



**This electronic thesis or dissertation has been
downloaded from Explore Bristol Research,
<http://research-information.bristol.ac.uk>**

Author:
Mcsherry, Callum

Title:
The influence of folk-song on Gustav Holst

General rights

Access to the thesis is subject to the Creative Commons Attribution - NonCommercial-No Derivatives 4.0 International Public License. A copy of this may be found at <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/legalcode>. This license sets out your rights and the restrictions that apply to your access to the thesis so it is important you read this before proceeding.

Take down policy

Some pages of this thesis may have been removed for copyright restrictions prior to having it been deposited in Explore Bristol Research. However, if you have discovered material within the thesis that you consider to be unlawful e.g. breaches of copyright (either yours or that of a third party) or any other law, including but not limited to those relating to patent, trademark, confidentiality, data protection, obscenity, defamation, libel, then please contact collections-metadata@bristol.ac.uk and include the following information in your message:

- Your contact details
- Bibliographic details for the item, including a URL
- An outline nature of the complaint

Your claim will be investigated and, where appropriate, the item in question will be removed from public view as soon as possible.

The Influence of Folk-Song on Gustav Holst

Callum McSherry

A dissertation submitted to the University of Bristol in accordance with the requirements for award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts.

Department of Music, September 2018

(76,212 words)

Abstract

This thesis critically examines the impact of folk-song on Gustav Holst; questioning the influence of folk-song on the development of a modal harmonic language and the formation of musical identity. Current assumptions of the influence of folk-song on Holst are introduced, the context of the “English Musical Renaissance” is summarised along with a general literature review of the composer, and the folk-song revival is discussed from both a historical and academic perspective. Relevant context for a discussion of modality is established before an analysis of the harmonic techniques that relate specifically to Holst’s work with folk-song. The development of a diatonic modal harmonic language, use of rotational harmony and bimodality are situated in the current academic context. The idea that folk-song “banished” Wagner from Holst’s music is disputed and both the extent and the limitations of the influence of folk-song on Holst’s modality are proposed. Secondly, the role of folk-song in the formation of identity will be considered from the perspectives of nationalism and exoticism, with the conclusion that Holst does not display a clear ideology in his use of the medium, but rather adapts his presentation of “the folk” to suit the audience he is writing for.

Author's declaration

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the requirements of the University's *Regulations and Code of Practice for Research Degree Programmes* and that it has not been submitted for any other academic award. Except where indicated by specific reference in the text, the work is the candidate's own work. Work done in collaboration with, or with the assistance of others, is indicated as such. Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author.

Signed: Callum McSherry

Date: 24th September, 2018

Acknowledgements

A debt of gratitude is owed to many people; in particular my loving wife, my parents and grandparents, and my supervisor Dr. Guido Heldt, who has been a fountain of knowledge and a constant support since I began my undergraduate studies at the University of Bristol.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1 - Introduction	1
Chapter 2 - Historical and Academic Context	8
2.1 - Immediate Historical Context	8
2.1.1 - The “English Musical Renaissance”	8
2.1.2 - Overview of Current Holst Scholarship.....	14
2.2 - The Folk-Song Revival	22
2.2.1 - Etymology of “Folk”.....	22
2.2.2 - Early Folk-Song Collecting	24
2.2.3 - Formation of the Folk-Song Society.....	31
2.2.4 - Cultural Evolution and Communal Authorship	34
2.2.5 - The Reintroduction of Folk-Song into Society	39
2.2.6 - Changing Perceptions of Folk-Song Scholarship	45
Chapter 3 - Modal Musical Language.....	54
3.1 - Modality Context	54
3.1.1 – Modes	54
3.1.2 - Modal Harmonic Theory	60
3.2 - Modality Analysis.....	69
3.2.1 - First Forays into Modality	70
3.2.2 - Suites for Military Band.....	103
3.2.3 - <i>St Paul’s Suite</i>	116
3.2.4 - Op.34 and Op. 36b	126
3.2.5 - <i>Moorside Suite</i>	143
3.2.6 - <i>Terzetto</i>	146
3.2.7 - <i>Seven Part-songs</i>	160
3.2.8 - Summary and Later Works	176
3.3 - Modality Conclusions	181
3.3.1 - Displacing 19 th -Century Harmony	181
3.3.2 - Development of Rotational Harmony, Modal Flux and Fixed-Domain Bimodality	187
3.3.3 - Modal Ambiguity: Bimodality and Diatonic Atonality	193
Chapter 4 - Identity and Music.....	199
4.1 - Holst and Nationalism.....	199
4.1.1 - Cultural Nationalism and Folk-song.....	199
4.1.2 - Music for Military Band	208
4.1.3 - Suites for School Children	222
4.1.4 - Brass Band Movement.....	227

4.2 - Musical Exoticism and the “National Exotic”	237
4.2.1 - Rationale for Investigation.....	237
4.2.2 - Imperial England/Commercialism	241
4.2.3 - Holst and the Exotic.....	244
4.2.4 - Primitivism.....	247
4.2.5 - The Folk as an “Other”	250
4.2.6 - <i>A Somerset Rhapsody</i> and the <i>Beni Mora Suite</i>	253
4.2.7 - The National Exotic	269
4.2.8 - Conclusion	275
Summary of Findings.....	281
Bibliography	284

List of Figures

Figure 1 - John Playford's The English Dancing Master (1st Ed) Title Page.....	26
Figure 2 - Folk Songs from Somerset Title Page	73
Figure 3 - Folk Songs from Somerset, 'Dicky Taunton of Dean' (Strings).....	76
Figure 4 - Folk Songs from Somerset, 'Let Buck's a-Hunting Go' (Wind/Brass/Percussion).....	77
Figure 5 - Folk Songs from Somerset, 'The Sweet Primroses' (Full Orchestra).....	78
Figure 6 - Folks Songs from Somerset, 'Bruton Town' (1st Iteration).....	79
Figure 7 - Moorside Suite, 'March' (2nd Melody)	80
Figure 8 - Folk Songs from Somerset, 'Bruton Town' (2nd Iteration).....	81
Figure 9 - Folk Songs from Somerset, 'The True Lover's Farewell' and 'High Germany'	82
Figure 10 - A Somerset Rhapsody (Modal modulation).....	89
Figure 11 - A Somerset Rhapsody, 'Sheep Shearing Song' (2nd Iteration).....	93
Figure 12 - A Somerset Rhapsody, 'The True Lover's Farewell' (Chromatic Sequence).....	97
Figure 13 - A Somerset Rhapsody (Chromatic Scales).....	98
Figure 14 - A Somerset Rhapsody (Fixed-domain Bimodality)	101
Figure 15 - Second Suite in F, 'Swansea Town' (Mode specific cadence)	108
Figure 16 - Second Suite in F, 'I love my love' (Mode specific cadence).....	109
Figure 17 - Second Suite in F, 'I love my love' (Modal chord formations)	109
Figure 18 - Second Suite in F, 'Song of the Blacksmith' (Ostinato).....	110
Figure 19 - Second Suite in F, 'Song of the Blacksmith'	112
Figure 20 - Second Suite in F, 'Green Sleeves' and 'Dargason'	114
Figure 21 - Second Suite in F, 'Fantasia on the Dargason' (bar 9).....	114
Figure 22 - Second Suite in F, 'Fantasia on the Dargason' (bar 121).....	115
Figure 23 - Second Suite in F, 'Fantasia on the Dargason' (bar 187).....	115
Figure 24 - St Paul's Suite, 'Jig' (Chromatic Triplets)	118
Figure 25 - St Paul's Suite, 'Ostinato' (Modal Flux).....	123
Figure 26 - St Paul's Suite, 'Intermezzo' (Melody 1).....	124
Figure 27 - St Paul's Suite, 'Intermezzo' (Melody 2).....	125
Figure 28 - Six Choral Folksongs, 'I love my love' (Harmonic Analysis).....	128
Figure 29 - Six Choral Folksongs, 'I sow'd the seeds of love' (Mixed Modes).....	130
Figure 30 - Six Choral Folksongs, 'There was a tree' (Chromatic alteration).....	133
Figure 31 - Six Choral Folksongs, 'Swansea Town' (Chromatic storm passage)	134
Figure 32 - Six Choral Folksongs, 'There was a tree'/'Song of the Blacksmith' (Ambiguity of Mode)	135
Figure 33 - Op.34, 'This have I done for my true love' (Melody 1).....	139
Figure 34 - Op.34, 'This have I done for my true love' (Melody 2).....	140
Figure 35 - Op.34, 'This have I done for my true love' (Modal modulation).....	141
Figure 36 - Terzetto, 1 st mvt (bars 1-18)	149
Figure 37 - Terzetto, 1 st mvt (bar 28-40).....	153
Figure 38 - Terzetto, 1 st mvt (bar 9-13).....	154
Figure 39 - Terzetto, 1 st mvt (bar 41-54).....	156
Figure 40 - Terzetto, 1 st mvt (bar 55-72).....	157
Figure 41 - Terzetto, 2nd mvt (bar 20-34)	158
Figure 42 - Terzetto, 2 nd mvt (Viola Double Stop)	159
Figure 43 - Terzetto 2nd mvt (Arpeggiated Finale).....	159
Figure 44 - Terzetto, 2nd mvt (Time Signatures).....	160
Figure 45 - Seven Part-songs, 'O Love, I complain' (Word painting in accompaniment)	164
Figure 46 - Seven Part-songs, 'O Love, I complain' (Mixed modes).....	164
Figure 47 - Seven Part-songs, 'O Love, I complain' (Mode change).....	164

Figure 48 - Seven Part-songs, ‘O Love, I complain’ (Modal climax)	165
Figure 49 - Seven Part-songs, ‘Angel spirit of sleep’ (Gapped scale)	169
Figure 50 - Seven Part-songs, ‘Angel spirit of sleep’ (Ambiguity of tonal centre)	172
Figure 51 - Seven Part-songs, ‘Say who is this?’ (Modal word painting)	173
Figure 52 - Lyric Movement, (Opening modal modulation)	178
Figure 53 - Lyric Movement, (chromatic saturation).....	179
Figure 54 - First Suite in Eb, ‘Intermezzo’ (1 st melody).....	212
Figure 55 - First Suite in Eb, ‘Intermezzo’ (2 nd melody)	213
Figure 56 - Second Suite in F, ‘I’ll love my love’ (Folk-song melody)	214
Figure 57 - First Suite in Eb, ‘Intermezzo’ (Melodies combined).....	215
Figure 58 - First Suite in Eb, ‘March’ (1st Melody).....	216
Figure 59 - First Suite in Eb, ‘March’ (2 nd Melody)	217
Figure 60 - Second Suite in F, ‘Swansea Town’ (Folk-song melody).....	217
Figure 61 - Second Suite in F, (Manuscript cover page)	219
Figure 62 - Second Suite in F (Published score, dedication)	220
Figure 63 - St Paul’s Suite, ‘Jig’ (1st Melody)	225
Figure 64 - St Paul’s Suite, ‘Jig’ (2 nd Melody).....	225
Figure 65 - St Paul’s Suite, ‘Jig’ (Modal modulation and tuplets)	226
Figure 66 - Moorside Suite, ‘Scherzo’ (1 st Melody)	229
Figure 67 - Moorside Suite, ‘Scherzo’ (Melodic transition).....	230
Figure 68 - Moorside Suite, ‘Scherzo’ (Tuplets with fanfare).....	231
Figure 69 - Moorside Suite, ‘Nocturne’ (1st melody).....	233
Figure 70 - Moorside Suite, ‘Nocturne’ (2 nd melody).....	234
Figure 71 - Moorside Suite, ‘March’ (2nd melody).....	235
Figure 72 - Beni Mora Suite, ‘First Dance’ (Opening).....	256
Figure 73 - Beni Mora Suite, ‘First Dance’ (Modal flux).....	258
Figure 74 - Beni Mora, ‘Finale’ (Flute ostinato).....	259
Figure 75 - Beni Mora, ‘Finale’ (Percussion)	260
Figure 76- Beni Mora, ‘Second Dance’ (Percussion)	260
Figure 77 - Beni Mora, ‘Finale’ (Climax).....	263
Figure 78 - Beni Mora, ‘First Dance’ (Octave strings).....	265

List of Tables

Table 1 - Modal tone/semitone spacings.....	61
Table 2 - Modal triad formation.....	63
Table 3 - Mode specific cadences	64
Table 4 - Relative major for each given mode and tonic	66
Table 5 - Folk Songs from Somerset Harmonic Structure	74
Table 6 - A Somerset Rhapsody (Harmonic Structure)	87
Table 7 - A Somerset Rhapsody (Harmonic Reduction).....	88
Table 8 - Vaughan Williams’ Norfolk Rhapsody No.1 (Harmonic Structure)	91
Table 9 - Modal triad comparison	95
Table 10 - First Suite in Eb, ‘Chaconne’ (Harmonic Structure)	104
Table 11 - First Suite in Eb, ‘Intermezzo’ (Harmonic Structure)	104
Table 12 - First Suite in Eb, ‘March’ (Harmonic Structure).....	105
Table 13 - Summary of First Suite in Eb (Harmonic Structure)	105
Table 14 - Second Suite in F, ‘March’ (Harmonic Structure).....	106
Table 15 - Second Suite in F, ‘Song Without Words’ (Harmonic Structure)	106
Table 16 - Second Suite in F, ‘Song of the Blacksmith’ (Harmonic Structure)	106

Table 17 - Second Suite in F, ‘March’ – Harmonic Structure	107
Table 18 - Summary of Second Suite in F (Harmonic Structure).....	107
Table 19 - St Paul’s Suite, ‘Jig’ (Harmonic Structure)	117
Table 20 - St Paul’s Suite, ‘Ostinato’ (Harmonic Structure)	119
Table 21 - St Paul’s Suite, ‘Intermezzo’ (Harmonic Structure).....	120
Table 22 - St Paul’s Suite, ‘Finale’ (Harmonic Structure).....	121
Table 23 - Six Choral Folksongs, ‘I sow’d the seeds of love’ (Harmonic Reduction)	131
Table 24 - Op.34, ‘Bring us in good ale’ (Harmonic Reduction)	136
Table 25 - Op.34, ‘Lullay my liking’ (Harmonic Reduction).....	137
Table 26 - Op.34, ‘This have I done for my true love’ (Harmonic Structure).....	140
Table 27 - Moorside Suite, ‘Scherzo’ (Harmonic Structure).....	144
Table 28 - Moorside Suite, ‘Nocturne’ (Harmonic Structure).....	144
Table 29 - Moorside Suite, ‘March’ (Harmonic Structure)	144
Table 30 - Moorside Suite (Harmonic Reduction).....	145
Table 31 - Terzetto, 1 st mvt (bars 1-18).....	150
Table 32 - Terzetto, 1 st mvt (bars 18-28).....	151
Table 33 - Terzetto, 1 st mvt (bars 29-38).....	152
Table 34 - Terzetto, 1 st mvt (Harmonic Reduction bar 1-42).....	153
Table 35 - Seven Part-songs, ‘O Love, I complain’ (Harmonic Structure)	163
Table 36 - Seven Part-songs, ‘Sorrow and Joy’ (Harmonic Structure).....	166
Table 37 - Seven Part-songs, ‘Angel spirit of sleep’ (Harmonic Structure)	171
Table 38 - Seven Part-songs, ‘Say who is this?’ (Harmonic Structure).....	175
Table 39- Beni Mora, ‘First Dance’ (Harmonic Structure).....	262

Affectionately dedicated to Duncan and Patricia Harris.

Chapter 1 - Introduction

The purpose of this thesis is to critically examine the impact of folk-song on the composition of Gustav Holst. As an area that has received very little direct academic attention, the influence of folk-song on Holst's work is often misrepresented through sweeping generalisations. Initial accounts of Holst's life and works by Imogen Holst¹ and Michael Short give folk-song prominence as a compositional influence, but often in the form of generalized statements charged with both musical and ideological preconceptions that are rarely challenged or explored in depth (discussed below).² Their work has been referenced in much of the literature concerning the composer with few additional insights, which has led to their stated views becoming the generally accepted narrative. This thesis does not set out to discredit work of either Imogen Holst or Michael Short; much of what we know about Holst, along with a revival of interest in his works can be attributed to their early efforts. However, as authorities on Holst who repeatedly reference folk-song in their discussion of the composer, it is inevitable that much of this thesis interacts with their work with the intention of expanding upon or challenging their ideas.

In Imogen Holst's initial biography of her father (the first critical discussion of Holst's life) the word "folk" appears twenty-eight times across nine different chapters.³ The book is a chronological account, and the spread of references serves to continually remind the reader of the influence of folk-song throughout the composer's life. Specifically, Imogen Holst champions the role of folk-song in "banishing" traces of Wagner from Holst's work and helping his words and music grow together in the context of finding a musical idiom for the English language.⁴ The text

¹ Throughout the thesis Imogen Holst will be referred to by her full name, whereas Gustav Holst will generally be referred to by his surname only.

² Imogen Holst, *Gustav Holst: A Biography*, 2nd edn (London: Faber and Faber, 2008); Michael Short, *Gustav Holst: The Man and His Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).

³ Holst, pp. 31, 32, 40, 44, 52, 53, 56, 81, 103, 116, 130, 154, 159, 167, 183, 185, 186.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 32, 56.

paints a picture of the importance of folk-song to Holst compositionally and personally, but the specifics of the influence are not debated, discussed or even illustrated beyond passing references to a selection of compositions. The word ‘folk’ appears over a hundred times in Michael Short’s *Gustav Holst: The Man and His Music*. Chronologically, folk-song is mentioned in chapters spanning Holst’s entire life, and the influence appears again in each of the closing chapters where Short discusses Holst’s musical style. As in Imogen Holst’s work, Short frames folk-song in opposition to ‘romantic megalomania’,⁵ and associates Holst’s metric freedom in his melodic writing with folk-song:

The main melodic lesson which Holst learnt from English folk-song was that a melody should be allowed to follow its own natural course in terms of note duration, phrase length, and intervallic construction, rather than being forced into a strait-jacket of regularity, while remaining in the practicable singing range of the human voice.⁶

The accounts given by Imogen Holst and Michael Short are the foundation of Holst scholarship. They repeatedly stress the importance of folk-song to Holst but talk about its influence in general terms and without much in the way of musical examples to back up their assertions. The reader gets a strong sense that folk-song permeated all facets of Holst’s work, but without any clarity as to *how*. Much like the supposed communal authorship of folk-song, the constant quoting and re quoting of their initial remarks has led to a generally homogenous set of comments that seem to reappear in much of the subsequent scholarship. The following excerpt from *The Operas of Gustav Holst*, a Ph.D. thesis by Natalie Artemas-Polak awarded in 2006 is representative of this phenomenon:

Wagner remained with him for another few years until his frustration with the lack of his own musical identity drove him to reject it... Several major forces came together in the early years of the twentieth century that had profound impact on Holst’s compositional approach and would eventually free him from the

⁵ Short, p. 73.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 366-367.

tyranny of chromaticism... It was the modal structure of folk song and the metrical freedom inspired by the madrigal that challenged his approach to his musical texture... Holst implemented aspects of folk song and madrigal almost instinctively (as has been well documented). After discovering these genres for himself, he was very pleased to find that they had already been an intuitive part of his personality... It is certain that Holst was exposed to and became saturated in modal harmonies; he could sense the inherent fusion of words and music in the songs, their spontaneous freedom of rhythm, and he admired their emotional beauty combined with impersonal restraint.⁷

Folk-song was not the primary focus of Artemas-Polak's thesis and I am not intending to malign her. However, these paragraphs do display the generally accepted understanding of the influence of folk-song on Holst—an understanding recycled time and again from its original source in the works of Imogen Holst and Michael Short. In journals, newspaper articles, and websites dedicated to the composer, folk-song is repeatedly attributed as the catalyst for Holst's development away from the harmonic influence of Wagner and the simplification of his melodic language, but generally in the same vague terms, without a clear indication of how, when, and where in Holst's work this occurs.⁸

Another issue is that the influence of folk-song on Holst is often divisive. Discussion of folk-song's influence on Holst can range from condescending dismissal, where the amateur associations of the medium are met with a certain disparagement,⁹ to conspiracy theories that imply a concerted top-down nationalistic agenda, in which a cohort of folk-song enthusiasts systemically promote one another to the exclusion of other young English art-music composers.¹⁰ To my

⁷ Natalie Artemas-Polak, 'The Operas of Gustav Holst', (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Surrey, 2006) pp. 24-25, 33.

⁸ John Warrack, 'Holst and the Linear Principle', *The Musical Times*, 115 (1974), 732–35 (p. 732); Martin Graebe, 'Gustav Holst, "Songs of the West", and the English Folk Song Movement', *Folk Music Journal*, 10 (2011), 5–41 (p.13); Ivan Hewett, 'Gustav Holst: so Much More than 'The Planets'', *The Telegraph* (Telegraph Media Group, 2012) <<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/music/classicalmusic/9365408/Gustav-Holst-so-much-more-than-The-Planets.html>> [accessed 11 September 2018]; Ian Lace, '3. A Gifted Teacher', *Gustav Holst (1874–1934)*, <<http://www.gustavholst.info/biography/index.php?chapter=3>> [accessed 11 September 2017]; Jon Ceander Mitchell, 'Gustav Holst: The Works for Military Band', (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Illinois, 1980) p.79.

⁹ A. E. F. Dickinson, *Holst's Music: A Guide* (London: Thames Publishing, 1995) p. 158.

¹⁰ Robert Stradling and Meirion Hughes, *The English Musical Renaissance 1860 – 1940* (London: Routledge, 1993) p.139.

knowledge there has not been a focused analysis to explore *how* these reported changes in Holst's composition came about as a result of his interactions with folk-song and how folk-song interacts with other influences on Holst's composition. This thesis attempts to bridge the gap between supposition and what can actually be seen in Holst's music.

I will examine the predominant recurring assumptions that are made about Holst's interaction with folk-song, explore *how* Holst's musical language changed on a technical level, and view the intersection between folk-song and other key influence on the composer's work. The intention is to better understand the influence of folk-song—that is not to say that folk-song was the only influence or even the dominant influence on the composer's work. The real delight to be found in Holst's music is in its variety and breadth of imagination. Folk-song is an important part of this picture and it is my hope that a thorough investigation into this area of Host's composition might encourage further discussion into how the seemingly disparate influences on Holst interact with each other and form the basis of a truly original voice in English composition.

In chapter 2 I will examine the concept of the English Musical Renaissance, give an overview of relevant Holst scholarship, and critically consider the Folk-Song Revival both historically and academically. Following this introductory chapter, I will view the influence of folk-song through two distinct lenses.

Chapter 3.1 will cover the importance of folk-song's modality to English composers and identify some analytical techniques and language that have been used to discuss the use of modality in other English and European art-music composers. In chapter 3.2, a selection of Holst's instrumental and vocal works will be examined which demonstrate the development of modal techniques that can specifically be associated with folk-song. The analytical discussion will begin with Holst's first known folk-song arrangement *Folk Songs from Somerset* (1906) and its later manifestation as *A Somerset Rhapsody* (1907). The former displays Holst compositional approach when working closely with Cecil Sharp and the latter demonstrates the use of Wagnerian

chromaticism in conjunction with modality. Following these early works, the discussion turns to a group of suites in which Holst either uses or clearly emulates folk-song in his melodic writing, the *First Suite in Eb* (composed 1911), *Second Suite in F* (composed 1911) and *St Paul's Suite* (composed 1912). These pieces show a strictly diatonic modal harmonic language including rotational harmony and bimodality. Holst's vocal compositions involving or influenced by folk-song will be considered through Op.34 and Op.36b (1916), written while Holst was living in Thaxted. Op.34 are a set of original part-songs written alongside Op.36b, a set of part-song settings of folk-song. By viewing the two side-by-side it is possible to draw comparisons between Holst's use of modality when working with found melodies and original melodies. The discussion briefly returns to the later *Moorside Suite* (1928) which will be used to demonstrate the folk-song redolent musical language that Holst occasionally drew upon in his later years. The experimental *Terzetto* (1925) is analysed to show how the techniques Holst develops in his earlier suites, associated with a diatonic harmonic language, are extended to the point of chromatic saturation, dispelling the notion that the influence of folk-song only served to liberate Holst from chromatic writing. Finally, the *Seven Part-songs* set to words by Robert Bridges are examined to identify how the lessons Holst learnt both from folk-song and the experimental modality of the *Terzetto* are utilized in Holst's mature modal style. Chapter 3.2 concludes with a summary of the findings and an example of how this mature modal style is seen in works such as the *Lyric Movement* (1933). Consciously omitted from chapter 3.2 is an analysis of modal harmony in *The Planets* (1916) as they have already been the subject of much research, including an examination of their modal structures by Lisa Isted.¹¹ This is discussed in chapter 3.3 which engages with academic discourse around the displacement of 19th-century harmony in the composer's work, the specific modal techniques Holst utilized and the role of modal ambiguity in his composition.

¹¹ Lisa Isted, 'Modal Structures in European Art Music (1870-1939)', (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Bristol, 1993).

Chapter 4.1 explores the notion that Holst's use of folk-song could be considered nationalistic. The concept of cultural nationalism will be discussed along with its importance to the English Musical Renaissance. Works for military band, school children, and the brass band movement will be identified and contextualised as potential "target groups" for cultural nationalism, and the overt use or emulation of folk-song in the *First Suite in Eb*, *Second Suite in F*, *St Paul's Suite* and *Moorside Suite* (1928) will be viewed from this perspective. Chapter 4.2 looks at how "the folk" operate as a *national exotic* in *A Somerset Rhapsody*. Through a comparison with the *Beni Mora Suite* (1908), this chapter studies the representation of "the folk" to London audiences as a cultural other and suggests that part of folk-song's appeal to Holst was its utility in expressing varying notions of national or imperial identity to different audiences and performers. The *Beni Mora Suite* was chosen as a case study because it is the most overt example of exoticism in Holst's repertoire, and thus served as the clearest model for Holst's compositional techniques when representing a cultural other. *A Somerset Rhapsody* was selected as the clearest example of Holst romanticising the folk and constructing a narrative that plays on cultural tropes.

The overall hypothesis of this thesis is that folk-song did play a significant role in Holst's compositional development but that influence is more nuanced than current scholarship would suggest. There are certainly attributes of Holst's music, particularly in relation to the development of a modal musical language that can be traced back to his interactions and experiments with English folk-song. Holst's mature modal language progresses beyond what can be audibly attributed to the medium, suggesting that the modality of folk-song was a departure point and framework for musical experimentation but not a destination that Holst was trying to reach. Ideologically, there are certainly a group of compositions that could be considered to display a vein of socialising nationalism, in that their purpose was to engage audiences and performers in a shared culture which they could interact with. However, there are also instances where folk-song is used to create a romanticised image of rural England that "others" the source culture. These appeal to metropolitan audiences in a similar manner to spectacles that draw from source cultures in North

Africa and the Far East. Ultimately, this suggests that folk-song's ideological value to Holst was in its utility as a variable signifier of identity which could be presented through different musical constructs to appeal to socially distinct audiences.

Chapter 2 - Historical and Academic Context

2.1 - Immediate Historical Context

2.1.1 - The “English Musical Renaissance”

“The English Musical Renaissance” is a term retrospectively ascribed to the developments in English music making spanning from the 1880s to the mid-20th century. It does not refer to a specified school or style of composition but encompasses all the individuals that were connected with the musical establishment (from composers and performers through critics and administrators) in the loosely defined time period mentioned above. Broadly speaking, the English Musical Renaissance can be understood as a conscious effort to improve the working musical culture of England, through the provision of a greater number of high standard concerts, the foundation of educational institutions to compete with the European conservatoires, and a general raising of awareness in relation to English music-making. It is an umbrella term, which first and foremost describes a concerted effort to improve the quality of English musical life. During this period, there are clear instances of overt cultural nationalism within the more general revival of interest in English musical heritage and folk-song. Indeed, in 1920 Holst wrote to Vaughan Williams:

We are laying a sure foundation of our national art. We are entering into our national musical heritage.¹²

However, the English Musical Renaissance as a whole initially grew from a desire for home-grown musical excellence. A diverse array of individuals were encompassed within it and contributed their music and ideas to form the cultural life of England at the time. It becomes clear after even a cursory reading of the material on the subject that there was no single consensus as to

¹² Ursula Vaughan Williams and Imogen Holst, *Heirs and Rebels; Letters Written to Each Other and Occasional Writings on Music*, by Ralph Vaughan Williams and Gustav Holst (London: Oxford University Press, 1959) p. 56.

what direction to take English music in, or what an English style of composition would look like, or even if that was a desirable end to work toward.

Unfortunately, attempts to construct a cohesive narrative within this milieu have often resulted in an oversimplification of the musical styles and motivations of the composers operating within it, such as Frank Howes's *The English Musical Renaissance*,¹³ Michael Trend's *The Music Makers*,¹⁴ and Stradling and Hughes's *The English Musical Renaissance*. Holst is invariably grouped with Vaughan Williams as part of a subset of English composers that are discussed in terms of national music, modality and pastoralism. In these discussions, Holst has been portrayed as insignificant when compared with Vaughan Williams, with only one great work, *The Planets* to his name.¹⁵ To the contrary, while the two were close friends they led very different lives and were distinct in compositional style and technical methods. From the literature that attempts to cover the English Musical Renaissance as a whole, one can get a sense of the diversity of the period. However, these texts fail to deliver depth; they lack a nuanced understanding of the composers as individuals, demanding further academic attention.

Before examining the current state of specific academic research on Holst, I will briefly give my view of Holst's place in the developments in English musical life of his time. Hubert Parry and Charles Villiers Stanford are generally considered the initial leaders in publicly advocating for improvements to English musical institutions.¹⁶ Parry and Stanford were prominent in the initiation of the renaissance, from composition and teaching, to the practical necessity of administration within the emerging Royal College of Music. While neither Stanford nor Parry achieved the same level of Holst's international recognition, both were integral to the development of the young

¹³ Frank Howes, *The English Musical Renaissance*, (London: Secker & Warburg, 1966)

¹⁴ Michael Trend, *The Music Makers: the English Musical Renaissance from Elgar to Britten* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1985).

¹⁵ Stradling and Hughes, p.60.

¹⁶ Trend, p. 17; Howes, p. 20; Ernest Walker, (Revised by Westrup, J.A.), *A History of Music in England 3rd Ed*, (Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1952) p. 300; Charles Villiers Stanford, *Pages from an Unwritten Diary* (Miami: Hard Press Publishing, 2014) p. 207-208.

composer's initial technical musical ability.¹⁷ Stanford in particular has been put forward by Howes as teaching almost all of the composers that grew into the new English school.¹⁸ In this narrative, Stanford and Parry functioned as the initial architects of the English Musical Renaissance. There were of course many other emerging composers, including the pupils of Frederick Corder at the Royal Academy of Music—Arnold Bax, Granville Bantock or Joseph Holbrooke, who were also prominent in English musical life at the time.

Standing slightly independent of his fellow English composers, the first giant of contemporary English music was Edward Elgar, who succeeded in gaining international recognition. Both symphonies, the *Enigma Variations* and the *Dream of Gerontius* achieved critical acclaim on the continent.¹⁹ Elgar's music is openly influenced by the Germanic style and although in his generation he was the poster-boy of English music and highly characteristic for an English composer, to an extent he fell out of vogue in the years following the First World War. It is interesting to read a review of a concert in 1923 that featured both *The Hymn of Jesus* by Holst and *The Dream of Gerontius* by Elgar.

When in their recent performance of the 'Hymn of Jesus,' the Royal Choral Society reached the words "To you who knock, a door am I: to you who fare, the way," two ladies next to me took the hint and departed. It may have been the call of tea-cup, but I suspect Mr. Holst's harmonies. He is altogether too ruthless for comfortable minds; and his work is full of that disquiet which every new revelation arouses in some degree. At the same concert the 'Dream of Gerontius' gave me in places a sense of discomfort very different in kind. Its idea of Heaven as a mixture of harps and doubtful metaphysics makes one want to "look the other way."...Elgar is carried away by his superabundant emotions; Holst is austere. But his austerity does not lead him into dullness or aridity. It produces a certain harshness of texture and crudity of rhythm, which are anything but weak. When, as sometimes happens, they develop into defects, they are the faults of an excessive strength. Indeed, I think that this austerity, and the uneasiness which it arouses in the hearer, are the most convincing proof of Holst's real modernity. He

¹⁷ Short, *Gustav Holst*, pp. 20-36.

¹⁸ Howes, p.26.

¹⁹ Diana McVeagh, 'Elgar, Sir Edward', *Grove Music*, 2017
<<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000008709>> [accessed 12 September 2017].

is no pasticheur ransacking the East for picturesque effects or harking back to plain-song because it is “so quaint.” In spite of its mediaeval flavour and its fanatic ecstasy, the ‘Hymn of Jesus’ is a true reflection of the modern point of view. Its very angularity and harshness are the composer’s reaction to the unsettlement and disharmony and even the hysteria of our times, just as Elgar’s music often betrays the slightly dissatisfied self-complacency of Edwardian England, its hearty appetite for praise and pleasure disturbed now and again by a vaguely uncomfortable feeling in the pit of the stomach.²⁰

This article is interesting in that it captures the idea of transition, of the Edwardian Elgar falling out of touch and the modernist Holst reaching into a yet uncomfortable new mode of expression. Holst and Vaughan Williams are often described as ‘heirs and rebels’.²¹ Holst and Vaughan Williams were heirs of a musical institution and tradition stemming from their teachers Stanford and Parry, and their predecessor Elgar. They were part of the first generation to benefit from the new institutions of musical education and the cadre of excellent professional musicians and performance ensembles that these institutions produced. They inherited a revived interest in English composition that enabled their works to be performed and recorded in greater number and to larger audiences than they would otherwise have seen. In addition, although Holst and Vaughan Williams have become associated with the Folk-Song Revival, it was actually Stanford, Parry, and MacKenzie who paved the way by drawing on the folk-songs of Ireland, England, and Scotland in their music and spearheading the foundation and administration of the Folk-Song Society, which played crucial roles in the younger men’s compositional development. The two were rebels from their forebears in their new compositional voice—their modernity as described in the article above. Vaughan Williams more so than Holst has been described as Stanford and Parry’s inheritor at the head of English composition, but both composers became key components in the narrative of English composition, to the extent of being heralded as the ‘revolutionaries who asserted English independence’²². How much of this is a fair portrayal of events is up for debate—it certainly makes

²⁰ Dyneley Hussey, ‘Two Modern Composers’, *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*, 135 (1923), 217–18 (p. 217).

²¹ Jeffrey P. Green, *Samuel Coleridge-Taylor: a Musical Life* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2011) p. 145.

²² Howes, pp. 24-25.

for a convenient narrative, but it implies a clear sense of nationalist intention and purpose that seems overplayed. Earlier in their compositional journeys in 1903, Holst displays none of the surety or clarity of purpose that is seen in his 1920 letter when writing to Vaughan Williams:

I think we are “all right” in a mild sort of way. But then mildness is the very devil. So something must happen and we must make it happen.²³

It is clear in the letters these two friends wrote to one another that initially, they were looking for any inspiration that would allow them to nurture the creative flame and assert themselves compositionally. In this sense, nationalism could be a means rather than an end in itself; an identifying trait to establish a clear distinction between the two composers and their teachers. Whether or not nationalism remained simply a means of inspiration or became something more, records of their lectures and the evidence of some of their compositions show that during certain periods of their lives, both men were actively striving for nationalism in their musical idioms. It is hard at this distance to separate how much of this perceived identity is due to the composer’s work or their portrayal in literature. Frank Howes, an English musicologist writing in the 1960s was strongly influenced by the literary ideology of the English Musical Renaissance, as is clear in the following excerpt from *The English Musical Renaissance*:

The next generation, of which the chief figures are Holst and Vaughan Williams, made the decisive break with continental training, returned to our native idiom and re-established English Music as an independent member of the European family and no longer a poor relation.²⁴

Within the English musical institution, the pair certainly were, and arguably still are, celebrated heroes. However, the narrative of the plucky English rebels, spinning compositions from rolling hills, singing larks and quaint pubs, redolent with folk-songs and real English ale is

²³ Vaughan Williams and Holst, *Heirs and Rebels*, p. 56.

²⁴ Howes, p. 22.

somewhat overdone. In the case of Holst in particular, certain compositions have become so popular that the complexities of a full compositional life, bursting with myriad global influences have been drowned out by the refrain of ‘I vow to thee my country’.

Most of the claims this thesis engages with will be discussed in detail, but before going any further, there is a recurring fallacy that needs to be addressed. Holst was not a folk-song collector, at least not in the same way as Vaughan Williams—he did not publish collections of folk-song. Descriptions of the two composers walking out together into the English countryside to collect folk-songs are unfounded. The closest anecdote to Holst collecting songs is in Imogen Holst’s biography in relation to the Welsh folk-song Holst set in his final collection of folk-song based part-songs.

Mrs. Herbert Jones came from Gregynog to Hammersmith and sang songs to him in Welsh. And he liked the tunes so much that he immediately began setting them to Steuart Wilson’s free translations.²⁵

One could take this to mean that Holst collected the tunes and set them to existing English translations. The account is contradicted in Michael Short’s text where he says that Holst simply obtained copies of the Welsh words and their melodies and sought translations from Steuart Wilson.²⁶

There are several possible reasons why Holst did not engage in folk-song collection. Firstly, Holst had crippling arthritis in his hands. This led him to sometimes wear a special pen nib on his finger tip when he could not hold a pen. At the worst times he required assistance in transcription from his pupils. It is one of the reasons associated with his use of ostinato and repeated figures. It is not feasible that he would have been able to transcribe folk-songs in the manner of the collectors. Secondly, we must consider the financial resources as Holst’s disposal. Unlike Vaughan Williams,

²⁵ Holst, *Gustav Holst*, p. 154.

