature’ for documents that are transferred electronically, thus no longer requiring the presence of a hand-written signature. Nevertheless, there remain a number of important documents that are exempt from the act and still require the hand-written signature, such as wills, codicils, and powers of attorney documents. The importance of the hand-written signature on paper thus remains an extremely important means of establishing identity, even in the electronic age.

⁷⁹ For more on this see Dave Harker. *Fakesong* (London, 1985).

and provide the inscription of identity to his singers? The phonograph, Kittler's identity-erasing psychomachine! Contrary to Kittler's assertion that the phonograph was a means of archiving the "trace without author," Grainger used the autonomous ears of the machine, the "unreasoning recorder," to expose the individuality of performance style, and then to put the results of his work, and the names and stories of those from whom it derived, into the world of paper. Kittler was right: the phonograph did constitute a rupture in the archive; but he was wrong in his prediction of the means by which this would be done, for Grainger used the phonograph to undermined the hegemony of the written archive by reinscribing the identity of the singers and reinstating them to pride of place within. To be fair to Kittler, he himself did seem to be unsure about his own position in this regard when he wrote:

Accordingly, oral history today confronts the historians' writing monopoly.... Such research remained unthinkable as long as the opposite of "history" was simply termed..."legend".... And even legends, those oralized segments of bygone events, only survived in written format; that is, under pretechnological but literary conditions. However, since it has become possible to record the epics of the last Homeric bards, who until recently were wandering through Serbia and Croatia, oral mnemotechnics or cultures have become reconstructable in a completely different way. Even Homer's rosy-fingered Eos changes from a Goddess into a piece of chromium dioxide that was stored in the memory of the bard and could be combined with other pieces into whole epics. "Primary orality" and "oral history" came into existence only after the end of the writing monopoly, as the technological shadows of the apparatuses that document them.⁸⁰

Oral tradition, that which is often considered to be the epitome of the anonymous compositional pseudo-process, is brought into existence, is thus made identifiable, by the phonograph machine. Although he did not mention them by name, the reference to the "Homeric bards" was clearly to Albert Lord and Milman Parry, whom we already met in the discussion of *The Singer of Tales*. Had Kittler read the book more closely, he would have

⁸⁰ Kittler, p. 7.

seen that Parry and Lord used recording technology not merely to bring oral tradition into the light but to inscribe the identity of its practitioners, as the book is full of the names, details, and performing styles of those Yugoslavian bards from whom they collected their songs. Like Grainger, Parry and Lord recognized that the autonomous and unconscious ears of recording technology were exactly what was required to reinforce and reinvigorate the methodology of the enlightened collector.

In using the phonograph in such a way, Grainger recognized the importance of the archive and the responsibilities of the *archons* in determining the historical narrative of human knowledge. Indeed, this was only one of the ways in which Grainger demonstrated this awareness, for who but a person alive to such issues would dare to found their own archive dedicated solely to themselves, as Grainger did in his hometown of Melbourne? Grainger also demonstrated great insight into recognizing the vital role that recording technology would have in the methodology of the archive, anticipating Derrida who wrote:

As techno-science, science, in its very movement, can only consist in a transformation of the techniques of archivization, of printing, of inscription, of reproduction, of formalization, of ciphering, and of translating marks.... The technical structure of the *archiving* archive also determines the structure of the *archivable* content even in its very coming into existence and in its relationship to the future. The archivization produces as much as it records the event.⁸¹

CONCLUSION

The path of this chapter has been a circuitous one, and Grainger has really made no more than a few cameo appearances in the proceedings. This is a necessary step, for without a large cast of characters to act as foils for Grainger, it would be too easy to get caught up in the minutiae of his eccentricities, and he would suffer as a result of such a myopic

⁸¹ Derrida, *Archive Fever*, pp. 15 and 17.

perspective. What I have sought to demonstrate in this chapter is the importance of assigning to Grainger a role in a narrative from which he has been so long denied entry, even as he bested many of the key players with the calibre of his work. Further, I have taken a rather aggressive stance in my advocacy of a higher and more sophisticated level of critical engagement with Grainger's work. As we learn more about Grainger through the continued publication of his prolific writings, and subsequent reassessment of those writings with which we are already familiar, I am convinced that we need to bring to bear upon Grainger's life many of the more erudite and inter-disciplinary critical methodologies in order to come to terms satisfactorily with a personality that seems to become ever-more complex with each passing study. I will continue along this journey in the following chapter as I examine folk song, Free Music, and the formation of Grainger's musical aesthetic.

CHAPTER FOUR

Despite an abundance of female companionship throughout his life, Percy Grainger did not have any children. Instead, Grainger nurtured his aesthetic, an aesthetic that was to have been his lasting legacy to the world in the form of Free Music. For the most part, the historical assessment of Grainger's musical parenting skills are correct: his Free Music child rarely received the nourishment or exercise it required and subsequently died a lethargic death before ever having emerged completely from Grainger's creative mind. Nevertheless, the concept of Free Music was with Grainger at all times, in spirit if not in substance, and informed and influenced all his musical decisions.

This chapter could therefore be entitled (paying tribute to Edward Lippman) "The Aesthetics of Percy Grainger." It is a difficult chapter. Grainger's wide-ranging, apparently random interests in music seem to defy easy categorization, and his often contradictory writings – with an additional tendency to be reticent in disclosing the sources from which he gathered his ideas – make distilling his often confused thinking into an intelligible aesthetic almost impossible. However, the deeper one delves into Grainger and his work the more one can see not only the sources of inspiration for Grainger's thinking but also a philosophical unity that could threaten Grainger's reputation as a mere oddball and eccentric who contributed little of value to Western musical history, apart from some colourful passages in "Love Lives of the Great Composers."

The distilled version of Free Music is this: a musical movement that simultaneously embraced broad musical techniques such as renaissance polyphony while rejecting most common-practice ideas such as regular rhythm, form, tonality and the twelve-step division of

the octave, and which advocated technology as the means for overcoming human imperfection in the rendering of such music. This is the child to which Grainger attended fruitlessly throughout his long life. With such a modernist, even avant-garde agenda, Grainger's folk music endeavours in England appear as a curious stopover. Indeed, the tendency of Grainger studies to treat Free Music and the folk song collecting as two separate realms would seem to bear out such an assessment. Yet this is a myopic perspective at best, for it is my contention that the two were very much related and cast considerable light on one another.

The purpose of this chapter is to recover the traces of the Free Music aesthetic in Grainger's writings on English folk song. In doing so, I hope to provide a speculative answer to the question of why a group of intelligent, educated people such as the FSS rejected and distanced themselves from research as valuable and methodical as Grainger's, particularly if, as was shown in Chapter 2, they themselves were already echoing some of his basic assumptions. What other factors were at play? Most importantly, did the FSS see something in Grainger's work that we have missed because of our tendency to assess Grainger's folk song work by isolating it from the larger context of his musical aesthetic? The chapter consists of three large sections. The first, entitled "Free Music," is an examination of Free Music, both realized and idealized, and the influences that fed it. The second is entitled "Grainger's Musical Aesthetics," in which I explore Grainger's writings and reconstruct the philosophy of which Free Music was a manifestation. The third, entitled "The Aesthetics of 'Collecting with the Phonograph,'" is a close reading of Grainger's article in *The Journal of the Folk Song Society* that yields a number of new interpretations based on the perspective obtained through the examination of his wider musical aesthetic. The amount of quotation is,

by necessity, extensive, particularly in the third section where quotation is far preferable than appending the entire article. It has also seemed best to allow Grainger to speak for himself in many instances, particularly when his words are clearly bristling with polemic directed at the FSS. This approach will not only grant Grainger the credit he deserves for his insight, but also perhaps recreate some of the sense of discomfort the FSS must have felt upon seeing his work for the first time.

FREE MUSIC

Grainger's first published declaration of Free Music was simply entitled "Free Music" and was published in *Recorded Sound* in 1938.¹ In typical manifesto style, Grainger clearly illuminated his target and the weaponry he intended to use in his assault:

Existing conventional music (whether 'classical' or popular) is tied down by set scales, a tyrannical (whether metrical or irregular) rhythmic pulse that holds down the whole tonal fabric in a vice-like grasp and a set of harmonic procedures (whether key-bound or atonal) that are merely habits, and certainly do not deserve to be called laws.... It seems to me absurd to live in an age of flying and yet not be able to execute tonal glides and curves.²

With this short statement, Grainger advocated what seemed like the complete destruction of the existing musical compositional methodology in favour of vaguely defined "tonal glides and curves." This being his first Free Music manifesto, he was necessarily short on the details of Free Music, although he had been advocating many of the musical elements that would make up this new musical aesthetic for many years. In the following section, I will deal with the concepts of Free Music as I have distilled them into the following six

¹ Percy Grainger. "Free Music." In *Grainger on Music*. Edited by Malcolm Gillies and Bruce Clunies Ross (Oxford, 1999): pp. 293-94.

² Grainger, "Free Music," p. 293.

properties: 1) melody; 2) form; 3) rhythm; 4) polyphony; 5) formalism; and 6) machine-music and Platonic forms.

Melody

Grainger was by no means the only one to react against the stringencies of traditional melodic ideas. Carl Dahlhaus, in his assessment of the late nineteenth-century musical aesthetic, wrote:

Periodic structure, the musical equivalent of “verse” form, is open to the charge of creating opportunities for empty rhetoric and interpolations which express little or nothing. Melody, as popularly conceived, is characterized above all by rhythmic regularity, by the use of symmetry and repetition.³

In a rather extreme application of this idea, Grainger decreed that his music would therefore avoid any repetition of melodic material, saying that not only was it the equivalent of a speaker repeating the same statement, but that it was undemocratic in singling out the theme for special treatment and relegating other melodies to the subordinate role of episodic material.⁴ A fine example of this idea is found in *Hill Song No. 2*, a piece of about four-and-a-half minutes’ duration that took six years to compose between 1901 and 1907 (a period of time that not without coincidence covers the first years of Grainger’s folk song collecting in England). Example 4.1 shows the first seven bars of *Hill Song No. 2*, in which periodic structure and repetition of material, outside of the ornamental quality of the sixteenth-note figure, are avoided.

³ Carl Dahlhaus. *Between Romanticism and Modernism*. Translated by Mary Whittall (Berkeley, 1989): p. 54.

⁴ Margaret Hee-Leng Tan. “Free Music of Percy Grainger.” In *The Journal of the British Institute of Recorded Sound*, no. 45-46 (January-April 1972): p. 33.



Example 4.1

True to his word, the 141-bar work contains no strict repetition whatsoever. Despite the title, *Hill Song No. 2* is not mimetic. The music does not depict the hills of the Scottish highlands that were Grainger's inspiration as much as it does the impression of the hills "telling their own story" (It would seem that hills say what they have to say only once and never repeat themselves).⁵

The origin of this melodic idea most likely came from Wagner's concept of "endless melody" as found in *The Artwork of the Future*.⁶ As Dahlhaus explained, "endless melody" was a rejection of empty melodic formulae and sequential padding. Melody was that which was eloquent and graceful, while that which was unmelodic was dull and repetitive. "Endless melody" did not mean that the music continued unabated without any caesura, but that cadential formulae, when they occur, should not be of the cookie-cutter variety.⁷ This definition seems to fit Grainger's idea of non-repetition of melodic material quite well, particularly given Grainger's frequent attestation to Wagner's influence over his life and music.⁸

⁵ Hee-Leng Tan, p. 40.

⁶ Richard Wagner. *The Artwork of the Future*. In *Richard Wagner's Prose Works, Volume 1*. Translated by William Ashton Ellis (New York, 1966).

⁷ Dahlhaus, *Between Romanticism*, p. 56.

⁸ Dahlhaus relayed Nietzsche's negative reaction to the impact of "endless melody" in rhythm. Nietzsche believed that such a melodic practice would lead to the dissolution of rhythm, as such melodies "floated" or "hovered" and contained no perceptible ordering of musical duration. Nietzsche might well have been horrified

Grainger's opposition to set scales and the embrace of "tonal glides and curves" was designed to lead to microtonal music in which intervals smaller than the semitone were not merely points of passage between tones but could also become points of focus.⁹ Grainger was already exploring microtones before 1904 when he wrote: "What is partially sympathetic to me is that the human voice...has all possibilities of pitch, is not bound to certain notes only...but can make twenty & more divisions of the half-tone, & can *slide at will from note to note*" [Italics Grainger's].¹⁰ The date of between 1902 and 1904 for this document, which is a letter to his composition teacher Karl Klimesch (1841-1926) in Frankfurt, is significant, for Grainger had spent a brief period of time under the tutelage of Ferruccio Busoni in Berlin in 1903. Busoni's radical and iconoclastic book *Sketch of a New Esthetic of Music* of 1907 caused a remarkable stir, not least for its wholehearted embrace of microtonality:

We have divided the octave into twelve equidistant degrees, because we had to manage somehow, and have constructed our instruments in such a way that we can never get in above or below or between them.... Yet Nature created an infinite gradation-infinite! Who still knows it nowadays?¹¹

The relationship between the young Grainger and the gregarious virtuoso-composer was a difficult one, but it was significant. As I shall demonstrate throughout this chapter, Busoni was one of the unnamed sources to whom I believe Grainger continued to look for inspiration during the formation of his own musical aesthetic. Grainger referred to Busoni often, but always in the capacity of Busoni affirming those conclusions Grainger had already drawn, as in the following from 1915:

to learn that Grainger not only embraced the concept for those very qualities, but planned on extending them much further in his own rhythmic experiments. See Dahlhaus, *Between Romanticism* p. 58.

⁹ Hee-Leng Tan, p. 23-4.

¹⁰ Percy Grainger. "My Musical Outlook." In *Grainger on Music*, p. 19.

¹¹ Ferruccio Busoni. *Sketch of a New Esthetic of Music*. In *Three Classics in the Aesthetic of Music*. New York, 1962): p. 89.

It is, of course, widely known that many races use quarter-tones and other divisions of the scale smaller than those hitherto in vogue in Europe, and Ferruccio Busoni's illuminating pamphlet 'A New Esthetic of Music' contains some very clear-sighted suggestions for the use of third-tones and other close intervals - suggestions which I fondly hope the near future may see carried to experience. My own experience with such small intervals has been in the 'waiatas' and chants of the Maoris of New Zealand.¹²

Grainger attributed his inspiration of microtonality to those non-Western musics to which he had already been exposed in and around Australia. There is no reason to doubt his assertion, but nor should we discount the possibility that microtones, as well as many other topics of interest, were bandied about during his short period of study with Busoni in 1903. None of Grainger's published works from this period show any tendency toward microtonality. Indeed, like many composers in subsequent years, including Busoni, Grainger probably had no idea how, in the pre-electronic music age, such a musical vision might be realized on instruments designed solely for the expression of well-tempered music. Nevertheless, the fact that it was a sound that appealed to him and that it was an idea that had received public endorsement from such an authority as Busoni should make us alive to the reality that it was a predominant element of his burgeoning musical aesthetic.

Form

In the aforementioned 1904 letter to Karl Klimsch, Grainger wrote: "My task has not been to conform to existing formal conventionalities - still less to create new ones - but rather to clear away all structural & formal limitations (regularity of bars, beats & phrases, themes, motives, sections) barring the way to the realization of my style-ideals."¹³ Indeed, given the impossibility of thematic development engendered by Grainger's restriction on the repetition

¹² Percy Grainger. "The Impress of Personality in Unwritten Music." In *Grainger on Music*, p. 53.

¹³ Grainger, "My Musical Outlook," p. 17.

of melodic material, traditional structures such as sonata form would have no real application. Reaction against the stringencies of musical form and structure was not unique to Grainger, and the tide of voices clamouring for the release from the imposition of form had been steadily rising throughout the nineteenth-century.¹⁴ Busoni had also called for the transcending of form in 1907 when discussing the idea of absolute music:

This sort of music ought rather to be called the “architectonic,” or “symmetric,” or “sectional,” and derives from the circumstance that certain composers poured their spirit and their emotion into just this mould as lying nearest them or their time. Our lawgivers have identified the spirit and emotion, the individuality of these composers and their time, with “symmetric” music, and finally, being powerless to recreate either the spirit, or the emotion, of the time, have retained the Form as a symbol, and made it into a fetish, a religion. The composers sought and found this form as the aptest vehicle for communicating their ideas; their souls took flight - and the lawgivers discover and cherish the garments Euphorion left behind on earth.... Is it not singular, to demand of a composer originality in all things, and to forbid it as regards form? No wonder that, once he becomes original, he is accused of “formlessness”.¹⁵

For Busoni, music was at its highest and most potent when it was absolute and non-programmatic. Yet absolute music was merely a stepping-stone to what he referred to as “Ur-Musik.” Ur-Musik was a concept that was vaguely defined at best, but one gets a sense of what he meant in what is perhaps the most famous passage from the *New Esthetic*: “Indeed, all composers have drawn nearest the true nature of music in preparatory and intermediary passages (preludes and transitions), where they felt at liberty to disregard symmetrical proportions, and unconsciously drew free breath.”¹⁶ Busoni saw non-thematic and episodic passages in which thematic development is absent as the closest approximation of Ur-Musik. The similarity to Grainger’s philosophy of non-repetition of melodic material in Free Music,

¹⁴ Robert P. Morgan. “A New Musical Reality: Futurism, Modernism, and “The Art of Noises.”” In *Modernism / Modernity* 1.3 (1994): pp. 1-41.

¹⁵ Busoni, *Esthetic*, p. 78-9.

¹⁶ Busoni, *Esthetic*, p. 79.

in which thematic development would thus be impossible, is unmistakable here. The relationship between Ur-Musik and Free Music seems particularly apparent in that they both advocated melodies without thematic development of motivic material within a non-architectonic formal framework.

Grainger took the point further than this. As mentioned above, he considered the privileging of the theme above other melodic material to be “undemocratic.” The possibility that music could embody abstract notions such as democracy was very important to Grainger, and the equality of voices in a texture and in the dispersion of melodic material was a sort of gauge of the morality of a piece of music.¹⁷ Free Music was therefore revolutionary both in the abandoning of common practice period musical material and in the assertion of moral and democratic values within the musical material itself. Free Music was moral music while the music of thematic development represented tyranny.

At first glance, this notion seems highly ludicrous. Yet Grainger was not the only one to feel this way, and he seems to have anticipated the discomfort felt by a number of commentators concerning the moral and societal values that might be reflected in intensely motivic music. In his seminal *Aesthetics of Music*, Dahlhaus wrote: “Large forms...which hardly existed in music before the eighteenth-century, before the full development of tonal harmony, demand of the composer an almost despotic mastery of broad expanses. Beethoven, Wagner, and Mahler exerted such mastery, sometimes not without ruthlessness toward musical detail.”¹⁸ The imagery of the composer as a despot who abuses some melodic material in favour of the elite theme is a striking one. Dahlhaus’ original German from 1967 reads *autoritaere Herrschaft*, which might be translated literally as *authoritarian claim to*

¹⁷ Percy Grainger “Democracy in Music.” In *Grainger on Music*, pp. 217-222.

¹⁸ Carl Dahlhaus. *Aesthetics of Music*. Translated by William Austin (Cambridge, 1982): p. 89.

power. Austin's translation of the term as "despotic" adds a flavour of cruelty to the image. I would also suggest that Dahlhaus might have had the term "fascist" not far from his mind when writing this passage.

There is considerable irony in the idea that Grainger unearthed traces of despotic tyranny in motivic development when such development lay at the heart of the musical philosophy of music's most renowned anti-fascist, Theodor W. Adorno. Where Grainger saw democratic treatment of melodic material as indicative of the moral compass of music, Adorno saw thematic development and structural integrity as playing the very same role. In his philosophy of "Structural Listening," Adorno posited a theory in which music was judged according to its adherence to, and manipulation of, the idea:

A Beethoven symphonic movement is essentially the unity of a manifold as well as the manifoldness of a unity, namely, of the identical thematic material.... Every detail, however spontaneous in emphasis, is absorbed in the whole by its very spontaneity and gets its true weight only by its relation to the whole, as revealed finally by the symphonic process. Structurally, one hears the first bar of a Beethoven symphonic movement only at the very moment when one hears the last bar.¹⁹

Structural Listening had its origins in Kant's aesthetics in which the structural integrity and congruence of the object was a necessary pre-requisite for correct aesthetic contemplation.²⁰

As a result, every element of the music, no matter how small, was vital for the structural integrity of the whole. Nothing could be removed from the work without a complete and total rupture of its aesthetic value. Further, as Rose Rosengard Subotnik has pointed out, Adorno felt that music that was structurally sound as a result of such motivic integrity had the highest

¹⁹ Theodore W. Adorno. "The Radio Symphony." In *Essays on Music*. Translated by Richard Leppert (Berkeley, 2002): p. 255.

²⁰ For more on this idea see David A. Sheldon. "The Kantian Synthesis and Sonata Form." In *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 37, no. 4 (Summer 1979): pp. 455-465.

moral value.²¹ The more a work adhered to rigid structural principles, the less it adhered externally to corrupt social institutions of power and cultural dumbing-down. The less structural logic it possessed, the greater was its service to such power interests and the less its interest as a purely aesthetic object. Structural integrity was therefore moral integrity.

Grainger's 1931 article "Democracy in Music", in which he presented his case for musical textures having the ability to embody democratic values, predated Adorno's "The Radio Symphony" by ten years. It represented a complete revolution of Adorno's aesthetic of Structural Listening and made motivic development into the very tool of tyranny against which Adorno claimed it guarded the listener. Further, Grainger foreshadowed the arguments of Dahlhaus and Subotnik that the concept of structural integrity is applicable to very little music in the Western canon and almost none from other regions of the world.²² Grainger's rejection of thematic development and structural integrity was almost certainly derived from his exposure to and enthusiasm for music from non-Western cultures in which they play virtually little or no role.

It is almost certain that Grainger and Adorno were never aware of one another. However, the fact that Grainger was engaging such material at this early date testifies not only to the consistent presence of the developing Free Music aesthetic in all his musical activities, but attributes to him an intellectual credibility most commentators, even his champions, have rarely been willing to grant him.

²¹ Rose Rosengard Subotnik. "Toward a Deconstruction of Structural Listening." In *Deconstructive Variations*. (Minneapolis, 1996): p 154-5.

²² See Dahlhaus, *Aesthetics*, p. 91 and Subotnik, p. 158. Rosengard also pointed out that because these structural concepts were developed in defense of the music of Schoenberg, it is really only to Schoenberg's music that they can be applied with any success.

Rhythm

Free Music was to be free of “tyrannical rhythmic pulse.” The idea of “beatless music,” in which no regular pulse exists, had occurred to Grainger as early as 1899 when he began experiments into “music in which no standard duration of beat occurs, but in which all rhythms are free, without beat cohesion between the various polyphonic parts.”²³ Vaguely defined though it was, the idea would appear to be that standard rhythmic patterns would be overcome through the density and equality of the polyphonic texture. Grainger met with difficulty early on in bringing these ideas to fruition both in performance and notation. *Hill Song No. 2*, with its constantly shifting metres and sinuous melodic line, represents an early attempt to come to terms with this idea. He performed the piece in a piano reduction for Busoni in 1907 after which Busoni expressed interest in the piece but criticized Grainger for the manner in which the irregular rhythms were presented on the page, saying that it was easier on the eyes if they could be written within the bar instead of granting a new bar to each rhythmic unit. Grainger seems to have been all too aware of notational deficiencies, both on his part and on the part of standard musical notation, as is evidenced by the “Beatless-Notation Machine” document from 1902-03.²⁴ Grainger also wondered whether or not Busoni took the rhythmic lessons he had learned from Grainger and disseminated them around Europe, eventually to reach the ears of Igor Stravinsky.²⁵

Like melody and form, traditional rhythmic patterns were capable of embodying the more tyrannical and undemocratic values of Western society, as Grainger wrote in 1931:

Rhythm is a great energizer, a great slave-driver; and the lower-types of mankind (the tyrants; the greedy ones; the business-minded

²³ Hee-Leng Tan, p. 23.

²⁴ Grainger. “Beatless-Notation Machine.” In *Grainger on Music*, pp. 29-34.

²⁵ Percy Grainger. *Self-Portrait of Percy Grainger*. Edited by Malcolm Gillies, David Pear and Mark Carroll (Oxford, 2006): p. 256.

people) have not been slow to sense the practical advantages to be drawn from rhythmically-regular music as an energizing action-bearing force. When these 'hard-headed', practical people want young men to go and get themselves killed, they play marches to them and they encourage sailors and road workers to sing at their jobs in order that the maximum of hard work may be forthcoming as economically as possible.... During the last thirty years there has been a regular orgy of rhythmic music, both in the jazz and in the classical fields. Well, the results are before us, and we of the dreamy and anti-active persuasions may ask if they really are so good - from even a 'practical' standpoint. Mankind has responded most loyally to rhythmic intoxication; millions have been killed or had their lives upset by wars and still more millions have allowed themselves to become needlessly, and uselessly, 'hard-boiled' in all sorts of ways, responding to the calls of energy and worldliness. We may now ask ourselves whether or not we would have been worse off, from any standpoint, if we had listened less to the energizing suggestions of rhythm and more the spiritualizing influences of melody.²⁶

By shirking off traditional rhythmic patterns, Free Music therefore embodied more noble, moral, and democratic values than did both jazz and art music. There was a further foreshadowing of Adorno here as well, although this time it was a point on which they were in agreement. In "What National Socialism has Done for the Arts" from 1945, Adorno wrote:

The effectiveness of the principle of march music in jazz is evident. The basic rhythm of the continuo and the bass drum is completely in sync with march rhythm, and, since the introduction of six-eight time, jazz could be transformed effortlessly into a march. The connection here is historically grounded; one of the horns used in jazz is called a Sousaphone, after the march composer. Not only the saxophone has been borrowed from the military orchestra; the entire arrangement of the jazz orchestra, in terms of the melody, bass, *obbligati*, and mere filler instruments, is identical to that of a military band. Thus jazz can be easily adapted for use by fascism.²⁷

Grainger's acute observation of the means by which tyranny can use music to enslave a populace, or use it surreptitiously to make the populace submit itself to enslavement, found a timely echo in Adorno's post World War II writings. It was an observation that would have further implications for the development of musical modernism for, as Richard Steinitz has

²⁶ Percy Grainger. "Melody versus Rhythm." In *Grainger on Music*, pp. 252-253.

²⁷ Theodor W. Adorno. "What National Socialism has Done for the Arts." In *Essays on Music*, p. 485.

noted, many of the experiments involving shifting metre and music without pulse in the 1950s were a reaction to the military march music that had been a veritable soundtrack to life during the Second World War.²⁸

Polyphony

For Grainger, polyphony was the ultimate statement in musical democracy. The equality of the treatment and the dissemination of melodic material throughout all voices in a polyphonic setting testified to its embodiment of the highest democratic values. Not surprisingly, Bach was high on the list of composers who represented this idea. Grainger's perspective on early music, however, was very broad, and he had an even higher opinion of English composers such as John Jenkins, Henry Purcell and Matthew Locke.²⁹ The idea that polyphony reflects an integrated and egalitarian society is one that Grainger almost certainly derived from his study and observation of non-Western societies as evidenced when he described, somewhat ideally:

Poly-melodic music may be visualized as somewhat similar to a life lived in a kindly country where bananas grow (without human tending) naturally on the trees and life may be lived happily and unconcernedly.... (In the West) we are so much aware of the world's agony all around us and correspondingly sensitized by that awareness. A similar sensitized awareness underlies Western melodious polyphony. As we play our own sounds, we are aware of all the other sounds around us and aware of the harmonic import of the whole.³⁰

²⁸ Richard Steinitz. *Gyorgy Ligeti: Music of the Imagination* (London, 2003): p. 105.

²⁹ For more on Grainger and early music see Christopher Grogan. "Percy Grainger and the Revival of Early English Polyphony: The Anselm Hughes Correspondence." In *Music & Letters* 77, no. 3 (Aug. 1990): pp. 425-439, and Kathleen E. Nelson. "Living, Deathless, Timeless Music: Grainger and Early Music." In *Australasian Music Research* 5 (2000): pp. 83-104.

³⁰ Grainger, "Melody versus Rhythm," p. 254-255.

That Western music was able to embody such values, as in Locke et al, without a corresponding embracing of those societal values found in banana-ridden countries, leads one to speculate that Grainger might have imagined Free Music as being either the vessel or harbinger of a golden democratic age in the West. Polyphony, or what Grainger preferred to call “Melodious Polyphony,” was not an entirely lost art. Contemporary examples of Melodious Polyphony could be found in music by Delius, Cyril Scott and Hindemith, but these were exceptions in the contemporary world rather than the rule. As I will discuss later in this chapter, Free Music was certainly tied to Grainger’s complicated notion of Nordic ideals, but it is difficult to determine whether or not he imagined that the embracing of its musical values would beget a utopian society. Such a proposition seems doubtful as one would be hard-pressed to describe the England of Matthew Locke (who probably never saw a banana in his life) as integrated and egalitarian, although one could argue that Melodious Polyphony without the corresponding Free Music elements constituted merely one piece of the key to societal transformation. Nevertheless, polyphony was an entity that Grainger saw as embodying all the positive democratic elements of what would eventually be harnessed into his own Free Music.