²⁶ Short, *Gustav Holst*, p. 294

Holst did not come from money and through most of his prime held numerous teaching posts. This meant his only time for composition was during the school holidays. He did not have the luxury of many of the folk-song collectors in this regard—he could not spend extended periods walking through the countryside collecting songs. Lastly, folk-song may not have been as personally important to Holst as Vaughan Williams; Holst was not involved in the running of the English Folk Dance and Song Society (EFDSS) and he did not lecture or write about folk-song to the same extent as Vaughan Williams. During roughly the same time period that Vaughan Williams was collecting folk-song, 1903-1913,²⁷ Holst was working hard on his Sanskrit translations and settings.²⁸

Having briefly contextualized Holst in his immediate historical context, chapter 2.1.2 will turn to academic research that focuses specifically on the composer. The recurring ideas within Holst scholarship that this thesis aims to address will be identified along with the individuals whose research has had a large impact on the direction of this thesis.

2.1.2 - Overview of Current Holst Scholarship

When considering the current body of Holst scholarship, the single most influential contributor is his daughter, Imogen Holst. Along with numerous books and articles she wrote on her father's life and composition, Imogen Holst was also (of her own volition) responsible for promoting her father's music after his death. It could be convincingly argued that the academic and public interest we now have in Holst's works and life are due to this initial push on the part of his daughter. Imogen Holst's work gives us the first narrative of the composer's life; contextualizing many of his compositions and proposing our initial understanding of his musical development, most notably from the early influence of Wagner toward modal harmony and austerity. This

²⁷ Ryan Ross, "'There, in the Fastness of Rural England': Vaughan Williams, Folk Song and George Borrow's 'Lavengro'" *The Musical Times* 156, 1933 (2015), 43-56 (p.45).

²⁸ Raymond Head, 'Holst and India (I) 'Maya' to 'Sita,' *Tempo*, (1986), 2-7; 'Holst and India (II)', *Tempo*, (1987), 27-36; 'Holst and India (III)', *Tempo*, (1988), 35-40.

account has been passionately contested,²⁹ but it still remains the starting point for most research into Gustav Holst. Christopher Grogan's biography of Imogen Holst is helpful in understanding her perspective of both her father and English music. He writes about Imogen as a powerful force in English music across several decades in an article titled 'Daughter of the Renaissance'.³⁰ Two main themes arise from Grogan's biography that are pertinent to this study: Imogen Holst clearly had a difficult relationship with her father and she was heavily involved with English folk-song and dance through teaching, performance, composition, and administration within the English Folk Dance and Song Society (EFDSS). Bearing in mind her own musical interests and career, there is a risk that Imogen Holst overplays the influence of folk-song and the importance of national identity in her father's work. In chapter 2.1 I discussed how Imogen Holst's work and the subsequent research that builds upon her account, tends to reflect generalized sentiments and ambiguities in relation to the influence of folk-song. While this thesis questions that account, it is important to recognise the need to engage with the most comprehensive source of Holst scholarship to date.

Other predominant accounts that interact with Holst's life and composition as a whole include Michael Short's *Gustav Holst: The Man and His Music*.³¹ This text relies heavily on the account given by Imogen Holst and Holst pupil Edmund Rubbra. Biographically it is more comprehensive, and when read with Alan Gibbs's *Holst Among Friends*,³² it rounds out our understanding of the composer's life. However, on the subject of folk-song it adds little beyond the image presented by Imogen Holst. A.E.F. Dickson's *Holst's Music*,³³ edited for publication by Alan Gibbs, engages a great deal with the technical aspects of Holst's composition. The book is filled with musical examples and Dickinson's analysis. He takes an interesting approach by grouping his

²⁹ Christopher M. Scheer, 'Fin-De-Siècle Britain: Imperialism and Wagner in the Music of Gustav Holst', (unpublished doctoral thesis, The University of Michigan, 2007).

³⁰ Christopher Grogan, 'Daughter of the Renaissance', *The Guardian* (Guardian News and Media, 2007) <<https://www.theguardian.com/music/2007/oct/17/classicalmusicandopera>> [accessed 12 September 2018].

³¹ Short, *Gustav Holst*.

³² Alan Gibbs, *Holst Among Friends* (London: Thames, 2000).

³³ Dickinson, *Holst's Music*.

analysis together by performance forces rather than chronologically. This approach is very helpful; Holst's composition is highly diverse and by condensing like-works into distinct sections one can have a more meaningful discussion of technical similarities and differences. Unfortunately, Dickinson deigns to engage in a serious discussion of those compositions that most clearly display the influence of folk-song. Instead, in a section titled 'Miscellaneous Works', Dickinson suggests that these compositions do not demonstrate Holst's original voice, dismissively attributing their compositional style to their "amateur associations".³⁴

Holst's life has also been the subject of several documentaries, which offer varying levels of helpful information. The first in-depth documentary that can still be accessed is an interview conducted by Michael Short of Imogen Holst, intercut with excerpts of the composer's music. It is an excellent introduction to the composer but offers little beyond what can be found in the biographies written by the two. The most recent documentary on the composer was by Tony Palmer, who writes about his purpose and process in another *Guardian* article titled 'The Inner Orbit of Gustav Holst'.

It was 40 years ago, while filming Benjamin Britten, that I first thought of making a film about *Gustav Holst*. I had noticed a photograph of the young Holst in Britten's music room, and asked him why. He told me, "I owe him more than I can tell you." Which was odd, because you almost never heard the name of Holst mentioned among the pantheon of the 20th century's great composers.³⁵

Palmer engages with socialism, imperialism, and orientalism in the telling of Holst's story and tries to round out the image of Holst put forward by his daughter. However, the account comes across as very subjective and since it is biographical in focus, it offers little in terms of further musical understanding of the composer's work. Beyond these general studies, there are several academic pieces that focus on a specific aspect of Holst's work, which can offer the reader greater

³⁴ Dickinson, *Holst's Music*, p.158.

³⁵ Tony Palmer, 'The Inner Orbit of Gustav Holst', *The Guardian* (Guardian News and Media, 2011) <<https://www.theguardian.com/music/2011/apr/21/gustav-holst-tony-palmer>> [accessed 12 September 2018].

insight into Holst's interactions with the performance forces he worked with, the technical developments in his musical language, and questions of style in his compositions.

Doctoral theses on Holst have sometimes focused on a particular subset of the composer's work, such as 'The Choral Works of Gustav Holst' (1940) by Max T. Krone,³⁶ 'Gustav Holst: The Works for Military Band' (1980) by Jon C. Mitchell,³⁷ or 'The Operas of Gustav Holst' (2006) by Natalie Artemas-Polak.³⁸ These works trace the development of style within a subset of Holst's work, with the intention of identifying compositional traits. Mitchell draws on Krone's research and cross-examines his own discoveries in works for military band, with Krone's "identifiers" in Holst's choral music to find points of intersection. Mitchell reduces his list of thirty-two identifiable characteristics to seven points he finds in common with Krone and Rubbra:

3. The use of medieval modes in melody, often stressing the seventh degree of the scale.
7. Use of recitative revolving around a central pivot point.
10. Use of fourths and fifths in melodic construction.
11. Use of fundamental harmonies based on triads.
15. Use of bitonality.
17. Use of a "walking" bass line, often moving in whole steps, half steps, or diatonically.
27. Use of linear and contrapuntal harmonies.³⁹

Mitchell's list is helpful in differentiating Holst's compositional technique from that of other composers in the military band medium. His comparison with Krone's list starts to give a sense of practices Holst might have employed across his works as a whole, giving a starting point for a discussion of style. However, the focus on purely musical attributes of a subset of Holst's

³⁶ Max T. Krone, 'The Choral Works of Gustav Holst', (unpublished doctoral thesis, Northwestern University, 1940).

³⁷ Jon C. Mitchell, 'Gustav Holst: The Works for Military Band', (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Illinois, 1980).

³⁸ Artemas-Polak, 'The Operas'.

³⁹ Mitchell, p. 259.

works does not give the reader a sense of context for these techniques across Holst's composition as a whole and does not account for the external influences that led to their development.

An alternative approach in Holst scholarship (used in this thesis) is to trace an external influence or set of influences in the composer's work. In *Fin-de-Siècle Britain: Imperialism and Wagner in the Music of Gustav Holst* (2007), Christopher Scheer examines the effect of Holst's childhood in Cheltenham on the formation of the composer's world-view. Cheltenham was home to a large population of retired military who had served in the colonies, introducing Holst at a young age to an imperial identity. Contrasting with this would have been representations of the East he was exposed to through the Theosophy of his step mother; this explicitly elevates historical aspects of Eastern philosophy and language whilst implicitly criticising contemporary Eastern culture. The second part of Scheer's thesis challenges both the notion that folk-song banished the influence of Wagner from Holst's composition and that Wagner was a detrimental influence on Holst. The merit of this approach is that it directly challenges a series of ideas put forward by Imogen Holst, that have become enshrined as fact in a lot of Holst scholarship through the weight of repetition. It is the intent of this thesis to similarly trace a specific influence through Holst's compositions and examine some stated "truths" about the influence of folk-song.

Other academics who have engaged with targeted avenues of Holst's compositions include Raymond Head, who has written on several aspects of Holst's composition, in particular on the influence of India.⁴⁰ While focused on a different stimulus to this thesis, is a useful model for exploring the East in Holst work. In his new text, *English Pastoral Music: From Arcadia to Utopia 1900-1955*,⁴¹ Eric Saylor challenges misunderstandings and misconceptions of what English pastoralism actually is, and his discussion of *A Somerset Rhapsody* and *Egdon Heath* provide a nuanced understanding of the development in Holst's representation of the English landscape over

⁴⁰ Head, 'Holst and India' I, II and III.

⁴¹ Eric Saylor, *English Pastoral Music: from Arcadia to Utopia, 1900-1955* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2017).

the course of several decades.⁴² Saylor does not delve into an extended discussion of folk-song, and as such examines some of the same works as this thesis through a different lens, giving a different reading of the pieces and showing a separate avenue of development in the composer's work. Saylor's work highlights the merits of further study into Holst, who cannot be effectively represented through a single narrative or in relation to any one particular influence.

Of great importance to this thesis is an article by Martin Graebe, 'Gustav Holst, "Songs of the West", and the English Folk Song Movement'⁴³ in which he extensively examines Holst's very first orchestral folk-song arrangements, *Songs of the West* and *Folk Songs from Somerset* the latter of which was later revised into *A Somerset Rhapsody*. The article looks closely at the performance context of the work, the conditions under which it was written, and the reception at the time. It is helpful in understanding the relationship between Cecil Sharp and Holst and the evidence of the collector in Holst's compositional approach. The approach provides a useful backdrop to a discussion of *A Somerset Rhapsody*, highlighting the distinction between Holst's own composition and his efforts as an agent of Sharp. At the time Graebe wrote the article, the score of *Folk Songs from Somerset* was lost, and Graebe himself found the forgotten score of *Songs of the West* while researching Sabine Baring-Gould in the British Library. In July 2017, the lost score of *Folk Songs from Somerset* was discovered in New Zealand in the library of the Bay of Plenty Symphonia. It was authenticated by Bronya Dean, a musicology Ph.D. student and violist in the orchestra.⁴⁴ Dean kindly advocated for my access to the score and the *Folk Songs from Somerset* will be discussed in relation to the context established by Graebe and their later manifestation in *A Somerset Rhapsody*.

In terms of literature from Holst's own pen, of most importance to this study have been a set of correspondence between Holst and his friends Vaughan Williams and Whittaker

⁴² Saylor, p. 135-144.

⁴³ Graebe, 5-41.

⁴⁴ Bronya Dean has subsequently been awarded her Doctorate in musicology by the University of Southampton.

respectively,⁴⁵ and a lecture titled ‘The Mystic, the Philistine and the Artist’.⁴⁶ Whittaker and Vaughan Williams were two of Holst’s closest friends, keenest advocates of his composition, and fellow lovers of folk-song. Unsurprisingly, many of the works and ideas discussed in this thesis are mentioned in these sets of letters. It must be said that again, the editors of these editions are Imogen Holst and Michael Short, along with Ursula Vaughan Williams. Imogen Holst and Michael Short retained control over most of the initial presentation of Holst after his death, and one could argue that their selection of letters could also be used to overlay the influence of folk-song in Holst’s work. For the purposes of this study, the clarity of Holst’s numerous writings on the subject in his own hand is most welcome, but the potential for editorial bias is taken into consideration.

In regard to Holst’s lectures, ‘The Mystic, the Philistine and the Artist’ is useful in providing the researcher with Holst’s ideals on the purpose of the composer. Tellingly, he does not extol the virtues of folk-song or national music at all and to the contrary suggests the role of the artist is to bring a transcendental experience to their audience. He suggests this extends beyond national, geographical, or temporal boundaries.

In music the Modernist Philistine is he for whom music began with Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony, or Wagner’s Tristan, or Strauss’s Don Juan, or Debussy’s Nocturnes. It is quite immaterial which; the point is that he looks at music as something that began at some definite date. The Classical Philistine on the other hand is he for whom music ended with the death of Handel, or the death of Beethoven, or the death of Brahms, or the death of any other composer—in short, one for whom music ended at a definite date. I see absolutely nothing to choose between these two types. They are both imbued with the true Philistine spirit. We all should know that the essentials in Art are eternal, and beneath the surface one feels the essentials in a beautiful piece of music of the 16th century just as much as in one of the 20th century.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Vaughan Williams and Holst, *Heirs and Rebels*; Michael Short, *Gustav Holst, Letters to W.G. Whittaker* (Glasgow: University of Glasgow Press, 1974).

⁴⁶ Holst, *Gustav Holst*, pp. 210-220.

⁴⁷ Holst, *Gustav Holst*, p. 195.

Holst goes on to describe the purpose of art as communication and uses the metaphor of a philistine (as one who adheres to conventional boundaries), the mystic (as one who can see past conventional boundaries but cannot cross them), and the artist (as one who creates the transcendental) as a means of exploring the role of the composer as he sees it.⁴⁸ The purpose of the artist in this metaphor implies a conception of music that goes beyond establishing a national identity or composing in a “modern voice”. Holst’s stated perception of the role of the artists raises questions about the categorization of Holst’s works as “austere” or inaccessible; it appears he felt his role was to try to transcend boundaries of communication and enter into communion with his performers and audiences through music. This lecture goes some way towards explaining what many see as the eclecticism in Holst’s compositional style. Based on this excerpt it seems it would go against the transcendental nature of the composer’s purpose to confine himself to a particular geographical and temporal location, which leads me back to the question of folk-song.

Folk-song has been so strongly associated with the ideology of pastoralism, and nationalism in early 20th-century England that its utility to Holst beyond those purposes is rarely discussed. It is my intention to determine the use of folk-song as a tool in developing harmonic ideas, melodic and rhythmic techniques for the English language, and a variable signifier of identity.

⁴⁸ These are all Holst’s interpretations of the terms: philistine, mystic and artist.

2.2 - The Folk-Song Revival

The purpose of this section is to lay the contextual foundation for the ensuing discussion around folk-song, musical language and identity formation. While much of this does not centre on Holst himself it explores the individuals and events that created the conditions in which he composed his folk-song based and influenced works. I will outline the historical perspective, starting with early examples of folk-song collecting in Britain through to the formation of the Folk-Song Society. The central tenets of cultural evolution and communal authorship will be explained as part of the rationale for the early 20th-century efforts to reintroduce folk-song into society. The individuals who were central to the revival will be discussed and the main points of contention between their approaches described with a focus on how this could have shaped Holst's perception of folk-song. Finally, the current academic debate is reviewed.

2.2.1 - Etymology of "Folk"

Before discussing the Folk-Song Revival, it is worth going over the etymology of the English word "folk" as found in the Oxford English Dictionary Online. The modern English word *folk* comes from the Old English *folc*, meaning *common people, men, tribe, or multitude*. The Old English *folc* came from Proto-Germanic *fulka*, which may have originally referred to a *host of warriors*; derived from the Old Norse *folk* meaning *people*, but with connotations of *army*, the German *gefolge* meaning *host*, and the Lithuanian *pulkas* meaning *crowd*.⁴⁹ In England, *folk* became colloquialized in the sense of 'people' in the early 19th century. The word 'folk' re-entered academic English through *folklore* in 1846 by the antiquarian William J. Thomas:

⁴⁹ 'Folk', *Oxford English Dictionary* [online] <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/72542?redirectedFrom=folk&>> [accessed 13 September 2018].

What we in England designate as Popular Antiquities, or Popular Literature (though it would be most aptly described by a good Saxon compound, folk-lore, — the “lore” of the People).⁵⁰

The following compound formations came through the next century: ‘folk-song’ (1847); ‘folk-tale’ (1891); ‘folk-medicine’ (1898); ‘folk-hero’ (1899); ‘folk-art’ (1921). Folk-song was one of the earliest compound uses of the term folk, first used in 1843 according to Merriam-Webster Online,⁵¹ and 1847 according to the Oxford English Dictionary Online.⁵² However, the origins of song collection and an interest in traditional or rural music predate the term by some time, for example in Playford’s *The English Dancing Master*, first published in 1651.⁵³ In Turkey the word *halk* conveys common heritage or communal ownership of “the people” and was an important concept to the Turkish national identity between the 1840s and 1920s;⁵⁴ German *volk* holds the same meaning and was a particularly important concept for Hitler.⁵⁵ This highlights that for many centuries, across a broad range of societies, there has been a need to define a *cultural* subset characterised by their commonality in such a way as to historically convey strength, communal authority, or cultural authenticity. By the time we reach the formation of the English Folk-Song Society in 1898, the term was used to refer to a very specific cultural subset, defined by their rurality and associations with peasantry.

The fact that something seen as innately common (not necessarily meant pejoratively) became the practical focus of national revivals of art-music in England and across the continent in the 20th century, is an ideological conundrum. It begs the question, what is the purpose of art-

⁵⁰ ‘Folklore’, *Oxford English Dictionary* [online] <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/72546>> [accessed 13 September 2018].

⁵¹ ‘Folk Song’, *Merriam-Webster* [online] <[https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/folk song](https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/folk%20song)> [accessed 13 September 2018].

⁵² ‘Folk-Song’, *Oxford English Dictionary* [online] <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/72553>> [accessed 13 September 2018].

⁵³ Joann W. Kealiinohomoku, ‘Folk Dance’, *Encyclopædia Britannica* (Encyclopædia Britannica, inc., 2017) <<https://www.britannica.com/art/folk-dance#ref993461>> [accessed 13 September 2018].

⁵⁴ K. Stanek, ‘The Meaning of Halk in Turkish Language and Culture’, *The World of the Orient*, 1 (2014), 76–88.

⁵⁵ Alan Bullock, Baron Bullock, and John Lukacs, ‘Adolf Hitler’, *Encyclopædia Britannica* [online] <<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Adolf-Hitler/Rise-to-power#ref249686>> [accessed 13 September 2018].

music? If it is to elevate the human condition beyond its base expression, then turning to folk-song, or common-song, for influence seems to fly in the face of progress. Alternatively, if one believes that the purpose of art-music is to create a transcendental bond between the members of a community, then by the revivalist's very own rationale, the communal product of folk-song surely already does that job better than a construct by an individual trying to artificially capitalise on what is already intrinsic to the existing product. One answer could be the idea that art-music needs to refresh itself occasionally or periodically at the wellspring of "the folk" in order to remain connected to its roots. Another idea would be that the conditions for the culture that had produced folk-song were disappearing, and that collectors, arrangers and art-music composers using folk-songs in their works were necessary to preserve the music that was being lost.⁵⁶

2.2.2 - Early Folk-Song Collecting

Song collecting in England began with the first English printing press, set up in 1476 by William Caxton.⁵⁷ Around 1495 Wynken de Worde, his successor, published the first English broadsides, a set of ballads written about Robin Hood; these first broadsides were printed as text only, without music notation.⁵⁸ Broadside became the most numerous publications from the London press and were especially important to the common people.⁵⁹ The government became concerned about the amount of popular literature in circulation, which could become subversive.⁶⁰ A law was passed that all broadsides needed to be registered at Stationer's Hall, though it appears numerous ballads were still printed without registration.⁶¹ From those that *were* registered at

⁵⁶ Comparisons with the preservation of the natural world are probably helpful in this context; A Somerset Rhapsody could be considered analogous to an enclosure for endangered species – a fabricated landscape serving as a replacement home for a cultural artefact that can no longer exist in-situ. Also like an enclosure, these exhibits are kept at arms-length from the spectators, intended to be observed rather than interacted with.

⁵⁷ 'William Caxton', *Encyclopædia Britannica* [online], 2014 <<https://www.britannica.com/biography/William-Caxton>> [accessed 13 September 2018].

⁵⁸ Michael Pollard, *Discovering English Folksong*, (Shire Publications Ltd, 1982) p. 13.

⁵⁹ Hyder E. Rollins, 'The Black-Letter Broadside Ballad', *Pmla*, 34 (1919), 258–339 (p. 258).

⁶⁰ Adam Fox, 'Ballads, Libels and Popular Ridicule In Jacobean England', *Past and Present*, 145 (1994), 47–83 (pp. 74–82); Evelyn K. Wells, 'Playford Tunes and Broadside Ballads', *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society*, 3 (1937), 81–92 (p. 84–85).

⁶¹ Rollins, p. 281.

Stationer's Company in London, we have a record that more than three thousand titles were printed between 1557 and 1709.⁶²

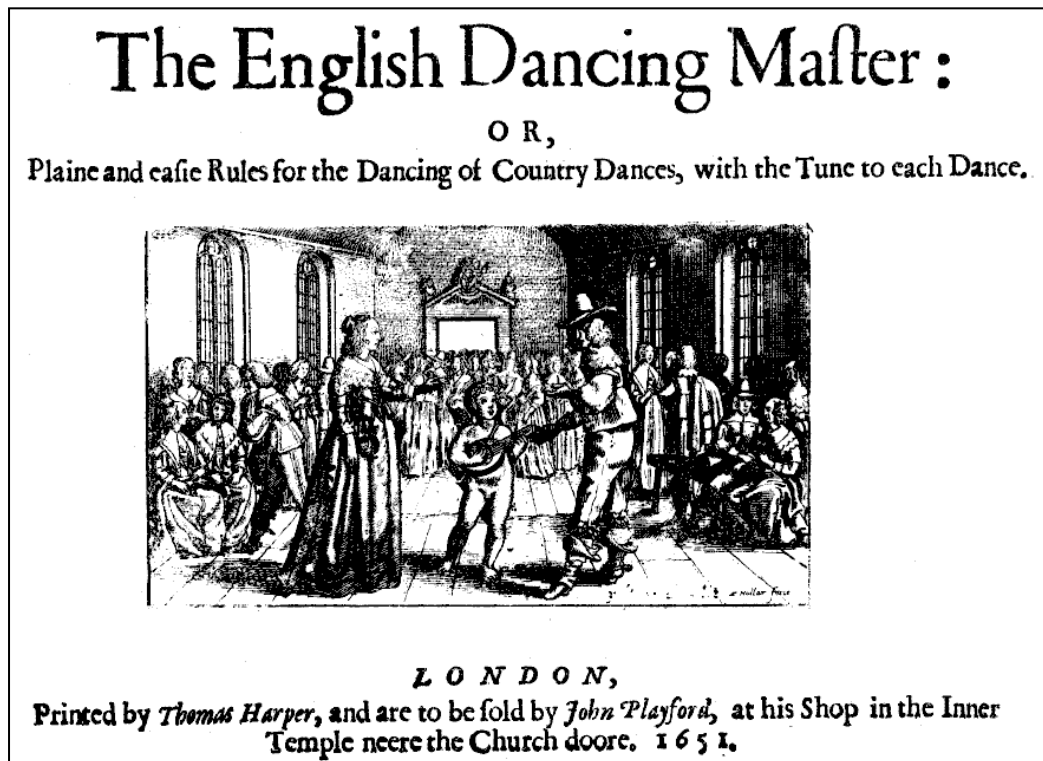
Early ballad pedlars assumed in their customers a knowledge of popular British songs and these tunes were recycled over numerous ballad texts. Instead of notating the tunes, most Ballad sheets would simply reference the melody the text should be sung to and if the customer did not know the reference, then the pedlar would sing it until memorised.⁶³ It is through the broadside collections of individuals during the 16th and 17th century that we are able to trace many of the folk-songs that were collected in the 19th and 20th centuries by the Folk-Song Society. The broadside printing of folk-songs is in direct opposition to the argument for the strictly oral transmission of folk-song.⁶⁴ The re-discovery, collection, and publication of aspects of popular society in England occurs as early as 1651 with John Playford's, *The English Dancing Master*, shown below in Figure 1.

⁶² David Atkinson, 'Folk Songs in Print and Tradition', *Folk Music Journal*, 8 (2004), 456–83 (p.456); Wells, p. 85.

⁶³ James Revell Carr, "'An Harmlesse Dittie': Ballad Music and Its Sources', *UCSB English Broadside Ballad Archive*, 2007 <<http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/page/ballad-music-sources>> [accessed 13 September 2018].

⁶⁴ Atkinson, p. 457.

Figure 1 - John Playford's *The English Dancing Master* (1st Ed) Title Page.



As the title page describes, the book features instructions for country dances including the tunes.⁶⁵ Keith Whitlock argues that the publication of country dances in this instance is likely nothing to do with an interest in folk-song or antiquity but rather in supporting Stuart court practice during the years of the Civil War.⁶⁶ However, the reference to “country” dances indicates that the rurality of the publication was intended as a selling point, and the countryside was already seen as a place for leisure pursuits by the gentry at this time.⁶⁷ Whether or not the publication is an accurate representation of peasant culture is irrelevant to the fact it was used to market the product. Arguably, it shows the commodification of the alleged rural and peasant culture of England for capital gain in an urban market as early as 1651. It appears that during this period, folk-song was

⁶⁵ After the publication of Playford's *English Dancing Master* in the later 17th century, English country dances became fashionable in France and were developed into the *contredanse*, a popular dance often found in suites. The *contredanse* in turn became the *contra dance* in North America, referring to a number of partnered folk-dances.

⁶⁶ Keith Whitlock, 'John Playford's *The English Dancing Master* 1650/51 as Cultural Politics' *Folk Music Journal*, Vol. 7, No. 5 (1999) 548 – 578 (pp. 548).

⁶⁷ Wells, p. 82.

also an inspiration for art-music composers, as discussed by Evelyn Wells in ‘Playford Tunes and Broadside Ballads’:

As the Country dance added sophistication to its folk characteristics, its tunes acquired other elements, which we must now analyse. At the end of the sixteenth century the folk-tunes of the Country dance became the inspiration for composers upon that recently developed instrument, the virginals. With their insistent rhythms, their freshness, and their unstereotyped vigour, they opened a new world to the composers who were growing restive under the restrictions of a long tradition of scholarly music... Folk-music was, then, the entering wedge of a new style of composition. With its swing and rhythm, its melodic richness and variety, and its human warmth and freshness, it helped to displace the academic restrictions of the polyphonic school. From now on, the songs and dances that were written drew from this source of inspiration. Many of the Playford tunes are of folk origin; many are composed for instruments; some are composed song-tunes adapted to the dance. The Dancing Master gathers up the inherited strength of the old tunes, the added inspiration of new media to work in, the skill and creative energy of a lively musical age, and the consciousness of new possibilities for music. Without such a background, the tunes would never have been such effective vehicles for the broadside ballads, and the broadsides themselves would have fallen far short of their place in the popular life of the seventeenth century.⁶⁸

Scotland in particular was also important to the creation of the romantic imagery of the wild and untamed rural Britain in the minds of the middle and upper-class society of the urban centres. Published collections of traditional songs from Scotland date as early as 1662, with *Songs and Fancies: to Thre, Foure, or Five Parties, both At for Voices and Viols* printed by publisher John Forbes,⁶⁹ with references to Scottish country dances found as far back as 1548.⁷⁰ The growth of interest in Scotland and Scottish folk-lore through the eighteenth century was likely in part due to the Act of Union in 1707; the merging of England and Scotland as a political unit fostered an English interest in the new part of the nation. The romantic imagery of Scotland was compounded in the poems of James MacPherson, which were purportedly collected and translated from ancient sources, orally transmitted by Gaelic speakers. The character of Ossian is the narrator and

⁶⁸ Wells, pp. 83-84.

⁶⁹ Charles Sanford Terry, ‘John Forbes’s ‘Songs and Fancies,’’ *The Musical Quarterly*, 22 (1936), 402–19 (p. 402).

⁷⁰ Wells, p. 83.

protagonist in MacPherson's poems, and the international success they achieved highly romanticised Scotland, attributing the image of the 'noble savage' to the Celtic tradition.⁷¹ There was controversy at the time over the origins of the tales, as "Oisín" is a warrior of the Fianna in the Fenian Cycle of Irish mythology and some of the poems bear a resemblance to those Irish myths. Many critics argue that the works were not collected at all and simply written by MacPherson; for an extended discussion on Ossian and the Celtic revival, see Thomas Curley's *Samuel Johnson, The Ossian Fraud, and the Celtic Revival in Great Britain and Ireland*, in which he writes 'Ossian is the most successful literary falsehood in modern history.'⁷² Irrespective, MacPherson's work helped dramatically romanticise Scotland from both a national and international perspective and Scottish folk-song continued to be published in abundance throughout the 17th and 18th century.⁷³ The authenticity of MacPherson's publications may be highly questionable but they prove the case for the commercial value of "folk" culture. It is clear that the *idea* of consumable folk-culture was appealing to urban society at this time and even more so shows that a strong narrative was more important than authenticity in engaging period audiences.

In tandem with the increased interest in Scottish folk-song was a rise in antiquarianism. Between 1586 and 1607 a College (or Society) of Antiquaries met in London with a shared interest in debating and discussing antiquity.⁷⁴ The society was closed due to the disapproval of James I

⁷¹ The term 'noble savage' was first used in English in 1672 in *The Conquest of Granada* by John Dryden in relation to a Christian Prince masquerading as a Spanish Muslim.

⁷² Thomas M. Curley, *Samuel Johnson, the Ossian Fraud, and the Celtic Revival in Great Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

⁷³ Other 18th-century Scottish collections include: Thomas D'Ufrey, *Pills to Purge Melancholy* (London, 1698 - 1720); William Thompson, *Orpheus Caledonius, or A Collection of the Best Scotch Songs* (London, ca. 1725, rev. 1733); A. Stuart, *Musick for Allan Ramsay's Collection of Scotch Songs* (Edinburgh, ca. 1726); Robert Bremmer, *Thirty Songs for a Voice and Harpsichord* (Edinburgh, 1757); James Oswald, *A Collection of the Best Old Scotch and English Songs set for the Voice* (London, ca. 1761-2); N. Stewart, *A Collection of Scots Songs* (Edinburgh, ca. 1762); John Pinkerton, *Scottish Tragic Ballads* (London, 1781); James Johnson/Robert Burns, *The Scots Musical Museum* (Edinburgh 1781 - 1803); Domenico Corri, *A New and Complete Collection of the Most Favourite Scots Songs* (Edinburgh, 1788); William Napier, *A Selection of the Most Favourite Scots-Songs* (London 1790 - 94); William Willson, *Twelve Original Scotch Songs for the Voice and Harpsichord with an Accompaniment for the Violin or Flute* (London, 1792); Pietro Urbani, *A Selection of Scots Songs* (Edinburgh, 1792 - ca. 1794); George Thomson, *A Select Collection of Original Scottish Airs for the Voice* (London 1793); Joseph Ritson, *A Collection of Scottish Songs, with the airs* (London, 1794).

⁷⁴ 'Society of Antiquaries', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [online], <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/72906/72906?back=,206> [accessed 28 February, 2013].

but in 1751 the Society of Antiquaries of London was formally founded and chartered by Royal Charter with ‘the encouragement, advancement and furtherance of the study and knowledge of the antiquities and history of this and other countries’.⁷⁵ Over the following century, many other antiquarian societies were founded,⁷⁶ alongside a rising interest with antiquity in the upper and middle classes, manifesting itself primarily in the study of ruins and the collection of artefacts. Antiquarian practice, in particular the formation of societies dedicated to collecting, categorising and preserving ancient artefacts, predates and directly influences the formation of the Folk-Lore Society (1878),⁷⁷ thus in turn influencing the foundation of the Folk-Song Society. There is much crossover between the individuals involved with the collection and publication of folk-song material and antiquarian societies. For example, many members of the Percy Society, who published rare poems and songs including traditional ballads and folklore material, were also antiquarians.⁷⁸ In fact, the English word folklore was first used by William Thorns, an English antiquarian, in the London Journal *The Athenaeum* in 1846.⁷⁹ While antiquarian societies had existed in one form or another since the late 16th century, it is not until the dramatic changes in English social stratification from a predominantly rural to urban population, that the notion of “the folk” and the need to collect and revive folk-culture comes into being. It is perhaps worth drawing one last parallel between the antiquarian societies and the Folk-Song Society. In both instances, preservation of cultural material was the mandate of the societies, and in both instances, they are viewed by modern critics to have in some way damaged or misrepresented their respective source

⁷⁵ ‘History of the Society,’ *The History of The Society of Antiquaries* <<https://www.sal.org.uk/about-us/our-history/>> [accessed 20 March 2018].

⁷⁶ Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (1780); American Antiquarian Society (1812); Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne (1813); Société des Antiquaires de France (1813); Kongelige Nordiske Oldskriftselskab [Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries] (1825); Cambridge Antiquarian Society (1840); Kilkenny Archaeological Society (1849), became the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland (1869), became the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland (1890); Gesamtverein der Deutschen Geschichts und Altertumsvereine (1852); Bradford Historical and Antiquarian Society (1878); Halifax Antiquarian Society (1901).

⁷⁷ ‘About - The Folklore Society’, *Folklore | The Folklore Society* <<https://folklore-society.com/about/>> [accessed 13 April 2017].

⁷⁸ The legacy of the Percy Society after its collapse in 1852, was the formation of the Ballad Society in 1868, who were formed to do similar work, but with a specific focus on reprinting folk-songs.

⁷⁹ Robert A. Georges and Michael Owen Jones, *Folkloristics: An Introduction* (Indiana University Press, 1995).

material. Typically, this approach is through an overly romantic view of the past; while Romanticism as a literary and more broadly cultural movement was predominantly a matter of the late 18th and very early 19th centuries, romantic attitudes toward folk-culture (in line with the Ossian phenomenon) were a trait symptomatic of Victorian England as a response to the increasing urbanisation and industrialisation of Britain. This period is when we see the height of antiquarianism and the beginnings of the Folk-Song Revival movement.⁸⁰

The main ideological link between antiquarianism and folk-song collecting is the idea of preserving and cataloguing English cultural artefacts that would otherwise be lost. In this regard, the folk-song society is a direct result of antiquarian thinking. What sets the study of folk-culture aside from the study of antiquities is the nature of the artefacts. Antiquarian study is centred on physical objects, manuscripts, and sites. Almost by definition, the objects of interest are antique and are no longer part of a living culture. Antiquarians do not need to interact with living vessels of the culture they are studying, as a result they do not have the same ethical considerations. Their artefacts are also tangible and remain static for future consideration. Conversely, collectors/researchers of folk-culture are studying an existing culture and extrapolating from it an ancient culture. As the culture they are studying must still be in existence for them to collect the songs, there are clearly ethical considerations. In addition, much of folk-culture is intangible until it is transcribed, so the collectors must be accurate in their transcription in order to have a viable artefact to analyse. In the case of folk-song, characterised by ornamentation and natural variation, it is impossible to completely convey a musical performance in written form, particularly in the standard form of notation used by the collectors. The manuscripts of the collectors can only ever be an approximate record of the artefacts and culture they are observing. A transcribed folk-song is an *image* of an artefact removed from context. It is not the artefact itself, but rather a representation of that artefact as seen through the lens of the collector. This transcription represents

⁸⁰ Philippa Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional: Antiquarians, Historians and Archaeologists in Victorian England 1838-1886*, (Cambridge University Press, 1986).

the largest difference between antiquarianism and folk-song collection; the facility to revisit source material in light of new information or research techniques. The transcribed folk-song will always contain the original transcribers bias and human error within itself where as a tangible object, while out of context, still possesses an autonomous physicality to reassess. Interestingly, while there was clearly an understanding of the need to create tangible records of intangible artefacts across Europe in the early 20th century, it took until 2003 for UNESCO to publish a treaty recognising and establishing provisions for safeguarding intangible cultural heritage.⁸¹

2.2.3 - Formation of the Folk-Song Society

Through the 19th century there were increasing numbers of English collectors taking an interest in folk-song,⁸² but a concerted effort to transcribe folk-songs *en masse* by an organized body of collectors did not occur until the late 19th century, with the formation of the Folk-Song Society (although, a particularly important collector of this period was the Rev. John Broadwood who would inspire his niece, Lucy Broadwood, to collect folk-songs and ultimately co-found the Folk-Song Society).⁸³ In the late 19th century the people who would pioneer the Folk-Song Revival were already working individually on collections and articles relating to folk-song; noteworthy figures were Lucy Broadwood, Frank Kidson, Kate Lee and John Alexander Fuller Maitland. During the 19th century there were precedents for the Folk-Song Society in the Folk-Lore Society

⁸¹‘Text of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage’, *Intangible Cultural Heritage Website*, 2003 <https://ich.unesco.org/en/convention?raw_uri=/fr/convention> [accessed 13 September 2018].

⁸² 19th-century Scottish and English folk-song collections: Robert Topliff, *A Selection of the most Popular Melodies of the Tyne and Wear* (London, 1815); Gilbert Davies, *Some Ancient Christmas Carols with the Tunes to which they were formerly sung in the West of England* (London, 1822); Gilbert Davies, *Ancient Scottish Ballads[...]* and an appendix containing the Airs of several of the Ballads (London, 1827); William Sandy, *Christmas Carols Ancient and Modern* (London, 1833); William Chappell: *National English Airs* (London, 1838); *Early Naval Ballads of England* (Vol. 2, published by the Percy Society, London, 1840); John Broadwood, *Old English Songs as now sung by the Peasantry of the Weald of Surrey and Sussex* (London 1843); Robert Bell, *Scottish Traditional Versions of Ancient Ballads/Ancient Poems, Ballads and Songs* (Vol. 17, published by the Percy Society, London, 1846); *Popular Songs, Illustrative of the French Invasions of Ireland* (Vol. 21, published by the Percy Society, London, 1847); William Chappell, *The Ballad Literature and Popular Music of the Olden Time* (Vol.1 & 2., London, 1855-1859); *Ballads and Songs of the Peasantry* (published by the Percy Society, London, 1866); Lucy Broadwood, *Sussex Songs* (London, 1889); Sabine Baring-Gould, *Songs of the West* (London 1889-1892; rev. 1891-1895 & 1905).

⁸³ Lucy E. Broadwood, ‘On the Collection of English Folk-Song’ *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, 31st Sess., (1904-1905) 89 – 109 (p. 97).

and the Irish Literary Society; several of the individuals who first met to found the Folk-Song Society were already members of these societies. C. J. Bearman presents evidence suggesting that it was Kate Lee who was the impetus for the society's foundation. However, he also asserts that the 'initiative for the societies foundation certainly came from the Irish Literary Society, of which Graves was Secretary'.⁸⁴ Alfred Perceval Graves was heavily involved in the Irish Literary Society from its inception and a prominent member of the society.⁸⁵ Though Scotland and Ireland shared very different political relationships with England, both functioned as part of the Celtic fringe. There seems to have been a great awareness of Irish folk-song at this time and in part this could be due to the prevalence of Irish folk-culture in asserting a national identity in the face of colonial control.⁸⁶ In addition, it is worth noting that Stanford, Holst's teacher at the Royal College, was a huge advocate for Irish music, both as an arranger and composer. Parry, MacKenzie and Stanford were all advocates for their nation's folk-songs and indeed were three of the four joint vice-presidents of the Folk-Song Society when it was originally formed, along with Sir John Stainer.⁸⁷ However, Stanford in particular worked extensively with Irish folk-song, publishing roughly two-hundred and fifty arrangements of Irish melodies, of which one-hundred and thirty were set to words by A. P. Graves.⁸⁸ Along with these, Stanford also arranged *The National Song Book: A Complete Collection of the Folk-Songs, Carols, and Rounds Suggested By the Board of Education* published in 1905, Holst's "discovery" year. Beyond his arrangements, Stanford wrote six Irish rhapsodies between 1902-1922, providing a clear example for both Holst and Vaughan Williams to draw from in their folk-song rhapsodies. Stanford actually worked far more with folk-song, albeit

⁸⁴ C. J. Bearman, 'Kate Lee and the Foundation of the Folk-Song Society', *Folk Music Journal*, Vol. 7, No. 5 (1999) 627 – 643 (pp. 633).

⁸⁵ Mo Moulton, *Ireland and the Irish in Interwar England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014) p. 233.

⁸⁶ White, Harry, 'The Preservation of Music and Irish Cultural History', *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, 27 (1996), 123–38; Sean Ryder, 'Male Autobiography and Irish Cultural Nationalism: John Mitchel and James Clarence Mangan', *The Irish Review* (1986-), 1992, 70–77; Michael D. Nichol森, 'Identity, Nationalism, and Irish Traditional Music in Chicago, 1867–1900', *New Hibernia Review*, 13 (2009), 111–26.

⁸⁷ Graebe, p. 11.

⁸⁸ *Songs of Old Ireland* (50 settings, 1882), *Irish Songs and Ballads* (30 settings, 1893) and *Songs of Erin*, op. 76 (50 settings, 1900).

Irish, than Holst ever did. Perhaps compounded by Stanford's work, Holst and many of the other English composers would have been raised under the popular fallacy that folk-songs were 'all either bad or Irish'.⁸⁹ Sir Robert Ensor, writing in 1936 says:

Before [Rev. S. Baring-Gould] it had been widely assumed that (save perhaps on the Scottish Border) the English people, unlike the Germans, Scots, Welsh, and Irish, had no folk-songs worth mentioning.⁹⁰

Graves stated that the idea for a folk-song society was his idea, due to his time spent collecting Irish folk-songs and his involvement with the Irish Literary Society. He felt the idea had been hijacked by Kate Lee and the other collectors.

I had been a private collector of folk-song, almost entirely Irish, until the year 1898, when my residence in London... brought me into contact with other folk-song collectors, even more ardent than myself. I was then the first to suggest the formation, not of an English Folk-Song Society, but of one which would embrace the folk-song of the British Islands in the first instance, and eventually deal with folk-music of all countries.⁹¹

Although the Irish Literary Society was less focused on antiquity and more in line with the Irish Literary Revival, the basic premise as a society to honour Irish culture may well have inspired Graves, as Secretary, to think of applying the mandate to English culture. The fact that disagreements and power politics marked the foundation of the society was perhaps prophetic. C. J. Bearman discusses the conditions under which the society was formed and presents the internal challenges the society initially faced:

[Graves], Boulton, and Stanford were representatives of a substantial group among the founders belonging to an older tradition of reliance on printed music, viewing folk music as raw material to be shaped, provided, if necessary, with new words, and presented in accordance with the prevailing public taste. Kate Lee, with Lucy Broadwood, Frank Kidson, and Fuller Maitland, represented, with

⁸⁹ David Manning, *Vaughan Williams on Music*, (New York, Oxford University Press, 2007) p. 269.

⁹⁰ R. C. K. Ensor, *England 1870 – 1914*, (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1936) p. 544.

⁹¹ Bearman, 'Kate Lee', p. 633.

varying degrees of enthusiasm, the new generation of field collectors, determined to present accurately the music they took down ‘from the mouths of the people’.⁹²

It appears from the outset there were differences of opinion regarding the treatment of folk-song material and the role of such a society in preserving folk-song. Ultimately, Broadwood, Kidson, Lee and Maitland emerged as the leaders of Folk-Song Society. There is an ongoing debate in contemporary scholarship regarding the extent to which the early collections of the Folk-Song Society are bowdlerized, misrepresentative and altered for ideological or commercial purposes, and Cecil Sharp is a figure that excites high passions in either support or condemnation of his work.⁹³ However, it seems in the minds of these collectors, at least at the outset, they were attempting to preserve the integrity of the folk-songs to their fullest extent. The reason folk-song was seen as nationally expressive, and therefore worthy of saving, was largely due to its status as a product of cultural evolution. The change in the society’s approach under Cecil Sharp will be discussed later in 2.2.5.

2.2.4 - Cultural Evolution and Communal Authorship

The theory of cultural evolution was originally conceived by Johann Gottfried Herder, who proposed that where groups of people are isolated from the main body of society, their society will remain in a more primitive or earlier stage of social/cultural development.⁹⁴ This theory predates Darwinian ideas and is more closely linked to Enlightenment historiography, which liked to tell

⁹² Bearman, ‘Kate Lee’, p. 634.

⁹³ C. J. Bearman, ‘Who Were The Folk? The Demography Of Cecil Sharp’s Somerset Folk Singers’, *Historical Journal*, 43 (2000), 751–75; C. J. Bearman, ‘Cecil Sharp in Somerset: Some Reflections on the Work of David Harker’, *Folklore*, 113 (2002), 11–34; Georgina Boyes, *The Imagined Village: Culture, Ideology, and the English Folk Revival* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993); John Francmanis, ‘National Music to National Redeemer: The Consolidation of a ‘Folk-Song’ Construct in Edwardian England’, *Popular Music*, 21 (2000), 1–25; John Francmanis, ‘The ‘Folk-Song’ Competition: An Aspect of the Search for an English National Music’, *Rural History*, 11 (2000), 181–205; David Harker, ‘Cecil Sharp in Somerset: Some Conclusions’, *Folk Music Journal*, 2 (1972), 220–40; Dave Harker, ‘May Cecil Sharp Be Praised?’, *History Workshop Journal*, 14 (1982), 45–62; David Harker, *Fakesong: the Manufacture of British ‘Folksong’ 1700 to the Present Day* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1985); Colin Irwin, ‘Folk’s Man of Mystery: Is Cecil Sharp a Folk Hero or Villain?’, *The Guardian*, 2011 <<https://www.theguardian.com/music/2011/mar/24/cecil-sharp-project-folk-hero-villain>> [accessed 13 September 2018]; John Anthony Scott, ‘Cecil Sharp’, *History Workshop Journal*, 16 (1983), 191.

⁹⁴ Royal J. Schmidt, ‘Cultural Nationalism in Herder’, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 17 (1956), 407–17 (p. 409).

stories of the gradual progress of humanity from its ‘primitive’ origins. In the 18th century the idea of cultural evolution was a radical alternative to older historiographic templates of the fall from (God’s) grace or the rise and fall of civilisations; these progress narratives emphasised the ability of humans to elevate themselves by using their rational minds to gain control over nature and themselves. However, this thinking leads to the division of humanity into more and less evolved groups of people. When this division is seen between societies, it results in the idea of ‘primitive cultures’ and the racism that was an inherent feature of this historical narrative. This development was the rationalising force behind the rise of colonialism and empire-building in the 18th century. The concept of “the folk”, however, comes from a perception of division within society.

Many collectors of folk-songs and folk-lore held that folk-culture was the remnant of an earlier stage in social development. Folk-songs were seen as “cultural survivors” of an earlier point in social history that could still be found in communities isolated from the cosmopolitan influences of urban centres and literature. Folk-songs were purported to retain the true national characteristic of English society before the corrupting influences of capitalism and foreign cultures could dictate aesthetic trends.⁹⁵ This idea represents a romantic reversal of the typical Enlightenment perspective, reintroducing the older template of the fall from grace.⁹⁶

Part of folk-song’s status as a national artefact was due to the idea that it was the product of communal authorship. It was widely thought that the process of oral transmission across generations of illiterate singers would lead, through the selection of natural variations, to the transferal of authorship from the individual to the community. The widespread awareness of Darwinism in European society may have helped people to view culture in evolutionary terms.⁹⁷ Carl Engel was a German musicologist and collector of musical instruments who settled in

⁹⁵ Richard Sykes, ‘The Evolution of Englishness in the English Folksong Revival, 1890 – 1914’, *Folk Music Journal*, Vol. 6, No. 4 (1993), 446-490 (p. 473).

⁹⁶ This reversal was already part of Enlightenment discourse within works such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s *Du contrat social; ou Principes du droit politique*, (Amsterdam, 1762).

⁹⁷ Sykes, (p. 454).

Kensington, London in 1850, and the quote below comes from his *An Introduction to the Study of National Music* (1866), published seven years after Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* and just eight years before Holst's birth.

It may be considered as one of the distinctive characteristics of national tunes that their composers are but seldom known...the people collectively may not improperly be considered as the actual composer of its national tunes. A short melody extemporized in a moment of extraordinary emotion, by someone musically gifted, is, if impressive, soon taken up by others, further diffused, and traditionally preserved. In the course of time it generally undergoes some remarkable modifications; it, so to say, undergoes a process of composition, until it has attained those conditions which insure it a general favourable acceptance by the nation to whom it appertains.⁹⁸

This view of folk-song as a distilled national product was part of the reason it was exalted above the popular songs of the music hall enjoyed by much of the working class at the time. The urban working class were likely seen as more of a political threat to the metropolitan elite than the rural peasantry, which is perhaps part of the reason why only the culture of the rural working class was held up as the embodiment of a true national spirit. Certainly, the distinction between what was seen as the music of the urban working class and the rural working class is clearly expressed in Sir Hubert Parry's inaugural address as Vice President of the Folk-Song Society in 1898:

If one thinks of the outer circumference of our terribly overgrown towns, where the jerry-builder holds sway; where one sees all around the tawdriness of sham jewellery and shoddy clothes, pawnshops and flaming-gin palaces... people who, for the most part, have false ideals, or none at all – who are always struggling for existence, who think that the commonest rowdyism is the highest expression of human emotion; it is for them that the modern popular music is made, and it is made with a commercial intention out of snippets of musical slang. And this product it is which will drive out folk-music if we do not save it... old folk-music is among the purest products of the human mind. It grew in the hearts of the people before they devoted themselves so assiduously to the making of quick returns.⁹⁹

⁹⁸ Carl Engel, *An Introduction to the Study of National Music* (1866) pp.12-13.

⁹⁹ Hubert Parry, 'Inaugural Address', *Journal of the Folk-Song Society*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1899) pp. 1-2.

Parry suggests that not only does salvation for English music lie in folk-song, but through the values embodied in folk-music they could draw upon a cultural standard to reverse the degenerating moral state of the working class. Unspoken but implicit is a desire to restore the social conditions that accompany the return to a pre-existing culture.¹⁰⁰ Parry argues the value of folk-music from a different perspective to Herder and Engel. Parry argues for the preservation of folk-song to be used as a tool for societal reform from the top down. For Herder and for the German situation, the musical practices of the many small courts in the country were a crucial part of art-music life. In Britain—and especially London—art-music life was much more commercial and had been since the mid-18th century but was still focused on a small layer of society (the 1% of modern parlance). Herder and Engel both argue that folk-song is a truer reflection of national values than high-brow art-music aimed at the social elite. In essence suggesting that culture should stem from the bottom upwards. The impetus placed on folk-song reflects the different places, times, and perspectives the commentators come from. Parry seems to fixate on a sense of moral and cultural bankruptcy among the masses that the introduction of folk-song can rectify. Herder and Engel seem to suggest that by engaging with folk-song a deeper national communion can be achieved by all levels of society. Whilst it is perfectly believable that Parry may well be exaggerating his sentiments for better emotive effect in his inaugural address, it also speaks to the perceived state of English musical culture by his audience and the way in which the urban working class were viewed by the senior figures in the English musical establishment. In fact, the music hall was frequented by individuals from all walks of English life, and thus Parry's focus on the lower classes in his speech (quoted above) is rather telling.

Since the early 18th century, England had imported much of its art-music from the continent; any basis for national music would therefore have to be found outside the sphere of art-music, which had been heavily influenced by European culture. The perceived European basis of art-music contributed to the rural “folk” being portrayed as the standard bearers for English musical

¹⁰⁰ Boyes, pp. 26-27.

nationalism. In addition, in order for the argument of cultural evolution and communal authorship to be credible, the people from whom songs were collected had to be isolated from cosmopolitan influence. The urban working class could not be further empowered; they were considered too vulgar to be the foundation for a national idiom, and in any case were exposed to the invariably multicultural influence of a large city. By viewing the rural working class as “the folk”, cultural remnants of “Merrie England”, they could safely embody English nationalism. They became the rationale for a revival of interest in not just the collection, but importantly the *reintroduction* of “folk-music” into English society.¹⁰¹

For a folk-song to be considered a ‘cultural survivor’ and a product of communal authorship, it needed to demonstrate its own antiquity and be a product of oral transmission; essentially, this amounts to the author being unknown and the song not currently being in print anywhere.¹⁰² The construct of the “folk” was necessary to justify the national importance placed in these songs. The “folk” of the collector’s imagination (at least in the way that vision was disseminated) became isolated, rural and illiterate, singing the intrinsically national songs and following innately national rituals. As has been mentioned, there has been a backlash in scholarship against this concept in recent years, which will be discussed in detail below. However, at the time of the Folk-Song Revival and for many years after the concept of cultural evolution and communal authorship propounded by the Folk-Song Society was largely accepted in academic and public circles.

However, there is arguably a transferral of authorship from the community to the individual through the act of transcription and publication. Folk-song collectors, with no compositional claim to the songs, became creative owners of the tunes through the process of transcription and editing. At this point, the publisher reaped the financial benefit and claimed legal ownership through

¹⁰¹ The internal dichotomy in the notion of introducing something as a national product has not been overlooked and will be explored later in the thesis when we examine the ‘national exotic’.

¹⁰² These criteria would also serve to ensure the profits from the collected songs went to the publishers.

copyright. Thus, the product of supposed communal authorship became commodified and resold to the rest of the populace as a means of building an imagined national community. Ironically, these printed collections removed the need for songs to be learnt aurally, not only halting the hallowed process of communal authorship, but also removing the need for the rest of the populace to engage with the folk in order to “share” their culture. Considering one of the arguments for the revival was the symbolic unity of the populace through musical heritage, this approach might be considered self-defeating.

By controlling the selection of folk-songs for publication, the collectors reinforced the narrative of folk as emanating from a unified cultural source. Furthermore, the permission and advice of the collectors was sometimes sought for the songs use in compositions, performance or arrangement. There are cases of Holst seeking permission from collectors to set songs and asking Sharp’s opinion regarding the best practice in the harmonic treatment of certain folk-songs.¹⁰³ The requirement for permission gave collectors even greater authority in shaping the public perception of folk-song.

2.2.5 - The Reintroduction of Folk-Song into Society

The Folk-Song Society, despite its enthusiasm and efforts in folk-song collecting, did not have a clear goal to reintroduce folk-song into mainstream society until 1901, when two individuals who were to have a major impact on folk-song collection (and on Holst) joined the society: Ralph Vaughan Williams and Cecil Sharp.

Whilst Cecil Sharp was not the first collector to realise the potential of folk-song for social and educational change, he was arguably the most fervent and opinionated of the individuals involved with the society. The fruits of his personal collecting far outstripped any other collector and the force and vigour of his opinions and actions in relation to folk-song collection changed the

¹⁰³ Imogen Holst, ‘Gustav Holst’s Debt to Cecil Sharp’ *Folk Music Journal* 2 (1974): 403

course of English musical history. Cecil Sharp was one of the most vocal proponents of the theory of communal origin (discussed in chapter 2.2.4). Although he was a comparative late-comer to a theory that had been in print since Engel's *An Introduction to the Study of National Music* in 1866, he is largely responsible for its institutionalisation, following the publication of *Folksong: Some Conclusions*. In this text he sets out the aforementioned theory and discusses what he considered the defining characteristics of English folk-song.¹⁰⁴

Sharp's domineering and independent approach to introducing folk-song to the public did not sit well with many of his peers. Lucy Broadwood wrote: 'I wish rather that Mr. Sharp had been an older folk-songist before bringing out this book—generalisations, exaggerations, loose statements, hastily written, self-contradictory'.¹⁰⁵ In addition, he received unfavourable reviews in the *Times* by music critic J.A. Fuller Maitland and was scorned by influential critic Ernest Newman for his idealization of folk-song, including his theory of racial characteristic in music.¹⁰⁶ However, by the time these criticisms were made it was too late for the other revivalists to wrest control of the movement back from Sharp. *Some Conclusions* was first published in 1907 and focused predominantly on folk-song, but from 1905-1908 Sharp had started taking an additional interest in Morris dancing.

Up to this point, Morris dancing had been largely presided over by Mary Neal, a suffragette and advocate of social change who believed that folk-dance should be returned to the disenfranchised working-classes. Neal had worked with a mission for "working girls" in London from the 1880s and co-founded the Espérance Girl's Club in 1895 with her friend and colleague Emmeline Pethick.¹⁰⁷ In 1901, Herbert Macllwaine took over from Pethick as music director at the club. In her autobiography Neal describes Macllwaine as:

¹⁰⁴ Cecil J. Sharp, *Folksong: Some Conclusions* (London: Simpkins and Co Ltd./Novello and Co Ltd., 1907).

¹⁰⁵ Boyes, p. 59.

¹⁰⁶ Francmanis, 'National Music', p. 8.

¹⁰⁷ Roy Judge, 'Mary Neal and the Espérance Morris', *Folk Music Journal*, 5 (1989), 545–91 (pp. 547-548).

‘...an Irishman with music in his bones and a way with him that won the heart of the singing class and enabled him to do what he like with the singers in a way that probably no professional teacher could ever have done.’¹⁰⁸

This phrase is an important insight into Neal’s conception of the club and their work. She values Macllwaine’s innate musicality and his ability to inspire and encourage the singers over his ability to deliver “professional” instruction. Neal’s focus is on engagement and participation in the musical endeavour rather than mastery or accuracy. In 1905, Neal arranged a meeting with Cecil Sharp after Macllwaine read an interview with Cecil Sharp on the subject of folk-song and thought it might make good material for the girls. Following this meeting it appears both Sharp and Neal were equally enthused and over the next year the Espérance Girls gave several performances of folk-dances with Sharp often delivery a lecture on the subject alongside.¹⁰⁹ Roy Judge describes this initial period of cooperation in ‘Mary Neal and the Espérance Morris’:

‘...the distinguishing features about the Esperance performance in April 1906 were that the songs and dances came so much more directly from their original sources, and also that they were being presented positively as the direct and transforming restoration of a lost heritage. The visions of Sharp, the musical educationist, especially conscious of the origins of the material, coincided with those of Mary Neal, the devoted club worker, particularly aware of what all this seemed to promise for her girls. Both of them wanted to use these songs and dances, not simply as a nostalgic entertainment, but as an instrument for good.’¹¹⁰

From 1906-1908 there was happy cooperation between the two, Sharp started collecting folk-dance, Neal’s girls started giving instruction in folk-dance around the country and in 1907, Sharp and Neal helped found a new society known as the Association for the Revival and Practice of Folk Music. However, from 1908-1910 tensions started to arise between the two, stemming from questions over who controlled the direction of the movement, who was the authority on the subject

¹⁰⁸ Neal, Mary, *As a Tale that is Told: The Autobiography of a Victorian Woman* (Unpublished), p. 136.

¹⁰⁹ Judge, p. 549.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 551.

of folk-song and dance and whether or not what Mary Neal was espousing was an accurate enough form of the folk-culture it was representing for Sharp's purist approach to performance.

In Mary Neal's autobiography on the title page of 'Chapter 4 - The Revival of Folk-Song and Dance' are the lines, 'Betwixt an ox and a silly poor ass, To call my true love to the dance'. On the following page is the full text of 'Tomorrow Shall Be My Dancing Day' and Neal explains the importance the text has for her in linking the sacred with dance in folk-culture.¹¹¹ However, the choice to quote the specific line seems to be a reference to the antagonism that developed between her and Cecil Sharp; a product of stubbornness (the 'ox') and foolishness (the 'silly poor ass'). In her biography Neal also raises political differences between herself and Sharp around woman's suffrage as a deeper source of conflict between the two:

'Mr. Sharp was violently opposed to the emancipation of women, I was in favour of it and again I am now convinced that the controversy between us was, at the bottom, of a much deeper significance that I had any idea of then.'¹¹²

Female emancipation aside, the contrast in their two conceptions of folk-dance can be reduced to the following broad guiding principles. Cecil Sharp's ideology was rooted in the idea of accuracy of performance in the pursuit of preserving an authentic record and reproduction of folk-culture. Mary Neal was focused more on the social enterprise—the endeavour of improving the existence of the impoverished working-class through engagement in a shared artistic heritage, folk-dance. Essentially one approach focuses on accuracy of representation and a high-quality standard of performance while the other focuses on building an enthusiastic and joyful community in a wholesome shared national culture. Tensions came to a head in 1909 and Sharp wrote to Neal, accusing her of trying to:

¹¹¹ Neal, p.133

¹¹² Ibid., p. 168.

‘...identify the movement with your club and to limit your staff of teachers to the members of your club, to present to the public no higher artistic standard of performance than that of which you and your club were capable...I have now a staff of teachers at my command [who] in my opinion are far better qualified to spread the Morris than are the members of your Club. I am very sorry for Florrie and her fellow workers. I do not blame them. I blame you and I blame you very bitterly for refusing to allow them to be properly directed and controlled.’¹¹³

From 1909 to 1914 Sharp and Neal were running two ideologically oppositional folk-dance movements in open competition. Their antagonistic views were heavily publicised at the time and both schools held spheres of influence in communities across the country in a race for ultimate control over the direction of the revival. The rancour between the two deepened to the point where each was trying to discredit the other and it seems that slowly but surely, Sharp succeeded in tarnishing Neal’s reputation while elevating his own to the point where, with the outbreak of war in 1914, the *Espérance Morris* collapsed and Sharp was left in a position of control over the revival of folk-song and dance in England.¹¹⁴ From this position Sharp effectively could dictate who the “folk” were, what constituted true folk-song and dance, how to collect properly, which publications (invariably his) the members of the societies should adhere to, and how folk-song and dance should be performed and reintroduced into society. However, whilst ultimately Sharp won control of the movement, for almost a decade Mary Neal was hugely influential in the folk-dance revival and her ideas were widely shared and adopted, including by Holst’s friend the socialist vicar of Thaxted Conrad Noel and his wife Miriam who set up a Morris in the *Espérance* style in Thaxted. The intersections between Neal’s philosophies on folk-song, Noel’s approach to worship and Holst’s work with folk-song in his compositions for amateur choirs and ensembles will be discussed in chapter 4.1.1.

¹¹³ Sharp to Neal, 26 July 1909, Sharp Correspondence, Box 5, Folder A, VWML

¹¹⁴ Judge, pp. 563-574.

Sharp was an educationalist and held the view that it was not enough to simply collect folk-song for cold storage, rather it should be reintroduced to the people for the enrichment of society, particularly through the use of folk-song in education.¹¹⁵ Sharp publicly stated that for the introduction of national song into the classroom to have a positive effect it must be the right sort of song, i.e. a true folk-song.¹¹⁶ He became increasingly dogmatic in his views regarding the exclusive use of folk-song in education: 'In music I would bar all modern music and concentrate at first upon British folk songs... It is too risky to give children modern stuff that has not been tested'.¹¹⁷ Under his leadership of the Folk-Song Revival movement, folk-song and dance became a part of the curriculum under his suggestion and examination. This introduced both the need for a curriculum and examiners, expanding the folk-song franchise. Sharp criticized the work of other collectors, complaining about alterations to the text and a lack of modal harmony in Kidson and Moffat's collection of 1908, which, due largely to issues raised by Sharp, was never published.¹¹⁸ A similar issue occurred between Sharp and Balfour Gardiner, though in that instance a solution was found through Holst.

Holst was close friends with Balfour Gardiner and indeed enjoyed financial support from his friend in the form of a generous pension in Holst's later years and in providing funds for the first performance of *The Planets*. One of Holst's first engagements with folk-song was helping Balfour Gardiner arrange his Hampshire folk-songs at the request of Cecil Sharp. It appears Sharp was not pleased with Balfour Gardiner's setting of the folk-songs and wanted Holst to work with him to bring them in-line with Sharp's stylistic requirements for publication. This must have put Holst in a challenging position with his friend, but clearly it did not stop them from working on the arrangements together. This was an opportunity for Holst, at the beginning of his involvement with

¹¹⁵ Roy Judge, 'Cecil Sharp and Morris 1906 - 1909', *Folk Music Journal*, 8 (2002), 195–228 (p.199); Sykes, pp. 450, 454-456, 458, 481-484.

¹¹⁶ Gordon Cox, 'The Legacy of Folk Song: The Influence of Cecil Sharp on Music Education', *British Journal of Music Education*, 7 (1990), 89–97 (pp. 90-93).

¹¹⁷ Cox, p.93.

¹¹⁸ Francmanis, 'National Music', p. 10.

folk-song, to understand that there were alternative perspectives on folk-song to Sharp's. In addition, Balfour Gardiner was a member of the Frankfurt Group and a very close friend of Percy Grainger. His relationship with Holst may also have been a conduit for Percy Grainger's ideas on folk-song, which will be discussed in relation to modality in chapter 3.1. The fact that Balfour Gardiner was a fellow composer that Holst liked personally and greatly respected potentially effected Holst's view of Sharp, and although we certainly see the influence of Sharp in some of Holst's composition, in time he also was clearly not afraid to experiment with folk-song and its influence.

2.2.6 - Changing Perceptions of Folk-Song Scholarship

During the period of the revival, the published views of the revivalists, in particular Cecil Sharp, were a source of much contention within the academic community. A debate on the value of folk-song between Sharp and three other individuals, published in *The Musical Times* in December 1906 demonstrates that the emerging notions of folk-song and its importance in establishing a national idiom were by no means clear or universally accepted at the time.¹¹⁹ Commentators instead argued for English literature, continental musical models, and English popular song more broadly as alternative sources to inform English composition. Much of what we associate with the views and practices of the folk-song society actually comes from Cecil Sharp after he gained control of the movement, but it does not necessarily represent the views of many of the revival's founders. This undercurrent of collectors distancing themselves from Sharp is demonstrated clearly in two book reviews by Frank Kidson. The first was of Sharp's *Some Conclusions* and appeared in the January 1908 edition of *The Musical Times*.¹²⁰ Kidson describes Sharp as having a 'zealous devotion to folk-song' but seems to find many of his arguments

¹¹⁹ 'A Folk-Song Discussion', *The Musical Times*, 47 (1906), 806–9.

¹²⁰ Frank Kidson, 'English Folk-Song', *The Musical Times*, 49 (1908), 23–24.

simplistic. The contrasting review if of Lucy Broadwood's *English Traditional Songs and Carols*, in the November 1908 edition of the *Musical Times*, in which Kidson writes:

Miss Broadwood's careful researches and 'level-headed' theories have kept her from that wild domain of vague conjecture, random assertion, and romantic untruth which is so apt to entrap the enthusiast.¹²¹

Although Sharp is not identified by name, it seems likely that a comparison is being drawn between him and Miss Broadwood. Bearing in mind the apparent animosity toward Sharp within the Folk-Song Society, it is surprising his name has become so synonymous with the revival of English folk-song. Part of the reason for the association of the Folk-Song Revival with Sharp is due to his role in building folk-song's presence nationally—it was Sharp that really brought the Folk-Song Revival from a fringe movement into a part of the public consciousness.

Views of Sharp and the role of folk-song become much more positive by the end of the revival and in the initial decades after Sharps death. Writing in the Oxford History of Music series, R. C. K. Ensor expresses the following views:

[The] chief musical events of the period are two – the rescue and recording of English folk-song at the last moment before universal standardised education would have obliterated it... a unique and precious heritage of the English People, both in music and dance, was saved from extinction within the narrowest possible margin of time. In the story of its rescue Sharp's name leads all the rest, for his wonderful energy and enthusiasm put him easily at the head of the achievement. Had the work been done a century earlier, it might have contributed to English literature as well as to music. But words corrupt more easily than tunes; and the versions in which they survived, at that late stage in the dissolution of English country life, were mostly of little interest save to ballad specialists.¹²²

The language employed by Ensor is highly emotive. Sharp and his fellow collectors are painted as heroes that saved a national treasure from certain extinction. In a publication as

¹²¹ Frank Kidson, 'English Traditional Songs and Carols', *The Musical Times*, 49 (1908), 716.

¹²² Ensor, pp. 544 – 545.

prestigious as the *Oxford History of Music*, it is unlikely that an author could express such a subjective view without greater empirical support unless it was the accepted academic standpoint of the time, which leads one to draw the conclusion that much of the earlier debate regarding the work of the revivalists and the merit of their work had by this point swung in favour of Sharp. Coupled with the revival of the folk-songs themselves, Sharp's efforts are now implicitly associated with the compositional success of those artists who were influenced by the Folk-Song Revival, including but not limited to Holst and Vaughan Williams; Ensor wrote that 'the musical idiom of all these young composers was influenced—in some cases greatly—by folk-song discoveries'.¹²³

However, since the 1970s there has accumulated a large body of research questioning the assertions of the collectors, criticising their methods as unethical and their publications as misrepresentative.¹²⁴ Sykes identifies the two questions that need to be asked when discussing the discrepancies between the early and modern scholars on the subject: is there information available to these modern scholars which was not available to the early scholars? If not, then why were the conclusions of the early scholars different to the later? Sykes suggests that 'the different nature of the earlier scholarship and the assumptions within which it was framed, may reveal more of the central concerns of the scholars than of their subject matter'.¹²⁵

The main criticisms of the Folk-Song Revival can be largely split into two categories: criticisms of the revivalists' collecting practices and criticisms of their ideology. The two are linked, as many of the contentious collecting practices result from a desire to support the concept of the "folk", the idea of communal authorship, and the cultural evolution theory. The main tenets upon which these theories are upheld are the isolation of the folk, the illiteracy of the folk, and the

¹²³ Ensor, pp. 545.

¹²⁴ David Atkinson, 'Folk Songs in Print: Text and Tradition', *Folk Music Journal*, 8 (2004), 456–83; Boyes, *The Imagined Village*; Francmanis, 'National Music'; Vic Gammon, 'Folk Song Collecting in Sussex and Surrey, 1843–1914', *History Workshop Journal*, 10 (1980), 61–89; David Harker, *One for the Money, Politics and Popular Song* (London: Hutchinson, 1980); Harker, 'Cecil Sharp in Somerset'; Harker, 'May Cecil Sharp Be Praised?'; Harker, *Fakesong*; Derek Schofield, 'Sowing the Seeds: Cecil Sharp and Charles Marson in Somerset in 1903', *Folk Music Journal*, 8 (2004), 484–512; Sykes, 'The Evolution of Englishness'.

¹²⁵ Sykes, p. 450.

antiquity of the artefacts (signified by the modality of the folk-songs). These are issues that have been discussed at length by other scholars (see footnote 124), so I will simply outline some of the main arguments and points of reference here.

One of the fundamental criticisms of the theory of cultural evolution is that it was based on the observation of rituals (dances, songs and folk-lore), and did not look necessarily at the changing context or meaning given to rituals by the performers over time: what once may have been functional or sacred may, at a later stage, have become purely aesthetic. The survivalist theory required the rituals to hold a static form. Deviations from what the collectors decided was the original ritual were put down to ignorance or forgetfulness, as the process of oral tradition is fragmentary in nature. Intentional modifications were labelled as degenerate accretions, for example the inclusion of women in Morris dancing. Additions or alterations to songs that were recognisably or self-confessed alterations of the singer, or of a recent singer, were discarded as uncharacteristic or outside of the tradition. Not only is the above view in direct conflict with the theory of communal authorship, it also means that the material published by the collectors was filtered according to their perception of what folk-song should be, and therefore is not necessarily representative of what folk-song was at the time. These issues are discussed extensively by Georgina Boyes in *The Imagined Village*.¹²⁶

The level of isolation experienced by the communities the collectors visited is also less than might be imagined from the rhetoric of the Folk-Song Revivalists. During the 1840s, the patchwork of small railways scattered around England were forged into a national network. The existence of a national network linking country and city means that isolated pockets of rural life really more or less disappeared prior to the formation of the folk-song society.¹²⁷ Also, the mass migration of people from the country to the cities in the 1800s would have most likely carried a generation of

¹²⁶ Boyes, *The Imagined Village*, pp. 11-12.

¹²⁷ Harker, 'Cecil Sharp in Somerset', p. 227; Bearman, 'Who were the folk?', p. 765.

folk-singers to the city with the majority of the population, although the singers Sharp collected from were typically older in age and had been geographically static for their entire lives.¹²⁸

Closely tied with the isolation of the folk was illiteracy and the belief that folk-song was an oral tradition. The collectors held the position that the process of oral transmission and the variations that would ensue imbued folk-song with its communal authorship and the resulting national traits, free from the international influence of cosmopolitan London, or the commercialism and urban denigration of other city centres around the country. To strengthen the idea of oral tradition the Folk-Song Revivalists often gave credence to the idea that they were collecting from the illiterate rural folk, and thus could be sure that what they collected was free from any influence found in printed collections. Numerous academics have criticised the theory of English folk-song as a strictly oral tradition. David Atkinson, for example, discusses in great detail the distribution of Broad-sides between the 16th and 20th centuries as a key tool in the propagation of traditional songs, as well as looking at the state of literacy in urban and rural communities to show the misrepresentation by the collectors of the level of literacy displayed by the people they were collecting from, who in many cases had equal or higher literacy rating than their urban counterparts.¹²⁹ The notion of the illiterate folk is also strongly disputed by Harker,¹³⁰ and even Bearman, who often takes a more sympathetic stance toward Sharp, faults this aspect of his rhetoric.¹³¹

A final criticism is levelled at the assertion of some collectors that the songs were innately English, to the exclusion of continental influence, without any evidence to support it. It must be said that the Folk-Song Society was not originally framed as a nationalistic society, operating as the Folk-Song Society and resisting the addition of “English” or “British” to the beginning of the name. This only changed when the society was subsumed into the English Folk Dance Society in

¹²⁸ Bearman, ‘Who were the folk?’, p. 767.

¹²⁹ Atkinson, pp. 456-483.

¹³⁰ Harker, ‘Cecil Sharp in Somerset’, p. 226.

¹³¹ Bearman, ‘Who were the folk?’ p. 771.

1932.¹³² It is however, clear in the rhetoric of Parry's inaugural address and in the focus of the collectors that, whether explicitly acknowledged or not, the society was expressly working towards the preservation of *English* folk-song. It follows that the collectors must then have seen a distinction between "English", "British", and perhaps more broadly "Celtic" folk-song. Carl Engel, writing in 1866, spoke of the perceptible influences of some nations on the popular or folk music of others, due to immigration and various cultural exchanges.¹³³ Kidson established the foreign provenance of Welsh tunes around the same time that Sharp brought out *Some Conclusions* and wrote:

It is only from those who are prepared to seek out facts and to draw logical conclusions, without reference to national bias, that we can hope for anything like a satisfactory account of a particular nation's music.¹³⁴

Sharp, as the head of the revival, promoted the national character of English folk-songs without sufficient research as to what differentiated English folk-music from other British and European folk-song. Bearing in mind the shared Celtic roots of Wales, Cornwall and Breton, and taking into consideration that cultural crossovers were being identified by Kidson, it seems that Sharp was more interested in pursuing an ideological national identity than objectively cataloguing the body of traditional songs to be found with an accurate investigation of their oft-shared cultural origins.