Formalism

Despite the heavy ideological baggage with which Free Music was burdened, Grainger was unequivocal in his assertion that it was a formalist, not mimetic or programmatic art:

Art appears to me more as an expression of nature & life in broad & general (impersonal) lines than as a depiction of the dramatic (personal) strivings of individuals.... Such titles as *Sea Songs*, *Hill-songs*, *Charging Irishry*, etc., might lead one to imagine these works to be created on a basis similar to that of ‘program music’, whereas I am *most heartily* opposed to anything in the shape of a ‘program’ regarding it as the outcome of a decadent conception of the reason-

of-existence music. I take it (perhaps erroneously) that the ‘program musician’ desires to reproduce in composition sensations resulting from phenomena & events, that he frequently seeks to imitate natural noises, & that he further believes such reproductions & imitations to be capable of intimating to the hearer the exact phenomena, events, & noises which he regards them as standing for. The basis of my works bearing the above-mentioned titles has nothing in common with this. In a SEA-SONG I do not in the least wish to imitate the sound of the sea, nor to reproduce musically *sensations* connected with the sea, but only to give expression to *emotions resultant* on sensations & impressions having for cause THE SEA.³¹

Grainger wanted his music to possess the freedom and play of sound he perceived as being part of the natural world, but not to depict natural elements themselves as representational objects. There was to be neither tone-painting nor literary programming for Grainger. Free Music did, however, possess the ability to be emotional in that it could represent emotions, but was able neither convey those of the composer or inspire them in the listener. Grainger expanded on this point in 1902:

The point is that whereas the end of language is understanding of idea expressed, the end of music (is always, has been) is sympathy with emotion expressed, *understanding* being out of the question. Therefore, whereas in the case of language it is entirely necessary to determine on certain sounds (letters, etc.) for the purpose of attaching certain meanings to them, in music there is no like necessity for determining on certain divisions of pitch (notes), as no greater sympathy is felt towards underlying emotion. The argument of ‘understanding’ music is in any case untenable. All can feel music; none can *prove* that they understand a distinct meaning in it, etc.³²

Grainger saw Free Music, then, as capable of expression of general, but not personal, emotion. In a document entitled “My Wretched Tone-Life” from 1953, Grainger bitterly recounted the emotions of which he saw Free Music the most able exponent:

Everything in my art is based on violently sentimental emotionalism & must be received on that basis to get anything out of it. The imitation of wailing is the concern of the voice-leading that make up my harmonies. And that is the object of my Free Music: to

³¹ Grainger, “My Musical Outlook,” p. 14-15.

³² Grainger, *Self-Portrait*, p. 237.

provide wailing sounds of a subtlety, magnitude & refinement hitherto unknown in music.³³

Grainger did not refer to it directly, but with its microtonal *glissandi* Free Music bore a striking resemblance to the practice of “keening,” or wailing lament, found in many parts of the world but particularly in Ireland. Grainger was not always so adamant in his assertion that Free Music was music for mourning, but it should be noted that self-lament is in fact the dominant mood of “My Wretched Tone-Life,” and that his assessment of the keening quality of Free Music may well have been effected by this.

I have already mentioned Wagner as a primary influence for some of the ideas behind Free Music, and he will continue to be cited throughout; but that should in no way imply that Grainger adopted his aesthetic wholesale (given the frequency with which Wagner changed his mind on his aesthetics, such a thing hardly seems possible). In fact in 1901, when he was still only nineteen, Grainger made his aesthetic bones by launching a scathing attack on Wagner which is worth quoting in full:

Music can express *one* type only at a time, from which reason *it can never become dramatic*. Thus in the drama, 3 distinctly different types may be brought onto the stage simultaneously, each standing out clearly & distinctly, whereas if we bring together 3 equally different types in music we do not get the impression of each of the 3 separately, but we get an entirely new type born of the 3, an intricate, in most cases, warring impression, in *no* way resembling any of the units of its construction, or its parallel in drama. In a landscape, a hill, a meadow, & a stream, will be each distinct, whereas relative contrasts in sound, united, would occasion a regular muffin-struggle. But music can do what is denied the other arts, in that it can give the ensemble, the atmosphere, *without* any of the details (I mean, it can give the spirit of a landscape *without* the trees, can give the spirit of the trees without the branches, leaves, etc.).... Thus I consider Impressionism an encroachment on the art of music, exchanging the office of painting (to express the underlying idea of a form thro its form) for that of music (to express the underlying idea of a form without its form [in margin – has of course nothing to do with the “form” of music] in the same way I consider a certain musical school that has sprung up in Germany a false attempt to fulfil the functions

³³ Grainger, *Self-Portrait*, p. 178.

of painting rather than that of its own art.... A writer in bringing before us anything ideal, noble, unreachable, must do so by touching on things that are material & graspable; even in speaking of God & Heaven, he must mention *names, facts, things*. With our art it is otherwise; our art is abstract, far from realities, is not limited to facts. (Imagination in literature & painting is merely the exchanging of the *known* forms & facts for those *unknown*.).... Thus the love-music of *Tristan* loses continuity [so] that it may be dramatic. Here Wagner commits himself to an error of reasoning, for if we believe that *love-motiv* to represent *love*, the *Tristan-motiv* to represent *Tristan*, the *Isold-motiv* to represent *Isolde*, then we must admit that, while the *Tristan-motiv* is playing, *Love* for the moment ceases, that *Tristan* gives place to *Isolde* while her *motiv* is played, & all 3 disappear while the *Death-motiv* reigns.... Love is not dramatic (only its results) & does not suddenly appear (for 30-second swags) to equally suddenly disappear. Rather is it a continuous thing to which interruption is death.... If we go from the standpoint that the motives *mean* nothing, & merely seek the emotional impression, we shall find it musically superb but must own to disagree with Wagner's doctrine of the purport of music. From this standpoint his application of philosophy to sound was a waste of time.³⁴

For a young musical philosopher to attack Wagner on his own turf (*Tristan*, no less) was a brave undertaking, and one can already see that Grainger was not merely an arrogant and hungry young lion looking to stake his claim among the icons, but a passionate and clear-minded thinker with a strong grasp of the issues at hand.

Grainger probably gathered further weapons for his aesthetic arsenal from Busoni, either directly during his studies or his subsequent reading of *Sketch of a New Esthetic of Music* (both, most likely). There is a curious passage in the *Sketch* on the nature of music that is of particular interest here: "This child - it floats on air! It touches not the earth with its feet. It knows no law of gravitation. It is wellnigh incorporeal. Its material is transparent. It is sonorous air. It is almost Nature herself. It is - *free*."³⁵ [Italics mine] This was some time before Grainger started discussing his concept of Free Music, and may therefore well be the source from which Grainger caught the inspiration to use the term "Free" for his own

³⁴ Percy Grainger. "The Expressive Potential of Music." In *Self-Portrait*, p. 236.

³⁵ Busoni, *Esthetic*, p. 77.

musical aesthetic. Grainger did not endorse the entirety of the *Esthetic*, however. Busoni further stated that although music is capable of portraying an emotional state, though not the object inspiring such emotion, it is not capable of the expression of abstract ideas such as truth and justice.³⁶ In this case, Grainger's aesthetic far surpassed that of his former teacher in its reach and complexity, for Grainger was convinced that music could indeed portray such abstract notions as democracy and tyranny, as demonstrated above.

Grainger's embrace of formalism meant an adherence to the value of the musical material over external or programmatic elements. In 1954, he wrote:

Other composers have based the appeal of their music on broad formal effects & on orchestrational brilliance (contrasts of tone-colors) or on clever manipulations of intervals. I know nothing of all those things. I strive to make the voice-leading of my tone-strands touching & the effect of my harmonies agonized.³⁷

Grainger's rejection of instrumentation as integral to organic unity, thus making it secondary to the structural and intervallic integrity of the music, resonates with the aesthetic theory of Immanuel Kant in which the quality of a tone, like the colour of a painting, is a merely secondary "agreeable" quality.³⁸ For Grainger, it was the strict musical quality of the tones that mattered, not the shading provided by the instrumentation. Grainger, however, was not content to let such an idea sit and produce an object worthy of Kantian disinterested aesthetic contemplation. Instead, it led him to the creation of what he termed "elastic scoring" in which the music was modified and scored in such a way as to allow its performance by any ensemble of instruments from brass band to guitar or various mixed ensembles. Grainger scored much of his music this way and made many more arrangements of the music of others from early English polyphony to Purcell and Bach in the same manner. In doing so, Grainger

³⁶ Busoni, *Esthetic*, p. 82.

³⁷ Percy Grainger. "My Wretched Tone-Life," p. 177.

³⁸ Immanuel Kant. *Critique of the Power of Judgment*. Translated by Paul Guyer and Eric Matthews (Cambridge, 2000): p. 108-109. See also Subotnik, *Deconstruction*, p. 162-3.

hoped to allow amateur musicians of all calibers and tastes to take part in and enjoy such music. There was no reason to deny the music of Purcell to amateur musicians simply because they played the saxophone or guitar instead of the viol. In essence, a viol ensemble could play from the music, pass the score to a saxophone ensemble, who would in turn pass it to a guitar ensemble, and the music would suffer no ill effect because of the integrity of the intervallic relationships and the non-instrument-specific scoring. The formalism of Free Music, and of the music he considered to be its precedents, thus allowed Grainger to extend further his efforts of musical democracy.

Machine-Music and Platonic Forms

Toward the end of the Free Music document, Grainger described the performance means by which Free Music might be realized:

Free Music demands a non-human performance. Like most true music, it is an emotional, not a cerebral, product and should pass direct from the imagination of the composer to the ear of the listener by way of delicately controlled machines. Too long has music been subject to the limitations of the human hand.... A composer wants to speak to his public direct. Machines...are capable of niceties of emotional expression impossible to a human performer.³⁹

Grainger's assertion that machines are capable of emotional performance beyond that of a human performer seems extraordinary until one remembers that it was the formalist qualities of the musical material in Free Music that conveyed the emotional impression and not the medium by which the material was delivered. The idea that machines could convey the music even more correctly than could the human performer thus implies that the emotional worth of the music would, in fact, be higher when performed by a flawless machine.

³⁹ Grainger, "Free Music," p. 294.

Grainger's statement that music should pass "direct from the imagination of the composer to the ear of the listener" therefore advocated bypassing the performer. However, it also advocated the possibility of eliminating another element traditionally considered essential in the production of music: notation. It is here that Grainger waded into difficult and far-reaching aesthetic territory for which I must once again turn to Busoni for assistance.

One of the most famous passages from Busoni's *Sketch* is the following:

Every notation is, in itself, the transcription of an abstract idea. The instant the pen seizes it, the idea loses its original form.... Again, the performance of a work is also a transcription, and still, whatever liberties it may take, it can never annihilate the original. For the musical art-work exists, before its tones resound and after they die away, complete and intact.⁴⁰

This is a difficult and enigmatic idea. One might initially interpret this as simple self-aggrandizing on Busoni's part in trying to shore up some aesthetic support for his many piano transcriptions of the works of other composers as meritorious musical works unto themselves. Yet it is not quite that simple. According to this scheme, the composer's act of simply writing the music down on paper is an act of transcription and the performance of the music is yet another level of transcription. Some of the confusion is cleared up if Busoni's definition of "transcription" is loosened to mean not merely the transference of musical material from one medium to another (such as Busoni's transcription for piano of J.S. Bach's *Tocatta and Fugue in D Minor* for organ) but something more akin to the descriptive analysis an ethnomusicologist might produce after having listened to a piece of folk music, such as Grainger's English folk song transcriptions (the careful reader has almost certainly noticed the foreshadowing in this argument). "Transcription" might therefore read "subjective interpretation," of which the performance is yet another "subjective

⁴⁰ Busoni, *Aesthetic*, pp. 85-86.

interpretation,” thus creating an interpretation twice removed from the ideal version of the music. The difficulty with this interpretation is that it relegates the composer to the level of transcriber, as though the music existed with or without the composer’s presence like a musical tree falling in the forest. Such a Platonic view of music is difficult to reconcile with Busoni, who was himself a composer and subscriber to the popular nineteenth-century idea of the musical genius. Nevertheless, Busoni expanded his view in later years to remove any doubt about the Platonic nature of his musical aesthetic:

In a similar relationship electricity was there from the beginning also before we discovered it; just as everything still undiscovered was in being from the beginning, and is therefore also now in being; so, too, the cosmic atmosphere teems with all forms, motives and combinations of past and future music. To me, a composer is like a gardener to whom a small portion of a large piece of ground has been allotted for cultivation; it falls to him to gather what grows on his soil, to arrange it, to make a bouquet of it; and if he is very ambitious, to develop it as a garden.⁴¹

The possibility that composers might be pseudo-ethnomusicologists trying to capture what they can on paper of an existing musical work seems difficult to fathom, but Grainger also subscribed to this idea. In 1937, Grainger wrote: “I believe, with Busoni, that every composition is already an arrangement or transcription, because no existing medium ever compares to the ideal medium dwelling in the composer’s imagination.”⁴² The qualification “dwelling in the composer’s imagination” is an important one for it re-admitted the composer into the musical equation instead of relegating him or her, as Busoni did, to the role of explorer of undiscovered forms in the nebulous musical ether.

⁴¹ Ferruccio Busoni. *The Essence of Music and Other Papers*. Translated by Rosamond Lay (New York, 1957): p. 199. For more on the debate concerning the ontological existence of the musical work see Renee Cox. “Are Musical Works Discovered?” In *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 43, no. 4 (Summer, 1985): pp. 367-374; Jerrold Levinson. “What a Musical Work Is.” In *The Journal of Philosophy* 77, no. 1 (Jan. 1980): pp. 5-28; Lydia Goehr. *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music* (Oxford, 1992).

⁴² Grainger, *Self-Portrait*, p. 201.

It is at this point that I can return from the detour into Busoni's aesthetics with an enhanced view of Grainger's proclivity for mechanical performance of Free Music. By making the machine responsible for performance either without the need for notation or, as he described in his 1902 document "Beatless-Notation Machine," a uniquely specific notation the instrument itself was capable of producing, Grainger eliminated the notation and performance stages and brought the whole musical process infinitely closer to a perfect realization of the ideal form of the music.⁴³ Busoni had also written about the mechanical performance of music in the *Sketch*, mentioning the work of Dr Thaddeus Cahill and his efforts to transform electric current into musical sounds. However, this was simply a means of obtaining the microtonal divisions he was advocating, a difficulty he himself admitted he had no hope of overcoming on his own.⁴⁴ It was a solution to a performance, not an aesthetic, difficulty.

Grainger's advocacy of mechanistic performance was far more complex than simple performance related problems, and Margaret Hee-Leng Tan is thus incorrect in her assessment that Grainger was interested in machines simply because his music was too technically difficult for humans to perform. Rather, mechanized performance was an integral element of his Free Music aesthetic.⁴⁵ He spent the last forty years of his life struggling to find or develop machines that were capable of fulfilling all the Free Music criteria. Sometimes, he would make some revolutionary discoveries that were simply swept away because they were not the desired result. For example, Grainger began writing music directly onto player piano rolls in 1922, twenty-six years before Conlon Nancarrow began doing so in

⁴³ Percy Grainger. "Beatless-Notation Machine." In *Grainger on Music*, p. 29-34.

⁴⁴ Busoni, *Esthetic*, p. 95.

⁴⁵ Hee-Leng Tan, p. 35.

1948.⁴⁶ This solved his rhythmic problems, as the player piano was capable of playing extremely complex rhythmic patterns far beyond the abilities of human pianists, but there was no means of pitch manipulation by which he might obtain the microtonal glissandi for which he was looking. Similarly, the theremin, developed in 1921 by Lev Termin, was capable of microtonal glissandi but not complex rhythmic patterns. Through his friendship with Henry Cowell, who was himself looking for mechanical solutions to the problems of the complexity of his own music, Grainger learned about other instruments such as the “rhythmicon,” a device Cowell developed with Termin that was capable of producing extremely difficult polyrhythms. Both composers were interested in the ‘polytone’ of composer Arthur Fickensher, an instrument with 63 keys to the octave but the rhythmically uninteresting layout of a keyboard.⁴⁷ Finally, following the dictum of Varèse that “the composer and the electrician will have to labour together,” Grainger enlisted the assistance of engineer Burnett Cross to help him develop the Free Music machines that would perform the music Grainger had never heard.⁴⁸ In 1972, Cross published a short article entitled “Grainger Free Music Machine” in which he provided a detailed examination of the machine he had developed with Grainger.⁴⁹ Sadly, this development took place far past the point in Grainger’s life at which he was considered musically relevant, and Free Music is therefore limited to a few home recordings of the Free Music Machine and a handful of commercial recordings based on the very few sketches that survive. Free Music, Grainger’s only child, died while still in its nascent stage.

⁴⁶ Hee-Leng Tan, p. 35.

⁴⁷ Hee-Leng Tan, p. 35.

⁴⁸ Lonce Wyse. “Free Music and the Discipline of Sound.” In *Organised Sound* 8, no. 3 (2003): pp. 240.

⁴⁹ Burnett Cross. “Grainger Free Music Machine.” In *The Journal of the British Institute of Recorded Sound*, no. 45-46 (January-April 1972): pp. 17-20.

GRAINGER'S MUSICAL AESTHETICS

Free Music was essentially the musical manifestation of Grainger's philosophy, but that does not mean that the complexity of his thinking is easily summarized by an examination of Free Music alone. Grainger's was a broad philosophy which engaged many of the dominant aesthetic and social issues of his day and anticipated a number of issues from days then yet to come. In the following section I shall examine the following four areas: 1) Grainger's philosophy of the art of the Folk; 2) racialism and racism; 3) additional musical context; and 4) the changing compositional methodologies and aesthetics of modernism.

Grainger's Philosophy of The Art of the Folk

Grainger's initial exposure to the European obsession with folk culture at the end of the nineteenth century probably came, as it did for many nationalist composers, from the writings of Richard Wagner. Indeed, Vic Gammon, in his seminal article "Folk Song Collecting in Sussex and Surrey, 1843-1914," wrote that the power of Wagner's *Volk* theories, which were, in turn, derived from those of Herder, had a considerable hold over the nationalists and folk enthusiasts of *Das Land ohne Musik*, despite the pronounced anti-German sentiment of the period.⁵⁰ As with all things relating to Wagner, however, the relationship between what he wrote and what he meant was not always a simple one, and Wagner's *das Volk* was a concept that bore little resemblance to the idea of "the folk" as it was taken up by folk song enthusiasts in England. Wagner, following Herder, was far more concerned with *das Volk* as a location of the preservation of remnants of the original Ur-language, which was thought to be far more complex, musical, and poetic, than the

⁵⁰ Vic Gammon. "Folk Song Collecting in Sussex and Surrey, 1843-1914." In *History Workshop* 10 (Autumn 1980): pp. 61-89.

degenerative language of modern society.⁵¹ For Wagner, *das Volk* was an ahistorical species, not a group of people with whom he had any real interest in association. Nevertheless, if we read Wagner literally, perhaps naively, as both Grainger and other collectors almost certainly did, Wagner seemed to celebrate folk culture not as a quaint and delightful antiquarian object to be condescendingly admired by the artistic elite, but as a powerful voice in the creation of the Artwork of the Future:

Who, then, will be the Artist of the Future? The Poet? The performer? The musician? The plastician? – Let us say it in one word: the Folk. That selfsame Folk to whom we owe the only genuine Artwork, still living even in our modern memory, however much distorted by our restorations; to whom alone we owe all Art itself.⁵²

Wagner invested the “folk” not only with considerable influence but also an aesthetic judgment as discerning and capable of genius as that of any art-music composer:

But that *Art* is not an *artificial* product, – that the need of Art is not an arbitrary issue, but an inbred craving of the natural, genuine, and uncorrupted man, – who proves this in more striking manner than just these Peoples? Nay, whence shall our uneasy “spirit” derive its proofs of Art’s necessity, if not from the testimony of this artistic instinct and its glorious fruits afforded by these nature-fostered peoples, by the great *Folk* itself?⁵³

Wagner appears to have recognized that artistic creation was not merely the property of the aesthetically trained elite artist, but that it was a purely human instinct found in the highest degree among the folk, anticipating what ethnomusicologists would later recognize, namely that ordinary people are artistically inventive and often create music of a personal style with considerable skill.⁵⁴ Further, the denizens of art music rarely see folk culture as anything

⁵¹ Helene M. Kastinger Riley. "Some German Theories on the Origin of Language from Herder to Wagner." In *The Modern Language Review*, 74, no. 3 (July, 1979): pp. 617-632.

⁵² Wagner, *Art-Work*, p. 205.

⁵³ Wagner, *Art-Work*, p. 75.

⁵⁴ John Blacking. *A Commonsense View of All Music: Reflections on Percy Grainger’s Contributions to Ethnomusicology and Music Education* (Cambridge, 1987): p. 46.

other than an object to be seized and transformed, like a rough-edged rock to be tumbled over and over again until presentable in a polished form:

This world was longing to paint *men* again, to set men to sing-not pipes; so it seized the folk-tune for its purpose, and constructed out of it the *opera-air*.... She had not grasped the *entire* man, to show him in his whole artistic stature an nature-bidden necessity, but only the *singing* man; and in his song she had not seized the Ballad of the Folk, with all its innate generative force, but merely the melodic Tune; abstracted from the poem, to which she set conventional and purposely insipid sentences, according to her pleasure.⁵⁵

Wagner almost seemed to be writing not only about the nationalist schools of composition that would spring up all over Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century, during which time everyone from Jean Sibelius to Grainger's hero Edvard Grieg tumbled the rough rock of folk culture until it was smooth enough to support their own idea of a national musical style, but could even be describing the ideas and methods of the folk song collectors themselves, particularly the members of the FSS.

Grainger took some important ideas away from his very literal reading of Wagner, most notably that folk music is not only as valid as art music, but that the two ought to be treated as equals. For Grainger, folk music was not merely a surrogate for the creative power of art music, it was itself art music and the practitioners of art music were intelligent and often brilliant creative artists who made individual artistic choices about the music they performed. Indeed, in a moment of insight almost Marxist in tone, Grainger wrote in 1915:

Not only does the commercial slavery of our civilization hold out to the average man insufficient leisure for the normal growth of the habit of artistic expression (unless he shows talents *exceptional* enough to warrant his becoming a professional artist) but the many decorums of modern society deny to most of us any very generous opportunities for using even our various (unartistic) life-instincts to the full.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Wagner, *Art-Work*, p. 89.

⁵⁶ Grainger, "Impress," p. 46. Grainger's point, and even the language and tone of this passage, is picked up by Adorno in "Why is the New Art So Hard to Understand?" from 1931: "If the disposition of work and leisure

It was not a lack of talent that prevented folk from becoming elite artists, but leisure time. However, this was far from what Grainger considered a lamentable situation, for he considered the sort of non-specialization, or what he termed “all-roundedness,” that prevented an excess of leisure time to be a very positive attribute. Grainger wrote: “Society offers such careers of joy, variety, and expansiveness to courageous individuals of non-specialist proclivities. Yet it may seem that there is but little official recognition of the fact that it is non-specializing all-roundedness that lies at the root of human greatness.”⁵⁷ The “All-Round Man” was one who filled many different roles as hunter, gatherer, farmer, musician, etc., as many people did in earlier stages of human history and continue to do in some parts of the world today. That the “All-Round Man” could not specialize in music was a positive attribute because music was simply one aspect of his all-round existence. This is perhaps an idealized view of the hardship and toil many rural and non-industrial societies face, but what is important here is that Grainger celebrated the folk not because of the simplicity of their lives, but because of their moral and aesthetic complexity. In essence, the folk were artists and the entirety of their lives was their artwork.

This is very much connected with Grainger’s absolute dismissal of the teleological philosophy of music history. In essence, Grainger believed that all music of all periods of time from all over the world was aesthetically valid regardless of its level of complexity and the specifically Western markers of aesthetic and moral value, such as Adorno’s “Structural

time were different than it is today; if people, independent of cultural privilege, could spend their leisure time occupied substantively and extensively with artistic matters; if a demonically precise mechanism of advertising and anesthetization did not, in every instant of their leisure, prevent them from occupying themselves with actual art-then in principle, the consciousness of consumers could be changed in such a way that they could understand new art without the new art having to be dumbed down on that account. The argument that the public wants kitsch is dishonest; the argument that it needs relaxation, at least incomplete.”

⁵⁷ Percy Grainger. “The Specialist and the All-Round Man.” In *Grainger on Music*, p. 316.

Listening”, were not applicable to the vast majority of music from around the world, particularly that of the folk.

This is not to say that Grainger disapproved of or disavowed the idea of cross-pollination between various musical practices. Indeed, Grainger himself testified that many elements of Free Music, such as microtonality, were inspired by the music of non-Western cultures. However, Grainger also began to see a complexity in folk music that demanded a special kind of musical mind; music might be equal all over the world and throughout time, but that did not mean that all musicians were capable of accessing the upper levels of complexity of all these styles simply by virtue of being a musician. In 1915, perhaps as a veiled swipe at his FSS colleagues, Grainger wrote:

[Folk music] is generally far too complex (as regards rhythm, dynamics, and scales) to appeal to listeners whose ears have not been subjected to the ultra-refining influence of close association with the subtle developments of our latest Western art music.... As a rule folk music finds its way to the hearts of the general public and of the less erudite musicians only after it has been ‘simplified’ (generally in the process of notation by well-meaning collectors ignorant of these more ornate subtleties of our notation alone fitted for the task) out of all resemblance to its original self. Nor is this altogether surprising when we come to compare town populations with the country-side or ‘savagely’ folk to whom we go for the unwritten material.⁵⁸

The complexity of folk music, therefore, was actually beyond the grasp of not only cultured listeners, but even musicians whose ears are not attuned to such sounds. It was not merely any musician who could distinguish the qualities of folk song that were deserving of attention:

The fact can hardly be too often emphasized that it is largely the ‘hyper-modern’ men who prove to be the most susceptible to the lure of ‘primitive’ music, which not only confronts them with a simplicity (in certain directions) refreshing to them by reason of the sharp contrast it affords to art music, but which also contains certain elements of extreme complexity, particularly as regards rhythms and

⁵⁸ Grainger, “Impress,” pp. 44-45.

dynamics, to which the modernist may turn to *increase* the range of his ornate compositional resources; the artist with the healthiest appetite for complexity can generally be relied upon to possess the strongest craving for simplicity also.⁵⁹

It was not then mere modern composers, armed with atonality and serialism, who were equipped to deal with the complexity of “primitive” music, but “hyper-modern” composers. This was an enigmatic statement upon which Grainger did not expand. One might assume that he meant composers such as Charles Ives, Henry Cowell, or Ruth Crawford Seeger, all of whom wove interests in folk music with ultra-modern and avant-garde compositional aesthetics. Further exploration of this idea in the section of this chapter dedicated to Grainger’s article in the *Journal of the Folk-Song Society*, will demonstrate that the hyper-modern composer, the only one who can really “get” folk song, was the composer who had fully embraced the Free Music philosophy, which was required in order to provide the sonic and aesthetic palate that could appreciate fully the complexity of folk music. Thus, the only musician who could really understand folk song was Percy Grainger.

The Nordic Ideal, Racialism, and Racism

I have considered quite carefully whether or not to address this topic. On the one hand, race and Nordic identity were such a vital element of Grainger’s philosophy that their absence in any discussion of him would be more than a little conspicuous. On the other hand, it is these very ideas that have often made Grainger *persona non grata* in any serious discussion of music history and aesthetics. I have decided that this serious discussion of his work cannot do without such an examination, although I do intend to keep it as brief as possible.

However, I include it with the following unequivocal caveat: Grainger’s racial theories, even

⁵⁹ Grainger, “Impress,” p. 82.

from their earliest and most innocent stages of childhood infatuation with the Icelandic Sagas, were a vicious poison that crippled his mind, corroded his aesthetic and, I believe, ultimately destroyed his life. Whereas the majority of this dissertation is a positive and even celebratory exploration of Grainger's remarkable mind, this brief section is a lament for that mind as it grew evermore polluted and defiled by a doctrinal poison he was incapable of eliminating from his psyche.

Grainger's enthusiastic childhood readings of the Icelandic Sagas led him to a lifelong adoration of Nordic identity. The people of the Nordic lands, both ancient and contemporary, were Grainger's idealized image of that to which the human race ought to aspire:

The effortlessly heroic keynote struck alike by the best and the worst of the personages of the sagas has always seemed to me a bugle-call to soldierly endeavor, in work or in life, to which it is impossible to turn a deaf ear. The metallic vividness of life, as depicted in the old tales, has brought to me always a wind-swept invigoration more refreshing even than that to be had from contact with the very wilds of virgin nature herself. The very essence of great mountains, austere deserts and briny oceans seems concentrated down to the most intense point in the old Norse humanity, in which these elements of inanimate nature seem to move in spiritualized forms.... Life in the Viking Age reads as if based upon a serious and profound application of one of the greatest of our modern proverbs: 'It's a great life if you don't weaken' (which, typically enough, modern humanity regards as a joke!)... I ask myself the question, 'Am I prosecuting my goal with the tireless tenacity of an Icelander? Is my artistic craftsmanship worthy of one conversant with the literary technique of Icelandic literature, ancient and modern? Is my artistic morality, my behavior toward my fellow composers, such as might be expected of one enjoying the influence of old Norse aristocratic codes of warrior-conduct? For (let me repeat) Icelandic standards of behavior, Icelandic examples of character, Icelandic achievements of artistic expression, are the loftiest, the noblest, the most intense, the most uplifting that I know.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ Grainger. "The Value of Icelandic to an Anglo-Saxon." In *Grainger on Music*, p 121-2.

Grainger's writings are often peppered with such idealized thinking and read as though they should have come more from a twelve-year-old boy than the thirty-eight-year-old man who wrote them.

On what appears to be no authoritative basis whatsoever, Grainger believed that those composers who demonstrated a familiarity with some of the materials of Free Music were Nordic or were possessed of Nordic souls. How then could he celebrate the music of all places and eras and still maintain the concept of Nordic supremacy? Grainger answered this question himself:

Thus, when I say Nordics I mean races preponderantly Nordic (such as the Scandinavians, the Dutch, the British, the Americans of the U.S., Canadians, Australians, New Zealanders, South Africans, etc.) and when I say Nordic music I mean music showing in preponderance those characteristics that have come to us mainly in the music of Nordics. Thus, from this standpoint a great deal of Negro music is typically Nordic, just as a large part of Negro thot [sic] and emotionality is typically Anglo-Saxon.⁶¹

This seems like a very neat solution, although that is perhaps not an exceptionally difficult achievement in a philosophy he made up himself with no credible theoretical basis and the parameters of which he could alter whenever he chose. Grainger altered such parameters regularly; his Nordic ideal was ostensibly anti-German, but seems heavily influenced by German ultra-nationalism, and Wagner was sometimes an example of Nordic brilliance and at others an example of impure Germanic influence. John Williamson wrote of Busoni that it is unfair to look for systematic thought in the loosely-organized philosophies of artists.⁶² This is particularly true in Grainger's case, where the philosophy is also infantile and ridiculous.