One criticism of recent scholarship into Sharp and the early folk-song collectors is the polarising manner in which the discussion is conducted. There is so much animosity apparent in the work of commentators like Harker and Boyes that in places they misrepresent or overemphasise the failures of the original collectors. David Harker has been famously critical of Cecil Sharp. He asserts that Sharp bases his national conclusions on folk-song on too little evidence, as Sharp's sample of performers were predominantly from a two-hundred square mile area of Somerset.

¹³² Frederick Keel, 'The Folk Song Society 1898-1948', *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society*, 5 (1948), 111-26 (p. 112).

¹³³ Engel, *National Music*. p. 1.

¹³⁴ Francmanis, p. 8.

Harker accuses Sharp of distorting the perceptions of folk-song, asserting that he favoured songs from small villages with modal melodies for ideological reasons.¹³⁵ C. J. Bearman has disputed Harker's work, arguing against Harker's mockery of Sharp's use of the term 'peasant'. Bearman suggests that it is the writings of A. Lloyd and Harker that attached a class value to folk-song rather than Sharp, who Bearman argues attaches a cultural value to it. He points out that Sharp's contemporary critics do not present Sharp as misrepresenting the folk as the peasantry and argues that going on the period definitions of a peasant as agricultural workers or rustic men from the country, Sharp was quite entitled to define most of the people he collected from as peasants.¹³⁶ Bearman also shows the inconsistency in Harker's use of the terms "small town", "small village" and "large village". Through a comparison of population based on contemporary census records, Bearman demonstrates that Harker's size designations do not reflect the actual populations of the communities he is describing.¹³⁷ Harker's research has been largely accepted within the academic community, but Bearman argues convincingly that Harker displays a tendency to show statistics in a misleading light to suits his own ends.¹³⁸

The Folk-Song Revival excites a great deal of passion in academic circles but it is also still a source of much debate in the more general public domain today. The argument can be seen in emotionally-charged online newspaper blogs and discussion forums. Whenever an event occurs to incite discussion, such as the airing of a television program on folk-song or Cecil Sharp, people often display surprising animosity toward one another based solely on their opinion of Cecil Sharp and the early collectors.¹³⁹ Whilst there is a great deal of debate regarding the collectors involved with the Folk-Song Revival, it is important to note that whether or not they misrepresented or

¹³⁵ Harker, 'Cecil Sharp in Somerset', p. 224.

¹³⁶ Bearman, 'Who were the folk?' pp.758-759.

¹³⁷ C. J. Bearman, 'Cecil Sharp in Somerset: Some Reflections on the Work of David Harker', *Folklore*, 113 (2002), 11–34 (p. 15).

¹³⁸ Bearman, 'Cecil Sharp in Somerset', p. 16.

¹³⁹ Irwin, Colin, 'Folk's Man of Mystery: Is Cecil Sharp a Folk Hero or Villain?', *The Guardian*, 2011 <<https://www.theguardian.com/music/2011/mar/24/cecil-sharp-project-folk-hero-villain>> [accessed 13 September 2018].

bowdlerised folk-song in publication, they preserved the majority of songs in their field notes as heard, and whatever study we can conduct on folk-song at the present, is as a result of these collections.

Much of the criticism of the Folk-Song Revival discussed above is based on recent analysis and comparisons of the collections and publications of the folk-song collectors of the period 1890-1914. The social impact of the revival and the effect of the collections on public and academic perception of folk-song can only be analysed retrospectively. In other words, while it is important to current academic debate, much of the criticism now levelled at the revival would not have had any impact on Holst's views and dealings with the material.

Conspicuously absent from this chapter has been any real discussion of modality. Modality and its influence on the harmonic practices of 20th-century composers is fundamentally entwined with the interest in folk-song seen across Europe at this time. The relationship between folk-song and modality is such a fundamental part of the thesis that chapter 3 will be dedicated to the subject. Suffice to say, the modality of folk-song was significantly overplayed at the time for both ideological and compositional reasons. Both the ethics and compositional merits have been a source of much debate within the musical community from the time of the Folk-Song Revival through to present day.

As this thesis will go on to explore, the emphasis the collectors put on modality and the numerous song and dance festivals that came out of the movement were to have a large impact on Holst's compositional and personal life. Holst was obviously seen by those associated with the revival as an advocate for folk-song and his composition as rooted in English folk-culture. In 1934 after Holst's death, Frank Howes wrote:

Those who were first concerned to save and revive English folk-song hoped that beside being loved for its own sake, in itself a sufficient reason for rescuing it, it might also provide the soil in which English composition might take root and

English composers once more after centuries of obscurity play their proper part in the musical life of Europe. The authors of the English renaissance, Sir Alexander Mackenzie, Parry and Stanford, all three of whom were interested in different ways in folk song, were still, it has since become clear, too much indebted to German models and methods to secure autonomy for English music at one bound. It has also become clear from the career of Elgar that folk-song is not the only source from which a great composer may take his origin. But Holst's life and work proves the correctness of the faith held by the pioneers of our movement that folk-music is a fertilizing agent of composition, and his significance for music is the great part he played in making a clean break with the German tradition of the nineteenth century. His is the music of our own land and of our own time.¹⁴⁰

The communal and at times even socialist connotations attached to the music would no doubt have appealed to Holst's political and personal sympathies. In particular, the enthusiasm of his life-long friend Vaughan Williams may have been one of the primary reasons for his initial involvement with the folk-song. However, contrary to the implications of Howes's description, Holst did not limit his musical inspirations or aspirations to folk-song and nationalism. Imogen Holst wrote in *The Music of Gustav Holst*:

The language of folk-tunes was a guide to him, but it was not his own language, and he could only apply its lesson if the mood and texture of his music demanded the utmost economy.¹⁴¹

Holst explored any and all things which suggested music to him.¹⁴² The purpose of chapter 3 and chapter 4 is to determine what "lessons" folk-song could offer Holst and in what situations he chose to utilise those musical attributes.

¹⁴⁰ Frank Howes, 'Gustav Holst. September 21st, 1874-May 25th, 1934', *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society*, 1 (1934), 178-178.

¹⁴¹ Holst, *The Music of Gustav Holst*, p. 21.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 41.

Chapter 3 - Modal Musical Language

3.1 - Modality Context

I will focus my analytical investigation around modality in Holst's works onto those pieces that can reasonably be compared with folk-song, i.e. folk-song settings or those pieces evocative of folk-song in metre, modality and style. Chapter 3.1 will briefly consider the immediate context of both the period and the academic debate around modality and folk-song, in particular the over-emphasis placed on modality in the categorisation of songs as "folk" by the folk-song society. Finally, I will discuss the analytical techniques I will be using and how I plan to conduct my investigation.

When discussing modes, the following shorthand will be used. The first letter will refer to the tonic of the mode and the subscript letter(s) will denote the mode. For example:

C Ionian/Dorian/Phrygian/Lydian/Mixolydian/Aeolian/Locrian = C_{I, D, P, Ly, M, A, Lc}

D Ionian/Dorian/Phrygian/Lydian/Mixolydian/Aeolian/Locrian = D_{I, D, P, Ly, M, A, Lc}

Etc...¹⁴³

3.1.1 – Modes

The term 'mode' has been used to refer to various musical structures throughout the history of Western music. Before any discussion of the effect of modality or the theory of modal harmony as employed by Holst, a brief history of modes and the immediate context of the usage of the term as it appears in this thesis is necessary.

¹⁴³ This shorthand is used in Ian Bates, 'Generalized Diatonic Modality and Ralph Vaughan Williams' Compositional Practice', (unpublished doctoral thesis, Yale University, 2008).

Firstly, it is important to distinguish between modes as they appear in a linear history of western art-music (from Gregorian chant through Renaissance polyphony to the 16th and 17th century where we see the initial movement towards major and minor) and the modern usage of the word in the 20th century (which can refer to a much broader range of musical systems, including scalar and melodic items from folk-music, jazz and non-western music in addition to those found in western art-music).

The Grove Online entry for ‘Modes’ covers the numerous different meanings ‘mode’ has held in the Western art-music tradition, from rhythmic patterns, through intervals, to scales or melody types.¹⁴⁴ In mensural notation, ‘mode’ had two meanings: that of the proportional durational relationship between brevis and longa; and as a reference to a number of fixed rhythmic patterns of longae and breves. From the 9th to the 17th century, specific pitch intervals were considered ‘modes’ in various writings of Guido of Arezzo through to Dowland. From the mid-16th into the 17th century, polyphonic modality was a predominant feature of both music repertoire and theory. During the 17th century the system of modes developed into theoretical systems of major and minor keys—what has come to be known as harmonic tonality. Writing in 1903, English musicologist A. J. Hipkins describes the difference between a scale and a mode:

Scale is used preferentially for a recognised succession of notes, but mode for their characteristic measurement. No natural order is to be predicated for either.¹⁴⁵

His article, ‘Dorian and Phrygian’ goes on to attribute the origins of particular modes to the instrument design of different ancient cultures.¹⁴⁶ At each stage in the history of modality in western art-music, there has been an emphasis on the classificatory role of modes and on their scalar and

¹⁴⁴ Harold S. Powers, Frans Wiering, James Porter, James Cowdery, Richard Widdess, Ruth Davis, ‘Mode’, *Grove Music*, 2017
<<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000043718>> [accessed 18 September 2018].

¹⁴⁵ A. J. Hipkins, ‘Dorian and Phrygian’, *Sammelbände Der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 4, 3 (1903): 371-81. (p. 371).

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 371

melodic properties. In addition, during the period between the mid-15th and 17th centuries, the modes had a poetic function. Each mode was believed to have expressive properties as a musical entity that had a profound effect on the human psyche. The extra-musical associations attached to modes were an essential part of most modal systems during this period; it was a feature of modes that Guido commented on his *Micrologus*, saying that there were different modes to suit different mentalities. During the Renaissance, with the supporting evidence of classical sources, modal ethos and the properties of different modes were of great interest with regard to the expressive setting of texts.

The Grove article continues, with James Porter explaining that a 20th-century understanding of the term mode is somewhat broader, for example in Winnington-Ingram's *Mode in Ancient Greek Music* (1936), the melodic and scalar aspects are summarised in a manner which encompasses not only an understanding from a Western art-music perspective, but also encompasses the new musicological notions of mode stemming from studies into music from Africa, the Americas and Asia.¹⁴⁷ Porter summarises this comprehensive understanding of mode as follows:

Taking the term in the modern, twofold sense, mode can be defined as either a 'particularised scale' or a 'generalised tune', or both, depending on the particular musical and cultural context. If one thinks of scale and tune as representing the poles of a continuum of melodic predetermination, then most of the area between can be designated one way or another as being in the domain of mode. To attribute mode to a music item implies some hierarchy of pitch relationships, or some restriction on pitch successions; it is more than merely a scale. At the same time, what can be called the mode of a musical item is never so restricted as what is implied by referring to its 'tune'; a mode is always at least a melody type or melody model, never just a fixed melody.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁷ Arthur Winnington-Ingram, *Mode in Ancient Greek Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936), pp.2-3.

¹⁴⁸ James Porter, 'Mode', *Grove Music*, 2017
<<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000043718>> [accessed 18 September 2018].

It is this understanding of mode that can be seen in the use of ‘modality’ by composers in the 19th and 20th century. At the turn of the 19th century, ‘mode’ referred to the twenty-four major and minor scales, or to an ancient Greek mode, by which was understood one of Glarean’s 12 authentic or plagal modes. In the early 19th century, musicians were coming to believe that their twenty-four major and minor scales were a reduction of a more diverse array of modes. These started to be used in composition to evoke religious or archaic connotations or to suggest ‘folk music’. Examples can be seen in the work of Fauré, Schumann, Grieg, Wolf, and Beethoven; for example, in the four-part chorale-like Lydian movement of Beethoven’s String Quartet op.132.

Across Europe during the 19th and 20th centuries, there was a growing interest in the modes employed outside of the western art-music tradition, which were seen as independent from that tradition due to their folk or popular connotations. Folk-music became associated with national consciousness and was utilised for its national properties but also for the innate musical interest of modality. Porter identifies a number of prominent continental composers who were influenced by folk-song and modes: Chopin was influenced by mazurka dances of Poland; Liszt by Hungarian Gypsy traditions; Mahler by Moravian folk-song (particularly the use of the Lydian fourth); Janáček by Moravian folk-song; Glinka, Musorgsky, Rimsky-Korsakov and Stravinsky by Russian folk-song, Bartók by Romanian, Hungarian, North African and Middle Eastern modes and folk-music. Bartók stressed that in Eastern Europe, the old modes (Dorian, Aeolian, Mixolydian etc) were alive and prominent in the traditional musical culture.

In the 20th century in particular the approach to the use of modality progressed in two directions. On the one hand, composers used modality as a regional identifier, finding inspiration in popular music and folk-music. These regions were often identified as national but some composers held a broader conception of folk-music, such as Bartók’s later open-frontier perspective where he saw give and take between the East and Europe in the formation of culture.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁹ Edith Gerson-Kiwi, ‘Béla Bartók: Scholar in Folk Music’, *Music & Letters*, 38 (1957), 149–54

Modes were also employed as they were found in Asia, the Middle East and Africa, and composers found exoticism in them. In ‘The Hindu Scale’ (1908),¹⁵⁰ A. H. Fox Strangways draws what he sees as common Indian modes and the rotations of the major scale that make up the modes found in English folk-song.¹⁵¹ It is curious that modes could be found in common between multiple cultures and yet still variably function as a signifier of an exotic or national locale.

There was great enthusiasm in England around the turn of the 20th century for folk-song collecting and much of the interest of the musicians involved in this endeavour was in the modality of the songs. As discussed in chapter 2.2, from the outset of the Folk Song Society professional musicians were involved in both the collection and analysis of these folk-songs and it may be in part what furnished the society with some of its preconceptions regarding the modality of the folk-songs. In accordance with the Romantic ideal of cultural survivors (discussed in chapter 2.2), the early modal theories of the Folk-Song Society were based on the premise that folk-songs were generally written in “old modes” that predated even Gregorian music, known by the pseudo-Greek names (usually Ionian, Dorian, Mixolydian and Aeolian).¹⁵²

In ‘Folk Song Collecting in Sussex and Surrey, 1843-1914’, Vic Gammon explores Lucy Broadwood’s process when selecting folk-songs for publication.¹⁵³ By comparing the collected and published works by Broadwood from two singers, Henry Burstow and Samuel Willet, Gammon demonstrates that Broadwood disproportionately favours modal melodies over major ones. Of the tunes Broadwood collected from Burstow 32% were modal but of those tunes published, 48% were modal. In other words, roughly a third of the collected tunes were modal but they accounted for roughly half the published tunes. In the case of Samuel Willet only 3% of the collect tunes were modal but they accounted for 20% of the published tunes.

¹⁵⁰ A. H. Fox Strangways. ‘The Hindu Scale.’ *Sammelbände Der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 9 (1908), 449-511 (p. 449).

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 449–511.

¹⁵² Ralph Vaughan Williams, ‘English Folk-Song’, *The Musical Times*, 52 (1911), 101–4

¹⁵³ Vic Gammon, ‘Folk Song Collecting’, pp. 61–89.

Percy Grainger, through his own observations, formulated a different theory of the nature of modality in English folk-song. Grainger's was the first attempt at really accurate notation of performance practice and variations in the folk-songs he was collecting. He transcribed the music after the event of collection from recordings he made on wax cylinders. He made the following observations based on what he had recorded:

Of seventy-three tunes phonographed in Lincolnshire, forty-five are major and twenty-eight modal. ... Most [of the latter] are in a mongrel blend of Mixolydian and Dorian.

The singers from whom I have recorded do not seem to me to have sung three different and distinct modes (Mixolydian, Dorian, Aeolian), but to have rendered their modal songs in one single loosely-knit modal folksong scale...consisting of:

Firstly—the tonic, second, major and minor (or unstable) third, fourth, fifth, and flat seventh

Secondly—the sixth, which is generally major, though sometimes minor ... and the sharp, or mutable seventh; which intervals do not, as a rule, form part of the bed-rock of tunes, but act chiefly as passing and auxiliary notes.¹⁵⁴

Grainger's theory was published along with his collection in 1908 but was very much at odds with the generally accepted theory of the society which placed songs in distinct pre-conceived modes. As a result, one might anticipate the impact of folk-songs modality on composers to be more often seen in this more clearly defined and separated manner. Chapter 3.2 will explore the techniques Holst develops for using modal language and the different instances in which he chooses to employ "clearly defined" modality or a more ambiguous mixture of modes.

¹⁵⁴ Percy Grainger, 'Collecting with the Phonograph', *Journal of the Folk-Song Society*, 3 (1908), 147–62 (p. 156).

3.1.2 - Modal Harmonic Theory

In the eyes of many collectors and musicians of the 19th and 20th century, the perceived modality of folk-song both testified to their antiquity and provided a music language outside of the conventional major/minor scales which had dominated European art-music since the 17th century.¹⁵⁵ As well as providing composers with new material for melodic invention, the use of modes created new harmonic opportunities.

The analytical approach used by Lisa Isted and Ian Bates, who have studied modal harmony in Holst and his contemporaries, will be introduced here along with an explanation of how their research will directly inform my own analytical approach in section 3.2. The theories and techniques employed by these two academics have been chosen for their use in exploring the specific link between folk-song and Holst's modal language. Lisa Isted is a model for this analysis because she looked into contemporaneous modal theory and the broader use of modality across Western art-music in her doctoral thesis, 'Modal Structures in European Art Music (1870-1939)' (unpublished, University of Bristol, 1993). Isted begins her investigation in the music of Tchaikovsky and The Five and follows modal harmonic development through Europe in the decades preceding Holst's involvement with folk-song. Isted concludes her line of enquiry with an analysis of Holst's *The Planets*. Isted is of particular use as a model for this thesis because her research looks into how Russian folk-song initially influenced the development of modal language—a clear parallel with the purpose of this piece of research. Isted's thesis effectively establishes the historical art-music context that Holst's modal developments occurred within and looks at the modal techniques used by Holst and his contemporaries. Similarly, Ian Bates's thesis, 'General Diatonic Modality and Ralph Vaughan Williams' Compositional Practice' (Yale University, 2008) is used as model for this analysis due to his extensive research into modal language of Vaughan Williams, Holst's closest contemporary in this regard, who was even more

¹⁵⁵ Sykes, p. 478

immersed in folk-song than Holst. My intention in analysing Holst's modality is to build upon these existing lines of research with a focus on the direct link between Holst's involvement with folk-song and his modal musical language. Following my analysis of Holst's work, I will discuss my findings in relation to the academic context Isted and Bates have established along with my own conclusions.

Conventional harmonic language is based on the pitch spacing of the major and minor scales. By using modes, composers were interacting with scale systems which had different patterns of pitch separation, thereby altering the make-up of triads and thus the chord progressions they could use.

Table 1 - Modal tone/semitone spacings

Mode	Tone/Semitone Spacing	Example beginning on C	Relative Major Key
Ionian (Major)	T-T-S-T-T-T-S	C-D-E-F-G-A-B-C	C
Dorian	T-S-T-T-T-S-T	C-D-Eb-F-G-A-Bb-C	Bb
Phrygian	S-T-T-T-S-T-T	C-Db-Eb-F-G-Ab-Bb-C	Ab
Lydian	T-T-T-S-T-T-S	C-D-E-F#-G-A-B-C	G
Mixolydian	T-T-S-T-T-S-T	C-D-E-F-G-A-Bb-C	F
Aeolian	T-S-T-T-S-T-T	C-D-Eb-F-G-Ab-Bb-C	Eb
Locrian	S-T-T-S-T-T-T	C-Db-Eb-F-Gb-Ab-Bb-C	Db

Table 1 shows the seven modern western modes and their tone/semitone spacing, where T means a space of a tone, and S means a space of a semitone. It also shows the relative major key suggested by the pitch class content of each mode.¹⁵⁶ The purpose of having the relative major key

¹⁵⁶ Whilst some modes have a minor colouring, and some have a major colouring, the minor scale is chromatically altered from the closest equivalent mode (Aeolian), changing the construction of triads and the harmonic implications. Thus, all the modes will be related to major keys instead of the relative minor for the ensuing discussion of harmony.

denoted is that the characteristic scale steps for each mode are not simply those pitches introduced by the change of key.

[The] two ‘characteristic scale steps’ for each mode... are what differentiate each mode from those others most closely related to it. The Mixolydian mode is the only one to have major third and minor seventh degrees, the Dorian is the only one to have minor third and major sixth degrees and so on. These two pitches within each mode are always separated by a tritone; as Ramon Fuller observes, the tritone is the only interval that occurs only once within a diatonic pitch class set, and since each mode is a rotation of this set, it follows that the tritone must fall in a different position for each mode. The pair of scale steps marking out the tritone is the only pair unique to each mode... It is now possible to state that the characteristic scale steps of any of the seven diatonic modes are the tonic and those other pitches indicating the position of the tritone in relation to it.’¹⁵⁷

Lisa Isted goes on to explore the relative sharpness or flatness of each mode by calculating the sum of the semitones between the tonic and every other pitch in the mode. In order from sharpest to flattest with the sum of the semitones designated in brackets: Lydian (39), Ionian (38), Mixolydian (37), Dorian (36), Aeolian (35), Phrygian (34) and Locrian (33). This gives an interesting sense of relative colour to each mode and could also explain why the Dorian mode is often favoured in folk-song and by composers as the central mode in terms of semitonal spacings. Table 2 shows the implications of these different tone/semitone spacings on the formation of triads in each mode.

¹⁵⁷ Isted, p.434.

Table 2 - Modal triad formation

Ionian (Major)	I	ii	iii	IV	V	vi	vii-
Dorian	i	ii	III	IV	v	vi-	VII
Phrygian	i	II	III	iv	v-	VI	vii
Lydian	I	II	iii	iv-	V	vi	vii
Mixolydian	I	ii	iii-	IV	v	vi	VII
Aeolian (Natural Minor)	i	ii-	III	iv	v	VI	VII
Locrian	i-	II	iii	iv	V	VI	vii
Minor	i	ii-	III	iv	V	VI	VII

Conventional western harmonic practice focuses heavily on the tonic, dominant and sub-dominant. Looking at the respective triads for each mode above, it is easy to see the draw of the Ionian and Aeolian as starting points for western harmonic practice, with fully major and fully minor primary chords. It is also clear that the dominant and sub-dominant do not function in the same way for the remaining modes, which leads us to Bates's mode-specific cadences.

Bates explores how Vaughan Williams a) approaches the mechanics of modal harmony and b) creates harmonic structure outside of conventional harmonic relations. Regarding harmonising within the mode, Bates writes:

The correspondence between the approach to the tonic triad and the full determination of the diatonic set noted in common-practice major keys can be used to theorize progressions a composer might use to approach the tonic in any diatonic mode. For the time being, assume that such approaches will follow the common-practice model by presenting the diatonic tritone in a series and concluding with the tonic triad.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁸ Bates, *Generalized Diatonic Modality*, p. 11.

He continues to identify the degrees of the scale on which the tritone occurs in each mode and gives an example of chord sequences approaching the tonic that present the tritone in a series - in other words, progressions in which the chords immediately preceding the tonic contain the pitch classes of the tritone of that scale, resolving to the tonic. Table 3 elaborates on this by detailing both chord sequences that present the tritone in series leading to the tonic in each mode.

Table 3 - Mode specific cadences¹⁵⁹

Mode	Tritone Scale Degrees	Tonic approaches presenting tritone in a series
Ionian	4,7	ii-V-I, IV-V-I
Dorian	3,6	IV-i, III-i
Phrygian	2,5	vii-i, II-i
Lydian	1,4	II-I, vii-I
Mixolydian	3,7	v-I, VII-I
Aeolian	2,6	VI-VII-i, iv-VII-i
Locrian	1,5	N/A (the tonic triad contains the tritone)

Isted comments that the number of chords necessary to define each mode varies depending on the relative position of the characteristic scale steps to the tonic. For example, both characteristic scale steps of the Locrian mode appear within the tonic triad, meaning no other chord is required to define the mode. For the Dorian, Phrygian, Lydian and Mixolydian, one of the scale steps occurs within the tonic of each mode, so only one other chord is required to present the tritone. As neither characteristic scale step occurs within the tonic triad of the Ionian and Aeolian modes, an increased number of primary chords are required to present the tritone, which Isted suggests could be part of the reason for their ‘eventual supremacy in the diatonic system’.¹⁶⁰ This is an example of how modality works harmonically and one manner in which it has been studied relating to early 20th-

¹⁵⁹ [Based on Table 1.3.1.] Bates, p. 12.

¹⁶⁰ Isted, p. 435.

century English music. Bates identified this as a technique used by Vaughan Williams. It is not a technique that Holst seems to use frequently or consciously—suggesting a point of distinction between Holst and Vaughan Williams’s use of modal harmony.

In addition to affecting the construction of triads, modal changes also have an impact on the harmonic implications of modulation. When discussing harmony in Holst’s work, one needs to consider the modulations in tonal centre and key in a conventional sense, but also the changes in mode. Changes in mode have implications for the harmonic relationships between sections of a piece. Table 1 shows the relationships between modes and the harmonic implications of moving from one to another. For example, if the music stays with a tonal centre of C and shifts from the Ionian mode to the Lydian mode, in harmonic terms it shifts the pitch set to that of the dominant . The same would be true of a shift from the Dorian to the Mixolydian, or the Phrygian to the Aeolian etc. To clarify, in tonal harmony a shift to the dominant has more implications than just a change of pitch set; there are questions of the overall structure of the piece involved. I make the comparison here because in examining the harmonic structures of Holst’s modal compositions, modal shifts are used to effect changes in pitch set that reflect conventional harmonic movement to the dominant or subdominant. While it is recognised that the modal changes we will discuss are not an actual movement to the dominant, the evidence suggests Holst saw them as able to function in a similar manner, and they will be discussed in these terms. Table 4 shows a matrix of all the harmonic relations between the modes, beginning on all twelve semi-tones.

Table 4 - Relative major for each given mode and tonic

Tonic	<i>Ionian</i>	<i>Dorian</i>	<i>Phrygian</i>	<i>Lydian</i>	<i>Mixo-Lydian</i>	<i>Aeolian</i>	<i>Locrian</i>
C	C	Bb	Ab	G	F	Eb	Db
Db	Db	Cb	A	Ab	Gb	E	D
D	D	C	Bb	A	G	F	Eb
Eb	Eb	Db	Cb	Bb	Ab	Gb	E
E	E	D	C	B	A	G	F
F	F	Eb	Db	C	Bb	Ab	Gb
Gb	Gb	E	D	Db	B	A	G
G	G	F	Eb	D	C	Bb	Ab
Ab	Ab	Gb	E	Eb	Db	Cb	A
A	A	G	F	E	D	C	Bb
Bb	Bb	Ab	Gb	F	Eb	Db	Cb
B	B	A	G	F#	E	D	C

With the matrix above, it is easy to track the harmonic implications when the music shifts mode and tonal centre. As Table 4 shows, unlike conventional harmony, where harmonic relationships are largely defined by changes in tonal centre or from major to minor, with modal modulation the harmonic implications can be much more complex.

Bates identifies three factors that can be changed to derive harmonic structure in modal pieces, which he calls the *three modal domains*. These comprise of pitch class content [i.e. in conventional terms the key signature], mode type and centricity [tonal centre]. He discusses the difference between: *fixed-domain modal relationships*, where one of the parameters remains the same whilst the other two change,¹⁶¹ and *variable-domain modal relationships*, where there are no

¹⁶¹ If one parameter is fixed and one moved, then the third parameter must necessarily move as well.

direct links between the modes used in different sections. For example: if the music moves from C_D to C_A , there is *fixed centricity*; if the music moves from C_D to A_D , there is *fixed mode type*; and if the music moves from C_D to G_M , there is *fixed pitch class content*. If the music moves from one mode to another and all three parameters change then as previously stated it is a *variable-domain modal relationship*, for example from C_D to G_I .¹⁶² To examine Holst's composition, I have found it necessary to add a further extension to this theory of modal relationships. The terms introduced by Bates refer to modal relationships in a linear sense, as heard in series. I suggest they also apply to multiple modes heard in tandem, *bimodality* or *trimodality*. When two modes are combined vertically, the same relationships regarding fixed centricity, pitch class content and mode type apply. When exploring this aspect of Holst's approach to harmony I will use the terms *fixed-domain bimodality* and *variable-domain bimodality*.

The concept of the tripartite parameters of modal theory will be used in the following discussion of Holst's harmonic language. *Pitch class content* will be discussed in terms of relative major keys because it will relate the ensuing discussion of underpinning harmonic relations between different modes back to conventional harmony, which would have been the terms with which Holst was acquainted and is likely to be how he would have conceived of the harmonic relationships between modes. Chapter 3.2 will explore the proposition that, having been educated in conventional harmony, Holst's approach to harmonic structure in his folk-song arrangements is still conceived in these conventional terms. Modal musical language often does not feature conventional harmonic indicators, such as a preceding dominant, to help identify tonal centres. Lisa Isted addresses this:

The most important means of defining a tonal centre, in the absence of a preceding dominant, became and remained the tonic itself, either as a triad or as a single

¹⁶² Bates, p. 58; Isted discusses the same parameters in her thesis in relation to the work of Malcolm Gustin, p. 430.

pitch used somewhere like a pedal point, asserted vigorously or subtly but always definitely.¹⁶³

Where I identify the tonal centre and mode of a particular pitch class, I will follow the same advice Isted does in her thesis and use the tonic itself to define implied tonal centres, either in the form of a pitch or a triad. The tonic can generally be identified through repetition, its use as a pedal point or its use in framing a melodic line.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶³ Walter Piston & Mark Devoto, *Harmony* (London: Gollancz 1985) p. 476.

¹⁶⁴ Isted, p. 417.

3.2 - Modality Analysis

Chapter 3.2 will serve as a targeted investigation into the musical language modal harmonic techniques that Holst developed specifically through his interaction with English folk-song. The chapter will be split into a series of case studies that explore both instrumental and vocal works that display a modal language influenced by folk-song.

Chapter 3.2.1 will focus on Holst's first published orchestral folk-song based composition, *A Somerset Rhapsody* (1907) and its newly discovered pre-cursor, *Folksongs from Somerset* (1906). The harmonic structures of these two pieces will be examined and compared, with attention paid to the differing musical forms employed. The manner in which Holst creates a harmonic accompaniment to modal melodies will also be examined; in the *Folksongs from Somerset* where Holst was working closely with Cecil Sharp this is more functional than inventive, but in *A Somerset Rhapsody* Holst creates a fascinating harmonic soundscape that is a mixture of modal writing and late 19th-century harmony.

Following these early experiments, section 3.2.2 – 3.2.5 will look at the use of modal harmony within conventional musical forms. Once Holst establishes a basic understanding of modal principals, he starts to use modality within his suites and part-songs as a means to create harmonic interest in fairly formulaic harmonic structures. In the first and second suites for military band we start to see Holst honing his craft and developing a subtlety to his modality that is not present in the earlier pieces. Holst employs his most dexterous use of modality in the *St Paul's Suite* (1912-1913) and we see him . By the time he composes the *Moorside Suite* (1928) Holst is no longer experimenting but confident in the internal beauty and simplicity of modality. In these suites I will examine:

- 1) How Holst composes within a modal harmonic spectrum.
- 2) How Holst is able to expand the scope of a tonal centre or key through the use of rotational harmony, playing on the resulting harmonic ambiguity for dramatic effect.

3) How Holst develops and uses bimodality in his composition - a technique he uses throughout his compositional life.

Chapter 3.2.6 will take a brief look at the extremes to which Holst takes modality in the trimodal composition, *Terzetto* (1925). With an economy of forces, Holst creates a fascinating and rich harmonic landscape, writing for three instruments in three different modes simultaneously. In chapter 3.2.7, Holst's mature modal language will be considered in the *Seven Part-songs*, showing how Holst takes the lessons learnt in the *Terzetto* and applies them in a responsive setting of the Bridges text. Finally in chapter 3.2.8 I will summarise the findings of the preceding sections and point to where the modal language Holst develops through folk-song can be seen in the *Lyric Movement*.

3.2.1 - First Forays into Modality

I will initially consider one of the first known instances of orchestral folk-song arrangement by Holst, *Folk Songs from Somerset* (1906), re-discovered in 2017 by the Bay of Plenty Symphonia, New Zealand.¹⁶⁵ The piece is part of the *Two Selections of Folk Songs* (Op.21), a set of two orchestral folk-song arrangements based on seven tunes collected by Sabine Baring-Gould in Devon and Cornwall (*Songs of the West*) and ten tunes collected by Cecil Sharp in Somerset (*Folk Songs from Somerset*). In his article 'Gustav Holst, "Songs of the West" and the English Folk Song Movement', Martin Graebe extensively explores both the score and context of the piece's sister composition, *Songs of the West*.¹⁶⁶ Cecil Sharp was the music editor of the revised edition of the namesake collection, *Songs of the West* (published October 1905); both arrangements were conceived and written together at the suggestion and with the permission of Sharp, to coincide with the publication of the third edition of the collection. This suggestion by Sharp came after Vaughan Williams began work on his first *Norfolk Rhapsody*.¹⁶⁷ It seems possible, lacking the compositional

¹⁶⁵ 'Holst Manuscripts Discovered in New Zealand', *Holst Birthplace Museum*, 2018
<<http://holstmuseum.org.uk/holst-manuscripts-discovered/>> [accessed 14 September 2018].

¹⁶⁶ Graebe, 5–41.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

skills of his fellow collector, Sharp was keen to ensure that his collections were used in orchestral arrangements by a similarly prominent English composer—presumably both for posterity and publicity’s sake. Holst had recently begun working with Sharp on the piano arrangements for *Folksongs of England - Hampshire*,¹⁶⁸ giving Sharp a chance to assess Holst’s skills at arranging folk-song and perhaps assure himself that the young composer would follow his guidelines in setting the songs. The two selections, *Songs of the West* and *Folksongs from Somerset*, were first performed at the Pump Room in Bath on February 1906 as part of two concert programs which included talks on English folk-song delivered by Cecil Sharp. Additional performances of folk-songs from Mr. Sharp’s collection were given by soloist Mattie Kay, and pieces by Franz von Blon (*Berggeist*), Gounod (*Serenade*), Rossini (*William Tell*), Sullivan (selection from *Iolanthe*), Wagner (bridal chorus from *Lohengrin*, overture from *Tannhäuser*), and Weber (*Freischütz*) were included to fill out the program with more recognisable titles.¹⁶⁹

Unlike a typical orchestral concert program, the inclusion of the talks and solo vocal performances of collected songs suggest the event was partially academic in nature, aiming to educate the audience on the collection of folk-songs. Considering the timing of the publication of Mr Sharp edition of *Songs of the West* only five months prior to the event, this concert and these compositions are most likely a promotional effort. It was certainly a quick turn-around for Holst to complete the two selections and sadly this is reflected in the writing. While the performances got modestly favourable reviews at the time,¹⁷⁰ Holst clearly felt the *Folk Songs from Somerset* were not publishable as they were. In 1907, he cut seven of the ten folk-songs from the setting. Holst then revised and expanded the middle three tunes into the highly successful *A Somerset Rhapsody*, an early success for him which is still performed and recorded to this day.

¹⁶⁸ Graebe, p. 5.

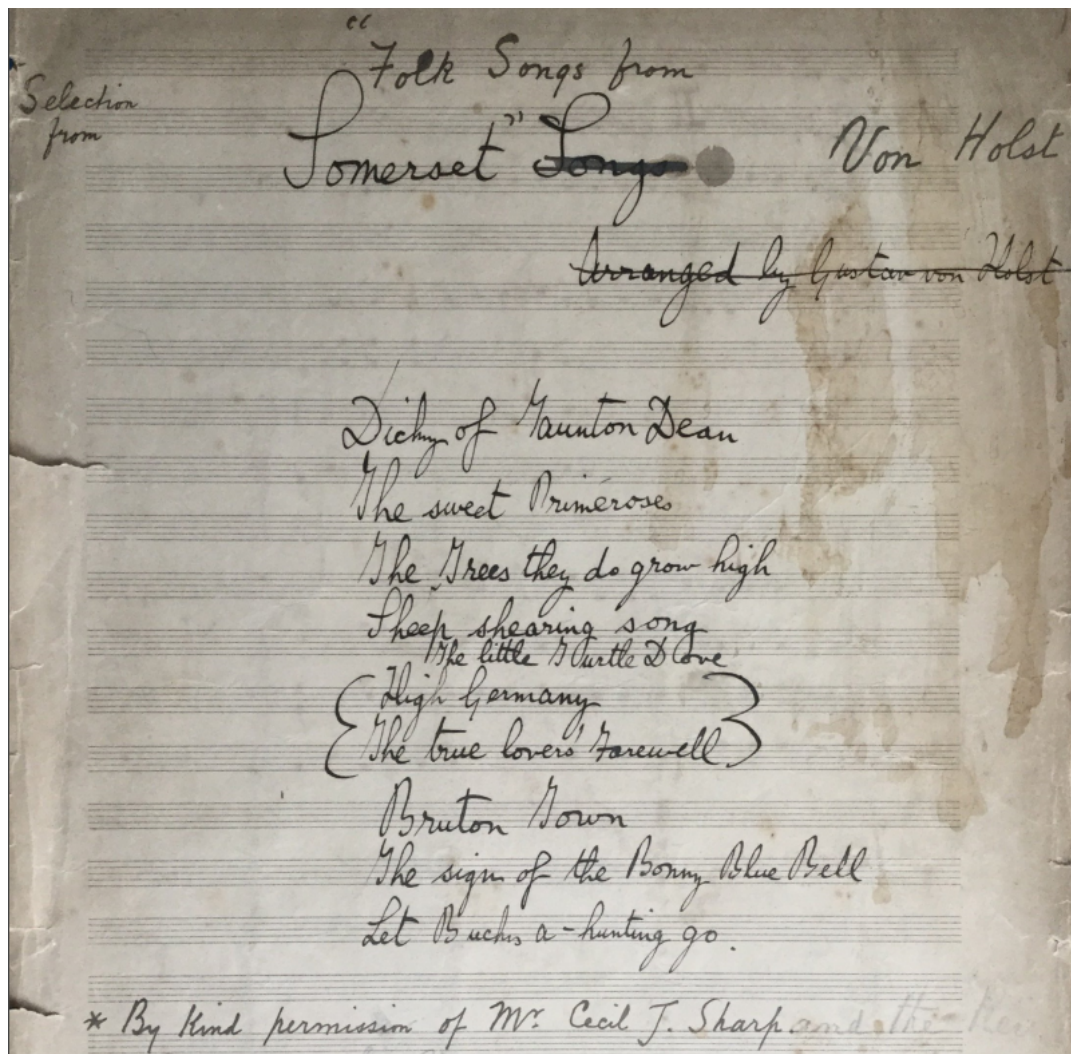
¹⁶⁹ Ibid., pp. 14-15.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 15.