⁶¹ Grainger. "Nordic Characteristics in Music." in *Grainger on Music*, p. 133.

⁶² John Williamson. "The Musical Artwork and its Materials in the Music and Aesthetics of Busoni." In *The Musical Work: Reality or Invention?* (Liverpool, 2000): p. 190.

David Pear has identified the period of 1919-1928 as the period during which time Grainger's racialism moved from being merely inane to being a vile and destructive racism.⁶³ In a way, Grainger was himself both to blame and not to blame for this. Grainger was a voracious reader in all areas, but having very little formal education he was essentially an autodidact. This being the case, Grainger had very likely never learned any methods for the critical scrutinizing of his sources, and he thus took the scholarly validity of much of his reading for granted. Thus it was that in the aforementioned period Grainger began parroting the racial theories of an infamous pantheon of authors: Houston Stewart Chamberlain, Richard Wagner's son-in-law and author of *Die Grundlagen des. 19. Jahrhunderts* from 1899; Madison Grant, author of *The Passing of the Great Race* from 1916; Lothrop Stoddard, author of *The Rising Tide of Color against White World-Supremacy* from 1920 (both Stoddard and Grant were American academics: Stoddard a political scientist and Grant a lawyer; both were eugenicists); and finally (and not surprisingly) Otto Weininger, author of *Geschlecht und Charakter* from 1903. The end result of this was a categorization of racial stereotypes masquerading as legitimate identities that seemed to provide Grainger with all the proof he required that the Nordic people were the most superior the world had ever known, that Free Music was an outgrowth of their influence, and that those possessed of true Nordic souls would thus recognize Free Music as the most perfect music.

This was distasteful enough, but it got worse: if the Nordic people were the top rung of the genetic ladder, it does not take much imagination to come up with who was to occupy the bottom rung:

I view all planting of Jews (whether as individuals or as groups) in our midst as just one more of the countless and endless set-backs nature sets in trying to launch Nordic impersonalness (tenderness,

⁶³ David Pear. "Grainger on Race and Nation." In *Australasian Music Research* 5 (2000): pp. 25-47.

peaceableness, etc). In the end they (the poor Jews) will hate their life with us as much as we will hate having them amongst us..... When a Jew paints, he paints as if with bird-shit. They have so little singing voice that even their love of ease and wellbeing cannot turn them into successful opera and concert singers, despite the easy earnings of a singer.⁶⁴

Jews were not only the bottom rung, but they were somehow going to make life difficult for those privileged Nordics on the top. Later in this same letter, Grainger demonstrated his disapproval of the prospect of lending assistance to the Jews during the period of their persecution in Nazi Germany, writing: “What a badly equipped-race! How pity-deserving! How really poor & unlucky. All of which (you say) is why we shld [sic] help them. I say no, we are still worse off, because the world treats us Nordics a thousand times worse than it treats the Jews.”⁶⁵ Grainger held himself out as a pacifist and lover of all mankind, but we can neither deny nor ignore the fact that such sentiments as those expressed above were abhorrent and revolting.

The most lamentable fact of Grainger’s unabashed racism is that it is not the intriguing and challenging aesthetic philosophy of Grainger, or its application to his musical ambitions, or his ground-breaking work in English Folk Song that is his legacy. Rather, it is his vulgar and despicable theory of race and eugenics that stick in the mind. The canon has forgiven many other composers for their questionable philosophies: Wagner’s anti-Semitism; Scriabin’s self-deification via theosophy; Shostakovich’s possible embrace of Stalinism. All are forgiven because their transgressions are deemed of less significance than the aesthetic contribution they made. Grainger will probably never be granted such forgiveness, for he wasted so much of his life writing and thinking about such offensive rubbish that he never

⁶⁴ Percy Grainger. *The All-Round Man: Selected Letters of Percy Grainger 1914-1961*. Edited by Malcolm Gillies and David Pear (Oxford, 1994): p.160.

⁶⁵ Grainger, *All-Round Man*, p. 162.

had the opportunity to make the aesthetic contribution of which he may very well have been perfectly capable.

Additional Musical Context: Busoni, Grainger and Futurism

Grainger's Free Music aesthetic was not entirely unique. Indeed, many composers had demonstrated interests in microtonality and irregular rhythms at or around the same time. The fact that Grainger was working with these very concepts, in addition to his advocacy of performance technology, could be seen simply as a logical development of late nineteenth-century Positivism. However, Grainger did seem to share a considerable amount of his aesthetic with the movement known as Futurism, and it is a conspicuous coincidence that both Free Music and Futurism shared the presence of Busoni during their initial stages of development.

Futurism was initially an Italian movement inaugurated by Filippo Tommaso Marinetti with his manifesto *Le Futurisme* in 1909. The scope of the Futurist aesthetic was very wide and consisted of the liberation of language from grammar and syntax; the destruction of traditional aesthetics, morality, and academic learning; and an embrace of speed, technology, and violence. Futurism was to be liberated from the past in every sense. Influenced by Marinetti, Balilla Pratella issued his *Manifesto of Futurist Musicians* in 1910.⁶⁶ Pratella's Futurist aesthetic of music advocated microtonality as an alternative to tonality and a complete breakdown of traditional rhythm and meter, essentially a revolution of common-

⁶⁶ Balilla Pratella. "Manifesto of Futurist Musicians." In *Futurist Manifestos*. Translated by Umbro Apollonio (London, 1973): pp. 1-17.

practice period musical materials.⁶⁷ Further, it was not only the material that was to be transformed, but also the means of musical production:

All forces of nature, tamed by man through his continued scientific discoveries, must find their reflection in composition - the musical soul of the crowds, of great industrial plants, of trains, of transatlantic liners, of armored warships, of automobiles, or airplanes. This will unite the great central motives of a musical poem with the power of the machine and the victorious reign of electricity.⁶⁸

The embrace of the spirit of the technological age and a concurrent use of non-traditional musical material inspired Luigi Russolo to issue his manifesto *L'arte dei rumori* in 1913.⁶⁹ Russolo took Pratella's aesthetic of a musical aesthetic of machinery even further by advocating that it was not simply the spirit of machines that should be the inspiration for the music, but that the sounds of machinery should be the primary musical material. Russolo proclaimed traditional musical materials obsolete and proposed that they be replaced by the sounds of cars, airplanes, and factory machinery. This would be accomplished by the production of instruments of his own design, the *intonarumori*, that were divided into the following four families: *rombi* (rumbles); *fischi* (whistles); *bisbigli* (whispers); and *stridori* (screeches).⁷⁰ The *intonarumori* were designed to show disdain for the past and traditional musical material, favouring instead the embrace of the sounds of the everyday world and industrial technology. Such sounds would necessarily shed their associations with music of the past by virtue of their unique potential:

Every noise having in its irregular vibrations *a predominant general pitch* [italics Russolo's], a sufficiently extended variety of tones, semitones, and quartertones is easily attained in the construction of the instruments that imitate it. This variety of pitches will not

⁶⁷ Robert Morgan, "Musical Reality," p. 15.

⁶⁸ Pratella cited in Morgan, "Musical Reality," p. 15.

⁶⁹ Luigi Russolo. *The Art of Noises*. Translated by Barclay Brown (New York, 1986).

⁷⁰ Mark A. Radice. "Futurismo: Its Origins, Context, Repertory, and Influence." In *The Musical Quarterly* 73, no. 1 (1989): p. 7.

deprive a single noise of the characteristics of its timbre but will only increase its tessitura or extension.⁷¹

Russolo presented the *intonarumori* at a concert in London on June 15, 1914 at the London Coliseum. “Futurism” was a term already being used in English criticism to describe any music that was modern and challenging, and it had previously been used to describe Scriabin, Schoenberg and Stravinsky.⁷² One might therefore imagine the surprise of a listener expecting to hear Schoenberg but hearing instead the sounds of symphonic industrial machinery. Grainger made no reference to having any knowledge of the concert in his correspondence, but since he remained in London for the summer of 1914 it is very possible that he either saw it or heard about it.

Italian Futurism lived a brief existence and died a quick death. The obvious connections between Futurist aesthetics and Fascism meant that the Second World War destroyed not only all of Russolo’s works and instruments but also the public interest in art that seemingly embraced Fascist ideology. As though heaping another indignity upon the lifeless corpse of Futurism, none of the later avant-garde figures such as John Cage or Edgar Varèse ever admitted to having been influenced by the Italian Futurists.⁷³ However, as Lonce Wyse has pointed out, the primary failure of Futurism was on purely aesthetic grounds.⁷⁴ Despite the fact that Futurism was theoretically formalist, the origin and nature of the industrial noises always operated to the listeners as very specific sonic signifiers: a train, despite the radical nature of its inclusion in a work of music, still sounded like a train and conveyed that image to the listener. Industrial sounds did not stand on their own as viable

⁷¹ Russolo, *The Art of Noises*, p. 29.

⁷² Rodney J. Payton. “The Music of Futurism: Concerts and Polemics.” In *The Musical Quarterly* 62, no. 1 (January 1976): p. 26.

⁷³ Morgan. “Musical Reality,” p. 22.

⁷⁴ Lonce Wyse. “Free Music and the Discipline of Sound.” In *Organised Sound* 8, no. 3 (2003): p. 239.

material for a formalist aesthetic, for they were too heavily weighted with the significance of their origin, particularly when programmed beside music from the common-practice canon.

As mentioned above, Grainger never cited any familiarity with Futurism, but the following statement from 1915 seems to imply that he was not only familiar with Russolo's work but approved of its ideology:

Out in nature...men have long known how to enjoy discordant combinations. A telegraph wire humming B flat, a bird piping a flat B natural and factory whistles chiming in with notes resembling D and F sharp; the mournful appeal of such accidental ensembles has frequently awakened emotional response. But a musician in 1890 would have been inclined to enjoy such sounds as merely part of 'nature' and with no bearing upon his 'art', whereas we today are more apt to find compositional hints in such occurrences, not, I most sincerely hope, because we have any desire to 'copy nature', or because we could willingly contemplate exchanging, for however brief a moment, the precise choice of formal arrangement of artistic procedure for the choicelessness of 'life', but simply because a greater number of discordant harmonic combinations happen to charm our ears to-day than they did in 1890.⁷⁵

Busoni denied having any direct links to Futurism, although he approved of many of their musical propositions and his *Sketch of a New Aesthetic of Music* was often cited by the Futurists themselves as a source of inspiration.⁷⁶ However, both Busoni and Grainger seem to have had more in common with the Russian manifestation of Futurism than with the Italian variety.

The Russian avant-garde was not a unified movement, and it is therefore difficult to arrive at a general definition. John E. Bowlt and Olga Matich described it as a period of artistic experimentation during the period of 1908 to 1925 in which artists believed they had the power to alter the parameters of human existence through the amalgamation of art and

⁷⁵ Grainger, "Impress," p. 58

⁷⁶ Morgan, "Musical Reality," p. 2.

science.⁷⁷ Russian Futurists advocated the interchangeability of forms, the embrace of those elements of culture considered vulgar and profane, and the attack upon the sophistication of the academic musical establishment. Kandinsky, perhaps the most well-known of the Russian Futurists, turned to folk, mediaeval, and primeval art as a means of finding inspiration outside of conventional artistic ideologies.⁷⁸ Russian Futurism was also centered upon the idea of a sort of Russian Ideal. Russia was the centre of development for an ethos that would transcend national boundaries and transform the essence of human existence. Futurists therefore embraced Russia's cultural heritage at the same time as they looked for new means of expression. The canon of traditional Russian art was embraced and refurbished even as the Futurists strove to move beyond it. As Bowlt has written, the Futurists sought to create a new future even as they slept with copies of Pushkin under their pillows.⁷⁹

Many Russian composers embraced Futurism, among the most famous being: Mikhail Matyushin (1861-1934); Arseni Avraamov (1890-1943); Artur Vincent Lourie (1892-1966); Joseph Schillinger (1895-1943); Ivan Aleksandrovich Vyshnegradsky (1893-1979); and Georgi Mikhailovich Rimsky-Korsakov (1901-1965).⁸⁰ All of them advocated materials such as microtonality and the expansion of traditional rhythm in much the same way as their Italian counterparts. It was the composer Nikolai Kulbin (1868-1917), however, who most personified the basic tenants of the movement. Kulbin was a professor at St. Petersburg Military Academy and doctor to the Russian general staff who taught himself the arts of painting and literature. In 1908 he began lecturing on his philosophy of "Free Art," in

⁷⁷ John E. Bowlt and Olga Matich. "Introduction." In *Laboratory of Dreams: The Russian Avant-Garde and Cultural Experiment* (Stanford, 1996): p. 2.

⁷⁸ Rose-Carol Washton Long. "Occultism, Anarchism, and Abstraction: Kandinsky's Art of the Future." In *Art Journal* 46, no. 1 (Spring 1987): p. 43.

⁷⁹ Bowlt, "Introduction," p. 6.

⁸⁰ For a thorough examination of this very under-studied era of Russian music see Larry Sitsky. *Music of the Repressed Russian Avant-Garde, 1900-1929* (Connecticut, 1994).

which he advocated a view of the world in which humans possessed a pan-psychic link. The use of dissonance in art in the form of close combinations of tones and colours would produce a dissonance that affected listeners on a subliminal level and resonated with their own psychological dissonance. Charlotte Douglas has identified Neo-Impressionism, Symbolism, and the philosophy of Henri Bergson as the most likely sources of Kulbin's aesthetic, stating as well that although Kulbin seems to have some connection to Russolo and the Italian Futurists, his philosophy seems more to bear the hallmarks of being his own creation than it does a mere transference of ideas from Italy.⁸¹

In 1909, Kulbin published a manifesto in Russian entitled *Free Music: The Application of the New Theory of Artistic Creation to Music*. The circulation of the manifesto was limited but it increased significantly when it was republished in 1910 in German in *Der Blaue Reiter* as simply *Free Music*. Kulbin's aesthetic of music sounded remarkably like that of Grainger's Free Music:

The music of nature is free in its choices of notes-light, thunder, the whistling of wind, the rippling of water, the singing of birds. The nightingale sings not only the notes of contemporary music, but the notes of all the music it likes. Free music follows the same laws of nature as do the music and the whole art of nature. Like the nightingale, the artist of free music is not restricted by tones and half tones. He also uses quarter tones and eighth tones and music with a free choice of tones. This disturbs neither the simplicity nor the search for a basic character, nor does it lead to a photographic reproduction of life, but it facilitates stylization.⁸²

Microtonality was to be a means of setting into vibration the listener's soul through the use of materials derived from nature. Both the microtonal and formalist properties of Kulbin's

⁸¹ Charlotte Douglas. "The New Russian Art and Italian Futurism." In *Art Journal* 34, no. 3 (Spring, 1975): p. 231.

⁸² Nikolai Kulbin. "Free Music." In Wassily Kandinsky and Franz Marc. *The Blaue Reiter Almanac*. Translated by Klaus Lankheit (New York, 1974): p. 141.

Free Music seem to be similar to those advocated by Grainger. Also like Grainger, Kulbin was inconsistent in his assertion of aesthetic formalism:

The representational capacity of music is enhanced. The voice of a loved person can be rendered; the singing of the nightingale, the rustling of leaves, the delicate and stormy noise of the wind and the sea can be imitated. The movement of man's soul can be represented more completely.⁸³

As observed with both Grainger and Busoni, one is generally in good company with an inconsistent musical aesthetic, so Kulbin can hardly be persecuted for his own philosophical shortcomings. Contrary to Grainger, Kulbin did not advocate the use of electronic instruments as a means of producing Free Music, but the enhancement of traditional instruments such as the harp, balalaika, guitar, and cello, as well as a piano that would be strung in such a way as to produce additional notes between the semitones while vastly reducing the number of octaves.⁸⁴ Even glass bowls filled with carefully measured amounts of water were considered a suitable means.⁸⁵ This makeshift approach to instrumentation differed from Italian Futurism in two significant points: first, that the embracing of industrial technology and the denunciation of traditional instrumental timbres was not a necessary prerequisite for the Futurist aesthetic; second, that instrumental timbre was not an integral element of the musical material but a “colour” placed over the material in the Kantian sense of the term.

There would appear to be a great deal of evidence to suggest that Grainger was familiar with Russian Futurism and the work of Nikolai Kulbin in particular. Even if we consider the possibility that Busoni is the common source that led to nearly identical

⁸³ Kulbin, p. 142.

⁸⁴ Mel Gordon. “Songs from the Museum of the Future: Russian Sound Creation (1910-1930).” In *Wireless Imagination: Sound, Radio, and the Avant-Garde*. Edited by Douglas Kahn and Gregory Whitehead (Cambridge, 1992): p. 206.

⁸⁵ Kulbin, p. 146.

aesthetics between Grainger and Kulbin, the coincidences are striking, particularly that of the title of *Free Music* being the title of the manifestos of their musical philosophies. Grainger, as we have previously noted, was not particularly careful about citing those sources from which he derived his philosophies, and we should certainly not assume that Grainger hijacked and appropriated Kulbin's aesthetic for his own: after all, we can quite demonstrably assert that Grainger's Free Music ideas were well underway at a very early stage of his career. What is more likely, I suggest, is that it was Grainger who began to feel increasingly as though it was his aesthetic that was being hijacked, and that others were having far more success with it than he was.

**The Changing Compositional Methodologies of Modernism,
or The Failure of Free Music**

The greatest failing of Free Music, and the element that looms large in Grainger's inability to produce any significant quantity of it, must surely lie in its lack of compositional methodology. While composers from Schoenberg to Xenakis have substituted methodologies based on mathematical systems for tonal compositional procedures, Grainger was adamant about Free Music representing the freedom of nature.⁸⁶ As a result, the compositional procedure of Free Music must have been somewhat nearer to hit-and-miss. Stravinsky described his own feelings when confronted with such an idea:

I experience a sort of terror when, at the moment of setting to work and finding myself before the infinitude of possibilities that present themselves, I have the feeling that everything is permissible to me. If everything is permissible, the best and the worst, if nothing offers me any resistance, then any effort is inconceivable, and I cannot use

⁸⁶ Hee-Leng Tan, p. 31.

anything as a basis, and consequently every undertaking becomes futile.⁸⁷

Grainger must surely have felt considerable frustration as he grew older, for it was not long before a younger generation discovered many of the same aesthetic ideas and applied a rigorous methodology in order to attain the results for which Grainger had been striving. Karlheinz Stockhausen described the musical aesthetic of the avant-garde of the 1950s as follows:

In the music since 1951 there was an explicit spirit of non-figurative composition. We tried to avoid all repetition of figures, and through this it became very clear to us that the way sounds were organized was the most important aspect, and not the particular *Gestalt* that occurred in a given moment. The fact that certain notes were composed as points, and other as groups, that was what mattered; being recognizably points, or being groups, or a mixture of both. The groups could be completely different in their intervals or in their shape, and the points could be in different regions and of different overall quality, generally shorter or longer or higher or lower. I once made the comparison with sonata form, first-movement form in traditional music, here the best examples are the most through-composed, where the development is the most advanced. As you know, the fifth symphony of Beethoven is always quoted as the example: there is just one figure which recurs all the time. As I say, always the same object in different lights. Whereas since 1950, it has been always new objects shown in the same light, and that light is, for example, a series of proportions.⁸⁸

By the 1950s, a number of Grainger's ideas, such as microtonality and non-repetition of melodic material, had become commonplace, but Grainger never described the methodology of Free Music with the same precision and clarity Stockhausen used for the avant-garde of his time.

One composer who not only achieved many of the musical ideals Grainger advocated for Free Music but did so through the use of traditional instrumentation was Gyorgy Ligeti (1923-2006). Although Ligeti's work moved through many different stages and conveyed a

⁸⁷ Igor Stravinsky. *Poetics of Music* (Massachusetts, 1942): p. 63.

⁸⁸ Karlheinz Stockhausen. *Stockhausen on Music* (London, 1989): p. 41-2.

myriad of influences, at least one work, *Apparitions* from 1958, demonstrated a number of techniques that seem to achieve the Free Music ideals Grainger espoused. Ligeti's concept of *micropolyphony* was a technique in which many voices played versions of the same line that were slightly altered in terms of pitch and point of entry with each line then being doubled a number of times. This technique created an extremely dense web of voices that made the discernment of single voices nearly impossible, much like Grainger's concept of democratic polyphony. Ligeti cited Ockeghem as the primary source of inspiration for this technique and one can only lament the fact that Ligeti was able to use this influence to achieve his aesthetic goals in a way Grainger never could.

Ligeti also related that he had begun forming ideas for a form of "beatless music" in the early 1950s but had been prevented from realizing it because of his inability to find a method of notating it and realizing it in a practical manner.⁸⁹ In *Apparitions*, Ligeti found a way of defeating the sense of pulse by carefully scaling material of short duration against that of longer duration in order to produce measures of constantly shifting length and time-signatures. This, in addition to tightly-clustered textures that alternate with more rhythmically violent events with multiple time-signatures, successfully created a work that essentially defeated the feeling of regular rhythmic pulse. Grainger hit upon some of these same ideas himself as early as 1907 in his fragmentary work *Sea-Song*, as shown in Example 4.2.

⁸⁹ Steinitz, p. 104-5.

pointed out previously, Hee-Leng Tan's assertion that the technology was secondary to musical matters does not bear scrutiny, for Grainger had been pursuing the sort of "impersonal" performance for Free Music accorded by technology since at least 1902. Electronic instruments had a vital role to play in Free Music beyond simply being able to play notes humans could not.

Why then did Grainger fail to embrace both the electronic and traditional means of achieving his Free Music ideal, particularly as these means became increasingly available to him in the 1940s and 1950s? I suggest that Grainger's creativity essentially tailed off as he saw more and more of the Free Music aesthetic fulfilled by other composers. Grainger's autobiographical writings, particularly after the suicide of his mother in April 1922, show him becoming increasingly bitter and resentful of the way he perceived himself having been treated by the musical establishment, and he seems to have dedicated at least as much time to his perverse racial theories as he did to composition. Further, Grainger himself suggested that he had early on run out of compositional steam, a possibility attested to by the fact that the vast majority of his music was written or sketched when he was between the ages of seventeen and thirty, the remaining years of his life being spent on arranging, orchestrating, or rewriting his body of work.⁹¹

It is also important to remember that Grainger's income throughout his life depended upon his activities as a concert pianist, even when he was at an age where his technique had clearly begun to abandon him. Grainger complained often about his life as a pianist and the limited capacity of the piano to play any essential role in Free Music. Much though he dreamed of escaping the canon of the piano, he was financially tied to it. Kay Dreyfus's collection of Grainger's letters from 1901 to 1914, *The Farthest North of Humanness*,

⁹¹ Hee-Leng Tan, p. 31.

testifies to the grueling concert schedule Grainger maintained in his youth, a schedule that he continued to maintain well into middle age, and we should not be surprised that the development of a musical aesthetic that was to transgress the boundaries of the music he was performing very nearly every day in order to earn a living should sit unnourished in the recesses of his increasingly resentful mind.

THE AESTHETICS OF “COLLECTING WITH THE PHONOGRAPH”

With a more vivid picture of Grainger’s musical aesthetics in place, many of the intricacies of Grainger’s article “Collecting with the Phonograph” (“the article”) come to the foreground more plainly. The purpose of this section is to recover the traces of the Free Music aesthetic from within the article and thus to cast a new light on the criticisms Grainger received. Indeed, it is the criticisms themselves that not only assist in the recovery effort but also demonstrate that the members of the FSS, far from the Luddites they may appear to have been, had gleaned very well Grainger’s meaning, both overt and covert. This portion of the chapter is divided into the following sections: 1) Background, Caveat, and the Democracy of the Phonograph; 2) The Fetish of the Song; 3) Transcription, Ontology, and the Folk Song of the Future; and 4) The Art of English Folk Song.

Background, Caveat, and the Democracy of the Phonograph

Grainger’s article appeared as the entirety of the issue number 12 of the *Journal of the Folk Song Society (JFSS)* in 1908, a journal that flourishes to this very day under the title *Folk Music Journal*. It was standard practice, as it is now, for submissions to the *JFSS* to be circulated to an editorial board for suggestions to be made on its improvement prior to

publication. In the spirit of common cause and camaraderie, articles featuring song transcriptions were often published with additional comments from editorial board members in which they commented on the songs and upon their experiences with the song in their own collecting activities. Some members, such as Anne Gilchrist and Frank Kidson, also supplied references to the songs that could be found in print, as well as textual histories of the songs. The article is dated May 1908, but as Michael Yates has indicated, it contains references by Grainger to criticisms from Cecil Sharp supplied in a letter dated May 23, 1908.⁹² One of these responses by Grainger is dated 20/6/08, and the article must therefore date from at least late June or early July of 1908.

Grainger was anxious about the publication of the article, working when his touring schedule permitted and even re-transcribing from the cylinders the songs he chose as examples.⁹³ What made him perhaps even more nervous was the possible reaction of his FSS colleagues to what he planned to say in the article:

I hope in a few days that the worrying part of the Folks. Journal will be on the way to be behind me. It's so hard to state one's views with needful strength without letting out also that chief undercurrent of my mind: that none of the rest collect properly or thoro'ly. It's all a game that Cecil Sharp & crew after sitting on Stanford & crew for their laziness & unthoro'ness should in their turn be softly sat on for the same "touch of nature".⁹⁴

Grainger knew already that what he was saying was contentious and that there was the possibility that his colleagues would look upon it unkindly. As it turned out, he need not have worried whether or not they would detect "the undercurrent" of his mind, an undercurrent that was fed upon a musical aesthetic drastically different from that of the FSS members:

⁹² Michael Yates. "Percy Grainger and the Impact of the Phonograph." In *Folk Music Journal* 4, no. 3 (1982): p. 274.

⁹³ Dreyfus, p. 209.

⁹⁴ Dreyfus, p. 172.

they most certainly did! On page 159 the FSS Editing Committee inserted the following caveat into the text:

The Editing Committee, in considering Mr. Grainger's theories which are based on most careful observation, wish to point out that the general experience of collectors goes to show that English singers most rarely alter their mode in singing the same song. About the value of the phonograph as an aid to collecting there can be no doubt; whether it is sufficiently perfect as yet to be preferred as a substitute for the human ear is still a disputable point. Similar careful records and analysis of the performances of trained singers and instrumentalists would therefore be of great value in helping to determine this.⁹⁵

Whether or not the FSS was actually personally insulted is impossible to ascertain from such a statement. Yet the caveat contains an undercurrent of its own, one that sees quite clearly the aesthetic torrent flowing through Grainger's mind and the impact it could have on the future of folk song collecting. In the following pages, I shall provide a close reading of the article itself in order to highlight those sections that demonstrate most clearly Grainger's aesthetic motivations and the subtle textual references to which the FSS reacted so strongly.

The musical expressions of people outside of the circle of the artistic elite were very important to Grainger, who sought to break down the barriers between high art and folk art and make all music accessible to everyone. One may recall that a very important step in this direction was his concept of "elastic scoring," in which music was arranged so that it might be playable by any instrumental ensemble, especially those that were more likely to be found among the working-class. Grainger had similar hopes for the impact of the phonograph on the activity of folk song collecting:

It cannot be too widely known that the phonograph puts valuable folk-song, sea-chanty, and morris-dance collecting within the reach of all possessed of the needful leisure and enthusiasm... It is, however, of the utmost importance that such records be handed over

⁹⁵ Percy Grainger. "Collecting with the Phonograph." In *The Journal of the Folk Song Society* 12 (1908): p. 159.

for their translation into musical notation to none but collectors and musicians highly versed in the wide possibilities of musical notation, and if possible dowered with insight into, and experience of, the vast realms of irregular rhythm.⁹⁶

The phonograph therefore had a democratizing power in its ability to allow anyone to collect folk song, even the rural working-class singers themselves if they should wish, provided they could get some of the valuable leisure time enjoyed by the wealthier collectors. Any proprietary feelings toward the material felt by the members of the FSS would therefore crumble when confronted by the utilitarian phonograph machine. Grainger went even further when he stated that the music needed to be handed over to those “versed in the wide possibilities of notation...and irregular rhythm.” Based on Grainger’s previous assertions about the incorrect and sloppy methodologies of his peers, such a collector and transcriber was not likely to be found among the members of the FSS. Who then would be best suited to the task of penetrating the depths of this music, music of such complexity as to escape the inadequate ears and notation of the FSS collectors? According to Grainger, such an individual was the “hyper-modern” man who was an exponent of Free Music, in other words Percy Grainger and any of his future (though eventually non-existent) disciples.

Grainger’s ideal scenario would therefore consist of musical amateurs and singers, perhaps even the folk singers themselves, collecting and recording folk songs on the phonograph machine and bringing the material to Grainger or his approved colleagues for correct transcription and analysis, thus bypassing the FSS and its seemingly primitive methodologies altogether. As I will demonstrate throughout this section, this is just one of many instances in which Grainger implied the obsolescence and eventual overthrow of the FSS methods, and one must therefore conclude that Dave Harker’s assertion that the

⁹⁶ Grainger, “Collecting,” p. 150.

members of the FSS were threatened by the phonograph and its potential to transgress social barriers between collectors and singers is correct.⁹⁷ Grainger saw a future without a need for the FSS.

The Fetish of the Song

Grainger's introduction to the FSS and to the live performance of English folk song came on April 11, 1905 at the folk song competition he attended at Brigg with Lucy Broadwood. The entry criteria of the competition, probably penned by Frank Kidson who was a judge at the event, read as follows:

Class XII. Folk Songs. Open to all. The prize in this class will be given to whoever can supply the best unpublished old Lincolnshire folk song or plough song. This song should be sung or whistled by the competitor, but marks will be allotted for the excellence rather of the song than of its actual performance. It is specially requested that the establishment of this class be brought to the notice of old people in the country who are most likely to remember this kind of song, and that they be urged to come in with the best old song they know.⁹⁸

This short paragraph quite aptly describes the relationships many collectors had with folk songs. As discussed in Chapter 2, collectors often made the idea of the song a sort of fetish, so much so that they not only ironed out any inconsistencies between the performance and their idealized vision of the tune but they also very often failed to record names and vital information about the performers themselves. The song was an object, a complete thing-into-itself that admitted no influence from any elements of its rendering in performance.