Martin Graebe only found the score of *Songs of the West* in the collections of the British Library. Until very recently it was thought unlikely that the score of *Folk Songs from Somerset* would ever be found. However, in July 2017 the score of *Folk Songs from Somerset* along with an early version of *Two Songs Without Words* was reported discovered by the Bay of Plenty Symphonia in New Zealand. After being authenticated by the Holst Foundation, Colin Matthews (composer and administrator at the foundation) called the scores ‘a remarkable find’, ‘particularly the *Folk Songs from Somerset* which do not exist elsewhere in this form.’¹⁷¹ I contacted Bronya Dean, from the Bay of Plenty Symphonia and the organisation kindly granted me access to the score for the purpose of this thesis. The following discussion will concern developments in harmony between the two versions of the piece and what this may tell us about Holst’s views on modality at the time. The title page of the newly discovered score identifies the folk-songs used in the selection:

¹⁷¹ Eleanor Ainge Roy, ‘Original Gustav Holst Scores Discovered in New Zealand Library’, *The Guardian* (Guardian News and Media, 2017) <<https://www.theguardian.com/music/2017/jul/19/original-gustav-holst-scores-discovered-in-new-zealand-library>> [accessed 14 September 2018].

Figure 2 - Folk Songs from Somerset Title Page¹⁷²



¹⁷² Photocopy of score provided by, and used with the permission of, Bay of Plenty Symphonia.

Table 5 - Folk Songs from Somerset Harmonic Structure

Melody	Mode	Relative major key
‘Dicky Taunton of Dean’	G _I	G
‘The sweet primroses’	G _I	G
‘The trees they do grow high’	E _D	D
‘Sheep Shearing Song’	E _D	D
‘The Little Turtle Dove’	A _{A/D}	C/G
‘The True Lover’s Farewell’	E _D	D
‘The True Lover’s Farewell’/’High Germany	A _D	G
‘Bruton Town’	E _D	D
‘The sign of the bonny blue bell’	E _A	G
‘Let bucks a-hunting go’	G _I	G

Table 5 shows the structure of the *Folk Songs from Somerset*, with the name of the folk-song, the mode and the relative key. The relative major keys are centred around G and its dominant throughout the piece, with G, E and A occupying the tonal centres. As Holst’s first excursion into a folk-song based composition, he does little to create any interest in the harmonic structure. Given the performance context and close working proximity to Cecil Sharp, Holst’s faithfulness to the original songs is both understandable and appropriate. None of the songs featured in *Folksongs from Somerset* appear in the second edition of *Songs of the West* and were all collected by Sharp who granted permission for their use. As each section contains two complete iterations of the folk-song at hand with minimal compositional input, a degree of creativity within the harmonic structure of the piece as a whole should not have detracted from the integrity of the individual songs. However, it seems little effort was made on Holst’s part in this regard. Cecil Sharp may have wanted the folk-songs to be presented in this simple manner, and given the very short amount of time that Holst had to compose, the use of numerous repeats may have been a necessity. The fact

that Holst could do so much more with the songs so shortly after in *A Somerset Rhapsody* suggests that inexperience was not the problem—these songs were set with minimal compositional interference deliberately. The table above highlights that Holst recognised the parameters he could play with when working within modality, even if he did not feel at liberty to use these parameters to a particularly creative effect. The harmonic implications of the relative major keys largely follow tonic and dominant modulations, achieved by his switching between modes accompanied by tertiary movement in tonal centre. Holst clearly understood the harmonic implications of the modes he was using and how to modulate in order to affect conventional harmonic change. While he is not yet using this knowledge effectively, the seeds of rotational harmony are sown here. As his confidence in the medium progresses and he gains more autonomy in the performance context, the dexterity with which he uses the three parameters of modal relations greatly increases.

Diving into the sections themselves, we can see the same degree of simplicity and safety in the formation of chords and the manner in which Holst harmonises the melodies. ‘Dicky Taunton of Dean’ and ‘Let bucks a-hunting go’ are the two best examples of a robust tonic-dominant major harmonisation.

Figure 3 - Folk Songs from Somerset, 'Dicky Taunton of Dean' (Strings)

Allegro Moderato

The musical score is divided into three systems. The first system includes Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Violoncello, and Contrabass. The second system includes Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Violoncello, and Contrabass. The third system includes Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Violoncello, and Contrabass. The score is in 8/8 time with a key signature of one sharp (F#). Dynamics include *f*, *mf*, and *pp*. The piece concludes with a double bar line and repeat signs.

Violin I
Violin II
Viola
Violoncello
Contrabass

Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

Figure 5 - Folk Songs from Somerset, 'The Sweet Primroses' (Full Orchestra)

Musical score for measures 1-26 of 'The Sweet Primroses'. The score is for a full orchestra and includes parts for Flute (Fl.), Clarinet (Cl.), Bassoon (Bsn.), Horn (Hn.), Violin I (Vln. I), Violin II (Vln. II), Viola (Vla.), Violoncello (Vc.), and Contrabass (Cb.). The key signature is one flat (B-flat major/D minor) and the time signature is 3/4. The score features various dynamics such as *p* (piano), *mf* (mezzo-forte), and *f* (forte), along with performance instructions like *poco cresc.* and *a 2* (second ending). The woodwinds and strings play a rhythmic accompaniment, while the flute has a melodic line. The strings are marked with *mf* and *a 2* in the first ending.

Musical score for measures 27-40 of 'The Sweet Primroses'. The score continues from the previous page and includes parts for Flute (Fl.), Clarinet (Cl.), Bassoon (Bsn.), Horn (Hn.), Violin I (Vln. I), Violin II (Vln. II), Viola (Vla.), Violoncello (Vc.), and Contrabass (Cb.). The key signature is one flat and the time signature is 3/4. The score features various dynamics such as *p* (piano), *mf* (mezzo-forte), and *f* (forte), along with performance instructions like *poco cresc.* and *a 2* (second ending). The woodwinds and strings play a rhythmic accompaniment, while the flute has a melodic line. The strings are marked with *mf* and *a 2* in the first ending.

The homophonic movement in the woodwind and horns of 'Bruton Town' (Figure 6) calls to mind the much later *Moorside Suite* for brass band (Figure 7).

Figure 6 - *Folks Songs from Somerset*, 'Bruton Town' (1st Iteration)

The image displays two systems of musical notation for the piece 'Bruton Town'. The first system, starting at measure 180, includes parts for Oboe (Ob.), Clarinet (Cl.), Bassoon (Bsn.), Horn (Hn.), and Violoncello (Vc.). The tempo is 'Allegretto quasi Andante' and the dynamics are 'p' (piano). The woodwind and horn parts are homophonic, with the Clarinet and Bassoon playing a melodic line and the Horn playing a supporting line. The Oboe part is mostly rests. The Violoncello part is also mostly rests. The second system, starting at measure 184, continues the woodwind and horn parts. The Clarinet and Bassoon parts are more active, with the Clarinet playing a melodic line and the Bassoon playing a supporting line. The Horn part continues its supporting line. The tempo and dynamics remain the same.

Figure 7 - Moorside Suite, 'March' (2nd Melody)

(10. 1st Baritone Bb, 11. 2nd Baritone Bb, 12. 1st Trombone Bb, 13. 2nd Trombone Bb, 14. Bass Trombone, 15. Euphonium Bb, 16. Bass Eb, 17. Bass Bb).

The second iteration of the melody is interesting. The grand, implacable ascending accompaniment of the woodwind and brass as the soaring strings take over the melody up the octave.

Figure 8 - Folk Songs from Somerset, 'Bruton Town' (2nd Iteration)

188 *Con Larghezza ma Dolce* a 2

Fl.

Ob. 1.

Cl. 1.

Bsn.

Hrn. 2.

Tpt.

Tbn.

B. Tbn.

Timp.

Con Larghezza ma Dolce

Vln. I.

Vln. II.

Vla.

Vc.

Ch. arco

The musical score is arranged in systems. The first system includes Flute, Oboe, Clarinet, Bassoon, Horn, Trumpet, Trombone, Baritone Trombone, and Timpani. The second system includes Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Violoncello, and Contrabass. The score is marked with dynamics such as *mf* and *mf*. The tempo/mood is indicated as *Con Larghezza ma Dolce* and the key signature is A major. The time signature is 4/4. The score is for a 2nd iteration of the piece.

With ‘High Germany’ and ‘The True Lover’s Farewell’ we also see the first instance of Holst combining folk-melodies, a technique that was to become a trademark of the composer’s work. This section of the piece is the kernel that Holst retains and develops into *A Somerset Rhapsody*. The melodies are chromatically altered, and Holst is using a mixture of modal writing with 19th-century harmony to imbue the work with harmonic tension. Holst is not yet fully exploiting the potential of the new modal parameters in which he is working, but he is experimenting with a combination of musical tools he uses to great effect in *A Somerset Rhapsody*, in turn influencing some of his later compositions, including *The Planets*.

Figure 9 - Folk Songs from Somerset, ‘The True Lover’s Farewell’ and ‘High Germany’

The image displays two systems of musical notation for the first system of 'The True Lover's Farewell' and the first system of 'High Germany'. The first system, titled 'The True Lover's Farewell', features staves for Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Violoncello, and Contrabasso. The Violin I and II parts begin with a *p* dynamic and a *cresc. poco a poco* marking. The Viola part starts at measure 24. The Violoncello and Contrabasso parts are marked *arco stacc e pesante*. The second system, titled 'High Germany', continues the same instrumentation. The Violin I and II parts show a *cresc.* leading to a *mf* dynamic. The Viola part also shows a *cresc.* leading to a *mf* dynamic. The Violoncello and Contrabasso parts continue with a *cresc.* leading to a *mf* dynamic.

‘High Germany’ - tutti

Folksongs from Somerset is in many ways an anomaly. On the one hand, a case could be made that it is Holst's first attempts at setting folk-song and the clumsiness and lack of imagination in the harmonic settings are due to Holst's inexperience as a composer. This argument collapses when one looks at the comparative sophistication of works, such as the *Winter Idyll* (1897) and the *Walt Whitman Overture* (1899) that predate it, and the almost immediate revision of the work into *A Somerset Rhapsody* (1907). *Folksongs from Somerset* is a poor example of the composer's ability, even at this early stage in his career. This can perhaps be explained by the short time frame in which it was composed, and most importantly, the oversight of Cecil Sharp. The continual use of repeats with instructions for some instruments to enter in the second iteration really does compound the position put forward by Constant Lambert in *Music Ho!* (1934):

The whole trouble with a folk song is that once you have played it through there is nothing much you can do except play it over again and play it rather louder.¹⁷³

There seems to have been minimal effort by Holst to try to do anything other than simply present the melodies and I believe this is a combination of necessity and purpose. Holst had ten melodies to set, so he opted to use repeats with additional voicings on the second iteration of the melodies to bring a semblance of progression to an otherwise formless entity. It is not very effective at structuring the work as a whole, but it is fairly clear what Holst is trying to achieve. In addition, this approach also suited the purpose of the composition. Presenting the melodies simply seems to have been what Sharp wanted—more interesting music would just have obscured the folk-songs on display. It certainly is the case that *Folksongs from Somerset*, while undeniably less dramatic than the later rhapsody, is generally significantly more faithful to the original songs. The simple presentation of the melodies does little to draw the attention of the listener away from the folk-songs themselves, which is understandable given the performance context.

Considering these pieces were requested by Cecil Sharp, it stands to reason that Holst would have taken Sharp's aesthetic preferences into consideration. The quote below is taken from the preface to Sharp's *One Hundred English Folksongs*:

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 Graham Freeman, 'Into a cocked-hat' 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

¹⁷³ Constant Lambert, *Music Ho! A Study of Music in Decline* (New York: C. Scribner, 1934) p. 146.

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.¹⁷⁴

Sharp was very controlling and quite ruthless, professionally speaking, as discussed in relation to Mary Neale in chapter 2.2.5. He was very opinionated and in a position of power within the cultural context. His opinions would have held a lot of weight when he and Holst were working together. Whether the impact of Sharp's influence is considered negative or not is a matter of perspective and depends on how one feels about Sharp's conception of folk-song but it is clear that he had an impact on Holst's initial treatment of folk-song.

We can see Holst operating in the 'diatonic genus' not only in the *Folksongs from Somerset* but in many of his folk-song settings; the suites in particular show this effect and indeed there is a case to be made that even the *Terzetto* with its constant chromatic saturation does so through an extension of diatonic means. In this early work we can see the very beginning of this line of compositional thought, but it is not yet a language Holst is fluent in. The dramatic departure from this approach in *A Somerset Rhapsody* suggests that Holst was perhaps frustrated by the results of these limitations in the *Folksongs from Somerset*.

The next step in Holst's modal journey is the revised version of the *Folk Songs from Somerset, A Somerset Rhapsody*. The first thing to note is that seven of the ten folk-songs in *Folksongs from Somerset* have been cut out, including all three tunes that use the major scale. What we are left with is the 'Sheep Shearing song', 'The True Lover's Farewell' and 'High Germany'. Part of the reason Holst chose these melodies is simply that he had a natural affinity with them. In *Folksongs from Somerset* he is already favouring 'High Germany' and 'The True Lover's Farewell' as the only melodies he combines and affords any serious thematic development. Furthermore,

¹⁷⁴ Cecil Sharp, *One hundred English folksongs*, (New York: Dover Publications, 1975), pp. xv–xvi.

according to Imogen Holst, in the unfinished documentary *Memories of Gustav Holst*,¹⁷⁵ the ‘Sheep Shearing Song’ was Holst’s favourite folk-song, providing insight into both his musical preferences and the purpose of the rhapsody. Of all the folk-songs in *Folksongs from Somerset*, the ‘Sheep Shearing Song’ is the most pastoral, with its meandering Dorian melody wistfully bringing to mind the iconic figure of the lone shepherd. The song was known to Holst as ‘It’s a rosebud in June’,¹⁷⁶ but appears in the published form of the score as the ‘Sheep Shearing Song’, further perpetuating the image of the shepherd to evoke a pastoral vista. The act of renaming the song as the ‘Sheep Shearing Song’ supports the idea that Holst’s choice to combine these specific folk-songs in *A Somerset Rhapsody* was, at least in part, due to their programmatic potential.

Holst’s approach to harmony reflects the programmatic nature of the piece. The program may be the main reasons that Holst chose these three songs from the preceding ten; given their subject matter, they can be fashioned into an implied story. The implications of this story for identity formation and the specific imagery it is used to conjure will be discussed in detail in chapter 4.2. This discussion will focus predominantly on the interaction between the implied narrative and Holst’s harmonic language. *A Somerset Rhapsody* has very clear imagery in both the selection of folk-songs and the manner in which Holst sets them. The ‘Sheep Shearing Song’ presents a scene of the idyllic and undisturbed countryside, into which a recruiting party of soldiers enter with the introduction of ‘High Germany’. ‘The True Lovers Farewell’ plays in increasingly emphatic juxtaposition to ‘High Germany’ as the young man signs up to go to war, after which the soldiers leave town and ‘High Germany’ fades away to be replaced once more by the pastoral idyllic ‘Sheep Shearing Song’.¹⁷⁷

Holst starts to develop his use of rotational harmony in this piece and much of the modulation is affected by Bates’ three parameters of modal modulation. Table 6 identifies the main

¹⁷⁵ *Memories of Gustav Holst*, [Youtube Video] 14th Aug 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F7i4GTmgjE> [accessed 9th Dec 2017]

¹⁷⁶ Holst, *Gustav Holst*, p. 32.

¹⁷⁷ Short, *Gustav Holst*, p. 64.

modulations and modal variations throughout *A Somerset Rhapsody*, with the mode, its relative key, and the implied tonal centre of the section detailed.

Table 6 - *A Somerset Rhapsody* (Harmonic Structure)

Melody	Bar number	Mode	Relative major key	Tonal centre
'Sheep Shearing Song'	2	E _D	D	E/B
'Sheep Shearing Song'	28-34, 34-48	C# _A , C# _D	E, B	C#
'Sheep Shearing Song'	49	E _D	D	E
'High Germany I'	74	B _A	D	B
'The True Lover's Farewell'	107	B _D	A	B
'High Germany I'	136	B _A	D	B
'High Germany I'	140	G _M	C	G
'High Germany I'	143	E _A	G	E
'The True Lover's Farewell'/' High Germany I'	147	E _{bD}	D _b	E _b /A _b
	148	A _{bA}	C _b	
'The True Lover's Farewell'	157	G _D	F	G
'The True Lover's Farewell'	162	A _{bD}	G _b	A _b
'The True Lover's Farewell'	164	B _{bD}	A _b	B _b
'High Germany I'	179	A _A	C	A
'High Germany II'	196	E _A	G	A
'The True Lover's Farewell'	218	E _D	D	E
'Sheep Shearing Song' combined with	257	B _{bD}	A	B _b
'High Germany II'	276	F _A	A _b	B _b /F
'Sheep Shearing Song'	307	E _D	D	E/B

The majority of harmonic changes in this piece are fixed-domain modal relationships, meaning that one of the three elements remains fixed while the other two change. Concerning the overall structural relations, the table above can be reduced to the following:

Table 7 - A Somerset Rhapsody (Harmonic Reduction)

Bars	Principal Modes
0 - 74	E _D - C# _D - E _D
74 - 140	B _A - B _D - B _A
140 - 179	Chromatic development (predominantly Dorian based)
179 - 218	A _A - E _A
218 - End	E _D - Bb _D - F _A - E _D

This reduction shows the harmonic trajectory of the piece as E_D - B_A - A_A - E_D. Due to the change of mode accompanying the change of tonal centre (E_D - B_A), the relative key remains D, which is returned to in the closing section of the piece. The main departure from this is the A_A section (with its relative key of C), where a strong tonal centre is established. The prevalent influence of conventional harmony is clear, with the music moving from E as the tonic of the piece through the dominant and subdominant before returning to close in the tonic. In the final bars of the piece the little clarinet motif in the final bars outlines an E minor triad, resolving the preceding A major triad. It is not a very emphatic tonic close, but the effect of fading out suits the conceptual return to rural tranquillity. Interestingly from a harmonic standpoint, this progression establishes the tritone of the Dorian mode in series, one of the modal techniques Bates identifies in Vaughan Williams's modal harmonic work.

The majority of the modal relationships between different sections of the piece are fixed-domain. For example, to return to E_D from A_A, Holst first moves through E_A, which serves the purpose of a "pivot-key" in the transition. It is clear that most of the harmonic relations within

sections are also fixed-domain modal relationships (Table 4). Holst changes the domain that he varies in his fixed-domain modal transitions, which is what gives this piece so much harmonic interest. For example, when Holst moves from Dorian E to Aeolian B in bar 74, he has moved the tonal centre by a fifth (Table 7). However, due to the change in mode, the harmonic language still contains F# and C#, the same pitch class as the first section. Similarly, the change of mode from Aeolian to Dorian when Holst first uses the ‘Lovers Farewell’ (bar 107) changes the pitch class from a relative major of D to A, whilst staying in the tonal centre of B.

Figure 10 - A Somerset Rhapsody (Modal modulation)

The image displays a page of a musical score for 'A Somerset Rhapsody'. The score is arranged in two systems of staves. The first system includes staves for Piccolo (Picc.), Flute (Fl.), Oboe (Ob.), Clarinet (Cl.), Bassoon (Fag.), Double Bassoon (Dob.), Trumpet (Tr.), Trombone (Tb.), Timpani (Timp.), Snare Drum (Tomb.), Tenor Drum (Tomb.), and Violin I (Viol. I). The second system includes Violin II (Viol. II), Viola (Viola), and Cello (Cello). The music is written in a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 4/4 time signature. Various dynamic markings such as 'cresc.' and 'p' are used throughout. Performance instructions include 'Picc. change to End Flute.' and 'B to D D to B'. A circled number '6' is placed above the Flute staff and below the Cello staff.

Even the section between 140 - 179, where Holst moves through a series of chromatically related keys in quick succession, a sense of continuity is achieved by maintaining the Dorian mode as a fixed domain from 147 - 179. Holst is not limiting himself to one particular method of modal modulation. There is also a clear trend regarding the relationships between tonal centres and related keys. The majority of movement in this regard is either tertiary or to the dominant.

It is important to understand this arrangement in the context of rhapsodic form. The harmonic structure of rhapsodies are typically loosely defined and whilst there is an overall trajectory of $E_D - B_A - A_A - E_D$, the numerous modulation in the music and the ambiguity Holst creates around the tonality is highly typical of rhapsodic form. It is likely that both Holst and Vaughan Williams were inspired to use the form by the success of Stanford's numerous Irish rhapsodies. Michael Kennedy defines rhapsody in the Oxford Dictionary of Music as 'a composition in one continuous movement, often based on popular, natural or folk melodies'.¹⁷⁸ It is unclear what Kennedy is referring to by "natural" melodies, it could conjure images of rurality, as is "nature" or of the melodies being full, wholesome or in there "wild" state. He may intend the three terms to be considered together to describe the music of the common people. Two other rhapsodies composed around the same time are the *Romanian Rhapsody No.1* (1901) by George Enescu and the *Norfolk Rhapsody No.1* (1906) by Vaughan Williams. The *Romanian Rhapsody No.1* is also a medley of folk-songs and while it is loosely in A major, it exhibits modal colouring in both harmony and melody; the abrupt changes between different melodies and modes creates a constant sense of harmonic and rhythmic displacement. The *Norfolk Rhapsody No.1*, like *A Somerset Rhapsody*, comprises of a set of English folk-songs arranged for symphony orchestra. Bates makes a case study of it in his thesis on *Generalized Diatonic Modality and Ralph Vaughan Williams' Compositional Practice*. He identifies a very similar overall harmonic structure to *A*

¹⁷⁸ Michael Kennedy, *The Oxford Dictionary of Music 2nd Ed.*, (Clarendon, Oxford University Press, 1994) p. 724.

Somerset Rhapsody, centred around the predominant use of the Aeolian and Dorian modes in E, B and A. The table below is adapted from his harmonic analysis:

Table 8 - Vaughan Williams' *Norfolk Rhapsody No.1 (Harmonic Structure)*¹⁷⁹

Sections	Bar	Principal Modes	Relative Major
Introduction	1 - 17	B _A - E _A	D - G
A	18 - 94	E _A - Ph - A	G - C - G
B	95 - 189	E _A - A _A - D - E _A	G - C - G - G
A*	190 - 207	E _A - B _{Ph} - E _A	G - G - G
B*	207 - 211	E _A - D	G - C
Coda	212 - 230	B _A - E _A	D - G

There is similar harmonic movement in this piece to *A Somerset Rhapsody*. Whilst the tonal centre ends a fifth away from the beginning, there is a strong suggested tonal centre of E throughout; the harmonic interest is achieved through modal change. In addition, all of these harmonic movements are fixed-domain modal modulations that play on conventional relationships. Side by side it is easy to see the similarities between the two pieces, Holst clearly strays further from the tonic, but the same principles of rotational harmony are at work in both compositions.

Returning to *A Somerset Rhapsody*, several sections of the piece are harmonised within the mode and we can see both points of similarity and progression from *Folksongs from Somerset*. An analysis of the initial settings of 'High Germany I' and 'The True Lover's Farewell' show that Holst does *not* use the mode-specific cadences Bates identified in Vaughan Williams's work (discussed in 3.1). At their simplest points, these settings are not far removed from their earlier counterparts in the *Folksongs from Somerset*, with minimal harmonic accompaniments to support

¹⁷⁹ Bates, p. 140.

the melodies, but once Holst has introduced a melody with a “faithful” modal accompaniment he will start to alter the context it is heard in.

Much of the harmonic material weakens the modality of the melodies or creates ambiguity as to the tonality of the music. Figure 10 shows the second iteration of the ‘Sheep Shearing Song’ from bar 28 to bar 49 of *A Somerset Rhapsody*. Through the first iteration of the melody in E_D (bars 1-27), Holst employs an inverted dominant pedal of B to offset the melody, creating an air of unresolved suspension throughout the passage, a feeling that something is going to happen. However, when the resolution comes at bar 28, it is not to E. Assuming that Holst is maintaining the Dorian modality of the melody the shift in the melody would imply C#_D but Holst precedes the statement of the melody with an arpeggiated A major chord and there is still an A in the 2nd clarinet up to bar 34. Holst retains the key signature of E major and underpins the first phrase with A major, G# minor, and E major chords. Whilst chords v and III accentuate the modality of the melody, A major does not occur in C#_D; one would therefore be inclined to identify this section as C# Aeolian rather than Dorian. However, at this point, the clarinet shifts to A#, and the melody fills the gapped scale with an A# as well, establishing C# Dorian as the mode; A/A# is the hinge on which the implied modal shift (or modal ambiguity) turns.

Figure 11 - A Somerset Rhapsody, 'Sheep Shearing Song' (2nd Iteration)

This system of the musical score includes staves for Flute (Fl.), Oboe (Ob.), Clarinet (Cl.), Cor Anglais (Cor.), Violin I (Vcl. I.), Violin II (Vcl. II.), Viola (Vcl. III.), Violoncello (Vcl.), and Contrabass (C.B.). The key signature is two sharps (F# and C#), and the time signature is 3/4. The score begins with a first ending bracket labeled '1' and 'a tempo'. The flute and oboe parts are marked *pp*. The clarinet and cor parts feature long, sustained notes. The violin I part has a dynamic marking of *p (non pp)*. A callout box labeled 'Arpeggiated A chord' points to the beginning of the violin I line. Another callout box labeled ''Sheep Shearing Song' 2nd iteration' points to the start of the violin I line. The cello and contrabass parts are marked *pp* and also feature a first ending bracket labeled 'i' and 'a tempo'.

This system continues the musical score with staves for Oboe (Ob.), Clarinet (Cl.), Bassoon (Fag.), Cor Anglais (Cor.), Violin I (Vcl. I.), Violin II (Vcl. II.), Viola (Vcl. III.), Violoncello (Vcl.), and Contrabass (C.B.). The tempo markings 'Poco Animato.' and 'Tempo I.' are present. The oboe part is marked *p*. The bassoon part features a descending chromatic line, highlighted by a callout box labeled 'Descending chromatic line'. The violin I part is marked *p*. The cello and contrabass parts are marked *p*. The key signature remains two sharps (F# and C#), and the time signature is 3/4.

Ob. *mf* *cresc.*

Cl. *mf cresc.* *cresc.*

Fag. *mf* *cresc.*

Cor. *mf* *cresc.*

Vcl. *mf* *cresc.*

C.B.

Viol. I *mf* *cresc.* *f*

Viol. II *mf* *cresc.* *f*

Viola *mf* *cresc.* *f*

Vcl. *mf* *cresc.*

C.B.

Ob. *mf*

Cl. *f*

Fag. *f*

Cor.

Tr. *con sord.* *pp*

Timpani *E B A.* *Solo.* *mf*

Viol. I *pp*

Viol. II *pp*

Viola *pp*

Vcl. *pizz.* *pp* *pizz.* *pp*

C.B. *pp*

Return of inverted "dominant" pedal

Scalic figure - E_D

Other moments of chromatic alteration come with the descending chromatic line in the accompaniment in bar 39, with the clarinet descending through an F natural. The predominant chords in this section are, A, B, C#m, E, F#m, and G (I, II, iii, V, vi, VII) which is largely Lydian with the additional major chord VII found in the Dorian mode.

Table 9 - Modal triad comparison

Mode	Formation of Triads
Ionian	I, ii, iii, IV, V, vi, vii-
Lydian	I, II, iii, iv-, V, vi, vii
Dorian	i, ii, III, IV, v, vi-, VII

The use of harmony here changes the listener's perception of the Dorian melody. When the melody returns in E_D, it is again with an inverted dominant pedal, but the cellos and double basses have a scalic figure ascending the E_D, repeated, to reaffirm the mode (bar 49). Holst was quite consciously creating ambiguity concerning the tonal centre and modal nature of the music during the second iteration, much as the dominant pedal weakens the root of the mode as a tonal centre in the first and third iterations of this melody. Holst chooses to obscure the modal implications of the melodies within the harmonic accompaniment rather than by altering the melody itself. Thus, the folk-song is preserved, but the context the listener hears it in is altered.

Along with the modality of the piece, it is important to discuss the clear influence of Wagner in the sequential treatment of motifs, the chromatic movements in harmony and the thematic treatment of melodies in constructing a narrative. *A Somerset Rhapsody* was composed on the heels of *Sita* and the treatment of folk-song in the rhapsody is very similar to the treatment of associative themes identified by Christopher Scheer in the earlier opera.¹⁸⁰ Scheer finds Holst's use of *Leitmotive* to be 'the most pronounced indicator of Wagnerian influence in the work',¹⁸¹ and in the absence of any thematic analysis left by Holst, provides his own reading of the score

¹⁸⁰ Scheer discusses the libretto of *Sita* in detail pp. 92-106, with a focus on the socialist elements in the work. From pp. 107-115 Scheer gives a detailed analysis of the use of leitmotif in Holst's expression of the narrative.

¹⁸¹ Scheer, p. 107.

based on 'context and usage'.¹⁸² Below I will consider *A Somerset Rhapsody* in a similar manner. It is clear from an article Edwin Evans writes in the *Musical Times* that the narrative was known to audiences of the time:

In the Rhapsody he [Holst] has woven into a poetic idyll some tunes from Mr. Cecil Sharp's well-known collection. A lover is called away from the 'Sheep Shearing Song' by the martial strains of 'High Germany,' and the leave taking is accompanied by 'The True Lover's Farewell'.¹⁸³

The use of folk-song as primary material for thematic development into a narrative is already indicative of a Wagnerian influence rather than that of the folk-songs themselves, which are separate entities, but the mechanism Holst uses to achieve this narrative effect confirm the debt.

From bar 136 to 179, Holst expands the harmonic spectrum chromatically, traversing several keys in quick succession, with each new tonal centre only heard for between four and ten bars. The use of chromaticism is best illustrated in two sections, bar 154-164 and bar 217-244. Both sections are shown in Figure 12 and 13 respectively. In the first section, Holst uses one melodic fragment in a chromatic sequence and traverses multiple keys in quick succession.

¹⁸² Scheer, p. 107.

¹⁸³ Edwin Evans, 'Modern British Composers. VI.-Gustav Holst (Continued).' *The Musical Times* 60, no. 921 (1919): 588-92 (p.589).

Figure 12 - A Somerset Rhapsody, 'The True Lover's Farewell' (Chromatic Sequence)

The image displays a musical score for 'The True Lover's Farewell' from A Somerset Rhapsody. The score is divided into two systems. The first system includes parts for Oboe (Ob.), Clarinet (Cl.), Bassoon (Fag.), Violin I (Viol. I), Violin II (Viol. II), Viola, Violoncello (Vcl.), and Contrabass (C.B.). The second system includes parts for Flute (Fl.), Clarinet (Cl.), Bassoon (Fag.), Cor Anglais (Cor.), Trumpet (Tr.), Violin I (Viol. I), Violin II (Viol. II), Viola, Violoncello (Vcl.), and Contrabass (C.B.).

Key annotations and markings include:

- Ob.:** *cresc. poco a poco*
- Cl.:** *pesante*
- Fag.:** *pesante*
- Viol. I:** *cresc. poco a poco*
- Viol. II:** *Soli.*
- Vcl.:** *pesante*
- C.B.:** *pesante*
- Fl.:** *I. Solo.*
- Cl.:** *III. Solo.*
- Viol. I:** *divisi.*
- Viola:** *unis.*

Two text boxes provide specific information:

- A box above the Violin I part reads: **'The True Lover's Farewell' EbD**
- A box below the Violoncello and Contrabass parts reads: **'High Germany' in Bassoon and low strings AbD**

Yellow highlights are present in the following parts:

- Oboe (Ob.)
- Violin I (Viol. I)
- Violin II (Viol. II)
- Flute (Fl.)
- Clarinet (Cl.)
- Violin I (Viol. I)
- Violin II (Viol. II)

In the second section Holst remains in one key and expresses the melody in full within the mode but underpins it with sweeping chromatic scales.

Figure 13 - A Somerset Rhapsody (Chromatic Scales)

The image displays a page of a musical score for 'A Somerset Rhapsody' by Gustav Holst. The score is divided into two systems, both marked 'Poco Affrettando'. The first system includes staves for Flute (Fl.), Oboe (Ob.), Clarinet (Cl.), Bassoon (Fag.), Cor (Cor.), Trumpet (Tr.), Trombone (Tbn.), Timpani (Timp.), Tambourine (Tamb.), and Piano (Pia.). The second system includes staves for Violin I (Viol. I), Violin II (Viol. II), Viola, Violoncello (Vcl.), and Contrabasso (Cb.). The score features sweeping chromatic scales in the woodwinds and strings, with dynamic markings such as *f*, *legato e sostenuto*, and *dim.*. A specific annotation in a white box points to bar 122, stating: 'The True Lover's Farewell' kept largely in mode (alteration of G# in bar 122). The page number 98 is visible at the bottom.

23

rall. *dim* *a 2* rit.

Ob.

Cl.

Fag.

Cor. I Solo *p* *pp*

Tbn.

Vcl. I *p* rit.

Vcl. II

Vcl. III

Vcl. IV

C.B.

rall. rit.

Poco meno mosso. morendo

Fl. I Solo *p*

Ob. *p* Solo

Cl. *p*

Fag.

Cor. I *p*

Vcl. I

Vcl. II

Vcl. III

Vcl. IV

C.B.

Poco meno mosso. morendo

B. & H. 8431

‘The True Lover’s Farewell’ chromatically altered

The two different approaches could be heard to serve different aspects of the narrative. From bar 154 -164 the fragmented melody of 'The True Lover's Farewell' undergoing sequential chromatic use could be heard as the pleas of the man's love begging him not to leave; the harmonic tension reflects the tension in the situation. The section from bar 217 - 244 would then be a *release* of this tension as the young man decides to leave with the soldiers and is saying his last goodbye. The melody is heard in full and the chromatic figures underneath, whilst expressing the anguish of the couple, do not interrupt a full expression of the couple's theme one last time. In order to maintain continuity through the chromatic sequences, Holst uses the Dorian mode as his fixed domain. However, in the modulations in bars 154-164, at the beginning of the chromatic section, Holst uses variable-domain mode relationships, and again with the return to 'High Germany I' in A_A. The primary section of emotional conflict in the piece utilises variable-domain modal movements, creating greater harmonic contrast compared to the majority of the music, which employs fixed-domain mode relationships in order to maintain a sense of harmonic continuity.

The final harmonic device that will be discussed are the two occasions of bimodality in the composition. The first instance of bimodality occurs in bars 148-154 (Figure 13), with 'High Germany I' in Ab_D and 'The True Lover's Farewell' in Eb_D (relative major keys of Gb and Db respectively) before the music departs into chromatic sequences. Expressing the core conflict of the narrative between the lovers' theme and the recruitment party, Holst leads into the chromatic sequence using two pitch classes bimodally to increase chromatic juxtaposition of the melodies. Holst makes the conflict in the music literal, setting the two melodies against each other, in different tonal centres and relative keys. The second use of bimodality is subtler. Between bar 257 - 276 Holst employs fixed-domain bimodality, contrasting 'High Germany II' in F_A with 'Sheep Shearing Song' in Bb_D.

Figure 14 - A Somerset Rhapsody (Fixed-domain Bimodality)

The image displays a musical score for two sections of a work, both in 4/4 time and marked *Allegro* (♩ = ♩). The first section, 'High Germany II' in F major, begins at measure 26. It features a Flute I part with a *Soli a 2* marking and a *mf* dynamic. The Bassoon part starts with a *pp* dynamic and includes a *stacc.* instruction. The Timpani part has a *pp* dynamic. The Trombone part has a *pp* dynamic. The first violin part is marked *Allegro* and includes a *div.* (divisi) instruction. The second violin part has a *stacc.* instruction. The Viola, Violoncello, and Contrabass parts follow the same tempo and dynamic markings. The second section, 'Sheep Shearing Song' in B-flat major, begins at measure 31. It features a Flute I part, Bassoon part, Timpani part, Trombone part, Violin I part, Violin II part, Viola part, Violoncello part, and Contrabass part. The score includes various musical notations such as dynamics, articulation, and performance instructions.

Whilst the modes and tonal centres differ, both melodies share a relative key at this point, so the conflict is primarily heard between tonal centres, without the dissonance of different relative keys. At this point the conflict is less literal, between the tranquillity of the countryside and the disturbance of the recruiting party, which fades through this section leaving just the peaceful pastoral. In both instances the combination of folk-songs serves the narrative and is a technique seen in *Sita*. The point of development in *A Somerset Rhapsody* is in the use of mode to either accentuate harmonic conflict or negate it depending on the demands of the narrative.

Throughout this composition different types of mode-domain relationships are used for different programmatic purposes, with the variable-domain relationships heard in moments of increased emotional tension, and the fixed-domain relationships used more commonly to provide continuity in the harmonic language. Overall the harmonic language is hugely varied, with a myriad of harmonic techniques used to move the music through an array of pitch-class sets and harmonic centres. This freedom of harmonic language is typical of rhapsodic form, almost defined by its meandering lack of formal structure. As such, the choice to use the form in the revised setting of these folk-songs was, in my opinion, a means to allow Holst to really experiment with new harmonic techniques and the thematic potential of folk-song. When Holst uses modal language

within the more clearly delineated form of the suite, he is not afforded the same space for structural and harmonic freedom, forcing him to be more creative with his in-mode harmonisations.

3.2.2 - Suites for Military Band

I will initially examine the two suites for military band, composed in 1909 and 1911 and published in 1921 and 1922, that have become one of Holst most well-known and regularly performed works. In his doctoral thesis *Gustav Holst: The Works For Military Band* (1908), C.J. Mitchell describes Holst's legacy as a composer for wind band and the importance of these two suites in particular.

Holst contributed more to the development of a serious original wind band repertoire than did any other British composer during the early twentieth century. His two suites for military band, written in 1909 and 1911, respectively, are standards of the medium's literature.¹⁸⁴

Imogen Holst thinks it is unlikely that Holst would have written these works without a performance in mind and suggests that the Festival of the Empire held from May to October 1911 may have been the occasion, held in the Crystal Palace during the summer of 1911.¹⁸⁵ For the same occasion, Holst composed two other works for band, the *Morris Dance Tunes* (1911) at the request of the English Folk Dance Society and the *Incidental Music for a London Pageant* (1911).¹⁸⁶ The first recorded performance of the *First Suite in Eb* was at the Royal Military School of Music, Kneller Hall on 23 June 1920, but there are autographed manuscripts that show the *First Suite in Eb* at least was in the military band repertoire before September 1918.¹⁸⁷ The *Second Suite in F*, was composed and then apparently forgotten about, to be rediscovered in 1922 when Holst was asked to write a suite for military band. The context of these pieces, their performance forces and what they can tell us about the role of folk-song in identity formation will be discussed in detail in

¹⁸⁴ Mitchell, p. 3.

¹⁸⁵Holst, A Thematic Catalogue, p. 99; Short, p. 93.

¹⁸⁶ Mitchell, p. 85.

¹⁸⁷Holst, A Thematic Catalogue, p. 97.

chapter 4.1. For the purposes of this discussion, the reader needs to understand their importance in the chronology of Holst's developing modal harmonic language. *A Somerset Rhapsody* composed in 1907, shows a combination of chromatic and modal harmonisation; these two suites, composed two to four years later, show Holst operating within a predominantly modal framework and are a departure from the overt chromaticism of the earlier rhapsody. The two suites for military band show Holst working within the confines of a small movement form and using rotation harmony in place of traditional modulations and exploring mechanisms for creating harmonic interest within a diatonic mode.

Table 10 - First Suite in Eb, 'Chaconne' (Harmonic Structure)

Bar Number	Mode	Relative Major Key	Tonal Centre
1	Eb _I	Eb	Eb
72	C minor	Eb	C
98	Eb _I	Eb	Eb

Table 11 - First Suite in Eb, 'Intermezzo' (Harmonic Structure)

Bar Number	Mode	Relative Major Key	Tonal Centre
1	C _A /C _{Ph} ¹⁸⁸	Eb/Ab	C
67	F _D	Eb	F
96	C _A /C _{Ph}	Eb/Ab	C
120	C _I /D _D	C	C

¹⁸⁸ According to the key signature the melody is in C minor with a chromatic alteration introducing Db's in the second half of the phrase. I suggest that due to the gapped scale and the implied alternation between chord I and VII in the melody, the sound is Aeolian, moving to Phrygian with the addition of the Db and Ab (bars 11 – 17, 51-56 and 106-11)

Table 12 - First Suite in Eb, 'March' (Harmonic Structure)

Bar Number	Mode	Relative Major Key	Tonal Centre
1	F _D	Eb	F
37	Ab _I	Ab	Ab
88	Bb _D	Ab	Bb
123	F _D /Eb _I	Eb	F

In order to get a perspective of the harmonic movement across the suite as a whole, one can derive the following simplification:

Table 13 - Summary of First Suite in Eb (Harmonic Structure)

Movement	Principal Modes
'Chaconne'	Eb major – C minor – Eb major
'Intermezzo'	C _A /C _{Ph} – F _D – C _A /C _{Ph} – C _I /D _D
'March'	F _D – Ab _I – Bb _D – F _D

This sequence can be reduced roughly to Eb_I – C_A/C_{Ph}– C_I– F_D. The modulations revolve around tertiary and major/minor relations, which are implemented through modal changes. It is typical in suites to expect modulations as a means of creating progression and harmonic interest within the movement; the interest here is in the manner Holst uses rotational modulation to achieve this. As indicated by the title, the predominant key is Eb and this is the relative major key for many of the modulations (Eb_I, C_A and F_D).

The movement in the 'Chaconne' is a conventional shift to the relative minor and back to the tonic. In the 'Intermezzo', Melody 1 moves between the Aeolian and Phrygian in C, which is a fixed-domain modal relationship revolving around fixed centricity. The dominant mode in this melody is the Aeolian, with a relative major key of Eb and the modulation into Melody 2 is a fixed-

domain modal relationship with fixed relative major key of Eb. The music returns to C_A and then modulates via another fixed-domain modal relationship fixed around centricity to C_I. The last movement features two relative major keys that are explored across three tonal centres. The music moves from F_D – Ab_I – Bb_D – F_D, moving from relative major keys of Eb to Ab. The harmonic relationships are sub-dominant and the movement in tonal centre is to the third, then fourth before returning to the tonic.

Table 14 - Second Suite in F, 'March' (Harmonic Structure)

Folk-Song	Bar Number	Mode	Relative Major Key	Tonal Centre
Morris Dance	1	F _I	F	F
Swansea Town	47	F _I	F	F
Claudy Banks	111	Bb _A	Db	Bb

(D.C. al Fine after Claudy Banks - repeats first two sections)

Table 15 - Second Suite in F, 'Song Without Words' (Harmonic Structure)

Melody	Bar Number	Mode	Relative Major Key	Tonal Centre
I'll Love My Love	1	F _D	Eb	F
I'll Love My Love	18	F _D	Eb	F

Table 16 - Second Suite in F, 'Song of the Blacksmith' (Harmonic Structure)

Melody	Bar Number	Mode	Relative Major Key	Tonal Centre
Song of the Blacksmith	6	D _A	F	G
Song of the Blacksmith	14	G _D	F	G
Song of the Blacksmith	23	D _A	F	F - G

Table 17 - Second Suite in F, 'March' – Harmonic Structure

Melody	Bar Number	Mode	Relative Major Key	Tonal Centre
Dargason	1	F _I	F	F
Greensleeves/Dargason	57	G _D /F _I	F	G/F
Dargason	88	F _I	F	F
Greensleeves/Dargason	146	G _D /F _I	F	G/F
Dargason	177	F _I	F	F

In order to get a perspective of the harmonic movement across the suite as a whole, one can derive the following simplification:

Table 18 - Summary of Second Suite in F (Harmonic Structure)

Movement	Principal Modes
'March'	F _I - Bb _A - F _I
'Song without Words'	F _D
'Song of the Blacksmith'	D _A - G _D - D _A
'Fantasia on the Dargason'	F _I - G _D - F _I

This sequence can be reduced to an overall structure of F_I - F_D - D_A - F_I, the arching form mimicking traditional tonal procedures; all other harmonic movement occurs within this framework. In three of the four movements the predominant relative major key is F, and harmonic movement comes from changing the tonal centre and mode; the departure from this is in the second movement, via a fixed-domain mode relation (a change of tonal centre) to F_D with a relative major key of Eb. This is not a conventional manner of structuring a suite harmonically and it is one of the first modally structured pieces Holst writes. However, within movements the approach to modulation is still clearly influenced by major/minor harmonic conventions.

The *Second Suite in F* for military band shows a significantly more restrained approach to the harmonic treatment of folk-song. On a phrase level the *Second Suite in F* is clear and simple. Holst remains within the mode of the respective melodies for the majority of the suite and begins to explore the harmonic possibilities inherent to the modes of the folk-songs. His approach shows a mixture of conventional harmonic practice and the beginnings of a more genuinely modal harmonisation.

An examination of the cadence points in the music show us that Holst sometimes approaches the tonic presenting the tritone in a series as discussed by Bates, but more often does not. The clearest perfect cadence comes at the end of ‘Swansea Town’.

Figure 15 - *Second Suite in F*, ‘Swansea Town’ (Mode specific cadence)

The image shows a musical score for the piece 'Swansea Town' from the *Second Suite in F*. The score is written for a military band and features a melody in blue. Above the staff, there are three boxes: the first contains the text 'Swansea Town' melody in blue, the second contains the Roman numeral V⁷, and the third contains the Roman numeral I. The score includes percussion parts for Cym. (Cymbal) and B.D. (Bass Drum) and ends with the word 'Fine.'.

In the following Dorian ‘Song without words’ (based on the melody of ‘I love my love’) the music is clearly “in-key and harmony features both mode specific cadence points and more abstract chord formations. The final bars of the piece show the IV-i cadence that presents the tritone in the Dorian mode.

Figure 16 - Second Suite in F, 'I love my love' (Mode specific cadence)

However, in other places Holst accentuates the modal nature of his composition in his chord formations to accentuate key moments in the melody, rather than in mode specific cadences. In the afore mentioned 'I love my love', Holst makes use of characteristic scale steps to underpin the climax of the melody (bars 16, Figure 17) with a D[♯]m/F, the raised 6th of the mode.

Figure 17 - Second Suite in F, 'I love my love' (Modal chord formations)

The lack of consistency regarding Holst's use of mode-specific cadences could suggest either that he is deliberately trying to create harmonic ambiguity by not clearly identifying the mode at certain cadence points or that he was not operating on the same basis of a clearly defined theory of modal harmony as Vaughan Williams. While harmonic ambiguity is a fundamental feature of

Holst's mature work (discussed in relation to the *Terzetto* and *Seven Part-songs*) at this relatively early stage in Holst's modal composition it is generally still used for dramatic effect, as discussed in relation to *A Somerset Rhapsody*. Other than 'The Song of the Blacksmith', the movements in this suite are typically characterised by a clarity of texture, melody and harmony that would be at odds with an attempt to deliberately cloud the cadence points. In 'I love my love', although Holst avoids the mode specific cadence in the middle of the movement, he employs it in the closing bars as one would expect so he could just be creating a sense of progression through the piece. It seems unlikely that Holst would have been unaware of a fundamental aspect of Vaughan Williams' composition when the two regularly workshopped each other's work, but Holst may have simply chosen not to approach his composition with the same vertical formulas, potentially driven by linear considerations instead.

Where harmonic ambiguity does occur in the suite, it is justified by dramatic considerations. The 'Song of the Blacksmith' is set against an ostinato of stacked fifths. It is an abrasive sound that hammers out the image of a blacksmith at work, against which we hear the melody in D_A and in G_D respectively.

Figure 18 - Second Suite in F, 'Song of the Blacksmith' (Ostinato)



The nature of the accompaniment makes it very difficult to discern a clear harmonic progression and whilst one can identify the implied modality of the melody, the accompaniment makes it unclear whether the movement is in D_A or F_I, similar to the ambiguity heard in the second

melody of the 'Intermezzo' in the *First Suite in Eb*. Whilst the melody begins and finishes on an F, the predominant pitch returned to throughout most of the melody is D. Holst finishes the movement on a D major chord, suggesting this is the intended tonic, and the harmonic ambiguity created is a device to derive harmonic interest without chromaticism. There is a subtle change of mode in the second iteration of the melody, where the Holst employs a fixed-domain mode relation of relative key to move from D_A to G_D .

The change of mode is only heard in the third of the four two-bar phrases that make up the melody, when the sixth degree of the scale appears in the melody (Figure 19, overleaf). Otherwise the two iterations of the melody are the same, albeit transposed. What differs is the context the melody is heard in across the movement. The accompaniment opens with a focus around a Gm^7 chord, with the G octave in the bass instruments firmly establishing it as a tonal centre. When the melody modulates to G_D , the tonal centre of G is retained for the first half of the melody and shifts to C in the second half. This progression would suggest chord IV resolving back to G chord in G_D . However, Holst returns the melody to D_A and resolves to F, a perfect cadence from the C major of the preceding bars, before returning to the driving accompaniment centred on G. The effect is to create a moment of harmonic clarity and resolution in F_I , until the tonal centre of G is re-established. The effect also casts doubt throughout the final iteration of the melody as to whether the piece is in F_I or D_A until the final resolution to D major, which could be heard as either a tonic resolution with a Picardy third, implied by the melody, or as an imperfect cadence from the G tonal centre implied by the harmony. Whilst remaining in the same key throughout the movement, Holst creates a sense of conflict between the melody and harmony with two implied tonal centres for the first iteration of the melody and two resolutions away from the implied tonality of the last two iterations (G_D resolving to F_I and F_I resolving to D major respectively).

Figure 19 - Second Suite in F, 'Song of the Blacksmith'

Moderato e maestoso.

ff Tutti.

Tonal centre of G established

Melody in D_A

dim.

Horn & Sax.

Corn. & Clar. A

Melody in G_D

Corn. B

G centricity retained

Only note practically effected by modal change

cres. *Andante* *Tromb.*

C centricity

Melody returns to D_A

ff Tutti.

Resolution from C - F

The image displays a musical score for the 'Song of the Blacksmith' from the Second Suite in F. The score is divided into five systems, each with a piano accompaniment and a melodic line. The tempo is 'Moderato e maestoso'. The first system features a piano accompaniment marked 'ff Tutti' and a melodic line in D major. The second system has a piano accompaniment marked 'dim.' and a melodic line for Horn and Saxophone. The third system has a piano accompaniment and a melodic line for Cornet and Clarinet in A, with the annotation 'Melody in G_D'. The fourth system has a piano accompaniment and a melodic line for Cornet in B, with annotations 'G centricity retained' and 'Only note practically effected by modal change'. The fifth system has a piano accompaniment and a melodic line for Trombone, with annotations 'C centricity' and 'Melody returns to D_A'. The score concludes with a piano accompaniment marked 'ff Tutti' and an annotation 'Resolution from C - F'.

G centricity is re-established

Final resolution to D major

All the modulations are fixed-domain mode relations, and Holst does not use chromatic alteration at all except in the final chord. The latter two movements of the suite display a subtler use of modal harmony and modal modulations than found in the first two movements. Whilst Holst is still employing ternary form, the sophistication he achieves from a harmonic structure devised entirely from one relative key is highly inventive. Holst is clearly exploring the opportunities for harmonic invention and tension within the mode.

In the final movement ‘Fantasia on the Dargason’, Holst uses elements of the harmonic language seen in *First Suite in F* and in *A Somerset Rhapsody*, but with a greater degree of delicacy. Whilst there is harmonic material featuring chromatic alteration from the mode, it is used comparatively sparingly and is no longer the predominant form of harmonic invention. The main source of harmonic interest in this movement comes from the use of fixed-domain bimodality, heard in the combination of the Dargason (F_I) with Greensleeves (G_D). The sections of the music featuring just the Dargason are typically melody dominated homophony and there is generally a clear tonal centre of F. When Holst combines the Dargason with Greensleeves, the music becomes polyphonic and the chords underpinning the sections alternate between Dm, Gm and F, without fully modulating or remaining in a tonic of F.

Figure 20 - Second Suite in F, 'Green Sleeves' and 'Dargason'

C (One beat in a bar but keep the same pace as before)

Cl.
p
Green Sleeves.
Solo Ruff.
mp
Bass.
Sax.
Bass. p
Ob. & 2nd Cl.
Col. Cl. 8^{va}
Col. Fl. 8^{va}

A conflict between the tonal centres is constantly suggested but not resolved until Greensleeves fades out and the Dargason returns to the foreground. The tonal centre of F, constantly challenged but not overcome, is the main harmonic conflict in the piece. The other devices Holst employs to offset the F_1 include chromatic deviation from the relative key in the form of small alterations that simply colour the harmony (Figure 21), and large deviations that challenge or obscure the tonality of the music for short passages.

Figure 21 - Second Suite in F, 'Fantasia on the Dargason' (bar 9)

Sax.
Cl.

Of these larger deviations, the two clearest examples are the passages beginning bar 121 and 187 (Figure 22 and 23). In the first of these Holst is using ascending chromatic scales in the accompanying instruments to off-set the melody, which is the same technique Holst uses in places in *A Somerset Rhapsody* and is a little incongruous with the subtlety and modality shown in the rest of the piece. The second example is the use of chromatic suspensions resolving to pitches within the mode which are less abrasive and more in keeping with Holst's newfound simplification of melodic language; it is an extension of the small-scale chromatic colourations to the harmony shown in Figure 21.

Figure 22 - Second Suite in F, 'Fantasia on the Dargason' (bar 121)

The musical score for Figure 22 shows the beginning of bar 121. It features four staves: F Horn (F Cl. Sax.), E♭ Clarinet (E♭ Cl.), Bassoon (Bass.), and Double Bass (B.D. roll.). The piano part is marked 'p' and consists of a chromatic ascending scale in the right hand and a chromatic descending scale in the left hand. The woodwind parts have melodic lines that are partially offset by the piano accompaniment.

Figure 23 - Second Suite in F, 'Fantasia on the Dargason' (bar 187)

The musical score for Figure 23 shows the beginning of bar 187. It features two staves: Clarinet (Cl.) and Double Bass (B.D. roll.). The piano part is marked 'p' and consists of chromatic suspensions in the right hand and a chromatic ascending scale in the left hand. The Clarinet part has a melodic line with some chromatic movement.

A consistent feature of these suites is that harmonic movement tends to last for a full iteration of the melody and the folk-song melodies are not fragmented. This block approach to harmonic structure is characteristic of suite form and is again a means of making the music accessible to an audience who will not necessarily appreciate the harmonic complexity Holst demonstrates in much of his orchestral work. Keeping the strophic structure of the song intact preserves another link to the origins of the material.

3.2.3 - *St Paul's Suite*

The most harmonically sophisticated of these folk-song style suites is undoubtedly the *St Paul's Suite*. Composed for the students who were its namesake, this composition balances aesthetic considerations with technical accessibility. Whilst *St. Paul's Suite* clearly bears the influence of folk-song and features songs from Playford's *The English Dancing Master* in the final movement, the primary material for the majority of the work is Holst own composition. The string orchestra is a much lighter force than the brass or military band and Holst compliments this delicacy in other compositional elements. Two movements are indebted to dances with English roots, the 'Jig' and the 'Dargason'. Holst introduces a subtler and more inventive use of modal harmony in *St Paul's Suite*, featuring less of the block treatment of melody seen in the earlier suites.

In each movement, Holst adopts a different approach to the treatment of melody and harmony, expanding his vocabulary within the folk-song style. These four movements can see their roots in the two earlier suites for military band, with some of the approaches Holst was experimenting with previously now expanded and utilised to greater effect. As a composition for school children, the use and emulation of folk-song as an expression of nationalism in this suite is an issue that will be covered in chapter 4.1 along with a deeper contextual discussion about the relationship between the Folk-Song Revival and education. The tables below give the structure of the pieces, including harmonic content and primary modes.

Table 19 - St Paul's Suite, 'Jig' (Harmonic Structure)

Melody	Bar Number	Mode	Relative Major Key	Tonal Centre
A	1	D _D	C	D
Link	37	D _A /D _{minor}	F/D _{minor}	D
B	60	A _M	D	A
B	96	F _{#M}	B	F#
Link	115	B _{bD}	A _b	B _b - A _b
A	132/145	G _M /D _D	C	G
Link	152	B _D	A	B
Link	160	D _D	C	D
Link	163	D _A	F	D
B	170	C _{#M}	F#	chromatic
B	184	C _M	F	C

We can see Holst starting to use accompanying instruments to change the harmonic context the melody is heard in. Take for example Melody A: initially established clearly in D_D, when the melody returns in bar 132, Holst alters the harmonic context to infer a shift to G_M without altering the melody itself. This preservation of the melody gives the impression the tune is “found”, even though it is of Holst’s own devising. Holst expands the harmonic spectrum of the piece with the addition the ascending chromatic triplet sequence before the finale iteration of the melody, which in the context of the rest of the movement is curious in its departure from the mode.

Figure 24 - St Paul's Suite, 'Jig' (Chromatic Triplets)

The image displays three systems of musical notation for the 'Jig' from St Paul's Suite. The first system shows the beginning of the piece with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 3/4 time signature. It features five staves: two for the violin parts (top two staves) and three for the string ensemble (bottom three staves). The violin parts are marked with 'div.' (divisi) and 'p. cresc.' (piano crescendo). The string parts are marked with 'p. cresc.' and 'molto pesante' (molto pesante). The second system continues the chromatic triplet motif in the violin parts, with the string parts providing a steady accompaniment. The third system shows the final iteration of the melody, marked with 'div.' and 'non legato' (non legato), leading to the close of the piece.

The impression is of the music bubbling up through a series of near-instant chromatic transpositions of the motif before bursting into the final iteration of the melody and the close of the piece. The passage is difficult for young players (particularly the violin parts) due to the awkward string crossings, repeated triplets in a quick tempo, constant accidentals, and the need to shift to 5th position for the top F. By all accounts, Holst refrained from teaching down to his pupils and he may have included this section in part to see them rise to the challenge.

Table 20 - St Paul's Suite, 'Ostinato' (Harmonic Structure)

Bar Number	Mode	Relative Major Key	Tonal Centre
1	C _I	C	C
37	C _L	G	C
45	C _M	F	C
53	C _I	C	C
61	C _M	F	C
69	C _L	G	C
77	C _I	C	C
108	C _L	G	C
121	Ambiguous	Ambiguous	C
128	C _I	C	C
133	Ambiguous	Ambiguous	C
137	C _L	G	C

Interest is derived in this piece from constant harmonic movement between C, F and G achieved by modal modulation maintaining a tonal centre of C. Again, the same techniques as with Melody A from the 'Jig' can be seen, where the melodic pitch classes are maintained as the context they are heard in is shifted. The changes in accompaniment are analogous to viewing an object in a display from different angles and again plays on the idea of found artefacts to be observed but not altered.

Table 21 - St Paul's Suite, 'Intermezzo' (Harmonic Structure)

Melody	Bar Number	Mode	Relative Major Key	Tonal Centre
1A	7	A _D	G	A
1B	19	A _{Phrygian Dominant}	D minor	A
2A	31	A _I	A	A
2B	47	C _{Ly}	G	C
1A	55	A melodic minor / A _D	A minor / G	A
1B	67	A _{Phrygian Dominant}	D minor	A
2A	79	F _I	F	F
2B	87	C _L	G	C
1A	95	A melodic minor / A _D	A minor / G	A
1A	101	A _D chromatic descent	G	A

The 'Intermezzo' features constant harmonic movement, largely centred on A. For the first time in Holst's use of rotational harmony, he breaks away from the pitch set of the major scale, including movement to rotations of the harmonic minor. In principal, Holst is still using the same technique of rotational harmony, but in practice the rotation of the harmonic minor scale yields a completely different soundscape, one carrying associations of the "exotic" through the scale steps of the minor second and raised third. Perhaps modality and its associated techniques meant more to Holst than simply developing an "English" soundscape, or that Holst's conception of "English" music goes beyond a soundscape based on the modality of English folk-song. I think the two probably go hand in hand; Holst was interested in the musical potential of folk-song and clearly emulates the sound of the melodies at times in his own composition, but he had no desire to restrict himself ideologically or practically to a dogmatic view of what his musical voice should be as an Englishman.

Table 22 - *St Paul's Suite, 'Finale' (Harmonic Structure)*

Melody	Bar Number	Mode	Relative Major Key	Tonal Centre
Dargason	1	C _I	C	C
Greensleeves/Dargason	57	D _D /C _I	C	D/C
Dargason	89	C _I	C	C
Dargason	137	C _I *	C	Ambiguous
Dargason	169	C _I *	C	C
Greensleeves/Dargason	185	D _D /C _I	C	D/C
Dargason	219	C _I	C	C

* (with chromatic sequences and development)

The 'Finale' is essentially a reworking of the 'Fantasia on the Dargason' from the *Second Suite in F*, and as such will not warrant further extended discussion here. In the *St Paul's Suite* there is a progression from the military suites in harmonic language. In the 'Jig', the melody and harmony are clearly working in tandem, with the modality of the melody and its accompanying harmonic spectrum shifting through the course of the melody. Over the whole movement Holst traverses seven different relative major keys across ten modulations, with the number of bars between each transition decreasing as the movement progresses. The effect is that the constant movement and dancing character of the melody is reflected in the harmonic structure; the more intense the movement becomes, the quicker and more numerous the modal modulations. From a practical point of view, Holst is introducing a variety of keys for the pupils to play in without giving them long drawn out sections of technically challenging material. For strings this movement is, by and large, easy and enjoyable to play, with predominant relative major keys of C, D, A and F. Holst manages to challenge his pupils with the more taxing passages, without reducing the piece to a technical exercise. As a caveat to this observation, Imogen Holst describes performing *St Paul's Suite*, with the school orchestra as follows:

...works such as the *St Paul's Suite* for strings, which he wrote for the school orchestra when they were really quite bad, they'd only just begun! Of course, it's no good pretending we kept in tune, and it's no good pretending that we could play the *St Paul's Suite* up to time. But when he conducted it for us he was such a good teacher, and such a good conductor of amateurs, that the music made sense.¹⁸⁹

In the second movement, 'Ostinato', the use of rotational harmony to effect harmonic ambiguity is perhaps at its most effective of any of the suite movements. The music is based on a four-quaver ostinato around which the accompaniment varies the context the ostinato is heard in. Interestingly, Holst may have considered this movement beyond the ability of the school orchestra, as according to an article in *The Paulina* (the school magazine) in December 1922, two months after the students heard the suite performed in the Royal Albert Hall, they were surprised by the existence of the second movement, as they had only played the other three movements.¹⁹⁰

The influence of folk-song is heard in several manifestations in this piece, with Holst evoking an idyllic England with his lilting opening major melody, building through the Mixolydian and Lydian to a robust march, from which the music returns again to the lilting opening. From a compositional perspective, Holst is developing his skill in using modal relations to develop harmonic change, continuity and ambiguity. By anchoring himself to the three pitches heard in the ostinato motif, he sets himself the challenge of developing the piece harmonically without making it either inaccessible through dissonance, or facile and trite. By introducing accidentals in the accompaniment following the circle of fifths, Holst achieves maximally smooth voice leading.

¹⁸⁹ *Memories of Gustav Holst* (14:26-14:54), [YouTube video], 14th August 2016 [accessed 16th March 2017].

¹⁹⁰ Alan Gibbs, 'New Light On Holst and Friends: Manuscript Discoveries at St Paul's Girls' School.' *Tempo* 60, 237 (2006): 44–58.

Take for example the following excerpt from bars 27-52. Holst moves between C_I, C_M and C_{Ly} through the introduction of an F# or Bb into the accompaniment:

Figure 25 - St Paul's Suite, 'Ostinato' (Modal Flux)

The image displays a musical score for the piece 'Ostinato' from St Paul's Suite. It consists of three systems of music, each with four staves. The top staff is the melody, and the bottom three staves are the accompaniment. The first system shows the initial material. The second system begins with a boxed number '1' above the first measure of the melody. The third system shows a change in the accompaniment, with a Bb introduced in the bass line, which corresponds to the modal shift mentioned in the text. The score is written in a common time signature and features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some measures containing rests.

The resulting music has an extraordinary lightness to it and a clear harmonic progression through the movement without a moment's awkwardness or abruptness in the modal changes. The flowing continuity of the ostinato provides the harmonic stability for the movement allowing Holst to flit between suggestions of harmonic context without ever fully coming to rest.

The ‘Intermezzo’, as opposed to the harmonic ambiguity of the ‘Ostinato’, features modal change to create clear and largely conventional harmonic movement. Traditionally, the Intermezzo in a suite is a movement that is musically different from the rest of the piece. In *St Paul’s Suite*, it is the introduction of the Eastern soundscape through the use of the Phrygian Dominant that sets it apart from the other identifiably “English” modal movements. There are two melodies in this movement, each of which is heard in two forms.

Melody 1 is first heard in the Dorian mode in A with a relative key of G major. This then changes to the Phrygian Dominant in A, with a relative key of D harmonic minor, the dominant minor of G.

Figure 26 - *St Paul’s Suite*, ‘Intermezzo’ (Melody 1)



The conventional harmonic movement from major tonic to dominant minor is coloured by the rotation of tonal centre from G and D respectively to a single maintained tonal centre of A. Melody 2 is then heard in A₁ before modulating to C_{Ly}, a tertiary modulation of tonal centre, and a return in the relative major key to G before the return to Melody 1 in A Dorian.

Figure 27 - *St Paul's Suite*, 'Intermezzo' (Melody 2)



In the second iteration of the melodies, Melody 1 again moves from A Dorian to A Phrygian Dominant. Melody 2 is then heard in F major and C_{Ly} before the final return to A Dorian. In terms of tonal centre, the music is rooted in A, moving by a tertiary relation to C and back, then to F. From here there is a fifth to C and another tertiary shift back to A. The fascinating effect that Holst manages to achieve is that of bold juxtaposition of harmonic blocks, while remaining for the majority of the movement with a tonal centre of A. The stasis in the tonal centre serves to create continuity and specifically emphasise the change in harmonic language between modes. In the earlier suite for military band, modal modulation was limited to occurring between different sections of the music and Holst's melodies remained within a single mode. In the *St Paul's Suite*, Holst develops his melodies to a higher degree using modal changes to create contrast within each melody itself.

St. Paul's Suite is harmonically more complex than the earlier suites; Holst is using modal relations to a greater effect and with significantly more dexterity than previously. The swift transitions between harmonic sets and the passages of harmonic ambiguity created by Holst's use of gapped scales and modes, are two of the defining features of this music. Holst is at his most successful in utilising the modal influence of folk-song whilst working in a small form to create harmonic interest.

Whilst *St Paul's Suite* definitely features the most intricate harmonic structure, the harmonic structures of all the suites have a certain character to them, with the same techniques seen across the compositions. Holst affects movements in tonal centre and relative key that are largely conventional moving by a harmonic relationship of a third, fourth or fifth which are then coloured or combined with modal change, so that although the movement is conventional, it is also unexpected due to the effect of modal relations on relative key. Where Holst is experimenting with these techniques in the early suites, he is gaining a great facility with modal relations and pushing his experiments with rotational harmony further in *St Paul's Suite*.

3.2.4 - Op.34 and Op. 36b

Op. 34 and Op. 36b are two sets of part-songs that were written in 1916 whilst Holst was living in the small rural village of Thaxted. While the songs from Op. 34 are written for the Thaxted Singers, the *Six Choral Folksongs* op. 36b carry dedications to either 'C.K.S. and the Orianna', or 'W.G. Whittaker and his Singers' (though it seems likely Holst would have also had the Thaxted Singers in mind).¹⁹¹ The music is easily accessible but interesting enough to engage the singers without intimidating them. However, the inclusion of the dedication to the two professional choirs makes a statement that these are compositions Holst considered fit for professional choirs and concert halls. These two sets are experiments in the boundaries and possibilities inherent in folk-song and the applications for folk-song in English art-music. There are still aspects of the Elizabethan influence that were a part of the *Songs from 'The Princess'*, but there are also clear distinctions between the sets brought about by the use of folk-song.

The folk-song settings of Op. 36b are largely modal and feature almost no chromatic content. The music tends not to touch on different keys and the tonality remains largely anchored

¹⁹¹ Whittaker arranged a great number of folk-songs himself, both for performance and publication, and he and Holst shared a close relationship personally as well as musically. Part of the reason for these songs carry different dedications is likely due to the fact they were not conceived as a set, but rather were standalone songs that were written over the course of a year for the same forces and were subsequently grouped together.

for each song. Preserving the folk-song melodies imposes certain limitations on both the melodic and harmonic language. However, these limitations drive experimentation and expansion of expressive potential within a harmonically stable modal language. There is very little structural harmonic development in Op. 36b but surface harmony is used for the dual purpose of creating dramatic interest and accentuating the natural modality of the songs, a fundamental aspect of this new musical language. Figure 28 provides a harmonic analysis of the first verse of ‘I love my love’.

Figure 28 - Six Choral Folksongs, 'I love my love' (Harmonic Analysis)

SOPRANO. *p*
 CONTRALTO. *p*
 TENOR. *p*
 BASS. *p*

A - broad as I was walk - ing, one eve - ning in the spring, I
 A - broad as I was walk - ing, one eve - ning in the spring, I
 A - broad as I was walk - ing, one eve - ning in the spring, I
 A - broad as I was walk - ing, one eve - ning in the spring, I

i Fm/Ab Fm v Cm/Eb III Ab IV Bb Bb/D Bb i Fm v Cm Cm/EbFm Fm/Ab

heard a maid in Bed-lam so sweet - ly for to sing; Her chains she rat - tled
 heard a maid in Bed-lam so sweet - ly for to sing; Her chains she rat - tled
 heard a maid in Bed-lam so sweet - ly for to sing; Her chains she rat - tled
 heard a maid in Bed-lam so sweet - ly for to sing; Her chains she rat - tled

v Cm i Cm/EbFm⁷ IV Bb^{sus4} Bb v Cm^{sus4} Cm IV Bb III Ab v Cm/G i Fm^{maj6}

with her hands, and thus re - pli - ed she: "I love my love be - cause I know my
 with her hands, and thus re - pli - ed she: (closed lips)
 with her hands, and thus re - pli - ed she: (closed lips)
 with her hands, and thus re - pli - ed she: (closed lips)

III ii i
 Ab/E Gm/E Fm

love loves me! 2.0
 love loves me! 2.0
 love loves me! 2.0
 love loves me! 2.0

The predominant use of chords i and v, along with the occasional use of III and IV, give the piece its modal soundscape. Of more interest though is how harmonic interest is achieved within the mode. The first verse climaxes on an Fm chord in root position with an added major 6th (which could otherwise be read as an inversion of a half-diminished 7th chord on D). The chord at the climax underpins the word ‘know’ and the D \sharp is poignant because when held against the Fm triad it emphasises the established Dorian modality of the verse and transforms a simple tonic into a dissonant, unstable chord with the tritone between the D and Ab. In the context of the singer’s statement: ‘I love my love because I *know*, my love loves me’, the dissonance underpinning the word ‘know’ could be heard as a suggestion (or represent the intensity) of a fervent wish on the singer’s part that the words she is singing are true.

The progression then descends through an Ab/Eb(2ndinv) to prepare for the Eb7 (VII), again emphasising the modality, which resolves to the tonic Fm. The chords descending through Ab and Gm add to this sense of insecurity because their mournful descent to the tonic does not form a standard cadence at the end of the phrase. The impact only occurs because the harmony of the rest of the verse is strongly focused on i and v. By simplifying his use of harmony overall, those modal suspensions used are imbued with greater dramatic effect.

The melody of ‘I sow’d the seeds of love’ uses a gapped scale; it does not feature the F \sharp /C \sharp which would determine the modality as A Dorian/Aeolian mode. Holst uses both F \sharp /C \sharp in the accompaniment so the harmonic context of the melody changes. The first three verses are given in Figure 29 with the original melody of the song highlighted in blue.

Figure 29 - Six Choral Folksongs, 'I sow'd the seeds of love' (Mixed Modes)

Allegretto

SOPRANO. *p* I sow'd the seeds of love, And I sow'd them in the spring; I ga-ther'd them up in the

CONTRALTO. *p* I sow'd the seeds of love, And I sow'd them in the spring; I ga-ther'd them up in the

TENOR. *p* I sow'd the seeds of love, And I sow'd them in the spring; I ga-ther'd them up in the

BASS. *p* I sow'd the seeds of love, And I sow'd them in the spring; I ga-ther'd them up in the

morn-ing so soon, When small birds sweet-ly sing, — When small birds sweet-ly sing. My gar - den was plant-

morn-ing so soon, When small birds sweet-ly sing, — When small birds sweet-ly sing. My gar - den was planted

morn-ing so soon, When small birds sweet-ly sing, — When small birds sweet-ly sing. —

morn-ing so soon, When small birds sweet-ly sing, — When small birds sweet-ly sing. —

- ed well With flow-er's ev-'ry - where, But I had not the lib-er - ty to choose The flow'r that I

well With flow-er's ev-'ry - where, But I had not the lib-er - ty to choose The flow'r that I lov'd so

lov'd so dear, so dear. — The gard-ner stand-ing by, I

dear — The flow'r that I lov'd so dear. — The gard-ner stand-ing by, I

+ The gard-ner stand-ing by, I ask-ed to choose for

cresc. ask-ed to choose for me; He chose me the Vio-let, the Li - ly, the Pink, But these I re-fused all

cresc. ask-ed to choose for me; He chose me the Vio-let, the Li - ly, the Pink, But these I re-fused all

cresc. me; He chose me the Vio-let, the Li - ly, the Pink, But these I re-fused all three. — But

rall.