Grainger cleared his own space in folk music scholarship by taking aim at the song-fetish right at the outset of the article:

To my mind the very greatest boon of the gramophone and phonograph is that they record not merely the tunes and words of

⁹⁷ Harker, p. 194-195.

⁹⁸ Bird, *Percy Grainger* (Oxford, 1999): p. 117.

fine folk-songs, but give an enduring picture of the live art and traditions of peasant and sailor singing and fiddling; together with a record of the dialects of different districts, and of such entertaining accessories as the vocal quality, singing-habits, and other personal characteristics of singers. And a knowledge of such points is every bit as indispensable to good renderings of folkmusic as is experience of the traditions of cultured music to its proper interpretation. I think that most folk-song enthusiasts who have had the good luck to hear the singing of gifted folk-singers and chantymen, must feel that much of the attractiveness of the live art lies in the execution as well as in the contents of the songs, and will surely welcome the ability of the gramophone and phonograph to retain for future ages what is otherwise but a fleeting impression.⁹⁹

Grainger was being provocatively cheeky in this statement, for he knew very well that his fellow collectors did not at all feel that way and that he was making a direct attack upon their musical aesthetic. Grainger followed this by making his position in the matter quite clear:

“...an array of ‘normal tunes,’ however lovely, cannot compensate me, personally, for the least little (preservable) manifestation of artistic creativeness and versatility on the part of gifted peasant and seafaring singers that is allowed to die with them, unrecorded for ever.”¹⁰⁰

It was the performance, not the song itself, that Grainger valued. In a complete reversal of the FSS aesthetic, in which the performance was merely a delivery method for the song / fetish-object, Grainger saw the song as a vehicle for the beauty of the performance.

The extent to which Grainger went to capture the intricacies of such a performance is shown in Example 4.3, “Lord Bateman,” taken from the article.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ Grainger, “Collecting,” p. 150.

¹⁰⁰ Grainger, “Collecting,” p. 154.

¹⁰¹ Grainger, “Collecting,” p. 195-198.

II.—LORD BATEMAN.

SECOND VERSION.

SUNG BY MR. GEORGE WRAY, OF BARTON-ON-HUMBER, LINCOLNSHIRE,
Phonographed and noted by Percy Grainger. AT BRIGG, LINCOLNSHIRE, AUG. 4TH, 1904.

Sung in (F, F \sharp) (ending on (C, C \sharp)). M.M. ♩=about 112. *The time somewhat irregular and jerky.*

(1) Lord Bate - man was a - den(a) no - ble lord, A

no - ble lord..... of high de - gree; He shipped him - self on board of

ship, Some for - eign coun - te - ries he would go see. (2) He sail ed

Example 4.3

east and he sail - ed west, On - til he came to the proud Tur -
 key; Where he was ta - ken, put in - to pri - son, On - til his
 life it grew quite wea - ry; Where he was ta - ken, put in - to
 pri - son, On - til his life..... it grew quite wea - ry. (?) And in this
 pri - son there grēō (grew) a tree, It grew so stout and it grew so
 strong; Where he was chē - ned (chained) by the mid - dle Un - til his
 life..... it was âl - most gone; Where he was chē - ned.... by the
 mid - dle Un - til his life it was âl - most gone.
 (4) Thē Tur - kē he 'ad büt one on - li daugh - ter, The fair - est

Example 4.3 cont

crea - ture my eyes dār (dide'er?) see; She stōle the keys from her fa - ther's
 pi - di - low, (pillow) And sād (said) Lord Bate - man should be set
 free; She stōle the keys from her fa - ther's pid - di - low, And sād Lord
 Bate - man should be set free. (5) 'Have you got hous - es, have you got
 land, Or does North - um - ber - land be - long to you?' "I would give it
 all to that fair young la - dy That out of pri - sun would set me
 free; I would give it all to that fair young la - dy That out of
 pri - sun would set me free." (6) Then she took him to hēr - ēr (her) fa - ther's
 pā - lace, And gave to hi - m thē best of oi wine, And ev - 'ry

mp *f* *mp* *mp* *loud & sharp.* *mp* *p* *Loud and sharp.* *mp* *Very slightly lingeringly.* *p* *p* *mp*

Example 4.3 cont

health that she drunk un - to him; 'I wish, Lord

Bate - mun, thē (thy) heart was mine.' And ev - 'ry health that she drunk un -

to him; 'I wish, Lord Bate - mun, thē heart was mine.' (7) Then she

took him to - her - er fa - ther's 'ar - bour, And gave to hi - m a ship of

fame; Say - ing; 'a - dieu, a - dieu, my dear Lord

Bate - man, I'm a - fraid I shall ne - ver see thy face a - gain.' (8) 'For

seven long years I will make a vow; For se - ven long years, and I'll keep it

strong; If you do get wed to no o - ther wo - man I will get

wed to no o - ther man.' (9) When se - ven long years a - den (and)

Example 4.3 cont

fo - er - teen days, When for seven long years é well known to me, She fetch - ed

slightly faster.

up all her gay clo - thing And crossed the seas to Lord Bate - man ; She fetch - ed

up all her gay clo - thing And crossed the seas to Lord Bate - mun.

Example 4.3 cont

The presentation of “Lord Bateman” must have been striking for the Editing Committee of the FSS, for instead of using a single stanza as representative of the entire tune, Grainger placed the nine stanzas end-to-end to create a unified song of ninety-six measures in length. In doing this, Grainger sought to demonstrate that the songs were far from being simple repetitions of the tune to different textual stanzas:

In whatever ways folk-song may appeal to individual enthusiasts coming to it fresh from other planes of culture...it seems incontestable that to the folk-singer himself it appeals first and foremost as “narrative song,” and that, for him, words and music are practically inseparable. To most folk-singers, the tune of a song in (say) its fifth verse is not merely a repetition of the tune of “verse one” sung to different words, but is, rather, the particular music to those particular words...the creatively-gifted folk-singer or chantyman [will] evolve more or less profuse melodic, rhythmic, and dynamic variants out of his “normal tune” to meet the emotional needs of different verses, and match their changing word-rhythms; all in accordance with his dim sense for an organic whole.¹⁰²

Once again, Grainger dismissed the notion of architectonic form. Strophic form may not possess the same sort of structural integrity claimed by traditional classical forms such as the

¹⁰² Grainger, “Collecting,” p. 153.

sonata, but one must remember that Grainger did not subscribe to any fundamental difference between high and folk art and he therefore felt free to criticize each with critical tools derived from a study of the other. Grainger stated unequivocally that folk song is not in a strophic form at all but that the melody is so wedded to the words as to produce a music in which each part is equally vital. In order to make sure that his contentious point was not missed by the reader or by the FSS, Grainger wrote:

This linking together of the repetitions of tunes, as well as of the halves of tunes, into an unbroken rhythmic flow embracing the full length of each song, bespeaks some sense for a closely-knit formal whole, and seems to me a distinct advance upon mere repetitions of a tune with random gaps in between.¹⁰³

This was a clear denunciation of the methods of presentation used by the FSS. Grainger advocated for the folk song as not simply a song but as art that was as aesthetically valid as any high-art music. In this passage, Grainger was stating without question that his conception of folk song was better than that of his colleagues. Further, because the music was a “closely-knit formal whole”, the idea that collectors might re-write sections of the melody or lyrics in order to make them more presentable, as well as iron out the subtle melodic and rhythmic variations that gave the song so much of its character, as those such as Baring-Gould and Kidson had frequently done, was tantamount to the desecration of art.

The detailed notation of extremely subtle rhythmic and melodic variations was a particular bone of contention between Grainger and his FSS colleagues. For most collectors, such variations were primarily the result of memory lapse, nervousness, and the inevitable vocal degradation of many of the singers, most of whom were well beyond middle age. As a result, they were viewed by most collectors as mistakes the singers made in the rendering of an ideal form of the song, and it was therefore the task of the collector and transcriber to iron

¹⁰³ Grainger, “Collecting,” p. 155.

out these inconsistencies in order to recover the tune. Grainger, as might be imagined, had a very different perspective:

It is my experience that, in the case of singers with alert memories, very little of even the minutest details is random, but that the smallest rhythmic irregularities are repeated with no less uniformity than are regular rhythms.... This frequent uniform repetition of irregularities, goes, to my mind, to prove that very many of them are not mere careless or momentary deviations from a normal, regular form, but radical points of enrichment, inventiveness, and individualization, evolved in accordance with personal characteristics, and hallowed and cemented by consistent usage.¹⁰⁴

Singers, therefore, intended to sing as they did. This was an exceptionally challenging statement, for one of the ideas that had been cemented by consistent usage by the FSS was that melodies were based on the ecclesiastical modes (as discussed in Chapter 2) and that the many tuning problems encountered by singers did not detract from that fact. After having transcribed the tunes he had phonographed by slowing them down in order to determine the most minute melodic detail, Grainger stated that not only were the odd intervals in the melody intentional, but were based on a very specific musical practice. Grainger determined that of the seventy-three songs transcribed in the article, forty-five were major and twenty-eight were modal. However, Grainger believed that most of these were in a mode that was a hybrid blend of the modes, explaining that “...in their modal singing the intervals of the third and seventh are mutable and vague, although the tonic, the second, the fourth, the fifth, and in most cases the sixth, are usually strikingly definite and well-adhered to.”¹⁰⁵ In what is perhaps the most influential and oft-quoted passage from the article, Grainger wrote:

My conception of folk-scales, after a study of them in the phonograph, may be summed up as follows: that the singers from whom I have recorded do not seem to me to have sung in three different and distinct modes (Mixolydian, Dorian, Aeolian), but to have rendered their modal songs in *one single loosely-knit modal*

¹⁰⁴ Grainger, “Collecting,” p. 155.

¹⁰⁵ Grainger, “Collecting,” p. 158.

folk-song scale, embracing within itself the combined Mixolydian, Dorian, and Aeolian characteristics.¹⁰⁶

For some collectors, this was tantamount to heresy, as the idea that English folk song was modal had become canonical. Indeed, the caveat placed in the article by the Editing Committee testifies as to how strongly they felt about the situation. Yet, as I have demonstrated in Chapter 2, Grainger was not alone in his analysis. Cecil Sharp, in his 1907 book *Folk Song: Some Conclusions*, had also determined that certain scale degrees showed a tendency to fluctuation involving intervals smaller than the half-tone. Why, then, was Grainger's statement such a problem?

The answer lies in a fundamental aesthetic distinction between Grainger and Sharp concerning the role such ornaments and variations had in the context of the song. For Sharp, such ornaments were just that: ornaments. Their purpose was to ornament a fundamentally stable interval and were therefore of secondary importance in the context of the melodic outline of the entire song. For Grainger, however, such fluctuations were not merely ornaments, but an integral part of the tune, for it was the possibility of subtle manipulation of pitch that allowed the singer to avoid the strict repetition of melodic material throughout the song, thereby making the song not simply repeated stanzas, but a free-flowing, almost through-composed whole.

This is where knowledge of Free Music comes in rather handy. Grainger placed great emphasis on the idea of not repeating melodic material in Free Music, an idea he derived from Wagner's concept of "endless melody," and his musical aesthetic was thus already

¹⁰⁶ Grainger, "Collecting," p. 158. Peter Van der Merwe has speculated that the many instances of false-relations involving both major and minor sevenths grinding against one another simultaneously in the music of Henry Purcell might indicate that such sevenths were actually performed as neutral sevenths. This, Van der Merwe wrote, would be the case particularly when the seventh was an apical seventh, or the climax of an ascending melodic line that returned to scale degree 6 instead of leading back to the tonic. See Peter Van der Merwe. *Roots of the Classical: The Popular Origins of Western Music* (Oxford, 2004): p. 101.

well-attuned to this concept when he encountered English folk song. Example 4.4 shows Grainger's transcription of *Lord Melbourne* as sung by Mr George Wray on July 28, 1906, transcribed with the aid of a phonograph.

12.—LORD MELBOURNE.

(THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.)

SUNG BY MR. GEORGE WRAY,

AT BRIGG, LINCOLNSHIRE, JULY 28TH, 1906.

Thrice phonographed and noted by Percy Grainger.

Phonograph record A

Sung in (A♯, ♯ A♯). FAST. M.M. ♩ = about 176. *Jerkily, and with restless great energy.*

p (a) *slightly slower.*

(1) I am an Eng-lish mân born by birth, Lord Mel-bourne is my
name. In Dev-on-shē-ér I first drew bê-reath, That
place of no-ble fame. I was be-lôved..... by
â-del (all) my..... men, My kings and pri-den-cis (princes) li ke -
oi oi - wise; I nev-er fâ-deld (failed) in a-ny-thing Bôt (but)

Example 4.4

one great vic - to - ry. (2) Then good Queen A - den (Ann)

sent us on bô - ard, To Flen - dre we did go; We'd

left the bānks of New Found - land To face ðer { dar - ling }
 { dā - dlin' } (daring)

foe. We'd climbed those lôf - ty 'i - dells a - woi, (away) With

bro - ken gôn's, (guns) shields loike - woi'se, And all those fam - ous

towns we took, To all the wô - ruld's sur - prise.

(3) King Charles the se - cond we did re - serve To

face our foam - ing French, And to the bat - tle

o. El - ē - ments We bold - li did ad - vance.

Example 4.4 cont

The sun was down,..... the earth did
shake, And oi so loud..... did crō - ē : (cry) "Fight
on mē (my) lads, for Old Eng - ge - land's sake, We'll
gain the field, or oi die." (4) And now this glor - ē - ous
vic - to - ry's ē won, So bold - li (keep) the field; When
pri - son - ers in great nūm - bers tōok, Which forced our foe
to yield. Thát ve - ry day my..... 'orse was
shôt. All by a can - - - non

mp *very slightly.* *mf* *slide.* *f* *mf* *slightly slower.* *p* *mf* *mp* *slightly slower.* *mp* *pp* *mp* *(freshly.) mp* *mf* *mp* *mf*

Example 4.4 cont

ball;..... As..... soon as I..... got up a -

gain..... My head in camp did fall. (5) Now

on a bed... of sick - è ness lie, I am re - signed to

die. You gen - 'rals all..... and cham - pi - ons

bold, stand true as we - dell (well) as I. Stand to your men, take

the - dem (them) on board, And fight with cô - rage

bold..... I've led my me - den (men) through smoke and

fire, Bôt (but) now... to death must yield.

Stâ - dend (stand) to your men, take the - dem on board, And

Example 4.4 cont

fight with cô - rage bold..... l've led my me - den
 through smoke and fi - er, Bôt now..... to death must yield.

This last verse is then repeated, but its second half is sung once only.

Variants.

Record C. (Sung in G.) (a) *slightly slower.* *Record C.* (b)

Record B. (Sung in F#.) (c) etc.

Record C. etc.

Record B. (d) *pp* etc.

Record C. etc.

Records B and C. (e) etc.

Record B. (f) *Record C.* (g)

The following repeats of portions of verses occur :

In record B: last quarter of (1), last half of (3), last half of (4). (6) is incomplete.

What becomes clear in this transcription is that the extent of variation between stanzas was often so extreme that the melodic materials in each bore little resemblance to the others. What Grainger described elsewhere as a “regular riot of individualistic excrescences and idiosyncrasies of every kind” was something to which perhaps only Grainger, with his already established conviction that melody should consist of something other than the periodic eight-bar phrase, would have been sensitive.

Grainger’s assertions led to some amusing back-and-forth commentary in the article itself. As mentioned previously, the editorial method allowed Grainger to respond to the criticisms of the article by the Editing Committee, with both criticism and response sometimes ending up in the article, thereby giving the reader a better idea of the debate taking place. In other words, the reader is able to watch Grainger and the committee fight it out in the pages of the article. Example 4.5 shows Grainger’s transcription of *Rufford Park Poachers* as sung by Mr. Joseph Taylor on August 4, 1906;¹⁰⁷ Example 4.6 shows *Georgie* performed by the same singer on the very same day.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ Grainger, “Collecting,” p. 187.

¹⁰⁸ Grainger, “Collecting,” p. 191.

6.—RUFFORD PARK POACHERS.

THIRD VERSION OF THE TUNE OF NO. 4.

Phonographed and noted by Percy Grainger.

SUNG BY MR. JOSEPH TAYLOR,
AT BRIGG, LINCOLNSHIRE, AUG. 4TH, 1906.Sung in F \sharp . M.M. ♩ = about 160. *With well-sustained rich vocal tone.*

p *mf* *mp* *mf*

(1) They say that for - ty gal lant poach - ers there was
mess; They'ad of - ten been at - tac - ted when the num - ber it was
less. (CHORUS.) So poach - er bold, as... I un - fold, keep up your gal-lant
heart, And think a - bout those poa - chers bold, that

Example 4.5

night at Rö-fut (Kufford) Park. (2) A..... bück or doe; be -
 lieve it so, a pheas-ant or an 'are Was sent on earth for.....
 ev-'ry one quite e - qual for to share.(CHORUS.) So poach-er bold, as.....
 I ün - fold, keep up your gal - lant heart, And think a - bout those
 poa - che - rs bold, that night in Rö - fut Park.

Example 4.5 cont

9.—GEORGIE.

(GEORDIE.)

Phonographed and noted by Percy Grainger.

SUNG BY MR. JOSEPH TAYLOR,
AT BRIGG, LINCOLNSHIRE, AUG. 4TH, 1906.

Sung in A♭. M.M. ♩ = about 132.

mf (a)
 La la, etc.
 (b)
 (?)

Variants noted without the phonograph, 18.6.08.

(a) etc. (b) etc.

Example 4.6

In both cases, J.A. Fuller-Maitland identified the odd-time signatures ($5/8$ in *Rufford Park Poacher* and $5/4$ in *Georgie*) as brief pauses created by exaggerated accents and wayward rhythms. In Fuller-Maitland's terms, such irregularity was simply individual taste that was secondary to the fundamental regular rhythms that lay underneath vulgar expression.

However, later in the article, Grainger appeared to respond directly to this criticism:

I am well aware that many of the minute rhythmic irregularities of the above (such as the $3/16$ bars) are mere wayward and theoretically unimportant lengthenings and shortenings of rhythms fundamentally regular. Nevertheless their presence added to the extreme quaintness of Mr. Wray's rendering, and I feel there may be value in as literal as possible a translation into musical notation of all his details.¹⁰⁹

A similar event took place regarding Example 4.7, *The White Hare*, as sung by Mr. Joseph Taylor on July 28, 1906.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ Grainger, "Collecting," p. 205.

¹¹⁰ Grainger, "Collecting," p. 189.

8.—THE WHITE HARE.

Phonographed and noted by Percy Grainger.

SUNG BY MR. JOSEPH TAYLOR,
AT BRIGG, LINCOLNSHIRE, JULY 28TH, 1906.Sung in D. M.M. ♩ . = about 88. *With much swing, and even tone.*

mf *slide.* (♯?)

They..... went to the place whēre the white hare used to

Another record.

lie, They un - cōu - pel - ed (uncoupled) their beag - les and be -

- gin - nin' for to try; They un - cōu - pel - ed their

beag - les and they bāte (beat) the bush - es round, Būt ne - ver was a

white hare that ē' - - ēr could be found..... With mē (my)

(Another record.)

rī tol the di - del ol the rī tol the day.

Example 4.7

This time it was Cecil Sharp who covertly attacked Grainger's transcriptions:

The modal uniformity, which is usually characteristic of Mixolydian-Dorian tunes, seems in this case to be lacking. The first phrases are pure Dorian, and the remaining ones equally pure Mixolydian....

Consequently this strikes me as a clear instance of a folk-air that modulates, though without change of tonal-centre (akin to the modulation of tonic-minor to tonic-major in modern music). It is a pity that Mr. Taylor could only remember a single verse. It is just possible that if he could have continued his song he might have modified his tune in the later verses. I have so often found that a singer will sing the first verse of a song differently from the others; this is usually, although not invariably, because he has not got thoroughly into his stride.¹¹¹

The difficulty this tune presented was found in the movement between minor-thirds in the first half of the piece and major-thirds in the last six bars. Grainger attributed this to the mutability of the third scale degree. Sharp was willing to grant the possibility that Grainger had transcribed it correctly, but preferred to interpret the problematic thirds as indicative of modulation akin to an extended *tierce de picardie* cadential figure. Sharp also subtly hinted that Taylor himself may have been to blame for his initial modulation, implying that this may have been evidence of warming-up or perhaps even nervousness inspired by the use of the phonograph. Grainger's response was direct; it also carried a date at the end of 20/06/08, giving us some indication of how far past the official publication date of "May 1908" this issue really was:

Since I wrote the above, Mr. Taylor has recalled six verses of the song closely resembling the words in *Traditional Tunes*, and has had a record made of it by the Gramophone Co. He seemed to me to keep throughout to the plan of the above; i.e., invariably singing minor thirds in the upper octave, and major thirds in the last six bars, and mostly minor thirds in the lower octave throughout the rest of the tune.¹¹²

¹¹¹ Grainger, "Collecting," p. 190.

¹¹² Grainger, "Collecting" p. 190. My own listening to the song on the record made by the Gramophone Company and released under the title *Unto Brigg Fair* reveals that Grainger would appear to be correct: Taylor keeps to the plan indicated by Grainger with remarkable consistency. The recording also reveals some other interesting things. At 1:49 Taylor stumbles over the words "And all the men" marking the entry into the end of the verse, at which point a barely audible voice in the background appears to supply him with the words. This voice can be heard intermittently throughout the rest of the track. Grainger noted that the words Taylor "recalled" were very similar to those found in Frank Kidson's *Traditional Tunes*, and what is very possible is that the voice on the track belongs to Grainger and that Taylor did not recall the words at all but learnt them anew at Grainger's request. Grainger may have been fudging the truth on this point slightly in order to be able to counter effectively Sharp's criticism. There is some further evidence for this in Grainger's correspondence with Taylor's daughter, Annie Allen. In a letter from Sept. 20, 1906, Allen wrote to Grainger the following

The format of the editorial comments thus not only allows us to see the arguments brewing between Grainger and the FSS, but the extent of the efforts of the Editing Committee to undermine Grainger's findings as well as Grainger's well-planned counter-strategies that effectively take the sting out of the criticism by his colleagues.

Transcriptions, Ontology, and the Folk Song of the Future

Grainger's suggestion of the primacy of the performance event as the locus of the song's artistic merit hints at a deeper agenda regarding musical ontology:

The more I hear talented traditional singers in the flesh, and study phonograph records of their singing, the stronger grows my personal feeling that any noting down of an individually gifted man's songs that does not give all possible details of all the different verses of his songs, and, in certain cases, of his different renderings at different times...cannot claim to be a representative picture of such a man's complete art and artistic culture, but only a portion of it; hardly more representative of his whole artistic activity and import than is a piano arrangement of an orchestral score.¹¹³

The analogy of the piano arrangement of the orchestral score is significant, for it brings to mind Busoni's difficult aesthetic regarding the ontology of music and the nature of transcription.¹¹⁴ Busoni's essentially Platonic aesthetic was that all music exists prior to performance and, possibly, prior to composition. The music exists in an ideal form (whether in the mind of the composer or in the transcendent metaphysical ether is never made clear) before the notes are put down on paper. As a result, any attempt by the composer to bring such music into a mundane existence is essentially a transcription of an already-existing

letter: "My father has been asked to sing some "Old Folk Songs" at a concert in Ferriby and he wondered if you would be so very kind as to lend him your book of songs for a day or two, to copy out the words of one or two songs." (Incoming Correspondence, PG 209-227, Bay 1, Box 55). In the next letter, dated Oct. 15, 1906, Allen wrote: "p.s. I will return the Kidson book tomorrow." (Incoming Correspondence, PG 209-227, Bay 1, Box 55). Grainger and Taylor clearly had an established history of using Frank Kidson's *Traditional Tunes* to fill in gaps in Taylor's memory concerning song texts.

¹¹³ Grainger, "Collecting," p. 151.

¹¹⁴ Busoni, *Esthetic*, p. 86.

piece of music. Further, a performance of that piece is also a transcription, but now it is a transcription of a transcription with each level of transcription being merely an imperfect rendering of a perfect original.¹¹⁵ The imperfection of each level of transcription, its failure to live up to the previous stage of transcription as well as the ultimate failure of all transcriptions to provide justice to the Platonic original, is key, for it was the task of the composer and musician to get as close as they could to that original form using whatever means at their disposal. In a sense, this accords with the views of the traditional collectors of the FSS: the performance by the singer was merely an imperfect rendering of a perfect original, with the difference here being that the original was not metaphysical but possibly a broadside ballad. Also, for the FSS collectors, the transcription was not an imperfect rendering of the performance but was in fact one step closer to the perfect original, for one may recall that many collectors considered it their task to strip away the individual performance elements of the song to get at the original that must surely lie underneath. There may thus have been subtle variations between Busoni and the FSS, but the important common element is that there was an untainted original of which the composer / collector must recover the traces.

Grainger's paradigm was one of compression and revolution, for by shifting the locus of artistic merit from the ideal original to the performance itself, the performance became the song, and Grainger's extremely complex transcriptions became imperfect transcriptions of a perfect original. For Busoni, the original was a thing-unto-itself that could never be completely accessed in the material world. For Grainger, the performance was the thing-unto-itself, a thing which could be recorded with the phonograph and transcribed to the best

¹¹⁵ Given Busoni's proclivities towards transcriptions of works for piano, one could say that a performance of his *Tocatta and Fugue in D Minor* for Organ by J.S. Bach is a transcription of a transcription of a transcription of a perfect original.

of his ability. There was no need to restore the original to its immaculate state, as the FSS tried to do, as the original existed in its immaculate state in its perfectly accessible performance.

Yet as complex and meticulous as Grainger's transcriptions were, they were by their very nature imperfect as they were still a stage removed from the original performance. The phonograph was thus the initial stage in the development of automated machines that would do away with traditional notation, transcription, and human transcribers altogether. Grainger had already been theorizing about such possibilities with the "Beatless-Notation Machine" from 1902, a machine not unlike a player piano that would record the specific values of the notes played upon it using a special type of notation on a piano roll. Grainger also wrote that he had discussed the possibilities of such technology with John William Strutt (1842-1919), author of *Treatise on the Theory of Sound*, over lunch on April 9, 1908.¹¹⁶ Grainger also noted the work of Dr Marage in Paris, who produced an article in *Windsor Magazine* in January 1908 entitled "Photographing Sound" and was constructing a machine that could "note all the details of pitch, duration, dynamics, and vowel-sounds with the needful accuracy."¹¹⁷ Grainger saw the phonograph as merely the seed of increasingly autonomous mechanized progeny of the future that would render the task of traditional notation and transcription obsolete. This goes some way toward explaining the phrasing of the caveat the Editing Committee placed in the article with respect to the phonograph: "whether the phonograph is sufficiently perfect as yet to be preferred as a substitute for the human ear is still a debatable point."¹¹⁸ This is a seemingly curious statement, for Grainger at no point

¹¹⁶ Grainger-Dreyfus, p. 206. Grainger related that Strutt appeared to be bored and uninterested in his ideas.

¹¹⁷ Grainger, "Collecting" p. 152.

¹¹⁸ Both Anne Gilchrist and Cecil Sharp had suggested that the phonograph exaggerated and amplified elements that were merely of minor importance to the song and thus deserved no real place in Grainger's transcriptions.

suggested that the phonograph itself was anything more than an aid to the human ear. The machine did not do the transcription. It was Grainger, armed with a metronome, pitch pipe, highly trained ears, and a burgeoning modernist aesthetic, who did the transcription. The FSS was not warning about Grainger's current methods but about those to come, for the tenor of Grainger's argument was unmistakable: the future of folk music transcription lay in machines that could access and record folk song in a perfect and impersonal manner in much the same way that the future of Free Music lay in machines that could perform such music in emotional ways unattainable by human beings. Machines were part of Grainger's musical aesthetic, and as their role increased, human intervention would naturally retreat.¹¹⁹

Grainger also had little time for another of the obstacles thrown up by the FSS concerning the use of the phonograph, namely the fear it was alleged to inspire in the singers. Many collectors were wary of the phonograph because they claimed it could intimidate and even frighten singers into performing far below their ability. Grainger's relationship with his singers seems to have demonstrated not only that singers, being intelligent and curious human beings, adapted quite well to the phonograph, but that it was very often the manner of

Grainger responded directly to this criticisms in the article as follows: "It is possible to note down from the machine difficult and very fast tunes with far greater accuracy if the speed-screw be screwed down until the record is running much below its original pitch and speed... It has been suggested to me that by this method one is overapt to note down many minute details which play a practically negligible part in the complete impression of the song at full speed in actual performance. While realizing that there may be much truth in this objection to the above described method I cannot say that my personal experience so far has led me to share it. I have not noticed that new and unlooked-for details revealed themselves in songs when run much below their original speed, but rather only that already noticed enticing points became as it were enlarged and graspable where before they had been tantalizingly fleeting and puzzling. My experience is, however, very limited, as I have never slowed down any records of songs but such as disclosed at their full speed a greater richness of detail than I could satisfactorily cope with at that rate." Grainger, "Collecting," p. 148. For the letters containing the criticisms by Gilchrist and Sharp, see Michael Yates. "Percy Grainger and the Impact of the Phonograph."