Holst wrote to Cecil Sharp about using two modes in a single folk-song setting. The letter is not dated, so it is not clear if it is this setting or an earlier setting he is referring to, but the conundrum posed is the same.

I have added F# to the signature of ‘The Seeds of Love’. As it does not affect the tune I thought I was justified in following my own inclinations. Would it be “mixing drinks” too much to have alternate verses of this song Dorian and Aeolian?¹⁹²

The metaphor is interesting: “mixing drinks” generally stands for something that is impure and more intoxicating than just sticking to one type of drink. Playing games with modal harmony is presented as a potentially dangerous practice. This brief insight shows that developing modal modulation was on Holst’s mind and was a technique he was consciously exploring. Interestingly, Holst removed the F# from the key signature between this letter and publication but has still maintained the mixture of modes in the accompanying parts.

Table 23 - Six Choral Folksongs, ‘I sow’d the seeds of love’ (Harmonic Reduction)

Verse	Mode	Relative Major
1	A _A	C
2	A _{D - A}	G - C
3	A _D	G
4	A _D	G
5	A _{A - D}	C - G

Percy Grainger remarked that the folk-songs he came across tended to be in a ‘single loose-knit modal scale, as opposed to clearly defined modes (discussed in chapter 3.1.1).¹⁹³ Folk-songs

¹⁹²Imogen Holst, ‘Gustav Holst’s Debt to Cecil Sharp’, *Folk Music Journal*, 2 (1974) 400-403, (p. 403)

¹⁹³ Percy Grainger, ‘Folksong Scales in the Phonograph’, *Journal of the Folksong Society*, 12 (1908) 155-162 (p. 156).

comprised of more than one mode certainly appear in publications of the time such as *Eighty English Folk Songs* by Cecil Sharp.¹⁹⁴ Even within the *Six Choral Folksongs* there are examples, such as the use of both F⁴/♯ in the melody of ‘There was a tree’ (Figure 32). However, imposing modal inflections on a harmonically ambiguous gapped scale is different. This effect cannot be achieved in the single melody line of an unaccompanied folk-song as it requires multiple voices to exploit the harmonic potential of a gapped scale.

Gapped scales are used to create harmonic ambiguity in the *Seven Part-songs* (1927) set to poetry of Robert Bridges (discussed in chapter 3.2.7). Imogen Holst attributes Holst’s movement away from Wagnerian chromaticism and towards his mature style to these experiments in mixing modes when writing folk-song arrangements. In which case, this folk-song may well be near the genesis of this technique in Holst’s composition. The only other chromatic alteration in the song is shown in Figure 30 below. Bb and Gb are heard as a mixture of a chromatic and diatonic descent, but do not challenge the established mode.

¹⁹⁴ Cecil J. Sharp, *Eighty English Folksongs*, ed. by Maud Karpeles (London: Faber and Faber Ltd, 1968)

Figure 30 - Six Choral Folksongs, 'There was a tree' (Chromatic alteration)

The image displays two systems of musical notation for the choral folksong 'There was a tree'. The first system consists of four staves: a vocal line with lyrics, a piano accompaniment, and two additional staves. The lyrics are: "pluck it and think that no Li-ly nor Pink Can match with the bud on that tree, — Can". The second system also consists of four staves. The lyrics are: "Can match with the bud — on that tree." and "match with the bud , on that tree. —". Above the first staff of the second system, the tempo and performance instructions are: "rall. SOLO OR SEMICHORUS. pp". The piano accompaniment in both systems features a prominent chromatic alteration, with a blue highlight under the notes in the lower register.

In fact, the only significant deviation from modality in the set is in the storm passage in the song 'Swansea Town' (see Figure 31, below), where Holst employs an ascending and descending chromatic motif, hummed by the tenors and basses. This cliché is the historically established conventional signifier of a storm and is particularly prominent against the diatonic modality of the rest of the set.

Figure 31 - Six Choral Folksongs, 'Swansea Town' (Chromatic storm passage)

now the storm it's ris - ing, I can see it com - ing on, The

hum

hum

hum

night so dark as a - ny-thing, we can-not see the moon; Our

good old ship she is toss'd aft, our rigg-ing is all tore, But still I live in

hope to see Old Swan - sea Town once more. Oh it's
cresc. Oh it's
 lips open *cresc.* Oh it's
 lips open *cresc.* Oh it's
 lips open *cresc.* Oh it's

ff

ff

ff

ff

ff

Op. 34 demonstrates the significant impact of arranging folk-song on Holst's original compositions. The clearest harmonic parallel to one of the folk-songs from Op. 36b is 'Bring us in good ale'. In the use of mode, it closely resembles 'There was a tree'; the melodies are predominantly G Mixolydian, but in both there is a chromatic alteration F \flat - \sharp .

Figure 32 - Six Choral Folksongs, 'There was a tree'/'Song of the Blacksmith' (Ambiguity of Mode)

Allegretto.
sempre p e leggiero

CONTRALTO.

There was a tree all in the woods, As fine a tree as ev-eryou did
see. For the tree was in the woods. And the woods lie down in the val - ley be-
low, low, low, low, And the woods lie down in the val - ley be- low,

The image shows a musical score for the Contralto part of 'There was a tree'. It consists of three staves of music in G major (one sharp) and 3/4 time. The tempo is marked 'Allegretto' and the performance instruction is 'sempre p e leggiero'. The lyrics are: 'There was a tree all in the woods, As fine a tree as ev-eryou did see. For the tree was in the woods. And the woods lie down in the val - ley be- low, low, low, low, And the woods lie down in the val - ley be- low,'.

(Ambiguity of mode in 'Song of the Blacksmith')

TENOR.

Bring us in no brown bread for that is made of bran, Nor
bring us in no white bread for there - in is no game; But
bring us in good ale.

The image shows a musical score for the Tenor part of 'Song of the Blacksmith'. It consists of three staves of music in G major (one sharp) and 3/4 time. The tempo is marked 'Allegretto' and the performance instruction is 'sempre p e leggiero'. The lyrics are: 'Bring us in no brown bread for that is made of bran, Nor bring us in no white bread for there - in is no game; But bring us in good ale.'.

The melodies, initially unaccompanied, are extended to the other parts in the second verses and in both songs the accompaniment consists of a set of pedals sustained from the last note of the melody. Harmony is implied through pedal points which determine the modal perspective the melody is heard from.

Table 24 - Op.34, 'Bring us in good ale' (Harmonic Reduction)

Verse	Mode of Melody	Relative Major
1/2/3	G _{M/I}	C/G
4/5	B _b _{M/I}	E _b /B _b
6/7	G _{M/I}	C/G
8	D _{D/M}	C/G

Whilst the tonal centre changes several times throughout the song, the mixture of modes is maintained until the final verse where Holst affects a fixed-domain modal modulation to D Dorian/Mixolydian.¹⁹⁵ By preserving the melody through the first seven verses, as he does with folk-songs, Holst gives the impression that he is using a “found” melody rather than one of his own devising.

When he does change the mode, he maintains the pitch class content whilst moving the tonal centre briefly to D, before the music returns to the original centre of G for the final resolution to a G major triad. These harmonic transitions bear no apparent relation to the content of the text (which in truth gives little potential for dramatic exploitation), but function as purely musical devices. Interestingly, Holst does not resolve the same F \natural /F \sharp conflict in the final chord of ‘There was a tree’, leaving it as a bare fifth instead, perhaps because he felt it would be taking liberties to assign a conclusive modality to the gapped melody.

¹⁹⁵ In chapter 3.1 I discuss some elements of modal theory useful to the thesis as a whole and introduce this term among others. The term comes from the work of Ian Bates, *General Diatonic Modality and Ralph Vaughan Williams' Compositional Practice* (Yale University, 2008). Bates identifies three factors that can be changed to derive harmonic structure in modal pieces, which he calls the *three modal domains*. These comprise of pitch class content [i.e. in conventional terms the key signature], mode type and centricity [tonal centre]. He describes different harmonic sections of pieces as being either: *fixed-domain modal relationships*, where one of the parameters above remains the same whilst the other two change or; *variable-domain modal relationships*, where all three parameters change. I extend this theory to talk about relationships between two modes used simultaneously in *fixed-domain/variable-domain bimodality*.

The Mixolydian and Ionian modes give a cheerful inflection to ‘Bring us in good ale’, also serving the ideological agenda of placing the setting in the perceived folk-song soundscape that is being emulated. By contrast, the use of mode in ‘Lullay my liking’ more clearly serves a dramatic purpose, as changes in mode are used to reflect changes in the tone of the narrative.

Table 25 - Op.34, ‘Lullay my liking’ (Harmonic Reduction)

Refrain	Mode of Melody	Relative Major	Text
1/2/3/4/5/6	D _A	F	<i>Lullay my liking, My dear Son, my Sweeting; Lullay my dear Heart, Mine own dear Darling.</i>
Verse	Mode of Melody	Relative Major Key	
1	D _D	C	I saw a fair maiden Sitten and sing: She lulled a little child, A sweete Lording
2	D _M	G	That Eternal Lord is He That made alle thing; Of alle Lordes He is Lord, Of every King He’s King.
3	D _M	G	There was mickle melody At that childes birth: Though the songsters were heavenly They made mickle mirth.
4	D _M - F _I	G - F	Angels bright they sang that night And saiden to that Child "Blessed be Thou and so be she That is so meek and mild."
5	D _M	G	Pray we now to that child, As to His Mother dear, God grant them all His blessing That now maken cheer.

The melody for the first verse is written in the Dorian mode and for the other verses in the Mixolydian mode or even Ionian mode, reflecting the more jubilant text. The same technique can be seen to an even greater extent in 'This have I done for my true love' where Holst uses different modes to match the mood of the narrative. Indeed, 'This have I done for my true love' is so redolent of folk-song that the piece was initially mistaken as a folk-song arrangement by Whittaker when he first came across it.¹⁹⁶ It was Whittaker's request to include it as a folk-song arrangement in his concert that prompted Holst to write the *Six Choral Folksongs*. According to Imogen Holst, this was the first work Holst wrote after the republication of the Tudor Madrigals.¹⁹⁷ The infamously left-wing vicar of Thaxted and great friend of Holst's, Conrad Noel, posted the text of a carol with medieval origins in the entrance to the church. The carol repeatedly frames Jesus' life in terms of a dance and Holst was so taken with the text he decided to compose a setting. The melody was his own though, as he was unimpressed by the tune given with the words. Reportedly, the pagan associations of dancing in church caused some consternation with the choir initially, almost causing a mutiny and prompting Vaughan Williams to write a strongly worded letter:

I am amazed to hear that some members of your choir have taken exception to the beautiful words of Holst's "Tomorrow Shall be my Dancing Day", apparently on the grounds firstly that dancing and religion are something apart and consequently secondly that it is wrong to use the words "This I have done for my true love" in connection with a statement of the central doctrines of Christianity. I had hoped that the killjoy and lugubrious view of religion which once obtained was now happily dead, but I fear there are still some people who have a degraded view of the dance and connect it only with high kicking and jazz, but the dance in it's highest manifestations shares with music, poetry and painting, one of the greatest means of expression of the very highest of human aspirations...I should advise all those who do not feel themselves worthy to sing the beautiful words of this carol, to vocalise, and to leave the words to those

¹⁹⁶ Michael Short, *Gustav Holst, Letters to W.G. Whittaker* (Glasgow: University of Glasgow Press, 1974) p. 6.

¹⁹⁷ Holst, *The Music of Gustav Holst*, p. 55.

singers who have not this inhibition. But if they do this they will miss a great spiritual experience.¹⁹⁸

‘This have I done for my true love’ is predominantly in the Dorian mode and in a lilting 6/4. The melody consists of four flowing two-bar phrases followed by a five-bar refrain. The second verse has a different melody but the same structure and the two melodies alternate between verses, as shown below:

Figure 33 - Op.34, ‘This have I done for my true love’ (Melody 1)

The image shows a musical score for the soprano part of the song 'This have I done for my true love'. The score is written in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a time signature of 6/4. The tempo is marked 'Allegretto' and the performance instruction is 'Solo or semichorus'. The score begins with a piano (*P*) dynamic. The lyrics are: 'To mor-row shall be my danc - ing day, I would my true_ love did so chance To_ see the le - gend of my play, To call my true love to the dance. Sing oh my love, oh my love, my love, my love, This have I done for my true love.' The melody consists of four two-bar phrases followed by a five-bar refrain. The first two bars of the first phrase are marked with a '4' above the staff, indicating a four-measure phrase. The score is presented on four staves.

¹⁹⁸ ‘Letter from Ralph Vaughan Williams to Joyce Hooper’, *Letter from Ralph Vaughan Williams to Joyce Hooper* | *The Letters of Ralph Vaughan Williams* <<http://vaughanwilliams.uk/letter/vw12291>> [accessed 16 September 2018]

Figure 34 - Op.34, 'This have I done for my true love' (Melody 2)

When the harmony does enter it is modal and homophonic, but as the piece progresses the setting becomes more intricate than both the arrangements and the other songs in Op. 34. There is some chromatic alteration within this structure, but surprisingly little. Most of the harmonic interest comes from the degrees of the scale used to accentuate the modality.

Table 26 - Op.34, 'This have I done for my true love' (Harmonic Structure)

Verse	Mode of Melody	Relative Major
1/2/3/4/5/6/7	E _D	D
8	E _D - G _A	D - B _b
9	D _I - C _I	D - C
10	E _{M/I}	A/E
11	E _D	D

The reason for the entirety of the harmonic development occurring in the last four verses is in the dramatic content of the text. The first six verses concern Christ's birth, his baptism and his triumph in the desert, with the metaphor of humanity as his 'true love' and the act of joining him in faith as 'joining the dance', running throughout. The text and music fit well, but when the

narrative turns to his arrest and crucifixion, modal modulation is used to dramatically alter the mood of the music.

Figure 35 - Op.34, 'This have I done for my true love' (Modal modulation)

89 E Dorian G Aeolian
rall.

set me at nought, Judged me to die to lead the dance.

me to die to lead the dance, to lead the dance. Sing oh my love,

set me at nought, Judged me to die to lead the dance. Sing oh, oh my

me to die to lead the dance, to lead the dance. Sing oh

93 *p*
Sing oh my love, my love, my love.

pp
oh my love

pp
love This have I done for my true

pp

D Ionian
Poco adagio

97 *p*
When on the cross hanged I was; When a spear to my heart did glance, There

(sempre pp)
Oh my love This have I done for my true

(sempre pp)
love This have I done for my true

(sempre pp)
This have I done for my true

C Ionian

101

is - sued forth both wa - ter and blood, To call my true love to the dance
love for my true love love for my true love love
love for my true love love
love Sing oh

105

Oh my love
Oh my love
Sing oh my love, oh my love, my love, my love, This have I

(iv - I Cadence
to E with
leading note) E Mixolydian

109

Then down to Hell I took my way,
This have I done for my true love.
This have I done for my true love.
done for my true love. Then down to Hell I took my way,

The tonal centre of the song stays predominantly on E, with some movement to G – D – C as shown above. Through modal change, Holst occupies relative major keys of D – B \flat – D – C – A\E - D. Holst creates darker inflections with G Aeolian, building to resolution in the movement to D and then C Ionian. The juxtaposition of the Ionian mode with the preceding material is significant, changing the context in which the text is heard, suggesting acceptance of Christ's death that might be a premonition of the ascension.

Compared with the modal strictures of Op. 36b, the original songs of Op. 34 still adhere to Holst's emerging notions of modality, but the use of modes is more creative as Holst is not bound by the limits of existing melodies. He seems to choose to deliberately preserve his original melodies in some instances to give the impression of using "found" melodies (such as in 'Bring us in good ale'), but in general he is more prone to use modal manipulation to help in text setting. This seems to follow the pattern of the suites, where Holst is more conservative in his harmonic manipulation when he is using folk-song and more creative when working with his original melodies, even if they are suggestive of folk-song in style.

3.2.5 - *Moorside Suite*

In 1927 Holst was commissioned to write the competition piece for the National Brass Band Championships and the result was the *Moorside Suite*.¹⁹⁹ He would have needed to compose music that was of a standard technically and musically for the championship test piece, but also accessible to the working-class communities the bands were a part of. This dual purpose is observable in the music. The melodies draw again on folk-song influence and the treatment of melodic material is similar to that of the *First Suite in Eb*, falling somewhere in between the simplicity of the *Second Suite in F* and the melodic intricacy of *St. Paul's Suite*.

¹⁹⁹ Short, *Gustav Holst*, pp. 262-263.

The importance of the brass band movement and the context of the *Moorside Suite* (1928) will be discussed in detail in chapter 4.1, but the approach to harmonic structure is worth commenting on here as it is similar to that of the early suites, with the melodies existing within discrete modes that are then alternated. Clearly Holst felt there was a place for this level of modal clarity in his work later in his compositional career—it was a vein of inspiration he kept returning to. The tables below highlight the clear-cut nature of the harmonic structures.

Table 27 - Moorside Suite, 'Scherzo' (Harmonic Structure)

Bar Number	Mode	Relative Major Key	Tonal Centre
1 - 41 (repeat, Fine)	Bb _D	Ab	Bb
42 - 91 (repeat, DC al Fine)	Bb _I	Bb	Bb

(Bars 81-91 prepare the listener harmonically for return to Dorian/Aeolian with the introduction of Ab, Db and Gb into music, with a resolution at end of the repeated opening in Bb_D to Bb major.)

Table 28 - Moorside Suite, 'Nocturne' (Harmonic Structure)

Bar Number	Mode	Relative Major Key	Tonal Centre
1	F _A	Ab	F
27	C _I	C	C
47	F _{Ph}	Db	F
59	F _I	F	F

Table 29 - Moorside Suite, 'March' (Harmonic Structure)

Bar Number	Mode	Relative Major Key	Tonal Centre
1	Bb _A	Db	Bb
50	Bb _I	Bb	Bb
124	Bb _A	Db	Bb
218	Bb _I	Bb	Bb

Table 30 - Moorside Suite (Harmonic Reduction)

Movement	Principal Modes
‘Scherzo’	Bb _D – Bb _I – Bb _D
‘Nocturne’	F _A – C _I – F _{Ph} – F _I
‘March’	Bb _A – Bb _I – Bb _A – Bb _I

In relation to the tonal centre, the movement can simple be reduced to a structure of Bb – F – Bb across the movements, and the use of modes colours the harmonic implications of each of these tonal centres. Again, Holst is taking conventional structures and using modal relations to develop them. In the ‘Scherzo’ the harmony simply rocks backward and forth between Bb_D and Bb_I with relative major keys of Ab and Bb. The tonal centre remains the same throughout giving the piece its harmonic continuity, but modal change is used to create any harmonic interest. The ‘Nocturne’ again uses modal modulation, in particular the first modulation is striking and provides a more interesting effect. The music moves from F_A to C_I, with relative major keys of Ab and C. There is a modulation in the tonal centre to the dominant and in the relative major key to the third above. Both of these are conventional harmonic movements, but their pairing is unexpected. The tonal centre then returns to F but the mode is Phrygian, giving a relative major key of Db, a variable-domain modal relationship, before a modal change to Ionian to finish the movement. As Table 28 shows, the music features two V – I relationships which are a third apart, interspersed with each other (Ab – Db and C – F). These are tied together using modes to maintain a tonal centre around F and its dominant C.

The melodies of the first two movements each have a clear modal identity that is not altered as the music repeats or develops. The final movement, ‘March’, has elements of the harmonic ambiguity of *St. Paul’s Suite* about it. Whilst the essential harmonic conflict is very similar to the ‘Scherzo’ with movement between two modes fixed around a tonal centre of Bb (in this case

Aeolian as opposed to the Dorian of the ‘Scherzo’) Holst colours these harmonic sets with reoccurring accidentals that imply alternative harmonic contexts.

These accidentals create a sense of modal flux in the ‘March’ that is not seen in the first two movements. This subtle manipulation of the modal context in the harmony is similar to Holst’s approach in *St Paul’s Suite* whereas the rest of the *Moorside Suite* has more in common with the earlier military suites. Across all three suites Holst is developing a strictly modal harmonic language in contrast with the mixture of modality and romantic harmony seen in *A Somerset Rhapsody*. The suites are highly tuneful compositions and show Holst experimenting with a new diatonic language very much within the bounds of tonality; this is as response to their intended performers and audiences.

3.2.6 - *Terzetto*

The *Terzetto* (1925) is one of Holst most technically interesting modal compositions. Written for a small ensemble of flute, oboe and viola, the piece is the only example of the extended use of trimodality in Holst’s composition. Edwin Evans, a prominent music critic and friend of the composer offers some insight into the composition:

When he was composing the *Terzetto*, Holst wrote me that he was then engaged upon something that was either chamber music or rubbish... The trend of thought which led to the *Fugal Concerto* had carried him onwards towards that form of polytonality which is a logical extension of fugal principles... In this *Terzetto* he appears, in fact, to have been striving for a new compromise. He uses several keys simultaneously, but whereas Milhaud’s intention is clearly that they shall impinge dissonantly one upon another and create a definite impression of clashing tonalities, Holst’s is to reconcile them by ingenious enharmonic devices.²⁰⁰

When he started composing the *Terzetto*, Holst was not thinking about a specific occasion. Evans’s description suggests that the harmonic experiment itself was the original inspiration for

²⁰⁰ Edwin Evans, ‘Gustav Holst September 21, 1874 - May 25, 1934.’ *The Musical Times* 75, 1097 (1934) 593-97. (p. 595).

the piece. Evans does not reference the modality of the individual melody lines, nor comments on the dancing rhythms that are indicative of the medium. Imogen Holst comes closer to inferring the influence but again does not seem to draw a direct link between the two.

[The] *Terzetto* in three keys baffled several distinguished musicians who heard it when it was first tried through in 1925. Even Holst himself was not quite sure whether it was real music or not; he had to listen to it several times before he could make up his mind about it. In 1945 it was warmly welcomed by listeners in the depths of the country who had not yet been faced with the necessity of learning their key signatures.²⁰¹

Imogen comments on the warm response the piece received in the countryside from a musically illiterate audience. Of course, the statement is not quantifiable, so it is impossible to test the veracity of the claim. However, the modal nature of the melodic lines does make the sound strangely familiar even in its experimental nature. Some of the main harmonic techniques used in the piece are a continuation of the modal language Holst initially developed in his earlier folk-song settings.

A Somerset Rhapsody (1907) and the suites contain examples of both fixed-domain and variable-domain bimodality. In the *Terzetto* Holst constructs the piece from a continual use of trimodality, predominantly employing variable domain relationships between the modes he selects; the result is highly dissonant as a whole, yet very tuneful if one focuses on individual melodies. Given the largely chromatic nature of the piece when taken as a whole, it is curious just how clearly the music manages to reference folk-song material. The first movement is full of gestures that are characteristic for a lot of ‘pastoral’ music throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries: melodies with a meandering “improvised” quality, triplet figures, little call motifs repeated at irregular intervals. Added to this, the flute and oboe are classic pastoral instruments and the inclusion of the viola could be seen to invoke the fiddle.

²⁰¹ Holst, *The Music of Gustav Holst*, p. 91.

The second movement is reminiscent of folk dance with its 6/8, 9/8 and 12/8 metres; folk-dance was critically important to many British composers of the second phase of the English Musical Renaissance. For Holst in particular, through his relationship with Cecil Sharp, the annual Whitsun Festival and the deep interest of his daughter Imogen (who toured around Europe with a folk-dance troupe) folk-dance was every bit as much a part of his musical world as folk-song. There are many instances of Holst using folk-dance rhythms in his suites (*St Paul's Suite* 1st and 4th movements, *Moorside Suite* 1st movement) and referencing dancing in his song (e.g. *This Have I Done For My True Love*).

The *Terzetto* as a whole is one of the clearest examples of the linear principal in Holst's work. John Warrack proposes that Holst's harmonic language is predominantly driven by melody rather than structure or form, an attribute that he identifies with Holst's interest in folk-song.²⁰² The *Terzetto* epitomises the notion that Holst is governed by linearity; the music is almost entirely polyphonic, with each melodic line pursuing disparate harmonic trajectories that create constant chromatic saturation. Where the music does coalesce into homophonic movement, this too is propelled by the shape of the melodic line, with intervals often moving in parallel. Holst was not oblivious of structural harmonic principals, but the composition is propelled by linear rather than vertical considerations.

To try to adequately explain the different harmonic forces at work in this composition, taking into account the linear principal, I will: demonstrate the combination of pitch sets used in several sections,²⁰³ of the music to achieve chromatic saturation; identify the most overtly implied modes where possible, based on recurring tones and melodic shape; and identify elements of continuity between sections that create harmonic cohesion through the piece. These will be discussed in relation to Bates' modal parameters.

²⁰² John Warrack, "Holst and the Linear Principle," *The Musical Times*, 115 (1974), 732–35.

²⁰³ Sections are identified by key harmonic events such as climactic chords, shifts in tonal centres and changes in pitch set.

Within the first eighteen bars of the piece Holst achieves chromatic saturation through the combination of discreetly modal melodies.

Figure 36 - Terzetto, 1st mvt (bars 1-18)

Allegretto

The musical score is for three instruments: Flute, Oboe, and Viola. It is in 4/4 time and marked *Allegretto*. The key signature has two sharps (F# and C#). The score is divided into four systems of staves. The first system (bars 1-4) shows the Flute part starting with a piano (*p*) dynamic and a triplet in bar 3. The Oboe and Viola parts are silent. The second system (bars 5-8) shows the Oboe part starting with a piano (*p*) dynamic and a triplet in bar 6. The Flute part continues. The third system (bars 9-12) shows the Viola part starting with a piano (*p*) dynamic and a triplet in bar 11. The Flute and Oboe parts continue. The fourth system (bars 13-18) shows the Flute part with a *dim.* marking and a triplet in bar 16. The Oboe part has a *dim.* marking and a triplet in bar 16. The Viola part has a *dim.* marking and a triplet in bar 16. The score ends with a *pizz.* marking in the Viola part.

Due to the chromatic nature of the music as a whole, there is very little sense of a clear overall tonal centre or mode. However, the melodies themselves are all conceived within discreet sets of pitch classes. By examining the trajectory of each melody, considering repeated tones, I have noted what I consider to be the implied modality of each melody which is obviously different for each instrument. There is no supporting harmonic information that cements a particular mode, so these implications are passing and often vague. Given the pastoral nature of the movement and Holst's historical use of modality, it is my belief that any modal implications are not only

intentional, but carefully considered. The table below shows the pitch sets and modes of each instrument.

Table 31 - Terzetto, 1st mvt (bars 1-18)

Instrument	Pitch-Class Set (organised by relative major)	Implied Mode
Flute	A B C# D E F# G#	B _D
Oboe	Ab Bb C Db Eb F G	C _{Ph}
Viola	C D E F G (G#) A B C	C _I (with added G#)
Complete pitch set (with duplications)	A A Bb B B C C C# Db D D Eb E E F F# G G G# G# Ab	

The total pitch set of this section reaches chromatic saturation with just the combination of the flute in pitch class of A major and the oboe in the pitch class of Ab. The viola, written predominantly in the pitch class of C major with the addition of a G#, has its pitches doubled between the two other voices. From examining the pitch sets in isolation, one could be led to believe that the impetus here was on the C major scale but that is not the case. Because all three instruments hold their own melody, one does not get the sense that any single instrument is leading and the others supporting. The manner in which the melodic focus continually passes from one instrument to another prevents the stability necessary to establish a predominant tonal space. Rather, the combination of Dorian, Phrygian and Ionian melodies creates a chromatically saturated texture right from the off, that at once clearly states both a general modality and a lack of tonal specificity, with the flute and oboe occupying polar opposite chromatic spaces and the viola situated harmonically in-between them. When Holst initially presents the melodies, he gives them space to be heard and identified as diatonic by the listener before he thickens the texture enough to shroud the effect in dissonance. This could be because Holst is trying to encourage the listener to hear the music as both modal and atonal simultaneously. If he had wanted to create purely chromatic music, he would not have organised the melodies into discreet modal pitch-sets but conversely, by

maintaining a near constant state of chromatic saturation he prevents the listener from maintaining a sense of tonal centres.

Having introduced the melodies in this first section, Holst continues to reuse, fragment and pass motives around the different instruments, much as he does in his folk-song compositions. All the while, this pattern of chromatic saturation through the combination of modes continues. Take for example the following two segments.

Table 32 - *Terzetto, 1st mvt (bars 18-28)*

Instrument	Pitch-Class Set (organised by relative major)	Implied Mode
Flute	A B C# D E F# G/G#	B _{D/A}
Oboe	Db Eb F Gb Ab Bb C	F _{Ph}
Viola	A B C Db Eb F	Hexatonic
Complete pitch set (with duplications)	A A Bb B B C C C# Db Db D Eb Eb E F F F# G G# Ab	

The same chromatic effect can be seen as in the first section. The flute and oboe occupy chromatically polarised spaces with the viola doubling pitches somewhere in between. In terms of duplications within the complete pitch set, the viola has moved from a loose C_I to a hexatonic scale incorporating A and B natural with D and E flat. The hexatonic viola part is derived from the two modes that have already covered all the chromatic pitches. Following on from the first section of the piece, the viola serves no purpose in completing the chromatic set, instead occupying a harmonic space between the other two opposing instruments. Within the B_{D/A} mode of the flute, the viola reaffirms the minor A natural 7th and natural tonic, otherwise falling within the F_{Ph} of the oboe. Structurally, the importance of this is not apparent; within the scope of the viola line, the harmonic movement does not fall into any conventional parameters. Considering that the viola plays no rudimental role in expanding the harmonic language of this section, it occupies a curious space; for all intents and purposes it seems to be deliberately sitting on the proverbial harmonic

fence. This frustrates the search for a clear harmonic trajectory and illustrates that Holst is aiming toward pitch neutrality at this point.

The next section from 29 - 42 the flute melody moves from a C# Aeolian to an E Mixolydian, bringing in the D# necessary to complete the chromatic set.

Table 33 - Terzetto, 1st mvt (bars 29-38)

Instrument	Pitch-Class Set (organised by relative major)	Implied Mode
Flute	E F# G# A B C# D#	C# _A / F# _D
Oboe	E _b F G A _b B _b C D	C _A / F _D
Viola	G A B C D E F#	E _A

Bars 29-38 are largely imitative, with the melodies beginning on A, F# and F respectively. It is difficult to define a clear mode in the flute and oboe, but the two centres of tonal focus in each melody are C#/ F#, C/F respectively, implying an Aeolian/Dorian modality for both melodies starting a semi-tone apart. The viola again occupies its neutral harmonic space and establishes a clear G centricity through suspensions.

Figure 37 - Terzetto, 1st mvt (bar 28-40)

The constant shifting of mode is curious considering the music is chromatically saturated; it would seem to render such movement ineffective as the listener does not have a clear sense of keys or tonal centres to juxtapose against one another. However, there is no denying that in comparison with the opening section of the piece, all three pitch sets have moved to the “dominant” here, at which point (bar 39) the music reverts to the original pitch sets for the flute and oboe. Through this whole first part of the movement (bars 1 - 42) the harmonic movement seems to have conventional aspects when observed as single lines, despite the fact the overall the music is chromatically saturated. Holst clearly had an interest in linearity as a formal principle, as he invites the listener to hear the melodic strands developing independently.

Table 34 - Terzetto, 1st mvt (Harmonic Reduction bar 1-42)

Instrument	Modal modulation	Relative Major Keys
Flute	B _D – B _A – C _{#A} / F _{#D} – E _M	A – D – E – A
Oboe	C _{Ph} – F _{Ph} – C _A / F _D – E _{bM}	Ab – Db – Eb – Ab
Viola	C _I – Hexatonic – G _I	C – Hexatonic – Eb

In the table above, the movement in the flute and oboe follows a clear progression in relative major key that takes the music from tonic to sub-dominant and then dominant before returning to the tonic. The pitch sets of these two instruments stays a semitone apart during this movement, effectively ensuring chromatic saturation through the entire section. To create a greater level of harmonic interest and avoid simply transitioning through a conventional harmonic progression, Holst employs both fixed and variable domain modal modulation to draw in a wider range of tonal centres. If the listener focuses on a single instrument they can hear tonal melodies moving through fixed-domain modal modulations; assembled, the combination of instruments creates a fully chromatic polyphonic texture with a constantly shifting tonal centre, often being pulled in multiple directions at once. Clearly, Holst has organised the structure of the section using melody as the main driving force. However, there are also aspects of the vertical organisation of pitches that are worth considered.

Whilst there are no clear cadences or chord progressions for much of the music, there are elements which suggest conscious harmonic alignment or progression. Take for instance the five-bar section below where the viola first enters in C₁. The pitch sets of A and A_b majors have already been established in the flute and oboe respectively, and the music is largely chromatic immediately preceding these bars.

Figure 38 - Terzetto, 1st mvt (bar 9-13)

Holst starts by presenting a simple combination of fifths on C and A in bars 9 and 10 through a combination of suspensions and arpeggiated movement, taking the music away from the previous chromatic saturation and providing support for the introduction of the viola in C_I. The pitch-class set condenses in bar 11 to a C major triad in first inversion, where major third is first heard in the viola, before Holst starts to chromatically expand the note groupings. The introduction of the G# in the viola not only breaks the music away from the previously established pitch set of the C relative major, it also compromises the integrity of the C_I pitch set that the instrument otherwise occupies through this section. Even while the music expands harmonically in one direction through the viola, the oboe rises through Db and Eb to re-establish its prior C_{Ph} identity. In bar 13 the flute rises through F# and G# and the music resumes its tritonal nature, having broken it to clearly establish the tonal identity of the viola. Here, Holst aligns common pitches within his disparate pitch sets in order to establish a discrete sense of modality for a fleeting moment. This serves to create a sense of harmonic identity from which he can expand; the listener has a chance (consciously or unconsciously) to hear and understand both the modal integrity of the individual line and to understand the line in relationship to common elements in the other parts before hearing it in a chromatically saturated context. There are a few coalescing instances of homophony, where the music condenses from three disparate modes into triads moving in parallel motion.

Figure 39 - Terzetto, 1st mvt (bar 41-54)

As the three instruments are all still operating within separate modes and key signature, my reading of the triads has compensated for enharmonic spelling.

(Bars 43 – 44)

Ab – F#m – Ab – C – F#m – Ab

Combined this gives you the pitch classes Ab-A, C-C#, Eb-E, F#-G, i.e. four pairs of semitones that make up an Ab⁷ and A⁷ superimposed over one another (provided one reads the F# as an enharmonic spelling of Gb). Holst could be using a chordal extension of the technique he has used exclusively with scales so far in the piece, juxtaposing diatonic sets a semitone apart from one another to maximise the chromatic saturation. In the next sequence, the flute and the oboe suggest a similar triadic movement, with a G diminished replacing the penultimate F#m. However, the breakaway of the viola, holding a dissonant E natural before falling down a G major pitch set prevents the completion of the triads until the music repeats itself an octave lower (bars 48-49). The parallel motion of the triads themselves is reminiscent of ‘Saturn’ from *The Planets* (1916). In

the context of the *Terzetto*, it breaks up the chromatic polyphony and resets the listener's expectations; as the music returns to the modal melodies, juxtaposed against one another, they are again heard as discrete modes before the composer re-saturates the pitch set with all twelve chromatic tones.

Figure 40 - *Terzetto*, 1st mvt (bar 55-72)

In the following section, Holst uses parallel motion to refer back to this triadic break, but in weaving it into the polyphonic texture, he is able to combine the two predominant musical ideas used thus far and build the music to a dissonant and dramatic climax. The excerpt above continues from the reintroduction of the solo oboe melody in bar 54, with the music initially continuing in

the same polyphonic vogue as the opening. However, from bar 60 onwards Holst quickly introduces a new harmonic element to the music with his inverted pedals in the viola and oboe. While the flute undulates between G#, B and C#, the oboe and viola sustain pedals of G and E natural respectively, creating tritonal and semitonal dissonance between the voices. Holst draws on the parallel motion from bars 43-54 in the alternating E/G – F/D in the viola and oboe (bar 62), moving to an alternating C#/F - C/E in the oboe and flute (bar 63). As the melody shifts from the flute to the viola, the prominent Bb in the melody leads the listener to hear the flute's C# as the enharmonic Bb, which prepares the ear for bar 64, where the viola and flute are heard as a minor third on Bb, clearly identifying the melody, now in the oboe, as Bb Dorian. This fleeting moment of clarity lasts through bar 65, with the flutes G# heard as the enharmonic Ab found in the Bb Dorian, but with the introduction of E natural in bar 66 Holst once again expands the harmonic language, introducing a B natural in the viola (bar 67) and paving the way for the next shift to B Dorian in the solo flute, bar 70. This short section of music shows how Holst is able to play on common pitches between the three instruments to create moments of modal clarity. It also shows how he often uses one

Figure 41 - Terzetto, 2nd mvt (bar 20-34)

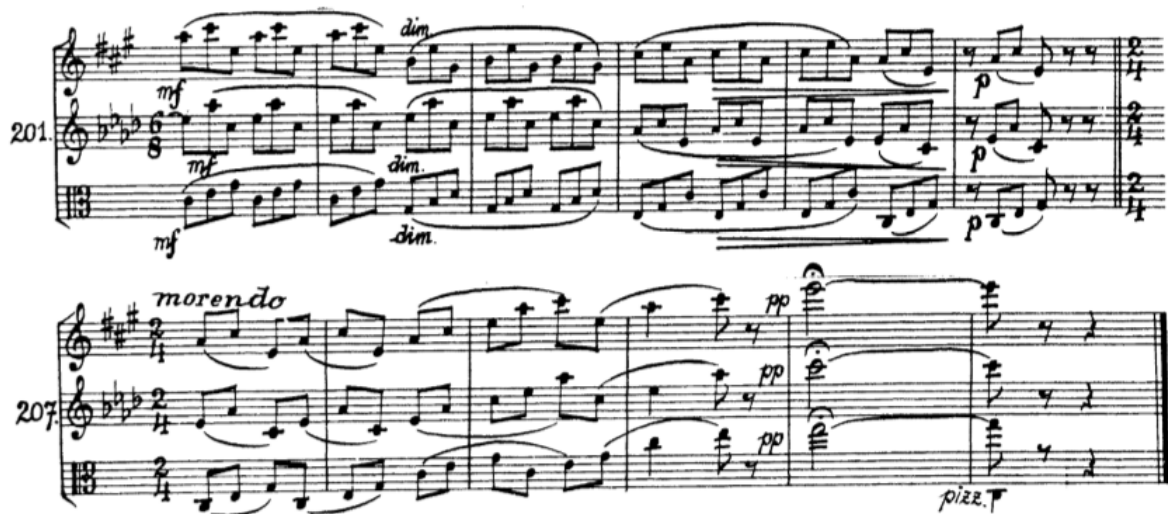
The musical score for Figure 41, Terzetto, 2nd mvt (bar 20-34), is presented in three systems. The first system (bars 20-25) shows a flute melody starting with a staccato piano (stacc. p) dynamic, moving through various chords and intervals. The second system (bars 26-31) features a crescendo (cresc.) leading to a forte (f) section, then a piano (p) section. The third system (bars 32-34) continues with a crescendo (cresc.) and a piano (p) section. The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, ties, and dynamic markings.

instrument, generally the viola, as a pivot instrument to lean the overall tonal implication of a section one way or the other with a few deft chromatic changes. Harmonically, the second movement displays the same mixture of tonality and chromaticism seen in the first, with Holst using suspensions, arpeggiated movement and in places double-stopping in the viola to add a vertical element to the still primarily linear music (Figure 41, 42 and 43).