¹¹⁹ There is an unmistakable irony in the fact that although Grainger embraced mechanized means of realizing his musical ideals, he shared Wagner's distaste of increased industrialization as well as the encroachment of the urban landscape on the rural areas of England. However, Grainger's use of machines did not supplant entirely the role of the human being. Machines were never intended to substitute for the role of the composer, only for the performer. To revert to the vocabulary, if not the ideas, of Busoni, the perfect original music always resided in the mind of a human composer, or in the case of folk song, the performer.

the collectors themselves that spelled the difference between success and failure in phonograph recording:

In fact, when once the strangeness of the new method is over, it is far less upsetting to folksingers and chantymen than having their songs noted in the ordinary way, as it is such a boon to them not to be continually stopped during their performances. Not only does their memory tend to be far more accurate when they are free to sing a song through from end to end (having to stop only at the end of the run of each wax cylinder, i.e. about 2 ¼ minutes), but their unconscious sense for rhythmic and dynamic contrasts and dramatic effects—in the case of those few singers who indulge in the latter—has such incomparably greater scope.¹²⁰

According to Grainger's account, the novelty of the phonograph not only excited the curiosity of the singers but actually raised their performance abilities as they no longer felt constrained by the limitations of having to repeat both melody and words repeatedly to a collector and amanuensis. No less an authority than Bela Bartok related a similar anecdote:

The girls are too shy to sing to strange city folk, and often one is compelled to flatter some village beauty for an hour or so before she consents to sing one little song. Her voice is shaky as she raises it – but the ice is broken at last. The melody is set down, the text noted, and now for the phonograph. But a new difficulty arises. Fears are voiced as to whether one's "soul will not be bewitched by this devilish thing with the great mouthpiece." This obstruction is finally overcome, the song recorded and immediately reproduced for the benefit of the public at large. There is indescribable astonishment and rapture of the crowd around the researcher! "How is it possible?" "Why, that's her own voice coming out of the devil-machine." And a voice is heard from the audience: "Oh, I want to sing into it too, as well as she," and now matters are well under way. The wildest rivalry ensues; everybody wishes to hear his or her "own voice" sound forth from the apparatus. Work is kept up at a feverish speed until midnight – the people never tire.¹²¹

Perhaps the richest irony is that the phonograph Grainger used was in fact owned by the FSS and was subsequently used also by Lucy Broadwood, Cecil Sharp, and Ralph Vaughan Williams, all members of the Editing Committee that had previously objected to its use.

¹²⁰ Grainger, "Collecting," p. 147.

¹²¹ Bela Bartok. "The Peasant Music of Hungary." In *Bela Bartok: Studies in Ethnomusicology*. Translated and Edited by Benjamin Suchoff (Lincoln, 1997): p. 139.

The Art of English Folk Song

By 1931, collectors of folk song in England believed that their task was finished. As A.H. Fox-Strangways told the FSS: “There are no more folk-songs, only variants, to collect,”¹²² thus revealing the extent, even twenty-three years after Grainger’s article, to which collectors still valued the songs themselves as antiquarian objects, as well as the still-present dismissal of the folk singer’s art. For Grainger, however, the folk musicians were to be celebrated as artists in their own right and this meant a rejection of not only the idea of the song as an object, but also of the folk community as possessed of a single “folk aesthetic” with which musical decisions were made in an evolutionary and communal manner:

However predominantly communal the broad evolution of folk-songs (and chanties?) has been, and still is, there surely can be no question of the extreme individualism of the only tangible manifestations of this evolution; i.e. the different versions of different singers.... Gifted folk-song and chanty singers of exceptional temperament stand out as gloriously from their fellows of less attractive emotional fibre in this, as in any other branch of art and life; and it is to such peasant and sailor talents that collectors need to go for valuable versions of heart-stirring grip.... Behind all this variegated mass of personal characteristics the collector, and the student of accurately noted variants, may feel the throb of the communal pulse, but each single manifestation of it is none the less highly individualistic and circumscribed by the temperamental limitations of each singer.¹²³

The evolutionary theory of Cecil Sharp was the obvious target here, for such a theory denied the aesthetic autonomy of the individual artist and instead enslaved them with the chains of communal art. Grainger celebrated more than simply the music of the folk. He also celebrated their lives. As mentioned above, it was not the idealized simplicity of the rural lifestyle, a view so popular among his colleagues, but the complexity of their lives, their “all-roundedness,” that appealed to him:

¹²² Yates, p. 271.

¹²³ Grainger, “Collecting,” p. 163-4.

H.G. Wells, the novelist, who was with me during a ‘folksong hunt’ in Gloucestershire, on noticing that I noted down not merely the music and dialect details of the songs, but also many characteristic scraps of banter that passed between the old agriculturalists around us, once said to me: ‘You are trying to do a more difficult thing than record folk-songs; you are trying to record life’; and I remember the whimsical, almost wistful, look which accompanied the remark. But I felt then, as I feel now, that it was the superabundance of art in these men’s lives, rather than any superabundance of life in their art, that made me so anxious to preserve their old saws and note their littlest habits.¹²⁴

Grainger’s celebration of the lives of the folk singers was not something he could share with most of his colleagues. Even Grieg, for whom Grainger had tremendous admiration as a champion of Norwegian folk song, could not quite bring himself to embrace the rough-hewn edges of rural singers. Grainger related an anecdote that occurred after Grieg had removed some lyrics to a drinking song that he considered inappropriate. Grainger had advocated leaving them in, as he preferred the roughness in folk song to be presented as it was:

Grieg said: ‘That is the difference between you and me & in our approach to folksong. I am always a Romantiker & you are a scientist’. That is true. But it is also true that I feel piously (worshippingly) towards the personalities of the country folk who have preserved folkart for us thru the ages & consider no detail of their art-life & artistic point-of-view unworthy of preservation.... Grieg brought more to folksong than he took from it. It is his middleclass, cosmopolitan sophistication brought to bear on folksong that made such a rich combination. It is significant what he told me of his years in Hardanger, or wherever it was: ‘I wanted to like the peasants & to feel at one with them. But when the drinking bowl was handed around & I saw the stain of chewed tobacco in its rim I just felt sickened.’¹²⁵

Contrary even to his friend and idol, Grainger saw folk song, as well as folk life, not as an object to be collected or a musical idea upon which to formulate a national musical style, but as a legitimate aesthetic object that demonstrated aspects of talent and genius in its creators.

¹²⁴ Grainger, “Impress,” p. 48.

¹²⁵ Grainger, *Self-Portrait*, p. 251.

CONCLUSION

Despite the protestation of the FSS concerning his methodology and predictions for the future, the value it placed on Grainger's article can be measured in monetary figures. C.J. Bearman has determined that while the printing costs for issue No. 10 of the *Journal* were 34 pounds 19s, and those for issue No. 11 were 46 pounds 15s, those for No. 12, Grainger's issue, were 66 pounds 6s, mostly due to the length of Grainger's musical examples. Grainger's article therefore devoured more than half of the annual 120 pounds income of the FSS.¹²⁶ It seems as though the FSS was aware of the value of Grainger's work whether it agreed with it or not.

As demonstrated in Chapter 3, Grainger's transcription methods have had a considerable impact on the studies of English, Anglo-American, and Anglo-Canadian folk music. Many of his ideas, particularly about transcription, the primacy of the performance event, and the artistic validity of all musical utterances, are now commonplace in current ethnomusicology, and the impact of his radical aesthetic is thus somewhat lessened today. Nevertheless, as Grainger framed many of the ideas concerning folk music that are now considered doctrine, it is important to account for his work by considering the material out of which it was forged. By creating a patchwork philosophy of modernism, some original and some borrowed from numerous unacknowledged sources, which was ostensibly designed to further his own compositional activities, Grainger brought to bear a unique aesthetic with which to collect and assess folk song. Unlike his assessment of his own friend Grieg, Grainger therefore contributed ideas of inestimable and long-standing value to the study of folk song in addition to the inspiration he took from it.

¹²⁶ C.J. Bearman. "Percy Grainger, the Phonograph, and the Folk Song Society." In *Music & Letters* 84, no. 3, (August 2003): p. 436.

CHAPTER FIVE

Any number of reasons could be given to provide an explanation as to why Grainger stopped collecting folk music in England in 1909: the busy life of a concert pianist; an overbearing mother who considered such activities a waste of time and resources; the inability of folk music to shoulder the ever-increasing burden of Grainger's musical philosophies; the onset of the First World War and the subsequent emigration of the Grainger family to the United States; or, most likely, a combination of all of these factors. Were I to adopt the standard, sometimes myopic, strategies of the typical research question, this dissertation on Grainger's English folk music adventures might very well end here (or on the previous page). After all, going any further could well place me beyond the strictly regulated confines of the proposed thesis question, a position justly considered both unnecessary and precarious. As should now be obvious, however, Grainger's interests were very rarely confined to any prescribed limits, and any study of him must move very far afield indeed in order to place even isolated events in his life within any sort of context.

With that in mind, this chapter examines three areas the loci of which are well outside the period in question: Grainger's settings of English folk song; the resumption of his collecting activities in Denmark in the 1920s; and Grainger's impact on the composer Benjamin Britten. In a way, this short chapter has a sense about it of tying up loose ends, but that would not be quite fair to Grainger's larger musical philosophy. All these events, having taken place well after 1909, demonstrate the extent to which Grainger put into practice those methodologies he learned and developed during his collection of English folk music, as well

as the influence he had on another significant composer who came to folk song well after Grainger had turned the folk music community on its head with his remarkable insights.

This chapter is organized according to the following scheme: 1) Grainger's collecting in Denmark with Danish folklorist Evald Tang Kristensen. In this section I set out the circumstances that brought two such tireless folk scholars together, assess the work they did, and compare Grainger's methods to those he developed nearly twenty years previously; 2) the folk song settings. Here I demonstrate the way in which Grainger sought to recreate the ornate singing style of each individual singer during the metamorphosis of the folk song into art song; and 3) Grainger's influence on Benjamin Britten. This final section will examine the ways in which Grainger influenced Britten, a composer who was well-known for his vociferous opposition to the folk music school of English composers.

PERCY GRAINGER AND EVALD TANG KRISTENSEN

During a 1905 tour of Denmark with cellist Herman Sandby, Grainger met Danish folk music scholar Hjalmar Thuren (1873-1912) at Vejlebjerg Sanatorium. Thuren had conducted an extensive study of the music of the Faeroe Islands, which he had recorded with a phonograph in 1901 and published under the title *Folkesangen paa Faeroerne*. Grainger took two important items from this meeting: some Faroese melodies from Thuren's collection that were subsequently used as the basis of the works *Father and Daughter* and *Let's Dance Gay in Green Meadow*, and, in all likelihood, the inspiration to use the phonograph as an aid to folk song collecting. Grainger and Thuren continued to correspond on folk music issues over the next several years. In July of 1907, Grainger sent for Thuren's inspection the hectographs of melodies 100-200 of his English folk music collection. Thuren not only responded with

great enthusiasm to Grainger's work, he encouraged him to take his collecting skills to Norway where Thuren believed that folk song had never been reliably notated.¹ Grainger had been nourishing a desire to collect in Norway since his visits with Grieg in 1907 and Grieg seemed to be hinting that he wanted him to adopt the role of the champion of Norwegian folk song. Grainger seemed to have caught the hint when he wrote: "Grieg waxed warm over the *total* lack of an enthusiastic, *capable* Scandinavian collector, who was also *eager & flittig* [Danish: diligent] as well."²

After his meeting with Thuren, however, Grainger became enthusiastic about Danish music, and inquired of Thuren as to what source he should turn to learn more about it. Thuren suggested that Grainger meet Evald Tang Kristensen, who had been collecting Danish folklore since the 1860s and had published a number of books, in Danish, on the subject. Grainger borrowed a copy of Kristensen's *De Jydske Folkeviser og Toner* from Lucy Broadwood in April of 1906 before finally getting hold of his own copy in 1907. Grainger did not seek an immediate meeting with Kristensen; he felt it prudent to wait until he had studied his works and gained some more experience in England before he made the acquaintance of such a looming figure in the folklore community. He did, however, carefully study all of Kristensen's published work on Danish folk song and subsequently proclaimed him the greatest collector of folk song in the world.³ When Grainger finally felt worthy enough to communicate with Kristensen directly, he sent him the following letter:

Although you do not know me, I must tell you what a rich world you have opened to me through your unique collection of Danish folk literature. I have myself collected about 400 English folksongs, Polynesian music from the south Pacific, and some other native music from Australia and Africa, and so on. I have always loved

¹ Percy Grainger. *The Farthest North of Humanness: Letters of Percy Grainger 1901-1914*. Edited by Kay Dreyfus (Melbourne, 1985): p. 144.

² Grainger, *Humanness*, p. 144.

³ John Bird. *Percy Grainger* (Oxford, 1999): p. 158.

folk-music and folk-poetry very much, and have read numerous collections of English, Dutch, German, Faroish and Scandinavian folkballads, but never anything which has enthralled me as yours has done, or given me such a living picture of peasant life and its cultural expression, as your great work.⁴

Grainger's written introduction to Kristensen must have hit the mark, for the two folk scholars subsequently made plans to collect in Denmark on August 3-5, 1914, with Grainger even going to some expense to ship the phonograph cylinders ahead so that they might be ready to use when he arrived. Unfortunately, as is well known, 1914 may have been a particularly auspicious year for military industrialists, but it was less so for folk music collectors. Grainger and his mother left for the United States that same year and he and Kristensen did not begin collecting in Denmark until 1922.

Evald Tang Kristensen

The work of Kristensen was enormously influential for Grainger, both in the methods of his collecting and for his philosophies of the folk. It is therefore very much worth the brief digression of providing a brief background of Kristensen's work.

The published corpus of work by Evald Tang Kristensen (1867-1929) extends to approximately 30,000 pages and consists of 3,000 folk songs, 1,000 melodies, 2,700 folk tales, 2,500 mock-heroic legends, and 25,000 legends and stories.⁵ Born in rural Denmark to relatively humble beginnings and educated as a schoolteacher, Kristensen was not an academic collector of folklore, although to use the term "amateur" to describe him seems decidedly inappropriate given the scope and influence of his work. Danish folklore studies of the period were dominated by the view that folk culture was essentially *gesunkes Kulturgut*,

⁴ Joan Rockwell. *Evald Tang Kristensen: A Lifelong Adventure in Folklore* (Copenhagen, 1982): p. 320.

⁵ Rockwell, p. xi-xii.

or debased culture. According to this view, folk culture consisted of the remnants of high art that trickled down to the folk and were then manipulated and incorporated into folk cultural material that had, likewise, been cast off by high art at some previous point. Folk culture was thus capable of pastiche but not original and artistic creativity.⁶ This was the view of Svend Grundtvig (1824-1883), professor of Nordic languages and literature at the University of Copenhagen and the foremost authority on Danish folklore at the time. His *magnum opus* was *Danmarks gamle folkeviser*, an eleven-volume work of which the final six volumes were completed by his friends and colleagues after his death. It was to Grundtvig that Kristensen turned for advice, tutelage, and in 1868, patronage. Kristensen's tumultuous relationship with Grundtvig is important for my purposes, as Kristensen appears to have received the same sort of treatment concerning his work from the Danish folk authorities as Grainger did from the FSS for very much the same reasons. The correspondence between Kristensen and Grundtvig was voluminous, alternately cordial and hostile, but always passionate about folk culture. In 1869, Kristensen sent some of the folk songs he had collected from rural singers to Grundtvig in order to solicit some helpful criticism. The subsequent exchange of views not only sheds light on the battle Kristensen was beginning to wage against the Danish folklore establishment, but also provides an interesting parallel with Grainger's experience in England nearly forty years later. Grundtvig's criticism of Kristensen's work, written well after the two had been corresponding on general folklore matters, was as follows:

I have only been able to judge the texts, as I am completely unmusical and cannot read a note. I have therefore asked Professor Berggreen to examine the melodies. You had said that the melodies were both one of your great interests and also by far the most difficult to write up. I am therefore very sorry indeed to tell you Berggreen's professional opinion of these, and I will give you his own words and leave it up to you to decide what course you want to

⁶ Rockwell, p. 77.

take: Berggreen sent me the following, dated the 18th: “Interesting as Kristensen’s collection of folksongs is in respect to the words, it is equally uninteresting – on the whole – in respect to the melodies. I have only been able to mark one or two of them with an approving *. The “–” I have used, to distinguish between those which are not very bad, and those few which are marked *o*; but those not marked at all are not much better. Besides this, many of them are certainly not accurately recorded. If it were permissible to correct or improve them, I would gladly do so; but this is something I have never allowed myself to do as far as the actual notes go, although I have sometimes corrected the phrasing. If the collector wishes me to, I would gladly undertake to make the necessary changes when I return home next week. To speak frankly, I believe Kristensen’s collection would make a much better impression among the published Collected Folksongs if not disfigured by these, on the whole, insignificant melodies. The better melodies could be printed separately as a little Appendix.”⁷

Andreas Peter Berggreen (1801-1880), to whom Grundtvig referred, was a composer and folklorist who had been given an honorary appointment as Professor of Music at the University of Copenhagen and was appointed to the position of Inspector of Singing in Danish schools in 1859. As a composer trained primarily in Western art music and whose settings of Danish folk song were heavily indebted to the models of the tonal tradition, Berggreen saw nothing but fault with the transcriptions which Kristensen had notated as he heard them without regard for traditional theories of modality or rhythm. Like Grainger would do many years later, Kristensen transcribed the folk songs based on the performance he was hearing, not the final product to which academics such as Berggreen thought it ought to conform. Bristling at the suggestion that his transcriptions contained errors, Kristensen’s reply was as follows:

The melody sung by a very old man seems to me just as important as the words. One is just as reliable as the other, yes, I will even maintain that the melody is the most reliable, as it is repeated with every verse, and not subject to so many changes and mistakes as the words, which can often be changed not a little in each generation. I

⁷ Rockwell, p. 79.

am convinced that the old people sing the melodies as they learned them from their grandparents.⁸

Having no education in art music, Kristensen did not hear the absence of such art music elements in the music as Berggreen did. He did concede that transcribing songs was difficult due to the singers often singing inconsistently or out of tune, but this did not mean that the performance of the song was not worth transcribing. In this sense, Kristensen seems to have occupied a sort of middle-ground between Grainger, who thought that what were often determined to be mistakes were in fact carefully considered musical decisions that accorded with a unique folk aesthetic, and the traditionalists like Berggreen who argued that such deviations were errors that ought not to negate the fact that the singer was attempting a performance of an ideal version of the tune that lay just beyond his or her technical reach. What Kristensen did recognize was that the melodies as they had been presented by scholars such as Berggreen were drastically different than the way in which they were actually performed by the singers.

Kristensen had learned the differences between the contemporary styles of singing he had studied in the official Danish hymn-book (compiled by Berggreen) and that of the rural congregation in an embarrassing manner. As a teacher, one of his tasks was leading the singing in church, and it was here he discovered that the congregation had their own unique manner of singing that was very different from the way the songs had been set down in the hymnal. So out of his depth was Kristensen that he enlisted the aid of a member of the congregation to teach him how to sing the music according to the proper method. Kristensen recounted his subsequent disappointment in the standard sources of Danish music as follows:

What I noted first of all was that the phrasing as I had learned it [at the seminary] and as it is found in Berggreen, was entirely wrong. I

⁸ Rockwell, p. 82.

am not thinking here only of his Choral Music, although the phrasing there is just as bad as everything else from his hand, but mainly of his book of Folksongs, which I had studied very carefully in Helstrup. I had naturally supposed that they were accurately recorded and reproduced, as sung by the common people, and now that I really heard them sung when I came to Gjellerup I could see that this was far from the case. How disappointed I was in Berggreen, and how my belief in his authority was shaken! I thought: Can such a man, a man who is even an Inspector of Music for our Seminaries, publish such slovenly stuff and pretend it is accurate?⁹

Kristensen took this disillusionment with him when he began his quest to collect folklore as it existed among the people, and his commitment to the collection of folklore becomes evident when we consider his working methods. He would often return to the same sources numerous times, bleeding them dry, as it were, on the assumption that their memories would flow faster once they had begun to recall their repertoire, an impressive feat when we consider that the number of such sources is estimated to be between 6,000 and 7,000.¹⁰

Yet if it were just the sheer vastness of his collection or the accuracy of his transcriptions upon which Kristensen's reputation rested, he would be a somewhat lesser figure than he is today considered to have been. What set him apart from the folk scholarship community of his day was his attention to the detail of the everyday lives of his sources and the value he placed on them. While other collectors were looking for the traces of the high-culture in what they considered the pastiche of folk-culture, Kristensen believed that folk-culture was unique and was to be found only among the folk themselves. Like Grainger, he believed that cultural elements such as music were integral elements of rural village life, but not the central or defining elements. Music was simply an element of what Grainger referred to as "All-Roundedness", in which each person played many roles and specialization was considered detrimental to the survival of the community. Kristensen's interest in the lives of

⁹ Rockwell, p. 84.

¹⁰ Rockwell, p. 125.

the people led him to record everything from cooking methods to community gossip: anything he considered representative of the lives of the people from whom he was collecting. In 1895, he began photographing his sources, insisting that they be dressed in their everyday clothes and stand in front of their home or workplace in order to convey a sense of the details of their lives.

Kristensen rarely collaborated with other collectors, but one such occurrence is of particular interest. In 1907, Kristensen began a collecting excursion with Hakon Gruner-Nielsen, an archivist at the Danish Folklore Archives who brought with him a phonograph for the purpose. Kristensen hoped that by recording the songs with the phonograph he could vindicate his transcription methodology and prove to the academic community that such transcriptions really did present an accurate picture of folk song. As Grainger was learning at around the same time, the phonograph provided no such reassurance, for when presented with tangible proof that the established scholarly viewpoint of folksong was infested with falsehoods, the academic community simply blamed the singers themselves for technical incompetence in their performances. Both Grainger and Kristensen thus discovered that no amount of incontrovertible proof could persuade the folk scholarship community that folk song was anything other than the fossilized form in which it had been presented for decades.

Grainger and Kristensen in Denmark

Grainger initially made plans to collect with Kristensen in 1920, but these plans were put off when Rose Grainger became ill. Rose subsequently committed suicide in April 1922, after which a distraught Grainger cancelled all of his appearances and boarded a boat for Denmark. The plan for collecting with Kristensen finally reached fruition in August 1922, at

which point Grainger and Kristensen left almost as soon as Grainger arrived, using a car that Grainger had paid for both in order to make travel as quick and efficient as possible and to facilitate the transport of the phonograph machine.¹¹ Grainger had studied the Jutish dialect of the region and communicated easily with the singers, thereby putting them somewhat more at ease when singing into the phonograph machine in front of strangers. Grainger made four visits in total to collect with Kristensen on the following approximate dates: autumn 1922; July 21-August 8 1923; autumn 1925; autumn 1927. According to the catalogue of the holdings of the Grainger Museum, the collected material exists in various formats and was apparently a work in progress for the rest of Grainger's life. The first eighty melodies of the collection are contained in a single notebook used in the collection expedition of 1922 (MG13 / 2-1).¹² This source contains the hand notation taken by Grainger and Kristensen in the field. MG13 / 2-2 is a fair copy of the above melodies transcribed by Grainger from the phonograph cylinders. The fair copy does not contain the complete sequence from MG13 / 2-1, but contains the following numbered items: 1-9, 14, 18-22, 34-43, 45, 51, 55-56, 58, 68-69, and 80, making a total of thirty-three fair copy transcriptions from the original collection of eighty items. Melodies 81-172 are contained in MG13 / 2-12, which is dated September 1925. There are also additional repeated examples of melodies, and one labeled 177 on several other separate loose sheets of paper. What seems apparent is that Grainger did not get around to transcribing melodies 81-172 from the cylinders and that all that we have are the hand notations taken in the field, although he was in Denmark as late as 1929 transcribing the material Kristensen had placed in the Royal Copenhagen Library.¹³ Grainger transferred the cylinders to acetate discs prior to shipping them to the Grainger Museum in Melbourne,

¹¹ Bird, p. 208.

¹² Kay Dreyfus. *The Percy Grainger Music Collection* (Melbourne, 1978): p. 293-295.

¹³ Bird, p. 235.

copies of which were sent both to the Museum and to the Library of Congress in the United States. The latter was subsequently transferred to a reel-to-reel format. As of this time, there are only vague plans to transfer any of this material to a digital format. Thus, with the inevitable breakdown of the original cylinders, the only listenable copies are the reel-to-reel transfers held at the Library of Congress.

Example 5.1 is Grainger's transcription of *Fluens Brylllop* as performed by Andreas Knudsen on August 22, 1922.

Melodi I
FLUENS BRYLLOP (Brømsen og Fluens)

Teksten nedskrevet af Evald Tang Kristensen.
Melodien nedskrevet af Percy Grainger

Sung af Andreas Knudsen,
Vejlby, Fredericia, 22 Aug., 1922

Nedskrevet uden Fonografen

Sung af: Es
Allegro $\text{♩} = 116$

Nedskrevet efter Fonografen (Valse I)

① Tø Brømsen Styler og Sporer paa, - Tra-nen slaa paa Trommen! - saa red han sig til Kongens Gaard. - I To-rens og i - Blommen.

eller: To-rens og i - Blommen.

② Der var saa halvt et Brude-hus, - Tra-nen slaa paa Trommen! - der kappede Læpper og dansede Lus. - I To-rens og i - Blommen.

eller: To-rens og i - Blommen.

③ Og hør du Flue (hør!) faver og for, - Tra-nen slaa paa Trommen! - og vil du være - Høkkjærsten min? - I To-rens og i - Blommen.

eller: To-rens og i - Blommen.

④ Op stod Fluens og redt' sit Haar: - Tra-nen slaa paa Trommen! - hvornaa skal du vort Bryllups staa? - I To-rens og i - Blommen.

eller: To-rens og i - Blommen.

[Nedskrevet efter Fonografen, 3-4 Sept., 1925]

Example 5.1

As indicated on the top right of the page, the initial transcription of the melody was done by Grainger while the text was taken down by Kristensen. The transcription done in the field is

shown on the first line under the heading *Nedskrevet uden Fonografen*, while the more detailed transcription of all four verses is shown on lines two through five and is dated September 3-4, 1925. Even a cursory glance at this song demonstrates that Grainger paid no heed whatsoever to the criticism leveled at him by the FSS concerning his level of transcription, for the Danish transcriptions are every bit as meticulously detailed as those in the English collection, if not more so. The level of detail concerning melodic and rhythmic variations between verses, the subtle metrical shifts, and the fluctuations in tempo are consistent with the methodology found in the English collection, although Grainger seems to have dedicated even more attention to detail concerning dynamics and articulation in the Danish transcription. Example 5.2 shows the song *Oksefaldet* taken from Jens Soballe on August 23, 1922, with the phonograph transcription dated July 15, 1923.

Sungnet af Jens Sjøballe,
Sandvrad, Jelling, 23 Aug, 1922

Melodi 9
OKSEFALDET

Teksten nedskrevet af Ewald Tang Kristensen.
Melodien nedskrevet af Percy Grainger.

Nedskrevet uden Fonografen.

Sungnet i As (en Halvtone lavere) Nedskrevet efter Fonografen (5 forskellige Gentagelser - A, B, C, D, E) (Valse V)
Allegro $\text{♩} = 80$
Det var saa stort et OK - se-fald, -Skum-ruu link for Lp-gen, bunk for Bp-gen, tril-len i Lp-kum fli-ra - saa

Sungnet i H (en Tone højere) Nedskrevet efter Fonografen (5 forskellige Gentagelser - A, B, C, D, E) (Valse V)
Allegro moderato $\text{♩} = 68$
Det var saa stort et OK - se-fald, -Skum-ruu link for Lp-gen, bunk for Bp-gen, tril-len i Lp-kum fli-ra - saa

Sungnet i As (en Halvtone lavere) Nedskrevet efter Fonografen (5 forskellige Gentagelser - A, B, C, D, E) (Valse V)
Allegro $\text{♩} = 70$
Det var saa stort et OK - se-fald, -Skum-ruu link for Lp-gen, bunk for Bp-gen, tril-len i Lp-kum fli-ra - saa

Sungnet i As (en Halvtone lavere) Nedskrevet efter Fonografen (5 forskellige Gentagelser - A, B, C, D, E) (Valse V)
Allegro $\text{♩} = 80$
Det var saa stort et OK - se-fald, -Skum-ruu link for Lp-gen, bunk for Bp-gen, tril-len i Lp-kum fli-ra - saa

Sungnet i As (en Halvtone lavere) Nedskrevet efter Fonografen (5 forskellige Gentagelser - A, B, C, D, E) (Valse V)
Allegro $\text{♩} = 80$
Det var saa stort et OK - se-fald, -Skum-ruu link for Lp-gen, bunk for Bp-gen, tril-len i Lp-kum fli-ra - saa

højt det lød, saa stærkt det gald. - Ras-ken Ro, tril-len i Tro, skum-ruu fli-ra.

højt det lød, saa stærkt det gald. - Ras-ken Ro, tril-len i Tro, skum-ruu fli-ra.

højt det lød, saa stærkt det gald. - Ras-ken Ro, tril-len i Tro, skum-ruu fli-ra.

højt det lød, saa stærkt det gald. - Ras-ken Ro, tril-len i Tro, skum-ruu fli-ra.

højt det lød, saa stærkt det gald. - Ras-ken Ro, tril-len i Tro, skum-ruu fli-ra.

Example 5.2

The field notation from 1922 is again shown on the first two lines. This transcription shows Grainger's attention to the level of variation between performances of the same song, as he has transcribed five different versions of the song, labeled A, B, C, D, and E. As was found in the English folk songs, the broad outlines of the melody are consistent between different performances, but the subtle rhythmic, melodic, and dynamic variations, as well as those of articulation, are often quite extensive.

The Danish folk song transcriptions are evidence of Grainger's unwavering conviction of the necessity of descriptive transcription for the analysis of complex folk music traditions, and we should feel a sense of loss that Grainger never managed to find the time to

present his conclusions and analysis of Danish folk song in the same way he did English folk song in the article for the *JFSS*. Indeed, the fact that these transcriptions were never published and remain relatively unknown both to Grainger scholars and the folk music community is another factor that robs Grainger of the credit he deserves for his dedication and methodological innovation, accomplishments that were very much on par with those of the far-more-celebrated Bela Bartok during the same period and in the decades following.

Lest it be thought that Grainger's motivation was entirely musical, it ought to be noted that he also found plenty of what he considered evidence for his burgeoning theories of Nordic racial superiority, which is not surprising given that his time in Denmark coincided with the period already identified as a watershed in the development of such theories. In a letter to Roger Quilter from 1922 he wrote:

Wonderful were the peasant folk we collected from. Men and women of 87, 76, etc with sparkling eyes, no trace of baldness, able to read without glasses, able to hear and move quickly; above all full of fun and life.... In many ways these Jutland peasants resemble the old beloved folk I collected from in Lincolnshire, etc. In looks, manner, character, sound of the speech, one could easily take the one for the other.¹⁴

For the most part, however, Denmark provided Grainger with the opportunity to immerse himself in the Danish culture for which he had so much admiration and allowed him to make a close friend and mentor of Kristensen. In the preface to *Jutish Medley*, a work based on tunes collected with Kristensen, Grainger included the following tribute that is worth quoting in full in order to show the extent of his admiration:

In 1905 I met Hjalmar Thuren (whose masterly work "*Folkesangen paa Faeroerne*," Copenhagen 1908, showed forth to the outer world, for the first time, the great richness and manifoldness of the folk-music of the Faeroe Islanders) and asked him to what printed source I should turn to get to know Danish folk-song in its full selfhood. He answered: "Evald Tang Kristensen seems to me the folk-song-

¹⁴ Rockwell, p. 321-22.

gatherer who best has known how to keep alive, in his notings-down, those rhythmic unregularnesses, personal oddnesses and old-time modal folk-scales that mean so much in the songs of the Danish country-folk. He was the only one in the sixties – when a great wealth of folk-song could still be harvested from the unlettered folk in this land – who was brave enough and sharp enough of hearing to note down the old songs as they really were sung to him by the old singers without “watering” them to suit the right-deemings of art-musicians. Whereupon I studied Evald Tang Kristensen’s folk-song books “*Jydske Folkeviser og Toner*” (Copenhagen, 1871), “*Gamle jydske Folkeviser*” (Copenhagen, 1876), “*Hundrede gamle jyske Folkeviser*” (Copenhagen, 1889), “*Gamle Viser i Folkemunde*” (Copenhagen, 1891) and “*Et Hundrede gamle danske Skjaemteviser*” (Aarhus, 1901), and soon came to rate their writer as the greatest genius known to me amongst folk-song-gatherers anywhere in the world. None other seemed to me to have delved as deep as he to the very roots of folkmusic – to have held as dear as he its every shade of feeling from wistful purity to rankest coarseness; none other seemed to have foreseen as clearly as he how endlessly much even the last leavings of this dying art were to mean to later ages, none as untiring as he in his truly giant-like powers of work of every kind, none as unyieldingly truthful at all times as he. When Evald Tang Kristensen and I fared together thru Ketland in 1922, 1925, and 1927 to gather the sparse aftermath of folk-music that still might be culled in some few spots (and above all to study by means of the phonograph the singing-wonts of the true folk-singers) the phonograph (which does not lie!) made two facts stand out very clearly; firstly, how very true to nature Evald Tang Kristensen’s notings-down had been from the very start; secondly, how uncalled-for and knowledge-less had been the belittlings of his musical notings-down by those Danish folk-song “connoisseurs” of the seventies who dubbed as “wrongly noted” those very traits in this melodies that were most strikingly typical of the middle ages and of the Danish country-side, and hence of rarest worth. Again and again I have heard tunes from our newly-taken phonograms that follow almost note for note the notings-down printed by Evald Tang Kristensen in the above-given folk-song books before I was born – and this in spite of the fact that over fifty years lie between the two gatherings and that the singers were in no case the same! I feel that it is now high time that some of the very many lovely songs that Evald Tang Kristensen (who fills his 85th year today) has saved from forgottenness should be put within reach of music-lovers in forms fitted for home-music and the concert hall.¹⁵

¹⁵ Percy Grainger. *Danish Folk-Music Settings: No. 8. Jutish Medley* (London, 1928): p. 2.

Grainger saw in Kristensen not only a mentor, but also a fellow iconoclast who had laboured against the misconceptions of the majority establishment in folk music scholarship. For his part, Kristensen saw Grainger as taking up his mantle:

I also wish to say a few words about my especially good friend Percy Grainger, who has visited me now (in 1927) three times, and with whom I have made journeys to collect folklore. Since no one else, with the exception of H. Gruner-Neilsen, ever volunteered to do this, it is the more praiseworthy that he, with his fiery love for our folklore, was willing to come and do this work which no one from the capital city of our own country wanted to undertake.... He was not afraid of either the great expense nor the great labour. But came without being called and took up what the Danish musicians had let lie neglected, because they couldn't take the trouble to travel around and talk to the people.... Even in this last year Percy Grainger wrote up 172 melodies in a few days, and for this we are greatly in his debt.¹⁶

As it turned out, Grainger did not so much take up Kristensen's work as he did assimilate the lessons he had learned from the music and the environment in order to add them to his own musical aesthetic. As has already been noted, Grainger's motivations for collecting folk music were rarely as simple as they might have appeared to his fellow collectors, for operating underneath his every action was a complex musical philosophy in which everything he encountered played a significant role.

THE STYLE OF GRAINGER'S FOLK SONG SETTINGS

Soon after having begun his collecting expedition in England, Grainger told Cecil Sharp: "I don't wish to come forward as an arranger yet awhile, altho' in some 15 to 20 years I hope to myself publish a folkmusic book; settings, etc."¹⁷ Grainger had already set a number of English folk tunes, mostly as found in publications such as William Chappell's *Popular Music of the Olden Times*, but he was reluctant yet to dive into that popular activity with the

¹⁶ Rockwell, p. 325.

¹⁷ Dreyfus, p. 85.

tunes he had collected. Possibly he was unwilling to engage Sharp in the discussion, for although they did have a mutual respect for one another as collectors, Grainger was generally dismissive of Sharp's musicianship. In 1909, Grainger wrote of having attended a children's recital of Morris dancing with Lucy Broadwood in Stanton, near Broadway in Worcestershire: "The Morris dances are charming, & the 2 best tunes (those 2 I have sketched settings of "Shepherd's Hey" & "County Flowers") have dances to them just as jolly as Sharpe's [sic] harmonic treatment of them is revolting."¹⁸ Precisely what it was about Sharp's setting Grainger found so offensive is unclear from this passage, but one can deduce from Sharp's own words what it was that so rubbed Grainger the wrong way. Sharp's philosophy for the creation of a folk song setting was as follows:

Sir Charles Stanford, for instance, advocates a frankly modern treatment.... Personally, I take a different view...for it seems to me that of the many distinctive characteristics of the folk-air one of the most vital – at any rate, the one I would least willingly sacrifice – is that which makes it impossible to put a date or assign a period to it, which gives the folk-art the quality of permanence, makes it impervious to the passage of time, and so enable it to satisfy equally the artistic ideal of every age. Now, if we follow Sir Charles Stanford's advice and frankly decorate our folk-tunes with the fashionable harmonies of the day, we make very beautiful and attractive music, – as Sir Charles has undoubtedly done, – but we shall effectually rob them of their most characteristic folk-qualities, and thereby convert them into art-songs indistinguishable from the "composed" songs of the day. Surely, it would be wiser to limit ourselves to those harmonies which are as independent of "period" as the tunes themselves, for example, of those of the diatonic genus, which have formed the basis and been the mainstay of harmonic music throughout its history, and upon which musicians of every age and of every school have, in greater or less degree, depended; and further, seeing that the genuine folk-art never modulates, never wavers from its allegiance to one fixed tonal centre, to avoid modulation, or use it very sparingly.¹⁹

Leaving aside for the moment both Sharp's failure to acknowledge Grainger's assertion that folk song can indeed "modulate" among the various permutations of the folk modal scale and

¹⁸ Dreyfus, p. 305.

¹⁹ Cecil Sharp. *One Hundred English Folksongs* (New York: 1916): p. xv-xvi.

the impossibility of a “timeless” harmonic accompaniment that exists without any trace of an individual compositional hand, we can see the cause for Grainger’s concern in Sharp’s advocacy of a harmonic setting that contained neither modulation nor chromaticism. Two examples of Sharp’s arrangements will not only demonstrate this point further, but will provide a useful point of comparison for Grainger’s arrangements. Example 5.3 shows the first two stanzas of *William Taylor* as arranged by Sharp.²⁰

²⁰ Sharp, *One Hundred*, p. 160.

Voice

Piano

Wil - liam Tay - lor was a brisk young sail - or,

5

Voice

Pno.

He who court - ed a la - dy fair; Bells were ring - ing sail - ors sing - ing,

9

Voice

Pno.

As to church they did re - pair.

12

Voice

Pno.

Thir - ty cou - ple - at the wed - ding; All were dress'd in rich ar - ray; 'Stead of Wil - liam

Example 5.3

17

Voice

be - ing mar - ried, He was press'd and sent a - way.

Pno.

21

Voice

She dress'd up in man's ap - par - el Man's ap - par - el she put on;

Pno.

25

Voice

And she fol - low'd her true lov - er; For to find him she is gone.

Pno.

29

1st and 2nd times

3rd time

Voice

Pno.

Example 5.3 cont

True to his word, the accompaniment never wanders from the D Mixolydian mode Sharp has assigned to the tune and the regular and unwavering rhythm betrays perhaps the pervasive influence of the schoolhouse for which he arranged so many of these tunes. Example 5.4 shows the first stanza of Sharp's setting of *The Trees They Do Grow High* from the same publication.²¹

²¹ Sharp, *One Hundred*, p. 58.

The trees they do grow high, and the leaves they do grow

8

green; but the time is gone and past, my Love, that you and I have seen. It's a

13

cold win - ter's night, my Love, when you and I must bide a - lone. The bon - ny lad was

18

young, but a grow - ing. — O fa - ther, dear fa - ther, I

Example 5.4

23

fear you've done me harm, You've mar - ried me to a bon - ny boy, but I

27

fear he is too young. O - daugh - ter, dear - est daugh - ter, but

31

if you stay at home with me A La - dy you shall be, while he's

35

First and second times

Third time

grow - ing. - ev - er.

Example 5.4 cont

Here, not only does the harmonic scheme show the strictest allegiance to the mode of g Dorian, but also the lilting 6/8 rhythm is maintained throughout the entire tune.

“Revolting” is perhaps too strong a term for Sharp’s settings, but we could instead describe them as pedestrian or even, if it dare be said, a trifle dull. Sharp’s allegiance was to the tune first and foremost, as well as to his mission that the songs should be as widely disseminated as possible, particularly among children, thereby prompting him to assume that a simple and unobtrusive harmonic treatment would be best. Grainger’s settings are markedly different in this regard, of which the following examples provide a sufficient demonstration. Example 5.5 is the first two stanzas of Grainger’s setting of *Bold William Taylor* as collected from Joseph Taylor in 1906, while Example 5.6 is the version of the same song as given by Grainger in his 1908 article in the *Journal of the Folk-Song Society*.²²

Voice

Piano

5

Pno.

Example 5.5

²² Grainger, *Collecting With the Phonograph*, p. 214-217.

8

Voice

Will - yum Tay - lor, the ma - a - den's name was Sal - ly Gray. 2.No

Pno.

11

Voice

for - a sol - dier Wil-yum's 'lis - ted, for - a sol - dier he 'as

Pno.

14

Voice

gone, He's gone and left sweet lov³ - e - li Sal - ly

Pno.

17

Voice

Fo - er te sigh ad - den fo - er to mourn.

Pno.

The image shows a musical score for a song. It consists of four systems, each with a voice line and a piano accompaniment line. The key signature is one flat (B-flat). The first system (measures 8-10) has a 3/2 time signature. The second system (measures 11-13) has a 4/4 time signature. The third system (measures 14-16) has a 3/4 time signature. The fourth system (measures 17-18) has a 3/2 time signature. The lyrics are: 'Will - yum Tay - lor, the ma - a - den's name was Sal - ly Gray. 2.No for - a sol - dier Wil-yum's 'lis - ted, for - a sol - dier he 'as gone, He's gone and left sweet lov³ - e - li Sal - ly Fo - er te sigh ad - den fo - er to mourn.' There are triplets in measures 10, 12, and 15. The piano accompaniment features various chordal textures and melodic lines.

Example 5.5 cont

14.—BOLD WILLIAM TAYLOR.

Phonographed and noted by Percy Grainger. SUNG BY MR. GEORGE GOULDTHORPE,
AT BRIGG, LINCOLNSHIRE, JULY 28TH, 1906.

Sung in G. M.M. ♩ = between 108 & 120. *The time very even, and with lilt.*

(1) I'll sing you a song ā - bout two lōv - ers, O, from Lich-fied-eld (field)

town thā (they) cāme; O the yōung... mān's nāme was Will-yum Tāy-lor, The

mā - a - den's nāme was Sa - rah Grāy. (2) Now for..... a sol - dier

Will-yum's list - ed, For... a sol - dier he 'as gōne, he's

gōne and left sweet lōv - e - li (lovely) Sāl - ly For tē (to) sigh a - den (and)

fōer (for) to mourn. (3) Sāl - ly's pa - rents thā - ē (they) con-trolled 'er,

Filled 'er heart full of grief and woe, And then at last shē

vow - ed ān' said For a sol - dier she would go. (4) She

Example 5.6

dressed her-self in man's ap - pa - ril, Man's ap - pa - ri - del

She put on, And for to seek bold Will - yum Tay - lor, And

for tè (to) seek hi - m she 'as gône. (5) Wôn (one) dăy... as she wăs

ex - er - cis - in', Ex - er - cis - in' a - mongst the rest, With a

sil - ver chē - an (chain) húng down her wă - ast - coat And

there he spied her... milk white breast. (6) And

then... the cap - tain he stepped up to her, Asked her what hăd

brought her there. "I've côme tè seek my own trē - ô (true) lōv - er,

He has proved to..... me so vĕre." (severe) (7) "If you've

Example 5.6 cont

cōme... tē seek yēr own true lōv - er, Prāy tell tō
 me his nāme." "His nāme it is bold Will - yum Tay - lor,
 O from Lē - ich - fie - deld tōwn he cāme." (8) "If his
 nāme it is bold Will - yum Tay - lor, And he has proved tō
 you so vēre; He's got mār - ri - ed to an Ir - ish lā - dy,
 He got mār - ri - ed the o - ther yēcr. (year) (9) If you rise ear - li
 in the morn - in', Ear - ly by the break of dāy, There
 you shall spy bold Will - yum Tāy - lor Walk - in' with this
 lā - dy gāy." (10) Then she rose ear - li in the morn - in',

Example 5.6 cont

Ear - ly by the brēk (break) of dāy, And there she spied bold
 Will - yum Tay - lor, Walk - in' with this lā - dy gāy. (11) And
 then she called for a brāce of pis - tils, A
 brāce of pis - tils at her cō - mānd, And there she shot bold
 Will - yum Tay - lor, With his bride at his right 'ānd. (12) And
 then the cāp - ten was well plē - ez - ed, (pleased)
 Wās well plē - ē - zed what she had dōne, And there he māde her a
 gret (great) cō - mānd - er A - board ship o - ver all his men.

Example 5.6 cont

There are a number of noteworthy elements about the piece: first, although he altered a number of the more difficult metrical changes, Grainger's setting of the melody remains remarkably similar to that of the original transcription, thus providing further evidence of the value he placed on the original performance of the tune, not some Ur-tune that lay behind it,

as the most important manifestation of the folk song; further, Grainger imbued his harmonies with a number of harsh dissonances and a sinewy chromaticism that provide a far more colourful harmonic backdrop than that provided by Sharp, remaining all the while within the bounds of functional harmony. Such extended harmonies do nothing to obscure or overpower the melody, but merely provide a more tension-filled harmonic setting on which the melody rests, with the most extensive moments of chromaticism propelling the drive to the cadence at the conclusion of each stanza. Example 5.7 shows the first five stanzas of *Creeping Jane* as collected from Joseph Taylor in 1906.

The image displays a musical score for the folk song "Creeping Jane". It consists of five stanzas, each with a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The score is written in G major (one sharp) and 3/4 time. The piano part features a consistent harmonic accompaniment across all stanzas, with a bass line that moves chromatically. The vocal lines are identical for all stanzas, with the lyrics for each stanza written below the notes. The lyrics are: 1. I will sing you - a song, and a; 2. When Creep - in' - - Jane on the; Now when that they came to the; Now when that they came to the; Now Creep - i - - n' Ja - ney this.

Example 5.7

Grainger here took a somewhat different approach to the same idea concerning the preservation of the ornamentation of the original melody, providing each stanza in a score format with an identical piano setting throughout, thereby providing for the greater focus of attention on the melody. This format also throws into stark relief Taylor's extensive melodic

ornamentation between verses, thereby providing a valuable methodology for melodic analysis. *Creeping Jane* likely had a special significance for Grainger, as it was the song Taylor performed, and which led him to victory, at the folk song competition at Brigg that Grainger attended in 1905. It was one of the very first real folk songs Grainger heard, and it was the first song he heard performed by Taylor, who would go on to become his most valuable source of folk repertoire. Perhaps it is not surprising that Grainger should therefore have singled it out for a somewhat special treatment.

Two curious items require mention concerning *Bold William Taylor*. The first is the date of composition, which is listed on the first page as taking place between April 22 and August 14, 1908. It would therefore seem that despite his assertion to Sharp of a self-imposed injunction against such an activity, Grainger was in fact eager to compose such settings. The second item is that despite Grainger's philosophy of the importance of making music accessible to people outside of the elite realm of professional musicians, the setting of this song for voice and piano is clearly within the realm of art-music and is therefore well beyond the technical skills of most amateur musicians. Grainger later set many of his arrangements of such music in the elastic-scoring format in order to make it accessible to such an audience, but it should be noted that he was also very capable of working within the confines of an elite art-music aesthetic at the same time.

Grainger's settings of English folk song for voice and piano are indicative of yet another manifestation of the aesthetic conflict between Grainger and his contemporaries, especially Cecil Sharp and the FSS. Where Sharp was conservative and antiquarian, Grainger was progressive and experimental, and it was these qualities which made him the focus of attention for Benjamin Britten when Britten began his own exploration of folk song.

PERCY GRAINGER, BENJAMIN BRITTEN, AND FOLK SONG

Benjamin Britten (1913-76) was an ardent admirer of Grainger, particularly of his folk song settings. In a diary entry for March 3, 1933, Britten recorded having heard “two brilliant folk-song arrangements of Percy Grainger...knocking all the V. Williams and R.O. Morris arrangements into a cocked-hat.”²³ It is somewhat surprising that Britten admired Grainger as much as he did considering his view of the folk song movement in general as anathema. Britten essentially had no time for the movement or its advocates such as Ralph Vaughan Williams, viewing Vaughan Williams in particular with unmitigated disdain for what he considered the latter’s technical incompetence.²⁴ So vitriolic was his attitude toward the folk song movement and the attendant pastoralism of Vaughan Williams that Britten penned an article entitled “England and the Folk-Art Problem” for *Modern Music* in 1941.²⁵ Britten saw English music of the period as divided between two schools of thought: Elgar, who represented technical proficiency, professionalism, and the assimilation of foreign influence; and Parry, who stood for amateurism, pastoralism, and conservatism. The failure of the latter school was its embrace of folk song as its primary musical material, for although such music may have provided pleasant melodies, it did not provide sufficient melodic material for complex motivic and structural organization. Britten stated the following case:

The failure of folksong to provide contemporary England with an adequate basis for organized music is due to many factors, some general, some local. The chief attractions of English folksongs are the sweetness of the melodies, the close connection between words and music, and the quiet, uneventful charm of the atmosphere. This uneventfulness however is part of the weakness of the tune, which

²³ Benjamin Britten. *Letters from a Life: The Selected Letters and Diaries of Benjamin Britten 1913-1976. Volume One 1923-1939*. Edited by Donald Mitchell (London, 1991): p. 347.

²⁴ Lewis Foreman. *From Parry to Britten: British Music in Letters, 1900-1945* (London, 1987): p. 179.

²⁵ Benjamin Britten. “England and the Folk-Art Problem.” In *Modern Music* XVIII, no. 2 (January-February 1941): pp. 71-74.

seldom have any striking rhythms or memorable melodic features. Like much of the English countryside, they creep into the affections rather than take them by storm

Since the form of a work is dictated by the material, the characteristics of English folksong mentioned above are bound to have a weakening effect on the structure of the music founded directly upon it. Folksongs are concise and finished little works of art. When used as raw material they tend to obstruct thinking in the extended musical forms. Works founded on them are usually little more than variations or potpourris. Again, each folksong has a completely suggested harmonic scheme – so that it should sound satisfactory when sung unaccompanied – and much deviation tends to produce a feeling of irritation.... All these characteristics tend to make folksong a most restricting influence, which, as a matter of fact, is no doubt what many composers have wanted. Lacking the necessary discipline they forget that discipline must come from within.²⁶

Essentially, as Britten also stated in the same article, “the more highly organized, the more interesting the music.”²⁷

Given Britten’s severe reaction to the folk / pastoral movement, it seems curious that he should himself have begun setting English folk song when he had devalued the very idea in print. Arnold Whittall contended that Britten chose such a genre, as many composers do, in order to challenge and confront its characteristics and provide an alternative to them, or, to use a decidedly postmodern phrase, use the master’s tools to dismantle the master’s house, a particularly apt metaphor when we consider the overwhelming popularity of the folk-inspired pastoral idea among British composers of the period. We might also employ Harold Bloom’s idea of the “Anxiety of Influence”, one that has already made an appearance in this dissertation, to say that Britten intentionally struggled against the pervasive influence of the folk movement by misreading it and redeploying its resources in the manner in which he believed they ought to have been used. Britten had expressed exactly such a frustration in a letter after having been to a concert featuring the music of Vaughan Williams: “I have never

²⁶ Britten, “Folk-Art Problem,” p. 73-74.

²⁷ Britten, “Folk-Art Problem,” p. 72.

felt more depressed for English music than after that programme...especially when I felt that that is what the public – no, not the public, the critics love and praise.’²⁸

Britten therefore used folk song as a means of resisting pastoralism. Philip Brett believed that Britten’s admiration for Grainger was a very important element in his resistance to Vaughan Williams and the champions of pastoralism, for Britten saw in Grainger a fellow modernist who both embraced folk song and sought to disrupt from within the stranglehold of its influence over contemporary British music.²⁹ For the most part, this is probably true, although it does perhaps sell short the genuine admiration Britten had for Grainger’s music, the extent of which shall soon become clear. To be sure, however, the stark differences already observed between the folk settings of Grainger and Sharp would have been clear to Britten as not just a clash of aesthetics but of ideologies, and Grainger’s far more sophisticated treatment of the music would have endeared itself even more to Britten given the extent to which they subverted Sharp’s guiding principles.

Britten produced seven volumes of folk songs beginning in 1943 and following in 1946, 1947, 1960, two in 1961, and the final volume in 1976. They were initially used to provide material for the conclusion of recitals featuring himself and Peter Pears, although performances with guitarist Julian Bream persuaded him to set the sixth volume for guitar. Britten was too ill to perform by the time of the final volume, and these pieces were therefore arranged for harp for Ossian Ellis. Pears described Britten’s approach to setting folk song as follows:

His way with a folk-song is very different from that of Cecil Sharp who arranged so many for schools in the first part of the century; one of Sharp’s cherished ideas was to bring back to English children those tunes that had been sung to and by their ancestors and he used

²⁸ Foreman, p. 179.

²⁹ Philip Brett. “Review: Toeing the Line.” In *The Musical Times* 137, no. 1843 (Sep., 1996): p. 13.

to arrange these songs for voice and piano with very simple and regularly barred accompaniment. This would not do for Britten. He wanted to recreate these melodies with their texts for concert performances, to make them art-songs, in the tradition of Schubert and even Brahms. He therefore takes the tune as if he had written it himself and thinks himself back as to how he would turn it into a song.³⁰

That Britten imagined the tune as though he had written it is itself a drastic departure from Sharp, who advocated a harmonic treatment so bland that it was to give the impression that it had been composed not by human hands but had mysteriously descended from a timeless folk ether. Britten's accompaniments in no way use the melody as an excuse for harmonic histrionics, but instead illuminate the melody and provide additional musical perspectives of the material. Example 5.8 shows the first three stanzas of Britten's treatment of *The Trees They Grow So High* with a melody similar to that used by Cecil Sharp in Example 5.4.³¹

³⁰ Christopher Headington. *Britten* (London, 1981): p. 74.

³¹ Britten. *Folk Song Arrangements Volume 1: The British Isles* (London, 1948): pp. 10-15.

Poco allegretto

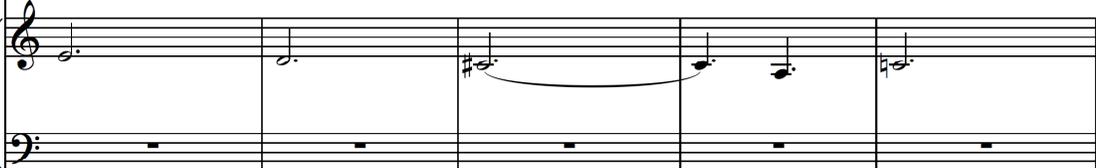
Voice  The trees they grow so high and the leaves they do grow green,..... And

Voice ⁶  ma - ny a cold win - ter's night my love and I.... have seen. Of a cold win - ter's

Voice ¹¹  night, my love, you and I a - lone have been, Whilst my bon - ny boy_ is young, he's a grow -

Voice ¹⁷  ing. Grow - ing, grow - ing, Whilst my bon - ny boy is young he's a grow - ing.... O

Voice ²⁴  fa - ther, dea - rest fa - ther, you've done to me great wrong,.... You've tied me to a

Pno. 

Voice ²⁹  boy... when you know he is... too young. O daugh - ter, dea - rest daugh - ter, if you

Pno. 

Example 5.8

34

Voice

wait a lit - tle while, ... A la - dy you shall be while he's grow - ing.

Pno.

40

Voice

Grow - ing, grow - ing, a la - dy you shall be while he's grow - ing... I'll

Pno.

46

Voice

send your love to col - lege all for a year or two... And then in the

Pno.

51

Voice

mean - time... he will do... for you; I'll buy him white rib - bons, tie them

Pno.

Example 5.8 cont

The image shows two systems of musical notation. The first system, labeled '56', features a voice line and a piano accompaniment. The voice line has the lyrics: 'round his bony - ny waist... To let the la - dies know that he's'. The piano accompaniment consists of a treble and bass clef with various notes and rests. The second system, labeled '60', continues the piece. The voice line has the lyrics: 'mar - ried.'. The piano accompaniment continues with similar notation, including a long melodic line in the treble clef and a bass line.

Example 5.8 cont

The remaining text of the tune is as follows:

I went up to the college and I looked over the wall,
 Saw four and twenty gentlemen playing at bat and ball.
 I called for my true love, but they would not let him come,
 All because he was a young boy and growing.
 Growing, growing
 All because he was a young boy and growing.

At the age of sixteen, he was a married man,
 And at the age of seventeen he was father to a son,
 And at the age of eighteen the grass grew over him.
 Cruel death put an end to his growing.
 Growing, growing,
 Cruel death put an end to his growing.

And now my love is dead and in his grave doth lie.
 The green grass grows o'er him so very, very high.
 I'll sit and I'll mourn his fate until the day I die,
 And I'll watch o'er his child while he's growing.
 Growing, growing,
 And I'll watch o'er his child while he's growing.

Unlike Sharp's treatment, in which the piano accompaniment demonstrates no signs of significant interaction with either the text or the melody, Britten created a harmonic scheme with a progressive and intriguing musical narrative that parallels that of the melancholic textual narrative. After an unaccompanied first stanza, Britten introduced a single voice in notes of long duration that both clashes harmonically with the melody and counters the consistent dance-like rhythm of the 6/8 metre in the melody. Single voices continue to be added to the texture until the penultimate verse in which we learn of the death of the boy and the harmony begins to sink back into harmonic and rhythmic stasis. By the final stanza, which is the denouement of the textual narrative, the accompaniment has devolved to two voices consisting of the single voice first heard during the second stanza but now heard against a tonic pedal in the bass, thus providing some powerful dissonances between the three lines during the final words from the widowed young wife cradling her now fatherless child. The melody is again *a cappella* for the final lines, perhaps pointing to the lifetime of solitude and mourning to which the young widow resigns herself, but also signifying the renewal of the life cycle as the child, not the deceased father, takes ownership of the phrase "he's growing" and begins his own journey toward whatever fate lies in store (which is rarely a happy one in the British folk song tradition).

Britten's treatment is far more sophisticated than Sharp's on both a musical and textual level, and although his harmonic language and interaction with the text clearly differs also from that of Grainger, his praise of Grainger's arrangements seems to have provided him both with permission and incentive to engage the folk material in such a heretical manner. Perhaps, therefore, it was not in the strict letter of Grainger's arrangements from which Britten took inspiration, but from the spirit in which they were composed. As a

curious and ironic epilogue, Vaughan Williams's review of Britten's first volume of folk settings read in part:

Are we old fogeys of the Folk-song movement getting into a rut? If so, it is very good for us to be pulled out of it by such fiery young steeds as Benjamin Britten and Herbert Murill. We see one side of a folk-song, they see the other.... The tune's the thing with which we'll catch the conscience of the composer. Do these settings spring from a love of the tune? Then, whatever our personal reaction may be we must respect them.... Welcome, then the younger generation who will push along the highway, turning now to the right, now to the left, each divagation balancing the other so that in the end the straight line is kept intact.³²

Despite all the venom Britten cast privately at Vaughan Williams, his folk settings actually met with approval. This is not the place to ponder the intricacies of such a situation, but perhaps it is enough to wonder what exactly happens to the "Anxiety of Influence" when the bested influence actually approves of the final product that was born out of the attempt on the part of the anxious party to escape his or her suffocating artistic presence.

Britten's folk settings for voice and piano are very much his own expressions and are neither tributes nor emulations of Grainger's music, despite whatever role Grainger may have had in their creation. Britten's most significant tribute to Grainger, and the one that demonstrates that his admiration was genuine and not simply ideologically strategic, is to be found in his *Suite on English Folk Tunes, Op. 90* from 1974. This piece contains five short movements based on songs found in both the *Journal of the Folk Song Society* and Playford's *The Dancing Master*. The final movement is entitled *Lord Melbourne*, and carries the following commentary:

Unlike the fragmentary use I have made of the other tunes in this Suite, *Lord Melbourne*, played by the cor anglais, is used complete. It was written down in his usual meticulous detail by Percy Grainger, to whose memory the Suite is 'lovingly and reverently' dedicated.³³

³² Britten, *Letters*, p. 347.

³³ Britten. *Suite on English Folk Tunes* (London, 1976): Front material.

Example 5.9 shows an extract of the melody to which Britten referred, while Example 4.4 from Chapter Four shows Grainger's transcription of the first stanza as it appeared in the article in the *Journal of the Folk Song Society*.

Freely

The musical score consists of three staves of music in 2/4 time with a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The first staff begins with the tempo marking 'Freely'. The music features a variety of rhythmic patterns, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and several triplet markings (indicated by a '3' over a group of notes). Slurs are used to group phrases of notes. The second staff starts at measure 10, and the third staff starts at measure 17. The piece concludes with a double bar line.

Example 5.9

Despite the occasional editing of some of the more complex rhythmic values of the transcription, Britten captured Grainger's work in almost exact detail. Britten, for whom the folk song movement was so abhorrent, delved into the *Journal of the Folk Song Society* (perhaps with pinched nose) to learn the melody that Grainger went to such pains, and fought such a battle, to transcribe and publish in its exact form. Britten paid tribute to Grainger by using *Lord Melbourne* in its entirety as the work's primary melodic material (as he had vowed never to do), thereby demonstrating the inherent musical interest of which he considered Grainger's version of the melody to be possessed. As to why he chose *Lord Melbourne* over other such songs in the article for such a tribute we can only speculate, but perhaps a hint lies in the text of the final stanza:

Now on a bed of sickness lie,
 I am resigned to die.
 You gen'ral's all
 and champions bold,
 stand true as well as I.
 Stand to your men,
 take them on board,
 and fight with courage bold.
 I've led my men through smoke and fire,
 but now to death must yield.³⁴

A tribute to the departed from the moribund, perhaps, is how we ought to understand these poignant few minutes of music, and perhaps as a sort of final conciliatory gesture from Britten, who had no time for pastoralism, to the only person whom he believed brought anything of real modernist musical substance to folk song.

CONCLUSION

As mentioned, this chapter does have a feel of tying-up-loose-ends about it in the sense that Grainger's collecting in Denmark, his folk settings, and his influence on Benjamin Britten are not central to the thesis concerning his English folk song collection. However, the thrust of this dissertation is that nothing in Grainger's life was merely tangential to his musical aesthetic, and that even those events that seem to bear no relation to one another are actually manifestations of very similar ideas and principles in different environments. Both the Danish collection and the folk song settings bear the unmistakable stamp of ideas and lessons learned during Grainger's formative years studying English folk song, and it is my contention that no assessment of Grainger is adequate without such a wide scope of contextual consideration. As for Britten, I hope to have made clear that Grainger was a pivotal influence in reconciling him to the folk song he professed to despise so much, and

³⁴ Grainger, *Collecting with the Phonograph*, p. 203.

that it was Grainger who demonstrated to him the ways in which the suffocating influence of the folk song school could be surreptitiously subverted in the cause of musical modernism.

CONCLUSION

A final question: was Percy Grainger an ethnomusicologist or a folklorist? The very fact that Grainger's work at collecting folk song in England took place during the initial stages of the ascent of the former and descending fortunes of the later makes this a pertinent and difficult question. Constantin Brailoiu related his own perspective of the division of the study of folk music into these two camps:

The advent of the phonograph is moreover the origin of a conflict, strictly speaking localized, which now one can, happily, view in a historical perspective, but which nearly cost us dear, and whose remains are slow to dissolve. It concerns that deaf war of succession that split us, after 1900, into two camps that deliberately ignored each other: on the one hand the old folklorist, on the other the followers of a new school called... 'Vergleichende Musikwissenschaft' or comparative musicology. Nothing new, as far as the former went, except that the machines were going to improve their work considerably. As for the latter, they resolved to turn away from all European music, whatever it might be, assigning themselves to the study of all extra-European music, whether learned or popular, art or folk. The greatest confusion ensued. When the terminological quarrel had reached its peak, I asked Bartok one day: 'When all is said, you and I, are we doing folklore or comparative musicology?' To which he answered enthusiastically: 'Folklore, of course!'¹

Grainger's iconoclastic methodologies and scholarly work, certainly in relation to those of his colleagues in the FSS, would certainly seem to indicate that he could not conceivably be considered a member of the folklore camp, even if we consider the amount of work that he did in Europe as being indicative of membership within such ranks. Even Grainger's frankly unmitigated disdain for the work of most of his FSS colleagues (one could hardly call them peers) points to his attempts to distance himself as much as possible from the antiquarian mindset that seemed to dominate the folklore school. Bartok might have considered himself

¹ Brailoiu, *Problems in Ethnomusicology*, p. 96.

to be a new breed of folklorist, but all the evidence would seem to dictate that Grainger did not believe the same about himself.

That being the case, it would seem that Grainger was indeed a comparative musicologist or proto-ethnomusicologist. His embrace of technology, constant pursuit of improved methods of transcription, and dedication to music from every corner of the globe (including Europe) certainly resonates strongly with the convictions held by most adherents of the discipline of contemporary ethnomusicology. Yet for all the similarities between Grainger's ideas and those of ethnomusicology as it exists today, it does not feel quite right assigning him to this camp either. Grainger's contributions have been immense, both to ethnomusicology in general and to English folk song in particular, but as I have sought to demonstrate throughout this dissertation, Grainger's perspective was somewhat different than one might expect of an ethnomusicologist today. The very breadth of his musical curiosity, as well as his tendency to move so quickly from one field of inquiry to another just as he was on the verge of making real progress, testify to a dedication to musical universalism that seems to me to put him outside the strict definition of the discipline of ethnomusicology. As mentioned previously, Grainger had a tendency to make sweeping generalizations about musical cultures without ever having had the opportunity to engage them at the level that would have afforded him real insight. Doctoral candidates in ethnomusicology programs today are usually expected to spend at least one year in the field engaging critically their focus of study, a standard to which Grainger certainly does not measure up. Even if we consider that the application of such standards might be anachronistic and therefore inappropriate for a scholar whose work is now more than one-hundred years old, the truth is that regardless of whatever intentions or ideas he might have had, Grainger simply never

dedicated himself to the thorough examination of any one musical culture in a way that would justify considering him an ethnomusicologist.

So, to repeat: was Grainger an ethnomusicologist or a folklorist? The answer, as I hope to have demonstrated, is that he was really neither of these things. If forced to find a category into which to fit Percy Grainger, I believe it should be that of “Philosopher of Music.” This might seem to lack a certain amount of clarity, and would certainly make a somewhat puzzling job title, but it describes Grainger better than does any other term. He is generally referred to in most musicological literature as a “pianist” or “composer”; but the truth is that he was not terribly fond of being pigeonholed as the former and was not all that successful at the later. Further, as mentioned previously, neither of the labels “folklorist” or “ethnomusicologist” seems to apply when we consider the breadth of his interests. In essence, Grainger did not commit himself fully enough to any one musical activity to the extent that his involvement in it would justify using it as a means of granting him any official designation. What he did do exceptionally well, however, was philosophize about music. If some of his ideas about the specifics of some of the music in which he was interested have given way in the face of more thorough and extensive scholarly and ethnomusicological work (which is not the case, I must point out, with his work in English folk song, in which field his conclusions have been continuously validated over the decades), many of his thoughts about music and musical aesthetics are only now seeing the light of day.

Percy Grainger was, to summarize, an advanced and somewhat revolutionary philosopher of musical aesthetics. This is the picture of him that has revealed itself increasingly to me throughout this work, and it is one that I hope to have adequately captured in this dissertation. Furthermore, although Grainger’s exposition of his musical aesthetic was

never formulated with any real clarity, it can be reassembled from his writing, as I have attempted to do here. Of all the work that he did, it is my belief that none shows the influence of having been shaped by that aesthetic more so than does the English Folk Song Collection, and that this is reflected most powerfully in his article “Collecting with the Phonograph” published in the *JFSS* in 1908. Grainger may have been a young man of twenty-three when he began collecting folk song in England, but his development of an advanced musical philosophy was already well underway. At its core, this musical philosophy was deeply avant-garde and modernist in its conception, not only placing him a world away from his fellow collectors in the FSS, but giving him a breadth of knowledge and an open-mindedness that allowed him to hear such music as it was and to accord it the value it deserved. To put it bluntly: as a modernist, Grainger was interested in unusual and dissonant sounds that fell outside of the normal parameters of Western art music, and it is this interest that gave him the capacity for hearing and understanding those sounds when they occurred in English folk song.

It was this modernist aesthetic that also made Grainger an outcast from the FSS. As I have shown here, particularly in Chapters Three and Four, Grainger’s half-hearted attempts to disguise his contempt for his fellow collectors were unsuccessful. His polemical attitude toward the working methods and philosophies of those such as Cecil Sharp came through clearly in his forecasts concerning the future of the study of folk music: his advanced descriptive notations, his commitment to the idea of the lives of the singers as being amalgamated with the songs themselves into an aesthetic whole, and his advocacy of ever-more autonomous machines for the collecting of such music all pointed to a philosophy of music in which his fellow members of the folk song collectors would have no significant

role. Grainger was, in fact, being intentionally offensive and provocative. What I have demonstrated here, however, is that the hostile reaction this provoked from the FSS in the form of the caveat attached to his article was in no way responsible for Grainger's departure from the English folk music field. Grainger may well have put some noses out of joint with his work, but we can scarcely be expected to believe that he would have taken such judgment against him so much to heart that he decided to pick up his ball, go home, and never play with such children again. Grainger considered himself (rightly so I believe) to be better than other collectors, and their criticism would have meant little to him, especially when he had received support from far more influential figures such as Benjamin Ives Gilman. Frankly, the notion that Grainger would have been so hurt by the criticism from the Folk Song Society that he never collected in England again, even when he had won such praise from Gilman, is a preposterous notion. There were many reasons why Grainger stopped collecting, a number of which, such as his financial dependence on concert performance and the inability of English folk song to shoulder the weighty burden of his musical aesthetic, have been mentioned previously. Perhaps the most important factor to be considered, however, is Grainger's relationship with Joseph Taylor. Although Grainger posited a theory of English folk song based on his work with a number of singers, Taylor came to represent for Grainger the ultimate exponent of English folk song, a genius performer in the genre. The possibility that Grainger's theories of English folk singers were very much dependent upon Taylor, and that such theories were less about English folk song than they were one individual English folk singer, demands further study, as does both the relationship between these two men and the life and music of Taylor on his own merits. Nevertheless, Taylor became Grainger's ideal personification of folk song, and when Grainger referred to those artists who best

demonstrated what he termed the “impress of personality,” it was always Taylor he had in mind. Sadly, in May of 1910, Joseph Taylor was thrown from a horse carriage on the farm where he worked as a bailiff. He was not injured in the initial accident, but he collapsed and died the next day from an undiagnosed internal injury. Grainger had come to put so much emphasis on Taylor’s performances that he must have realized the difficulties he would face were he to try to begin collecting with new singers. It does not seem an exaggeration to say that Taylor’s death must have taken some of the wind from Grainger’s sails and precipitated his desire to focus his attention on other areas

In the final stages of this dissertation, the book *Self-Portrait of Percy Grainger*, edited by Malcolm Gillies, David Pear, and Mark Carroll, appeared in print. One can only imagine the apprehension with which I approached a book filled with newly published versions of Grainger’s writings as I put the finishing touches on a dissertation written without access to such writings. There was a very good chance that contained within this book would be the recipe for the demise of my thesis. However, what I discovered instead were the ingredients that allowed all the thoughts I was having about Grainger to coalesce into a unified whole. There, contained within the pages of that book, was the Grainger I always suspected had existed. What I found in that book was not disruptive or contrary to my thesis in any way: it was proof that I was right. The extensive materials I have quoted from the writings contained in that book provide ample evidence to my indebtedness to Profs. Gillies, Pear, and Carroll for their remarkable work.

Of course, it goes without saying that these Grainger scholars did not pick the writings contained in that book at random. I had the great privilege to attend and present a paper based on the preliminary conclusions of this dissertation at the “Grainger at 125”

conference at the University of Melbourne on December 7, 2007, during which time I listened to a remarkable paper by Prof. Mark Carroll on the genesis and creation of *Self-Portrait of Percy Grainger*. I was heartened to hear Prof. Carroll confirm what I had come to believe independently: that the future of Grainger studies would no longer be biographical examinations of his life, analysis of his music, or tawdry peep-shows of his sexuality or racism, but the investigation of his philosophy and aesthetics. Grainger was far more brilliant than even his supporters believed him to be, and I am pleased to be able to offer even this preliminary exploration in what I hope will be only the nascent stages of far more extensive investigations by other Grainger scholars in the future. If I have left any stone unturned, avenue unexplored, or potential connection dangling, I hope that will only provide impetus for others to pick up and continue where I have fallen short.

To recast a comment Grainger made about English folk singers: it was not so much the abundance of art in his life, but the abundance of life in his art that made him a great artist and philosopher of music. It was also his humanity. What I have attempted to provide in this examination of Grainger is a portrait very different from that given by others. In contrast to the sexual sadist, purveyor of light-music lollipops, and racist anti-Semite, the Grainger I have come to know was brilliant, complex, and a man whose education was woefully incommensurate with his intellectual abilities. He was also a man who firmly believed in the artistic abilities of every single human being, and who spent much of his life studying with real intellectual and scholarly rigor the music that had been ignored, appropriated, or molested by others less enlightened than he. As I have done many other times, I cede the ground to Grainger to leave a final impression of himself in a letter to Joseph Taylor's daughter Annie Allen from January 29, 1932:

Times are very bad over here just now and concert conditions are extremely tiring. But later on, if things improve, I would dearly love to do something in connection with your father's songs and records as follows: I would deposit 1000 in an English bank to create a trust fund, the proceeds to be paid out yearly in the form of "Joseph Taylor Prized" [sic] to be awarded for "Folksong Singing" at an English competition Festival or Festivals. The prized [sic] should go to those who best upheld in their singing, the true countryside traditions of English folksinging, and competitors would be advised to study the Joseph Taylor records, as examples of the most perfect possible traditions of English folksinging. Perhaps a small, cheap, booklet of the songs your father sang, could be issued to the competing singers as a guide. All the same, the songs to be sung by competitors need not be limited to the songs sung by your father. Any folk songs, taken from any collection or source, would be permitted, though your father's records would be stressed as the most perfect recorded examples of English Folk Singing. Don't you think that a nice idea, a good practical way of keeping up the tradition of folksinging – without which the songs alone are incomplete? I would like to establish such prizes in several parts of England, and also in Australia – as soon as I can afford to do so. How is the Lincolnshire competition Festival getting on? Is it still at Brigg, and would that be a suitable place for a "Joseph Taylor" prize to be established, as a yearly thing, later on? Your darling father was absolutely unique. His singing was as sweet and lovable as his own self – and that is saying a lot. I shall love and revere him always, and I want the musical public of the future to share my knowledge and love of him.²

In addition to all that has been written about him, both by myself and by others, Percy Grainger was a good and kind man. This is the man I have come to know through my study of him, and it is this man that I hope will come further into the spotlight as a new generation of scholars penetrate ever-deeper the recesses of his complex personality and philosophy.

² Letter to Annie Allen, January 29, 1932 (Reg. No. 03, 4003, Bay 5 Box 50, Grainger Museum).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Manuscript Sources in the Percy Grainger Museum, University of Melbourne

MG13/1-1-1 to MG13/1-1-2
 MG13/1-1-3 to MG13/1-18
 MG13/2-1 to MG13/2-9
 MG13/2-10 to MG13/3-1
 MG13/1-1 to MG13/1-1:9

Percy Grainger Collection: Incoming Miscellaneous Items 1900-1913

PG201: Bay 4 Box 65
 03.4003: Bay 1 Box 54
 PG209: Bay 5 Box 50
 PG209: Bay 1 Box 55
 CW/23-1: Bay 4 Box 8
 CW1-CW/24: Item 23-26
 03.2011: Bay 4 Box 12

Percy Grainger Collection

Bay 1 Box 2 Series 1: Miscellaneous Incoming Correspondence 1900-1913 A-D
 Bay 1 Box 3 Series 1: Miscellaneous Incoming Correspondence 1900-1913 E-K
 Bay 1 Box 6 Series 1: Miscellaneous Incoming Correspondence 1900-1913 S
 Bay 1 Box 7 Series 1: Miscellaneous Incoming Correspondence 1900-1913 T-Z

Books, Articles, and Internet Sources

Abraham, Otto and E.M. von Hornbostel. "Indian Melodies from British-Columbia Recorded on the Phonograph." In *Hornbostel Opera Omnia Vol. 1*. Edited by Klaus P. Wachsmann, Dieter Christensen, and Hans-Peter Reinecke. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1975, pp. 300-322.

Abraham, Otto and E.M. von Hornbostel. "Indian Melodies Recorded on the Phonograph." In *Hornbostel Opera Omnia Vol. 1*. Edited by Klaus P. Wachsmann, Dieter Christensen, and Hans-Peter Reinecke. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1975, pp. 115-182.

Abraham, Otto and E.M. von Hornbostel. "On the Significance of the Phonograph for Comparative Musicology." In *Hornbostel Opera Omnia Vol. 1*. Edited by Klaus P. Wachsmann, Dieter Christensen, and Hans-Peter Reinecke. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1975, pp. 183-202.

Abraham, Otto and E.M. von Hornbostel. "Tunisian Melodies Recorded on the Phonograph." In *Hornbostel Opera Omnia Vol. 1*. Edited by Klaus P. Wachsmann, Dieter Christensen, and Hans-Peter Reinecke. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1975, pp. 323-380.

Abraham, Otto and E. M. von Hornbostel. "Turkish Melodies Recorded on the Phonograph." In *Hornbostel Opera Omnia Vol. 1*. Edited by Klaus P. Wachsmann, Dieter Christensen, and Hans-Peter Reinecke. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1975, pp. 91-113.

Abrahams, Roger D. and George Foss. *Anglo-American Folksong Style*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968.

Adorno, Theodor W. "The Aging of the New Music." In *Essays on Music*. Edited by Richard Leppert. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002, pp. 181-202.

Adorno, Theodor W. "Farewell to Jazz." In *Essays on Music*. Edited by Richard Leppert. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002, pp. 496-500.

Adorno, Theodor W. "Music, Language, and Composition." In *Essays on Music*. Edited by Richard Leppert. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002, pp. 113-126.

Adorno, Theodor W. "On the Fetish-Character in Music and the Regression of Listening." In *Essays on Music*. Edited by Richard Leppert. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002, pp. 288-317.

Adorno, Theodor W. "On Jazz." In *Essays on Music*. Edited by Richard Leppert. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002, pp. 470-495.

Adorno, Theodor W. "On the Social Situation of Music." In *Essays on Music*. Edited by Richard Leppert. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002, pp. 391-436.

Adorno, Theodor W. "The Radio Symphony." In *Essays on Music*. Edited by Richard Leppert. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002, pp. 251-270.

Adorno, Theodor W. "What National Socialism Has Done for the Arts." In *Essays on Music*. Edited by Richard Leppert. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002, pp. 373-390.

Adorno, Theodor W. "Why is the New Art So Hard to Understand?" In *Essays on Music*. Edited by Richard Leppert. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002, pp. 127-134.

Anderson, Peter. "Grainger's 'Free' Music." In *Percy Aldridge Grainger Symposium*. Edited by Frank Callaway. Western Australia: CIRCME, 1997, pp. 119-124.

Apollonio, Umbro ed. *Futurist Manifestos*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1973.

Balough, Teresa. "Grainger as Author- A Philosophical Expression." In *Percy Aldridge Grainger Symposium*. Edited by Frank Callaway. Western Australia: CIRCME, 1997, pp. 90-100.

Balough, Teresa. "The Inner Fire: Spirit and Consciousness in the Work of Percy Grainger." Nedlands: CIRCME, 1993.

Baring-Gould, Sabine. *English Minstrelsie: A National Monument of English Song*. Eight Volumes. Edinburgh: T.C. & E.C. Jack, Grange Publishing Works, 1896.

Baring-Gould, Sabine. *Further Reminiscences, 1864-1894*. London: John Lane the Bodley Head Ltd., 1925.

Baring-Gould, Sabine. *An Historical Sketch of English National Song*. London: Acorn Edition, 1895.

Baring-Gould, Rev. Sabine and Cecil J. Sharp. *English Folk Songs for Schools*. London: Curwen, 1906.

Baring-Gould, Rev. Sabine and H. Fleetwood Sheppard. *Songs and Ballads of the West. A Collection made from the Mouths of the People*. 4 Volumes. London: Patey and Willis, 1889-1895, Fifth Edition in One Volume, 1905, Reprinted 1913.

Baring-Gould, Rev. Sabine and Rev. H. Fleetwood Sheppard. *A Garland of Country Song. English Folk Songs with their Traditional Melodies*. London: Methuen, 1895.

Barry, Phillips. "A Garland of Ballads." In *The Journal of American Folklore* 23, no. 90 (1910): pp. 446-454.

Barry, Phillips. "Irish Come-All-Ye's." In *The Journal of American Folklore* 22, no. 86 (October-December 1909): pp. 374-388.

Barry, Phillips. "Irish Folk-Song." In *The Journal of American Folklore* 24, no. 93 (July-September 1911): pp. 332-343.

Barry, Phillips. "Native Balladry in America." In *The Journal of American Folklore* 22, no. 86 (October- December 1909): pp. 365-373.

Barry, Phillips. "New Ballad Texts." In *The Journal of American Folklore* 24, no. 93 (July-September 1911): pp. 344-349.

Barry, Phillips. "The Origin of Folk-Melodies." In *The Journal of American Folklore* 23, no. 90 (October-December 1910): pp. 440-445.

Barry, Phillips. "The Part of the Folk Singer in the Making of Folk Balladry." In *The Critics and the Ballad*. Edited by MacEdward Leach and Tristram P. Coffin. Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1961, pp. 59-76.

Bartok, Bela. *The Hungarian Folk Song*. Edited by Benjamin Suchoff. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1981.

Bartok, Bela. *Studies in Ethnomusicology*. Edited by Benjamin Suchoff. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997.

Bartok, Bela and Albert B. Lord. *Serbo-Croatian Folk Songs*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1951.

Bayard, Samuel P. "Prolegomena to a Study of the Principal Melodic Families of Folk Song." In *The Critics and the Ballad*. Edited by MacEdward Leach and Tristram P. Coffin. Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1961, pp. 103-150.

Bearman, C.J. "Cecil Sharp in Somerset: Some Reflections on the Work of David Harker." In *Folklore* 113 (2002): pp. 11-34.

Bearman, C.J., "Resources in the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library: The Lucy Broadwood Collection: An Interim Report." In *Folk Music Journal* 7, no. 3 (1997): pp. 357-365.

Bearman, C.J. "Who Were the Folk? The Demography of Cecil Sharp's Somerset Folk Singers." *The Historical Journal* 43, no. 3 (September 2000): pp. 751-775.

Bell, David F. "Infinite Archives." In *SubStance* 33, no. 3, Issue 105: Special Issue: Overload. (2004): pp. 148-161.

Benjamin, Walter. "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction." In *Illuminations*. Edited by Hannah Arendt. New York: Schocken Books, 1968, pp. 217-252.

Bird, John. "Grainger on Record." In *The Percy Grainger Companion*. Edited by Lewis Foreman. London: Thames Publishing, 1981, pp. 191-202.

Bird, John. *Percy Grainger*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Blacking, John. *A Commonsense View of All Music: Reflections on Percy Grainger's Contributions to Ethnomusicology and Music Education*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Bloom, Harold. *The Anxiety of Influence*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1973.

Bohlman, Philip B. *The Study of Folk Music in the Modern World*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988.

Bourne, Warren. "Folksong and Mode in Grainger's 'A Lincolnshire Posy.'" In *Australasian Music Research* 5 (2000): pp. 105-112.

Bowlit, John E. "Body Beautiful." In *Laboratory of Dreams: The Russian Avant-Garde and Cultural Experiment*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996, pp. 37-58.

Bowlit, John. E and Olga Matich. *Laboratory of Dreams: The Russian Avant-Garde and Cultural Experiment*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996.

Boyes, Georgina. *The Imagined Village: Culture, Ideology and the English Folk Revival*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993.

Brady, Erika. *A Spiral Way: How the Phonograph Changed Ethnography*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1999.

Brailoiu, Constantin. *Problems in Ethnomusicology*. Edited by A.L. Lloyd. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Brett, Philip. *Review: Toeing the Line*. In *The Musical Times* 137, no. 1843 (September 1996): pp. 7-13.

Britten, Benjamin. "England and the Folk-Art Problem." In *Modern Music* XVIII, no. 2 (January-February 1941): pp. 71-74.

Britten, Benjamin. *Folksong Arrangements: Vol. 1 British Isles*. London: Boosey and Hawkes, 1943.

Britten, Benjamin. *Folksong Arrangements: Vol. 3 British Isles*. London: Boosey and Hawkes, 1947.

Britten, Benjamin. *Folksong Arrangements: Vol. 4 Moore's Irish Melodies*. London: Boosey and Hawkes, 1960.

Britten, Benjamin. *Folksong Arrangements: Vol. 5 British Isles*. London: Boosey and Hawkes, 1958.

Britten, Benjamin. *Folksong Arrangements: Vol. 6 England*. London: Boosey and Hawkes, 1961.

Britten, Benjamin. *8 Folk Song Arrangements: Vol. 2*. London: Faber Music Limited, 1976.

Britten, Benjamin. *Letters from a Life: The Selected Letters and Diaries of Benjamin Britten 1913-1976. Volume One 1923-1939*. Edited by Donald Mitchell. London: Faber and Faber, 1991

Britten, Benjamin. *Suite on English Folk Tunes Op. 90*. London: Faber Music Limited, 1976.

Broadwood, Rev. John. *Sussex Songs. (Popular Songs of Sussex)*. London: Stanley Lucas and Weber, 1890.

Broadwood, Lucy, "Additional Note on the Gaelic Scale System." in *Journal of the Folk Song Society* 15 (1911): pp. 154-155.

Broadwood, Lucy E. *English Traditional Songs and Carols*. London: Boosey, 1908.

Broadwood, Lucy E. "On the Collection of English Folk-Song." In *Proceedings of the Musical Association* 31 (1904-5): pp. 89-109.

Broadwood, Lucy E. "Songs from County Waterford, Ireland." In *Journal of the Folk Song Society* 11 (1907): pp. 3-38.

Broadwood, Lucy E. and J.A. Fuller Maitland. *English County Songs*. London: Cramer, 1893.

Bronson, Bertrand H. "Are the Modes Outmoded?" In *Yearbook of the International Folk Music Council* 4 (1972): pp. 23-31.

Bronson, Bertrand H. "Cecil Sharp and Folksong: A Review Article." In *Western Folklore* 27, no. 3 (July 1968): pp. 200-207.

Bronson, Bertrand. "Folksong and the Modes." In *Musical Quarterly* XXXII, no. 1 (1946): pp. 37-49.

Brown, Roly. "Revisiting Baring-Gould." In *Musical Traditions Internet Magazine*, February 21, 2005, http://www.mustrad.org.uk/articles/b_gould1.htm.

Bujic, Bojan ed. *Music in European Thought 1851-1912*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Busoni, Ferruccio. *The Essence of Music and Other Papers*. Translated by Rosamond Lay. New York: Dover Publishing Company, 1957.

Busoni, Ferruccio, *Letters to his Wife*. New York: Da Capo Press, 1975.

Busoni, Ferruccio. *Selected Letters*. Edited by Antony Beaumont. London: Faber and Faber, 1987.

Busoni, Ferruccio. *Sketch of a New Esthetic of Music*. In *Three Classics in the Aesthetic of Music*. New York: Dover Publications, 1962, pp. 75-102.

Callaway, Frank ed. *Percy Aldridge Grainger Symposium*. Western Australia: Callaway International Resource Centre for Music Education, 1997.

Carley, Lionel. *Edvard Grieg in England*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006.

Carley, Lionel. "Impulsive Friend: Grainger and Delius." In *The Percy Grainger Companion*. Edited by Lewis Foreman. London: Thames Publishing, 1981, pp. 31-50.

Cazden, Norman. "A Simplified Mode Classification for Traditional Anglo-American Song Tunes." In *Yearbook of Traditional Music* 3 (1971): pp. 45-78.

Cazden, Norman, Herbert Haufrecht, and Norman Studer. *Folk Songs of the Catskills*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1982

Covell, Roger. "A Search Through Grainger's Musical 'Australianism.'" In *Percy Aldridge Grainger Symposium*. Edited by Frank Callaway. Western Australia: CIRCME, 1997, pp. 125-131.

Cox, Renee. "Are Musical Works Discovered?" In *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 43, no. 4 (Summer 1985): pp. 367-374.

Crawford Seeger, Ruth. *The Music of American Folk Song and Selected Other Writings on American Folk Music*. Edited by Larry Polansky and Judith Tick. Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2001.

Cross, Burnett. "Percy Grainger's Free-Music Machine." In *The Percy Grainger Companion*. Edited by Lewis Foreman. London: Thames Publishing, 1981, pp. 171-176.

Dahlhaus, Carl. *Between Romanticism and Modernism*. Translated by Mary Whittall. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.

Dahlhaus, Carl. *Esthetics of Music*. Translated by William Austin. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

Dahlhaus, Carl. *The Idea of Absolute Music*. Translated by Roger Lustig. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972.

Davies, Gwilym. "Percy Grainger's Folk Music Research in Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, and Warwickshire, 1907-1909." *Folk Music Journal* 6, no. 3 (1992): pp. 339-358.

Dean-Smith, Margaret. "The Gilchrist Bequest," in *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* 7 (1955): pp. 218-27.

Dean-Smith, Margaret. *A Guide to English Folk Song Collections 1822-1952: With an Index to their Contents, Historical Annotations and an Introduction*. Liverpool: The University Press of Liverpool, 1954.

Dean-Smith, Margaret. "The Work of Anne Geddes Gilchrist, O.B.E., F.S.A. 1863-1954. In *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 84th Session (1957-1958): p. 43-53.

Dent, Edward J. *Ferruccio Busoni: A Biography*. London: Eulenburg Books, 1974.

Derrida, Jacques. *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*. Translated by Eric Prenowitz. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

Derrida, Jacques. "Archive Fever in South Africa." In *Refiguring the Archive*. Edited by Carolyn Hamilton et al. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2002, pp. 38-80.

Derrida, Jacques. *Paper Machine*. Translated by Rachel Bowlby. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005.

De Val, Dorothy. "The Transformed Village: Lucy Broadwood and Folksong." In *Music and British Culture, 1785-1914: Essays in Honour of Cyril Ehrlich*. Edited by Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, pp. 341-366.

Dickinson, Bickford H.C. *Sabine Baring-Gould: Squarson, Writer, and Folklorist, 1834-1924*. Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1970.

Dorum, Eileen. *Percy Grainger: The Man Behind the Music*. Melbourne: IC & EE Dorum. 1986.

Dorum, Ivar C. "Grainger's 'Free Music.'" In *The Percy Grainger Companion*. Edited by Lewis Foreman. London: Thames Publishing, 1981, pp. 155-167.

Douglas, Charlotte. "The New Russian Art and Italian Futurism." In *Art Journal* 34, no. 3 (Spring 1975): pp. 229-239.

Dreyfus, Kay. *The Percy Grainger Music Collection*. Parkville: University of Melbourne, 1978.

Etherington, Francis M. "Cecil Sharp: Some Personal Reminiscences." In *The Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* 8, no. 4 (December 1959): pp. 194-196.

Ellingson, Ter. "Notation." In *Ethnomusicology*, Edited by Helen Myers. London: Macmillan, 1992, pp. 153-164.

Ellingson, Ter. "Transcription." In *Ethnomusicology*. Edited by Helen Myers. London: Macmillan, 1992, pp. 110-152

Fairfax, Bryan. "Orchestral Music." In *The Percy Grainger Companion*. Edited by Lewis Foreman. London: Thames Publishing, 1981, pp. 71-102.

- Favilla, Stuart and Joanne Cannon. "Fetish: Bent Leather's Palpable, Visceral Instruments and Grainger." In *Contemporary Music Review* 25, No. 1 / 2 (February / April 2006): pp. 107-117.
- Fickenscher, Arthur. "The 'Polytone' and the Potentialities of a Purer Intonation." In *The Musical Quarterly* 27, no. 3 (July 1941): pp. 356-370.
- Forbes, Anne-Marie. "Grainger in London." In *Australasian Music Research* 5 (2000): pp. 1-16.
- Foreman, Lewis. "Miscellaneous Works." In *The Percy Grainger Companion*. Edited by Lewis Foreman. London: Thames Publishing, 1981, pp. 137-154.
- Foreman, Lewis. *From Parry to Britten: British Music in Letters, 1900-1945*. London: B. T. Batsford, 1987.
- Foreman, Lewis ed. *The Percy Grainger Companion*. London: Thames Publishing, 1981.
- Foucault, Michel. *The Archeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*. Translated by A.M. Sheridan Smith. New York: Pantheon Books, 1972.
- Francmanis, John. "The Roving Artist: Frank Kidson, Pioneer Song Collector." In *Folk Music Journal* 8, no. 1 (2001): pp. 41-66.
- Gammon, Vic. "Folk Song Collecting in Sussex and Surrey, 1843-1914." In *History Workshop* 10 (Autumn 1980): pp. 61-89.
- Gelbart, Matthew. *The Invention of "Folk Music" and "Art Music": Emerging Categories from Ossian to Wagner*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Gilchrist, Anne G. "Ancient Orkney Melodies." In *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* 3, no. 3 (1938): pp. 185-94.
- Gilchrist, Anne G. "Ancient Orkney Melodies (Concluded)" In *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* 3, no. 4 (1939): pp. 241-257.
- Gilchrist, Anne G. "'Death and the Lady' in English Balladry." In *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* 4, no. 2 (1941): pp. 80-84.
- Gilchrist, Anne G. "Lambkin: A Study in Evolution." In *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* 1, no. 1 (1932): pp. 1-17.
- Gilchrist, Anne G. "A New Light Upon the Londonderry Air." In *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* 1, no. 3 (1934): pp. 115-21.

Gilchrist, Anne G. "A Note on the 'Herb' and Other Refrains of Certain British Ballads." In *Journal of the Folk Song Society* 8, no. 4. (1930): pp. 237-250.

Gilchrist, Anne G. "Note on the 'Lady Drest in Green' and Other Fragments of Tragic Ballads and Folk-Tales Preserved Amongst Children." In *Journal of the Folk Song Society* 6, no. 2 (1919): pp. 73-77.

Gilchrist, Anne. "Note on the Modal System of Gaelic Tunes." In *Journal of the Folk Song Society* 4, no. 3 (1911): pp. 150-153.

Gilchrist, Anne G. "Scottish Songs Collected by Annie G. Gilchrist." In *Journal of the Folk Song Society* 2, no. 4 (1906): pp. 221-230.

Gilchrist, Anne G. "Songs from Various Counties." In *Journal of the Folk Song Society* 8, no. 3 (1929): pp. 136-145.

Gilchrist, Anne G. "Ten Songs from Scotland and the Scottish Border." In *Journal of the Folk Song Society* 3, no. 1 (1936): pp. 53-71.

Gilchrist, Anne G. "Three Folk-Ballads and Tunes from Scarce Printed Sources." In *Journal of the Folk Song Society* 8, no. 3 (1929): pp. 146-52.

Gillies, Malcolm. "'A Musical Hyde Park Corner:' Grainger's Use of Texture." In *Australasian Music Research* 5 (2000): pp. 17-24.

Gillies, Malcolm and David Pear. *Portrait of Percy Grainger*. New York: University of Rochester Press, 2002.

Gillies, Malcolm, David Pear, and Mark Carroll. *Self-Portrait of Percy Grainger*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Goehr, Lydia. *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Gordon, Mel. "Songs from the Museum of the Future: Russian Sound Creation (1910-1930)." In *Wireless Imagination: Sound, Radio, and the Avant-Garde*. Edited by Douglas Kahn and Gregory Whitehead. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992, pp. 197-244.

Grainger, Percy. *The All-Round Man: Selected Letters of Percy Grainger 1914-1961*. Edited by Malcolm Gillies and David Pear. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994.

Grainger, Percy. "Beatless-Notation Machine." In *Grainger on Music*. Edited by Malcolm Gillies and Bruce Clunies Ross. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 29-34.

Grainger, Percy. "Collecting with the Phonograph." In *Journal of the Folk Song Society* 12 (1908): pp. 147-242.

Grainger, Percy. "Democracy in Music." In *Grainger on Music*. Edited by Malcolm Gillies and Bruce Clunies Ross. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 217-222.

Grainger, Percy. *The Farthest North of Humanness: Letters of Percy Grainger 1901-14*. Edited by Kay Dreyfus. Melbourne: Macmillan Press, 1985.

Grainger, Percy. "Free Music." In *Grainger on Music*. Edited by Malcolm Gillies and Bruce Clunies Ross. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 293-294.

Grainger, Percy. *Grainger on Music*. Edited by Malcolm Gillies and Bruce Clunies Ross. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Grainger, Percy. "The Impress of Personality in Unwritten Music." In *Grainger on Music*. Edited by Malcolm Gillies and Bruce Clunies Ross. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 43-64.

Grainger, Percy. "The Influence of Anglo-Saxon Folk Music." In *Grainger on Music*. Edited by Malcolm Gillies and Bruce Clunies Ross. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 113-120.

Grainger, Percy. "Melody versus Rhythm." In *Grainger on Music*. Edited by Malcolm Gillies and Bruce Clunies Ross. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 251-257.

Grainger, Percy. "My Musical Outlook." In *Grainger on Music*. Edited by Malcolm Gillies and Bruce Clunies Ross. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 13-28.

Grainger, Percy. "Nordic Characteristics in Music." In *Grainger on Music*. Edited by Malcolm Gillies and Bruce Clunies Ross. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 131-140.

Grainger, Percy. "The Specialist and the All-Round Man." In *Grainger on Music*. Edited by Malcolm Gillies and Bruce Clunies Ross. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 312-317.

Grainger, Percy. *Danish Folk-Music Settings: No. 8. Jutish Medley*. London: Schott & Co., Ltd., 1928.

Grainger, Percy. *Thirteen Folk Songs*. Milwaukee: G. Schirmer, 1991.

Grainger, Percy. *Three British Folk-Music Settings*. Boca Raton: Masters Music Publications, Inc., 1999.

Grainger, Percy. *Three British Folk-Music Settings*. Boca Raton: Masters Music Publications, Inc. 1993.

Gregory, E. David. *Victorian Songhunters: The Recovery and Editing of English Vernacular Ballads and Folk Lyrics, 1820-1883*. Maryland: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2006.

Grimley, Daniel M. *Grieg: Music, Landscape and Norwegian Identity*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006.

Grogan, Christopher. "Percy Grainger and the Revival of Early English Polyphony: The Anselm Hughes Correspondence." In *Music and Letters* 77, no. 3 (August 1996): pp. 425-439.

Hanslick, Eduard. *On the Musically Beautiful*. Translated by Geoffrey Payzant. Indiana: Hackett Publishing Company, 1986.

Harker, David. *Fakesong: The Manufacture of British 'Folksong' 1700 to the Present Day*. London: Milton Keynes, 1985.

Headington, Christopher. *Britten*. London: Eyre Methuen, 1981.

Hee-Leng Tan, Margaret. "Free Music of Percy Grainger." In *The Journal of the British Institute of Recorded Sound*. No. 45-46 (January-April 1972): pp. 21-37.

Helmholtz, Hermann. *On the Sensations of Tone*. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1954.

Hobsbawm, Eric and Terence Ranger eds. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Holst, Imogen. "Cecil Sharp and the Music and Music-Making of the Twentieth-Century." In *The Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* 8, no. 4 (December 1959): pp. 189-190.

Hopkins, John. "The Orchestral and 'Room' Music." In *Percy Aldridge Grainger Symposium*. Edited by Frank Callaway. Western Australia: CIRCME, 1997, pp. 78-83.

von Hornbostel, E.M. "Review of M. Marage: Sensibilite speciale de l'oreille physiologique pour certaines voyelles *und* Contribution a l'etude de l'organe de Corti *und* Pourquoi certains sourds-muets entendent mieux les sons graves que les sons aigus." In *Hornbostel Opera Omnia Vol. 1*. Edited by Klaus P. Wachsmann, Dieter Christensen, and Hans-Peter Reinecke. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1975, pp. 387-390.

Howes, Frank. *Folk Music of Britain and Beyond*. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd, 1969.

Hughes, Charles W. "The Choral Music." In *Percy Aldridge Grainger Symposium*. Edited by Frank Callaway. Western Australia: CIRCME, 1997, pp. 53-61.

Hughes, Eric. "The Recorded Works of Percy Grainger." In *The Journal of the British Institute of Recorded Sound*. No. 45-46 (January-April 1972): pp. 38-47.

Ives, Charles. "Some 'Quarter-tone' Impressions." In *Essays Before a Sonata, The Majority, and Other Writings*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1961.

Johnson, Graham. "Voice and Piano." In *The Britten Companion*. Edited by Christopher Palmer. London: Faber and Faber, 1994, pp. 286-307.

Josephson, David S. "The Case for Percy Grainger, Edwardian Musician, on his Centenary." In *Music and Civilization: Essays in Honour of Paul Henry Lang*. Edited by Edmond Strainchamps and Maria Rika Maniates. New York: Norton, 1982.

Josephson, David. "Percy Grainger by John Bird." In *The Musical Quarterly* 64, no. 2 (April 1978): pp. 255-260.

Josephson, David S. "Percy Grainger-Some Problems and Approaches." *Current Musicology* 18 (1974): pp.55-68.

Kandinsky, Wassily. *Concerning the Spiritual in Art*. Translated by M.T.H. Sadler. New York: Dover Publications, 1977.

Kant, Immanuel. *Critique of the Power of Judgment*. Translated by Paul Guyer and Eric Matthews. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Karpeles, Maud. "Cecil Sharp: Collector and Restorer of English Folk Music." In *The Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* 8, no. 4 (December 1959): pp. 179-181.

Karpeles, Maud. *An Introduction to English Folk Song*. London: Oxford University Press, 1973.

Kennedy, Douglas. "Cecil Sharp, the Teacher." In *The Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* 8, no. 4 (December 1959): pp. 186.

Kennedy, Michael. *Britten*. London: J. M. Dent, 1981, revised 1993.

Kidson, Frank. "English Folk Song." In *The Musical Times* 49, no. 779 (January 1 1908): pp. 23-24.

Kidson, Frank. "John Playford, and 17th-Century Music Publishing." In *The Musical Quarterly* 4, no. 4 (October 1918): pp. 516-5534.

Kidson, Frank. "A Study of Old English Song and Popular Melody Prior to the 19th Century." In *The Musical Quarterly* 1, no. 4 (October 1915): pp. 569-582.

Kidson, Frank. *Traditional Tunes, a Collection of Ballad Airs, chiefly obtained in Yorkshire and the South of Scotland; together with their appropriate words from broadsides and from oral tradition*. Oxford: Chas. Taphouse and Son, 1891, reprinted 1970 by S.R. Publishers Limited.

- Kidson, Frank. "The Vitality of Melody." In *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 34th Session (1907-1908): pp. 81-99.
- Kidson, Frank and Alfred Moffat. *Folk Songs from the North Countrie, with their Traditional Airs*. London: Ascherberg, Hopwood and Crew, 1927.
- Kidson, Frank and Alfred Moffat. *A Garland of English Folk-Songs, being a collection of Sixty Folk-Songs*. London: Ascherberg, Hopwood and Crew, 1926.
- Kidson, Frank, Ethel Kidson, and Alfred Moffat. *English Peasant Songs, with their Traditional Airs, being the Third (and last) selection of Sixty Folk Songs from the Frank Kidson Collection*. London: Ascherberg, Hopwood and Crew, 1929.
- Kidson, Frank and Mary Neal. *English Folk-Song and Dance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1915.
- Kirby, Michael. *Futurist Performances*. New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc, 1971.
- Kittler, Friedrich A. *Gramophone, Film, Typewriter*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999.
- Kolinski, Mieczyslaw. "The General Direction of Modern Music." In *Ethnomusicology* 9, no. 3 (September 1965): pp. 240-264.
- Korsyn, Kevin. "Towards a New Poetics of Musical Influence." In *Music Analysis* 10 (1991): pp. 3-72,
- Kulbin, Nikolai. "Free Music." In *The Blaue Reiter Almanac*. Edited by Wassily Kandinsky and Franz Marc. Translated by Klaus Lankheit. New York: Da Capo Press, 1974.
- Lawrence, A.F.R. "Records of Percy Grainger as an Interpreter." In *The Journal of the British Institute of Recorded Sound*. No. 45-46 (January-April 1972): pp. 43-48.
- Levinson, Jerrold. "What a Musical Work Is." In *The Journal of Philosophy* 77, no. 1 (January 1980): pp. 5-28.
- Lippman, Edward Arthur. "The Esthetic Theories of Richard Wagner." In *The Musical Quarterly* 44, no. 2 (April 1958): pp. 209-220.
- Lippman, Edward. *A History of Musical Aesthetics*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992.
- Lloyd, A.L. *Folk Song in England*. New York: International Publishers, 1967.
- Lloyd, Stephen. "Grainger 'In a Nutshell.'" In *The Percy Grainger Companion*. Edited by Lewis Foreman. London: Thames Publishing, 1981, pp. 15-22.

- Lloyd, Stephen. "Grainger's Original Compositions." In *Percy Aldridge Grainger Symposium*. Edited by Frank Callaway. Western Australia: CIRCME, 1997, pp. 11-22.
- Long, Rose-Carol Washton. "Occultism, Anarchism, and Abstraction: Kandinsky's Art of the Future." In *Art Journal* 46, no. 1 (Spring 1987): pp. 38-45.
- Lord, Albert B. *The Singer of Tales*. Edited by Stephen Mitchell and Gregory Nagy. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000.
- Marinetti, F.T. "The Founding and Manifesto of Futurism." In *Futurist Manifestos*. Edited by Umbro Apollonio. London: Thames and Hudson, 1973.
- Markov, Vladimir. *Russian Futurism: A History*. Washington D.C.: New Academia Publishing, 2006.
- Mbembe, Achille. "The Power of the Archive and Its Limits." In *Refiguring the Archive*. Edited by Carolyn Hamilton et al. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2002, pp. 19-28.
- Mellers, Wilfrid. *Percy Grainger*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Mitchell, Donald. "The Musical Atmosphere." In *Benjamin Britten: A Commentary on his Works from a Group of Specialists*. London: Rockliff, 1952.
- Morgan, Robert P. "A New Musical Reality: Futurism, Modernism, and "The Art of Noises." In *Modernism / Modernity* 1.3 (1994): pp. 1-41.
- Morgan, Robert P. "Secret Languages: The Roots of Musical Modernism." In *Critical Inquiry* 10, no. 3 (March 1984): pp. 442-461.
- Nelson, Kathleen E. "Grainger and the Australian Broadcasting Commission after 1935: Memories, Hopes and Frustrations." In *Australasian Music Research* 5 (2000): pp. 113-124.
- Nelson, Kathleen E. "'Living, Deathless, Timeless Music: Grainger and Early Music.'" In *Australasian Music Research* 5 (2000): pp. 83-104.
- O'Brien, Jane. *Grainger English Folk Song Collection*. Nedlands: University of Western Australia, 1985.
- O'Shaughnessy, Patrick ed. *More Songs from Lincolnshire*. London: Oxford University Press, 1971.
- O'Shaughnessy, Patrick ed. *Twenty-One Lincolnshire Folk-Songs: From the Manuscript Collection of Percy Grainger*. London: Oxford University Press, 1968.

- Palmer, Roy. *A Checklist of Manuscript Songs and Tunes collected from Oral Tradition by Frank Kidson*. London: The English Folk Dance and Song Society, 1986.
- Palmer, Roy. "Kidson's Collecting." In *Folk Music Journal* 5, no. 2 (1986): pp. 150-175.
- Payne, Dorothy. "Grainger the Teacher." In *The Percy Grainger Companion*. Edited by Lewis Foreman. London: Thames Publishing, 1981, pp. 185-190.
- Payton, Rodney J. "The Music of Futurism: Concerts and Polemics." In *The Musical Quarterly* 62, no. 1 (January 1976): pp. 25-45.
- Pear, David. "Grainger on Race and Nation." In *Australasian Music Research* 5 (2000): pp. 25-47.
- Pear, David. "Walt Whitman and the Synthesis of Grainger's Manliness." In *Australasian Music Research* 5 (2000): pp. 61-81.
- Pears, Sir Peter. "Percy Grainger." In *The Journal of the British Institute of Recorded Sound*. No. 45-46 (January-April 1972): pp. 11-15.
- Pears, Sir Peter. "A Personal Introduction to Percy Grainger." In *The Percy Grainger Companion*. Edited by Lewis Foreman. London: Thames Publishing, 1981, pp. 23-30.
- Perry, Simon. "Grainger's Autobiographical Writings." In *Australasian Music Research* 5 (2000): pp. 127-134.
- Porter, James. "Bartok and Grainger: Some Correspondence and a Hypothesis." In *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 25, fasc. 1/4 (1983): pp. 221-228.
- Porter, James. "Convergence, Divergence, and Dialectic in Folksong Paradigms: Critical Directions for Transatlantic Scholarship." In *The Journal of American Folklore* 106, no. 419 (Winter 1993): pp. 61-98.
- Pratella, Balilla. "Manifesto of Futurist Musicians." In *Futurist Manifestos*. Edited by Umbro Apollonio. London: Thames and Hudson, 1973.
- Radice, Mark A. "Futurismo: Its Origins, Context, Repertory, and Influence." In *The Musical Quarterly* 73, no. 1 (1989): pp. 1-17.
- Rastall, Richard. *The Notation of Western Music: An Introduction*. London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1983.
- Read, Gardiner. *Modern Rhythmic Notation*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978.
- Read, Gardiner. *Music Notation: A Manual of Modern Practice*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc. 1969.

Read, Gardiner. *Source Book of Proposed Music Notation Reforms*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1987.

Read, Gardiner. *20th Century Microtonal Notation*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1990.

Reeves, Helen. "A Universalist Outlook: Percy Grainger and the Cultures of Non-Western Societies." In *Percy Aldridge Grainger Symposium*. Edited by Frank Callaway. Western Australia: CIRCME, 1997, pp. 32-52.

Reichenbach, Herman. "The Tonality of English and Gaelic Folksong." In *Music & Letters* 19, no. 3 (July 1938): pp. 268-279.

Rezits, Joseph. "Grainger the Pianist." In *The Percy Grainger Companion*. Edited by Lewis Foreman. London: Thames Publishing (1981): pp. 177-184.

Ricoeur, Paul. "Memory, History, Forgetting." Translated by Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004.

Riley, Helen M. Kastinger. "Some German Theories on the Origin of Language from Herder to Wagner." In *The Modern Language Review* 74, no. 3 (July 1979): pp. 617-632.

Rockwell, Joan. *Evald Tang Kristensen: A Lifelong Adventure in Folklore*. Aalborg and Copenhagen: Aalborg University Press, 1982.

Rosberry, Eric. "Britten's Purcell Realizations and Folksong Arrangements." In *Tempo* 57 (Spring 1961): pp. 7-28.

Rose, Jonathan. *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.

Russell, Ian ed. *Singer, Song and Scholar*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1986.

Russell, Ian. "Stability and Change in a Sheffield Singing Tradition." In *Folk Music Journal* 5, no. 3 (1987): pp. 317-359.

Russolo, Luigi. *The Art of Noises*. Monographs in Musicology No. 6. Edited by Barclay Brown. New York: Pendragon Press, 1986.

Sapir, E. "Percy Grainger and Primitive Music." In *American Anthropologist* 18, no. 4 (October-December 1916): pp. 592-597.

Schofield, Derek. "Sowing the Seeds: Cecil Sharp and Charles Marson in Somerset in 1903." In *Folk Music Journal* 88, no.4 (2004): pp. 484-512.

Scott, Cyril. "Grainger and Frankfurt." In *The Percy Grainger Companion*. Edited by Lewis Foreman. London: Thames Publishing, 1981, pp. 51-54.

Scott, Cyril. "Percy Grainger: The Music and the Man." In *The Musical Quarterly* 2, no. 3. (July 1916): p. 425.

Seeger, Charles. "Prescriptive and Descriptive Music-Writing." In *The Musical Quarterly* 44, no. 2 (April 1958): pp. 184-195.

Sharp, Cecil J. *English Folk-Carols, with pianoforte accompaniment and an Introduction and notes, collected in various parts of England*. London: Novello, 1911.

Sharp, Cecil J. *English Folk Songs*. London: Novello and Co, 1921.

Sharp, Cecil J. *English Folk-Song: Some Conclusions*. London: 1907, Novello and Co.

Sharp, Cecil J. *English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians*. Edited by Maud Karpeles. London: Oxford University Press, 1932.

Sharp, Cecil J. "Folk-Songs Noted in Somerset and North Devon." *Journal of the Folk Song Society* 9 (1905): pp. 1-60.

Sharp, Cecil J. *Novello's Folk Songs for use in Schools*. 10 vols. London: Novello and Co., 1908-1936.

Sharp, Cecil J. *One Hundred English Folksongs*. New York: Dover, 1916.

Sharp, Cecil J. and Rev. Charles L. Marson. *Folk Songs from Somerset*. London: Simpkin, Marshall; Taunton: Barnicott and Pearce, 1904-9.

Sharp, Joan. "Some Memories of Cecil Sharp." In *The Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* 8, no. 4 (December 1959): pp. 191-193.

Sheldon, David A. "The Kantian Synthesis and Sonata Form." In *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 37, no. 4 (Summer 1979): pp. 455-465.

Sitsky, Larry. *Music of the Repressed Russian Avant-Garde, 1900-1929*. Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1994.

Slattery, Thomas C. "Music for Wind Instruments." In *The Percy Grainger Companion*. Edited by Lewis Foreman. London: Thames Publishing, 1981, pp. 103-112.

Steinitz, Richard. *Gyorgy Ligeti: Music of the Imagination*. London: Faber and Faber, 2003.

Stevenson, Ronald. "Grainger and the Piano." In *The Percy Grainger Companion*. Edited by Lewis Foreman. London: Thames Publishing, 1981, pp. 113-122.

- Stevenson, Ronald. "Grainger's Transcriptions." In *Percy Aldridge Grainger Symposium*. Edited by Frank Callaway. Western Australia: CIRCME, 1997, pp. 83-89.
- Stockhausen, Karlheinz. *Stockhausen on Music*. London: Marion Boyars, 1989.
- Stonehill, Gerald. "Piano Roles Played by Percy Grainger." In *The Journal of the British Institute of Recorded Sound*. No. 45-46 (January-April 1972): pp. 49-50.
- Strangways, A.H. Fox and Maud Karpeles. *Cecil Sharp*. London: Oxford University Press, 1933.
- Straus, Joseph N. *Remaking the Past: Musical Modernism and the Influence of the Tonal Tradition*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Stravinsky, Igor. *Poetics of Music*. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1942.
- Subotnik, Rose Rosengard. *Deconstructive Variations*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996.
- Sykes, Richard. "The Evolution of Englishness in the English Folksong Revival, 1890-1914." In *Folk Music Journal* 6, no. 4 (1993): pp. 446-490.
- Taglicht, Josef. "Beowulf and Old English Verse Rhythm." In *The Review of English Studies*, New Series 12, no. 48 (November 1961): pp. 341-358.
- Tall, David. "Grainger and Folksong." In *The Percy Grainger Companion*. Edited by Lewis Foreman. London: Thames Publishing, 1981, pp. 55-70.
- Tall, David. "Percy Grainger – An Overview of his Musical Achievements." *Percy Aldridge Grainger Symposium*. Edited by Frank Callaway. Western Australia: CIRCME, 1997, pp. 1-10.
- Tall, David. "Traditional and Folk Settings." In *Percy Aldridge Grainger Symposium*. Edited by Frank Callaway. Western Australia: CIRCME, 1997, pp. 22-31.
- Tan, Eleanor A.L. "Grainger as an Interpreter of Grieg." In *Australasian Music Research* 5 (2000): pp. 49-59.
- Taylor, Jane. "Holdings: Refiguring the Archive." In *Refiguring the Archive*. Edited by Carolyn Hamilton et al. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2002, pp. 243-283.
- Thomson, Bob. "Unto Brigg Fair." Liner notes for *Unto Brigg Fair: Joseph Taylor and other traditional Lincolnshire singers recorded in 1908 by Percy Grainger*. Gramophone Company recording, issued 1908, reissued 1972 with additional material from the Grainger English Folk Song Collection.

Thompson, E.P. *The Making of the English Working Class*. London: Victor Gallancz, 1963.

Tick, Judith. *Ruth Crawford Seeger: A Composer's Search for American Music*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Todd, John Douglas. "Grainger the Pianist." In *Percy Aldridge Grainger Symposium*. Edited by Frank Callaway. Western Australia: CIRCME, 1997, pp. 101-108.

Todd, John Douglas. "Grainger: A True Original." In *Percy Aldridge Grainger Symposium*. Edited by Frank Callaway. Western Australia: CIRCME, 1997, pp. 109-110.

Van Deusen, Nancy. "Crossing Boundaries between Nature and Artifact: Folk Music Reconsidered." In *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 41, fasc. 1/3 (2000): pp. 285-301.

Van der Merwe, Peter. *Origins of the Popular Style: The Antecedents of Twentieth-Century Popular Music*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Van der Merwe, Peter. *Roots of the Classical*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Various. "Portraits: Frank Kidson, 1855-1927 by Some of his Friends." In *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* V, no. 1 (1946): pp. 127-135.

Vaughan Williams, Ralph. "The English Folk Dance and Song Society." In *Ethnomusicology* 2, no. 3 (September 1958): pp. 108-112.

Vaughan Williams, Ralph. "Lucy Broadwood, 1858-1929." In *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* 5, no. 3 (1948): pp. 136-139.

Wagner, Richard. *Art and Revolution*. In *Richard Wagner's Prose Works Volume I*. Translated by William Ashton Ellis. New York: Broude Brothers, 1966.

Wagner, Richard. *The Art-Work of the Future*. In *Richard Wagner's Prose Works Volume I*. Translated by William Ashton Ellis. New York: Broude Brothers, 1966.

Weatherston, Martin. "Kant's Assessment of Music in The Critique of Pure Reason." In *British Journal of Aesthetics* 36, no. 1 (January 1996): pp. 56-65.

Wells, Evelyn K. "Cecil Sharp in America." In *The Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* 8, no. 4 (December 1959): pp. 182.

Wenzel, Christian Helmut. *An Introduction to Kant's Aesthetics*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005.

Whitman, George. "Seminal Works of Quartertone Music." In *Tempo* 80 (Spring 1967): pp. 11-15.

Whittall, Arnold. "Along the Knife-Edge: The Topic of Transcendence in Britten's Musical Aesthetic." In *On Mahler and Britten: Essays in Honour of Donald Mitchell on his Seventieth Birthday*. Philip Reed ed. London: The Boydell Press, 1995.

Whittall, Arnold. "The Signs of Genre: Britten's Version of Pastoral." In *Sundry Sorts of Music Books: Essays on the British Library Collections Presented to O.W. Neighbour on his 70th Birthday*. London: The British Library, 1993.

Williamson, John. "The Musical Artwork and its Materials in the Music and Aesthetics of Busoni." In *The Musical Work: Reality or Invention?* Edited by Michael Talbot. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000.

Wilson-Johnson, David. "Grainger's Songs." In *The Percy Grainger Companion*. Edited by Lewis Foreman. London: Thames Publishing, 1981, pp. 123-136.

Wolz, Lyn. "Resources in the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library: The Anne Geddes Gilchrist Collection." In *Folk Music Journal* 8, no. 5 (2005): pp. 619-639.

Wyse, Lonce. "Free Music and the Discipline of Sound." In *Organised Sound* 8 no. 3 (2003): pp. 237-247.

Yates, Mike. "Cecil Sharp in America: Collecting in the Appalachians." In *Musical Traditions Internet Magazine*, January 15 1999, <http://www.mustrad.org.uk/articles.sharp.htm>.

Yates, Michael. "Percy Grainger and the Impact of the Phonograph". In *Folk Music Journal* 4, no. 3 (1982): pp. 265-275.