Figure 42 - Terzetto, 2nd mvt (Viola Double Stop)



Figure 43 - Terzetto 2nd mvt (Arpeggiated Finale)



Holst emulates folk-dance in the rhythmic elements of this movement. Where Holst has combined modes by writing for each instrument in its own key signature, here he also writes different instruments in different time signatures. By setting a 6/8 against a straight 2/4 time signature, Holst maintains the essential dance nature of the piece, but further amplifies the polyphonic nature of the music; with instruments written in individual keys and individual time

signatures, Holst is able to create a cacophonous effect with an economy of resources, all the while focused on the linear progression of individual melody lines.

Figure 44 - Terzetto, 2nd mvt (Time Signatures)

The musical score for the second movement of the Terzetto by Gustav Holst is presented in three systems. Each system consists of two staves: a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The key signature is three sharps (F#, C#, G#). The tempo is marked 'Meno mosso'. The first system begins at measure 64 and includes dynamics 'p' and 'pp'. The second system begins at measure 72 and includes a dynamic 'D'. The third system begins at measure 79. The music features complex rhythmic patterns and melodic lines across the staves.

The music continues with these combined metres for sixty bars before reintegrating into a vigorous 9/8. Holst is not only combining the melodic aspects that he has taken from folk-song, but the rhythmic attributes as well, taking them to a point where the spirit of the music arguable remains in the dancing energy, melodic simplicity and ear-catching modality, but the complexity of harmonic and rhythmic texture is in keeping with the nature of his most experimental continental contemporaries.

3.2.7 - Seven Part-songs

Robert Bridges, Poet Laureate 1913-1930, was never a popular poet but was acknowledged to be a superb lyricist due to the depth of expression he achieved whilst maintaining a meticulous and graceful use of language. He stands apart in 19th/20th-century English literature, with his works

subject to similar criticisms to those levelled at the compositions of Holst. Both artists were inclined toward being emotionally reserved and austere in their work and both share a fascination with earlier periods of British history. Bridges use of metre may have held an attraction for Holst because it is a feature of poetry that has immediate musical consequences. Robert Holliday describes Bridges use of meter as follows:

In his own verse, of considerable bulk and range, he is a metrist subtle and learned, at times even difficult. His spirit is somewhat shy, somewhat (may be) austere, fastidious. His verse is fragrant poetry, delicate, healthy, dipped deeply in the classic past, and curiously, too, particularly in the lyrics, quaintly modern.²⁰⁴

Both artists demonstrate a technical excellence, attention to detail and abstract beauty in their work, but neither predominantly aim at evoking soaring emotion and consequently have been described as cold, aloof and emotionally distant. Audiences took a long time to come to terms with Holst's more progressive works, when he branched off from many of his contemporaries in the latter half of his career. He is still to this day really only known by a handful of pieces, chief among them *The Planets*. To a certain extent, some accounts suggest that this distance from the work of his contemporaries and resulting difficulty in finding public acceptance may also be true of Bridges.

In the *Seven Partsongs* (1925-1926) there is a clear debt to the Elizabethans and to folk-song in the core musical language a stylistic match for the pseudo-archaism of Bridges words. However, following the experimentation of the *Terzetto* the use of these influences is far more dexterous, resulting in settings that are curiously modern and in places "other". In some of these pieces, conventional harmonic movement is created through modal means. In 'O Love, I complain', Holst's forays into other modes are focused around tertiary and sub-dominant relationships in the tonal centres and relative major keys. The text of the songs is as follows:

²⁰⁴ Robert C. Holliday, 'A Poet's Poet; Like Spenser, Robert Bridges Appeals to Fellow Rhymsters', *New York Times*, 9th February 1913, p. 63.

'O Love, I complain'²⁰⁵

O Love, I complain,
Complain of thee often,
Because thou dost soften
My being to pain:

Thou makest me fear
The mind that createth,
That loves not nor hateth
In justice austere;

Who, ere he make one,
With millions togeth,
And lightly destroyeth
Whate'er is begun.

An' wer't not for thee,
My glorious passion,
My heart I could fashion
To sternness, as he.

But thee, Love, he made
Lest man should defy him,
Connive and outvie him,
And not be afraid:

Nay, thee, Love, he gave
His terrors to cover,
And turn to a lover
His insolent slave.

On the surface this poem, told from the protagonist's perspective, is essentially a litany of complaints about the sentimentality and emotional vulnerability that they now experience as a result of their romantic attachment. Within this is couched both a declaration of the protagonist's love of their partner and a commentary on the austere, stern, capricious and terrifying nature of the creator, who made love 'Lest man should defy him'. The almost line-by-line juxtaposition of romantic love with the violence and aggression of an inhuman and omnipotent deity creates fertile ground for Holst's harmonic setting.

²⁰⁵ Robert Bridges, *Poetical Works of Robert Bridges, Excluding the Eight Dramas*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1913) pp. 335-336.

Table 35 - Seven Part-songs, 'O Love, I complain' (Harmonic Structure)

Stanza	Mode	Relative Major	Comments
1	G _I / E _A	G	Although the melody begins and ends on B and E, the mode is ambiguous, with an implication of G _I through the first stanza until the final E on 'pain' grounds the E _A .
2	E _A	G	The change of mode to E Aeolian occurs three bars before the end of the section. The B _b major chord in bar 14 underlines the word 'hateth'; the flattened fifth creates unease.
14 - 24	E _{Ph}	C	The Phrygian inflection through this verse alters the soundscape, highlighting the alien quality of the being who 'lightly destroyeth'. In bar 23 the fifth is flattened (B _b) under the word 'begun', implying change.
25 - 27	E _M	A	Build-up to the climax (discussed below, Figure 45).
28 - 32	G _I	G	Conclusion of the modal progression Aeolian – Phrygian – Mixolydian – Ionian. Series of parallel fourths in the bass lead to next section (discussed below).
33 - 49	E _A	G	Within the general Aeolian tone of this section, bars 43/44 hint at E _M under 'terrors' and bars 45/46 at E _D under 'insolent' (see Figure 46).

Some of the deviations from the mode mentioned above require closer examination. The ascending parallel fourths in the low strings (G, A, B, C \sharp ; bars 28 -31) underpin the word 'sternness' and their unvarying ascent through a series of whole-tone steps is a form of word-painting (Figure 45). Figure 46 shows the brief inflections of Mixolydian and Dorian identified between bars 33-49.

Figure 45 - Seven Part-songs, 'O Love, I complain' (Word painting in accompaniment)

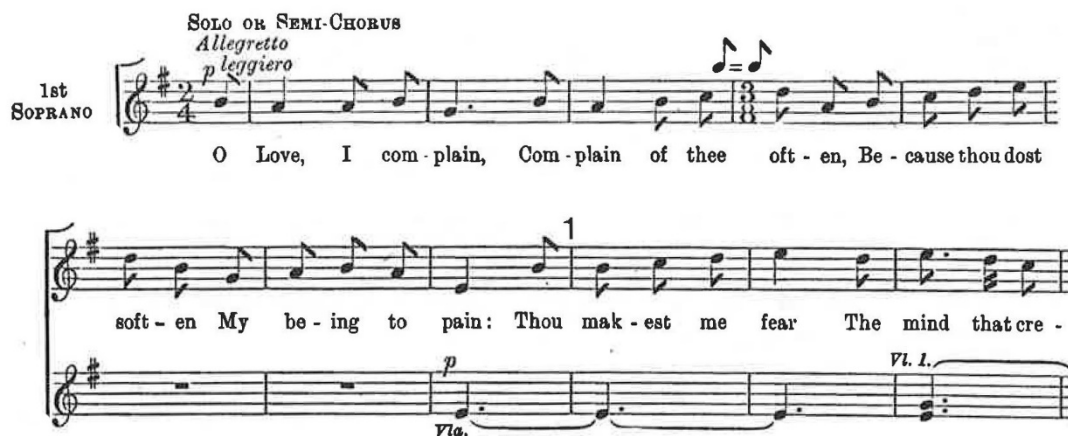


Figure 46 - Seven Part-songs, 'O Love, I complain' (Mixed modes)



Other instances of modal change are more easily understandable in the context of the text. For example, Figure 47 shows the initial change in modal connotation from a melody that could be G major or E Aeolian to the confirmation of the latter with the introduction of an E pedal on the word 'pain':

Figure 47 - Seven Part-songs, 'O Love, I complain' (Mode change)



In building to a climax on the line 'My glorious passion' the harmony moves from E_{ph}, traversing E major and A major chords under an ascending melody before peaking with a stepwise movement to overlaid fifths above a G pedal on the word 'glorious'. The harmony remains unseated

here through the absence of complete triads: the first of the two climax chords contain the root and fifth of G and C (G-D, C-G); the second chord contains the two missing thirds from the first chord (E, B) over a G pedal. The mode is clearly established as G Ionian but without the definition of clear tonic and sub-dominant chords and the effect is not overtly major. The music then descends through D major and F# minor on the return to E Aeolian.

Figure 48 - Seven Part-songs, 'O Love, I complain' (Modal climax)

The image displays a musical score for the piece 'O Love, I complain' from the Seven Part-songs. It features three vocal staves and a piano accompaniment. The vocal parts are in G major and follow the lyrics: '- troy-eth What-e'er is be-gun. An' wer't not for thee, My glo-ri-ous pas-sion, My heart I could fash-ion To stern-ness, as he.' The piano accompaniment includes performance instructions such as '3 pesante cresc.' and 'con larghezza'. The score is written in G major and 4/4 time, with a key signature of one sharp (F#).

Elements of the earlier sets can be seen in 'Sorrow and Joy'. There are parallels in the use of harmony between this song and 'Swallow Swallow' from *Songs from 'The Princess'*. In the earlier song, Holst creates harmonic interest by alternating between major and minor with each

verse. In ‘Sorrow and Joy’ Holst takes this further, moving between G Ionian, G Mixolydian and G Aeolian.

Table 36 - Seven Part-songs, ‘Sorrow and Joy’ (Harmonic Structure)

Bar	Mode	Relative Major	Comments
1 st stanza 1 - 6	G _{I/M}	G/C	Both F sharp and natural are used consistently creating the mixed mode.
2 nd stanza 7 - 10	G _A	B _b	Within the scope of G, the A _b in bar 9 could be heard to cast aspersions on the validity of the statement ‘So <i>fine</i> ’s your bliss’. Alternatively, this could be heard as a brief suggestion of B _b Dorian, in itself a more major mode than the Aeolian, reaffirming the line. I am inclined to hear the latter.
3 rd stanza 11 - 16	G _{I/M}	G/C	Repetition of the 1 st stanza’s harmonic trajectory.
4 th stanza 17 - 20	G _A	B _b	This song has a relatively simple strophic form. In the repetition of the material the same harmonic inflection to the Phrygian occurs but without the justification in the text of the first instance.
20 - 21	G _I	G	The music resolves to the Ionian in the last bar of the piece, implying resolution in the ideal balance between the two forces.

'Sorrow and Joy'²⁰⁶

Sorrow and joy, two sisters coy,
Ay, for our hearts are fighting:
The half of our years are teen and tears,
And half are mere delighting.

So when joy's cup is brimm'd full up,
Take no thought o' the morrow:
So fine's your bliss, ye shall not miss
To have your turn wi' sorrow.
And she with ruth will teach you truth,

She is man's very med'cin:
She'll drive us straight to heav'ns high
gate,
Ay, she can stuff our heads in.

Blush not nor blench with either wench,
Make neither brag nor pother:
God send you, son, enough of one
And not too much o' t'other.

In principal, the justification for the clear movement between modal equivalents of major and minor is easily understood in the context of the text as representing 'sorrow' and 'joy'. In practice, Holst tries to strike a balance between a sensitive response to the text and the structural integrity of this short musical setting. The first shift, from G Ionian to G Mixolydian in bar 4, comes on the word 'teen', an archaic term for grief. The note is flattened as quite conventional harmonic word painting, albeit in a modal context and with the implication of a change of mode (even though it is only for half a bar). The shift to G Aeolian in bar 7 (with a moment of G Phrygian in bar 9) is more surprising, because the text speaks of joy's cup being full, although it is possible that the shift to a more minor-sounding mode anticipates the brevity of the moment of joy even whilst discussing it. The second stanza then simply repeats the harmonic trajectory of the first, seemingly a compromise for the sake of musical structure, as the harmony does not fit the text so well.

Where melodies are written on gapped scales in Op. 34 and 36b (i.e. missing a pitch that would be fundamental in attributing the pitch class to one mode or another), Holst moves between possible modes in the accompanying voices, creating harmonic ambiguity. A similar technique is used in 'Angel spirits of sleep' (shown in Figure 49 below).

²⁰⁶ Not found in publication – text taken from the score.

'Angel spirits of sleep'²⁰⁷

Angel spirits of sleep,
White-robed, with silver hair,
In your meadows fair,
Where the willows weep,

And the sad moonbeam
On the gliding stream
Writes her scatter'd dream:

Angel spirits of sleep,
Dancing to the weir
In the hollow roar
Of its waters deep;

Know ye how men say
That ye haunt no more
Isle and grassy shore
With your moonlit play;

That ye dance not here,
White-robed spirits of sleep,
All the summer night
Threading dances light?

Holst amplifies the mystical and mysterious nature of the nature of text with his harmonic language. The pitch class of the 1st Soprano melody is only completed in the final phrase and the gapped scale is exploited throughout the verse to write in Ionian and Dorian in the accompanying voices. The G \sharp and D \sharp are used initially in the accompaniment, so that the D \natural in bar 9 and the G \natural in bar 10 are heard as a harmonic shift underlining the word 'fair' and the D \sharp in bar 11 as a shift back. It is interesting that the move to the (more "minorish") Dorian comes on 'fair' and the shift back to E Ionian (E major) on 'weep'. Rather than understanding this as a deliberate inversion of meaning, it is likely that the E^{7/9/11} minor chords on 'fair' and 'moonbeams' is intended to sound otherworldly, especially in the context of the preceding harmonic material and the reinstatement of E major is the return to harmonic normality as has been established to that point.

²⁰⁷ Bridges, p. 291.

Figure 49 - Seven Part-songs, 'Angel spirit of sleep' (Gapped scale)

E Ionian

Lento [quasi Andante]

1st SOPRANO
An - gel spi - rits of

2nd SOPRANO
An - gel spi - rits of

ALTO
An - gel spi - rits of

PIANO
VI. I. con sord.
pp VI. II. Vla. con sord.
Vol. C.B. con sord.

sleep, White-robbed, with sil - ver hair; . . In . . your

sleep, White-robbed, with sil - ver hair; . . In . . your

sleep, White-robbed, with sil - ver hair; . . In . . your

Table 37 - Seven Part-songs, 'Angel spirit of sleep' (Harmonic Structure)

Bar	Mode	Relative Major	Tonal Centre	Comments
1 st /2 nd stanza 1 - 16	E _{I/D}	E	E	
17 - 19	D _{#A}	F _#	D _#	Simple word painting with the harmonic shift on the word 'dream'.
3 rd stanza 20 - 22	E _A	G	E	Repetition of the first line but this time in the 'minorish' Aeolian as opposed to the Ionian pre-empts a darker turn in the text and is the beginning of the build to the climax in bar 27.
23 - 24	?	E _b	?	Word painting with the change of pitch set on the word 'roar'.
4 th stanza 24 - 26	Ambiguous		G _#	Accompanied by a drop in register for the female singers so that the effect of a conspiratorial whisper is created whilst telling a ghost story, accentuating the meaning of 'haunt' in the next bar.
27 - 30	Ambiguous		A _{#/A}	This is the climax of the song and the harmonic change both word paints 'haunts', perhaps underlining the central theme of the piece in Holst's mind. The semitone step-up from the A _# of 'Isle' and 'shore' to the B of 'moonlit' serves to physically elevate the moon above the land as well as highlighting the word in the text.
5 th stanza 31 - 34	Ambiguous		C _{#/B}	
35 - 39	Ambiguous		E	Music returns to the opening tonic for the close suggesting the return from a cycle or memory of the 'Angel spirits of sleep' to normality or consciousness.

The section from bar 31-34 is shown in Figure 50 to demonstrate how this ambiguity of tonal centre is created. The melody in the voices revolves around a tonal centre of C# while the strings focus on B, a pitch class which features in every chord.

Figure 50 - Seven Part-songs, 'Angel spirit of sleep' (Ambiguity of tonal centre)

The musical score for 'Angel spirit of sleep' consists of four staves. The top two staves are vocal parts, both marked with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a 3/4 time signature. They are marked 'rall. al fine' and 'p'. The lyrics are: 'That ye dance not here, White-robed spi-rits of sleep,'. The third staff is a blank treble clef staff. The bottom two staves are for strings, marked 'VI. I.' and 'VI. II. / Vla.'. They are marked 'rall. al fine' and 'p'. The string parts feature a triplet of eighth notes in the first measure, followed by a series of chords. The dynamics change from 'p' to 'pp' towards the end of the section.

One of the best examples of the composer using the contrast between clear modal language and harmonic ambiguity to communicate his interpretation of the text is in 'Say who is this?'. This dark poem describes an unwanted stranger coming to town from the perspective of the townsfolk. The text is filled with suspicion and animosity, with the final stanza referencing the murder and burial of the intruder in a deep grave to prevent him from continuing to intrude on town life from the grave.

‘Say who is this?’²⁰⁸

Say who is this with silvered hair,
So pale and worn and thin,
Who passeth here, and passeth there,
And looketh out and in ?

That useth not our garb nor tongue,
And knoweth things untold :
Who teacheth pleasure to the young,
And wisdom to the old?

No toil he maketh his by day,
No home his own by night ;
But wheresoe’er he take his way,
He killeth our delight.
Since he is come there’s nothing wise

Nor fair in man or child,
Unless his deep divining eyes
Have looked on it and smiled.

Whence came he hither all alone
Among our folk to spy?
There’s nought that we can call our
own,
Till he shall hap to die.

And I would dig his grave full deep
Beneath the churchyard yew,
Lest thence his wizard eyes might peep
To mark the things we do.

The single sharp in the key signature coupled with the B pedal and the opening phrase rising from B, through F#, G and A to a C natural, clearly sets the music in B Phrygian for the phrase ‘Say who is this?’ shown in Figure 51. The mode suggests to the listener imagery of the foreign and unknown due to the associations the mode has with Spanish music.²⁰⁹

Figure 51 - Seven Part-songs, ‘Say who is this?’ (Modal word painting)

The musical score for 'Say who is this?' is presented for three vocal parts: 1st Soprano, 2nd Soprano, and Alto. The tempo is marked 'Andante sostenuto' and the time signature is 4/4. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The lyrics for all parts are: 'Say who is this with silvered hair, So pale and worn and'. The notation shows a rising melodic line in the first measure of each part, starting on B4 and moving through F#4, G4, and A4 to a C5 natural in the second measure.

²⁰⁸ Bridges, p. 296.

²⁰⁹ These associations might stem from the use of Phrygian and Phrygian dominant modes in Spanish Gypsy and Flamenco music and the use of the Phrygian Dominant in Hebrew prayers and Klezmer music. Phrygian inflections are an established conventional signifier of the foreign in Western art-music as heard in Bizet’s *Carmen* (1975) or Rimsky Korsakov’s *Cappriccio Espagnol* (1887).

The image shows a musical score for three voices: Soprano, Alto, and Tenor. The music is in 2/4 time and features a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are: "thin, Who pass-eth here, . . . and pass-eth there, And look-eth out and in? . . ." The score consists of three staves, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The melody is chromatic, with a notable use of the Fm triad (F, Ab, Cb) on the word 'pale' (though the word 'pale' is not explicitly written in the lyrics shown, it is implied by the context of the analysis).

The first harmonic surprise and chromatic event in the piece is the use of the Fm triad on ‘pale’ (shown above), an interesting moment in two ways. Firstly, it is the first full triad in the whole song and this creates a harmonic event. Secondly, it is a re-harmonisation of the fifth degree of the scale, which would otherwise have been a diminished chord. An F major triad could have been used to avoid the diminished chord, but the descent through Fm, Dm, Em and Eb chords on the words ‘pale’, ‘worn, and ‘thin’ create a complete change in mood, accentuating the flat weariness of the words and modulating the mode for the third phrase. Here the music touches on Eb Mixolydian (prepared with the Ab in the Fm chord) but with a flattened 6th (Cb) so as not to clash with the pedal B that the music is still held over, another example of enharmonic spelling. Finally, at the end of the first stanza, the melody descends through a whole-tone scale from A down to a final Cb, a classic indicator of “otherness” in western art-music used here to depict the stranger nosing around as he ‘looketh out and in’.

The following verse begins again on the enharmonic B Phrygian for the line, ‘That useth not our garb or tongue’, again reflecting the reference to the foreign in the text. What is particularly interesting about the first verse shown above is that in the first five bars of the song Holst has achieved chromatic saturation through modal modulation, distancing the musical language from the distinct modality Holst tends to employ with his folk-song arrangements. This is a technique Holst experimented with just one year earlier in the *Terzetto* (1925). The successful application of

the technique here both reaffirms the idea that Holst was interested in the chromatic potential of modality and the importance of the *Terzetto* in “working out” these techniques for later use.

Table 38 - *Seven Part-songs, ‘Say who is this?’ (Harmonic Structure)*

Bar	Mode	Relative Major Key	Comments
1 - 4	B _{Ph}	G	
4 - 6	E _b _{Mix}	A _b	(Mixolydian with a flattened 6 th - C _b)
7 - 8	Whole-tone descent		
9 - 11	B _{Ph}	G	
12 - 13	B _{A/Lc}	D/C	Although the C# would make it B Aeolian and F# B Locrian, both are used at the same time, which means it is no longer a diatonic scale.
14 - 15	Ambiguous		Ambiguous harmonic connotation around a tonal centre of B
16 - 26	<i>Repeat of bar 1 - 11</i>		
27 - 29	E _b _A	G _b	
30 - 37	Ambiguous (E/E _b)		A turning point in the harmonic structure, the first time E is established as a tonal centre with a semitone shift upwards at the end of the line that creates a sinister effect: ‘Unless his deep divining eyes Have looked on it and <i>smiled</i> ’ The ensuing six bars are an altercation between tonal centres of E _b and E. All twelve chromatic pitches are heard in these seven bars.
38	E _{Ph} - E _I	C - E	In the last bar the fifth is sharpened to B# to word paint the word ‘mark’ in the phrase: ‘To <i>mark</i> the things we do’

The overall harmonic trajectory moves from B to E, a conventional movement of tonal centre, but the harmonic language around those centres is anything but conventional. The music touches on the Ionian, Mixolydian, Phrygian and Aeolian modes, using hints of the Locrian mode and whole-tone scales to create his non-diatonic pitch classes.

In many ways the use of modes in the *Seven Part-songs* is similar to that of Op. 34, but the manner in which Holst reacts to the text with fleeting suggestions of multiple modes lifts the music from what was possible when he limited himself to one mode per verse. Some of these modal changes are related to individual musical events in the text, in other instances the music suggests a specific interpretation that goes beyond what is explicit in the text. The extreme flexibility with the modal connotations allows Holst to react to the narrative more intricately and colourfully than in the earlier sets.

The component modes of the harmonic language in this set are largely identifiable, but the fluidity of their use together creates a relatively chromatic soundscape when compared with the previous sets. The influence of both folk-song and early English music are made less overt by the nature of these harmonic changes (often variable-domain modulations). The modality reflects the archaic language of the text, but the music does not reference folk-song in the clearly perceivable manner of Op. 34.

3.2.8 - Summary and Later Works

Chapter 3.2 has mapped progressions in Holst's modal writing from his first rudimentary attempts at setting folk-songs, through his sweeping romantic rhapsodies and progressively subtle suites, to the experimental reaches of the *Terzetto* and beyond into his mature modal language. Examining how these techniques developed over a series of decades demonstrates that Holst's mature modal language is rooted in his initial experiments with folk-song.

At the beginning of this line of compositional development Holst is working in a new harmonic medium and is relatively limited in the imaginative scope of his folk-song settings. As has been discussed this was also likely impacted by the performance contexts of his early settings and the oversight of Cecil Sharp. There is, of course, also a difference between *setting* a pre-existing folk-song and writing a piece of original music influenced by folk-song – the former allows for much less imaginative scope (at least if a composer does not want to take great freedoms with the pre-existing piece). As Holst gains more experience with folk-song and begins experimenting with modal language in his own works, he starts to develop more innovative harmonic techniques that allow him to create harmonic interest within the parameters of diatonic modes. This is particularly effective in the *St Paul's Suite*.

In the *Terzetto*, those techniques are pushed to extremes and it seems the melodies, still reminiscent of folk-song, have been intellectualised and constructed in such a manner as to suggest a desire for compositional or academic credibility; the *Terzetto* is a fascinating study in the chromatic potential of modally based melodies. Beyond this experiment, Holst enters into his mature modal harmonic language, demonstrated in the analysis of the *Seven Part-songs*. Initially, the connotations of folk-song were used in such a way as to illicit a nostalgic and emotional response. In contrast, in the *Seven Part-songs* Holst truly seems comfortable in a modal musical language that is used to deliver a highly original and creative response to the text without sounding like an exercise in proving the cerebral value of modes. There are moments of the chromatic saturation through modal means that can be seen in the *Terzetto*, but they are used more sparingly and as a result to greater effect. The dextrous amalgamation of modes to affect a constantly shifting harmonic landscape creates a great deal of ambiguity in the harmonic language but in a far more organic manner—it is serving the compositional process rather than informing it.

The mature modal harmonic language that can be seen in the *Seven Part-songs* is a feature of Holst's later composition and can be seen to great effect in the *Lyric Movement* for viola. For

example, the unaccompanied solo viola of the opening recalls the “lone shepherd”, the D_A initially reminiscent of *A Somerset Rhapsody*. This changes to a D_{Ph} inflection with the entrance of the flute (bar 2), reiterated in the ascent of the upper strings (bar 3) until it is immediately challenged by the D major triad completed in the Flute and Oboe (bar 6).

Figure 52 - Lyric Movement, (Opening modal modulation)

The musical score for Figure 52 is divided into two main sections. The upper section features a woodwind and solo viola ensemble. The Flute part begins with a *senza misura* instruction and a *p* dynamic, followed by a *cresc.* marking. The Solo Viola part also begins with *senza misura* and a *f* dynamic, then moves to *p*. The lower section is marked *Andante quasi Allegretto.* and includes piano parts for Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Cello, and Bass. Dynamics such as *pp* and *mp* are indicated throughout. A *8va.* marking is present in the piano part.

Within the opening six bars of the piece Holst has implied three modes around a single tonal centre before revisiting the first two modes again in bars 7-8. This is very much in keeping with the harmonic style of the *Seven Part-songs* but also draws on, and was made possible by, the experiments conducted in the *Terzetto*—the similarities extending to the sparse timbral combinations of solo viola, oboe and flute.

Shortly after this section in bars 16-20, Holst uses modal modulation to achieve linear chromatic saturation in the melody. This does not sound as abrasive as the *Terzetto* because the modes are not superimposed over one another. Instead the D_A briefly shifts to imply D_{Ly} for a single bar to expand the tonal scope of the melody before reverting to D_A . This creates an arresting but tuneful harmonic shift that is very characteristic of Holst's mature modal language.

Figure 53 - Lyric Movement, (chromatic saturation)

The image displays a musical score for a section of a piece, identified as Figure 53. The score is written for a string quartet, with parts for Violin I, Violin II, Viola, and Cello/Double Bass. The music is in a key signature of one flat (B-flat major/D minor) and a 4/4 time signature. The score consists of two systems of staves. The first system shows the Violin I, Violin II, Viola, and Cello/Double Bass parts. The second system shows the Violin I, Violin II, and Cello/Double Bass parts. The Cello part is marked '1 Cello solo'. The music features a prominent chromatic line in the Cello/Double Bass part, which is marked with a piano (*p*) dynamic. The overall texture is sparse and focused on the chromatic movement of the solo cello.

Where Holst initially used modes for the duration of a melody or even an entire song, he has developed a facility with the medium that repeatedly emboldens him in later compositions to shift between harmonically disparate modes within a single phrase. This enables him to expand the range of his tonal centres to encompass all twelve chromatic pitches without sacrificing the diatonic tunefulness of the melodies. It is a musical expression that is distinctive and truly original, and it is easy to see how audiences of Holst's time might have found these strange harmonies that were both recognisable and alien hard to access. As in the *Seven Part-songs*, the harmonic language of the *Lyric Movement* owes an audible debt to folk-song while remaining progressive in the application of those lessons. Where the manifestation of this harmonic experiment was clinical in the *Terzetto*, in Holst's later works he manages to balance invention and musicality.

Deliberately omitted from chapter 3.2 has been any discussion of modality in *The Planets* or any of Holst's other large-scale works. In chapter 3.3, the discussion will turn to the existing research into the use of modality in *The Planets* by Lisa Isted and the broader trend toward modal harmony through the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

3.3 - Modality Conclusions

The previous section explored Holst's use of modality throughout his compositional life with a focus on those pieces that clearly show the influence of folk-song. These are obviously not the only pieces, nor even the most well-known, in which Holst employed modality. In chapter 3.3 I will discuss my observations in relation to existing research into the composer's modality and key points of academic debate that surround both Holst's harmonic language and the progression of modality in 20th-century art-music.

Early Holst scholarship stressed the impact of folk-song in eliminating the influences of Wagner from the composer's work. I will look at *A Somerset Rhapsody* in relation to other works by Holst that also display a mixture of modality with Wagnerian harmonic language and discuss how those works fit into the academic discussion about Holst's purported transition from 19th-century harmonic practices to modality. Following this, I will examine those modal techniques that grew out of his folk-song based compositions. In particular, I will look at Holst's use of rotational harmony, modal flux and fixed-domain bimodality in reference to work by Ian Bates on Vaughan Williams and Lisa Isted on modality through European art-music. Finally, I will look at how Holst extends his bimodality to experiment with chromatic saturation through *trimodality*. Lisa Isted discusses the theoretical potential for 'diatonic atonality' in her thesis and I will discuss whether or not the *Terzetto* can be considered to meet the requisite criteria for this delineation.

3.3.1 - Displacing 19th-Century Harmony

Claims that folk-song banished the influence of Wagner from Holst's work push the bounds of what can be attributed to a strictly melodic medium. Folk-song definitely played a strong role in Holst's melodic writing and there is a playfulness between melodic and harmonic content in many of his smaller scale works that is a direct result of his experiments in the folk-song medium, particularly in *St Paul's Suite* and the *Terzetto*. However, the narrative put forward by Imogen Holst that the discovery of folk-song banished Wagner from Holst's work implies that:

- Wagner disappeared from Holst's musical language; this idea has been strongly contested;
- folk-song could provide a model of harmonic writing which would replace the influence of Wagner; I would say this statement is fundamentally inaccurate.

Holst uses Wagnerian and modal techniques to communicate different sentiments. While Holst certainly moves toward a musical language that relies more on modality than chromatic modulation, this does not constitute an abandonment of Wagnerian techniques but a more selective use of those techniques reflecting the changing nature of the ideas he is expressing. In *Gustav Holst: A Biography*, Imogen Holst discusses the impact of Holst's "discovery moment" in 1905, when he first started working with folk-song.

He tried setting several of the tunes, but his piano accompaniments weren't always a success, for it was difficult to grow out of the chromatic habits of the last twelve years. But folk-songs finally banished the traces of Wagner from his work, and during the next year he wrote his Country Song and Marching Song for orchestra, and sketched the Somerset Rhapsody that was founded on his favourite folk-tune, 'It's a rose-bud in June'.²¹⁰

Rather misleadingly, this comment would imply the absence of Wagnerian influence in *A Somerset Rhapsody*, where I would argue it overtly displays his influence. Nor is Imogen Holst alone in failing to comment on the influence of Wagner in *A Somerset Rhapsody*. In *Gustav Holst: The Man and His Music*, Michael Short describes the impact of writing *A Somerset Rhapsody* as follows:

This experience of setting folk songs was to convince Holst of the virtues of simple modal melodies and helped him dispense with the paraphernalia of chromaticism.²¹¹

²¹⁰ Holst, *Gustav Holst*, p. 32.

²¹¹ Short, *Gustav Holst*, p. 65.

These statements seem to have been accepted and built upon in more recent discussions of *A Somerset Rhapsody*. Artemas-Polak describes *A Somerset Rhapsody* in *The Operas of Gustav Holst* (2006):

Holst's masterpiece of this era that makes very effective use of folk song is *A Somerset Rhapsody* (1906; revised 1907)...Gone are the heavy textures and chromatic harmonies. Holst allowed the songs to guide his hand, and he responded by staying true to the modal framework that they provided.²¹²

To the contrary, there is repeated use of heavy textures and chromatic harmonies and Holst does not stay true to the modal framework provided by the folk-song. Artemas-Polak seems to have taken the writings of Short and Imogen Holst at face value. I am not the first musicologist to take issue with the idea that the "discovery" of folk-song removed all traces of Wagner from Holst's composition. In his doctoral thesis, Christopher Scheer makes case studies of *Sita* (1899 - 1906), *Savitri* (1909) and *The Perfect Fool* (1906 - 1923) to demonstrate that after the influence of folk-song Holst continues to display a pervasive Wagnerian influence, albeit incorporated into a more original form of expression.

In *Sita* he emulated Wagner in music and libretto, though in the final act he began to depart from Wagnerian practices. In *Savitri*, Wagnerian elements are still present, and occasionally dominate, but Holst has largely subsumed or discarded externally Wagnerian techniques with his growing confidence in his own compositional voice. Many years later Holst would mock what he once revered, parodying Wagner in the truly individualistic *The Perfect Fool*...contrary to received wisdom there was no decisive break between *Sita* and *Savitri*, whatever the drastic change in external trappings, only a further development of Holst's relationship away from the externals of Wagner's style and methods. *Sita* represents an emulation of Wagner with flashes of individuality, whereas, *Savitri* is, overall, more Holstian with moments of Wagnerian imitation.²¹³

²¹² Artemas-Polak, p. 31.

²¹³ Scheer, p. 89-90, 124.

It is important to consider the fact that Scheer is discussing operas, where a Wagnerian idiom is at its most apparent. Scheer's general position is that there is no evidence for a definitive moment when Holst chose to consciously abandon Wagnerian techniques and that the influence of the earlier composer can be seen for years in Holst's works. I would agree with this proposition and suggest that actually a similar trajectory can be seen with the influence of folk-song; there is a period of emulation before Holst subsumes overt references into a genuinely original style of composition. As a point of departure from Scheer, I do not think that Imogen Holst is wrong in stressing the importance of folk-song to Holst's harmonic language and music in general; the issue is the idea that the two influences are framed as mutually exclusive when both play their role in the development of Holst original compositional voice; this misconception has become a trope, even in modern Holst scholarship. Scheer identifies examples in Holst's work of 19th-century chromaticism and modality being used overtly and in tandem.

In completing the last act of *Sita* Holst began to experiment with individuality, integrating increased austerity, rhythmic freedom, and modality with the Wagnerian elements of the work... In the music [*Savitri*], Holst uses Wagnerian chromaticism as one option for moments of high drama, rather than his comprehensive musical style, as in *Sita*.²¹⁴

Scheer acknowledges the clear distinctions between *Sita* and *Savitri* in terms of musical forces, irregular metres and increased modality, but he does not see this as the abandonment of Wagner that is purported by Imogen Holst among other scholars, rather as the next stage in Holst's relationship with his predecessor, where emulation transforms into a more original form of expression. I am particularly interested in the comment '...Holst uses Wagnerian chromaticism as one option for moments of high drama...'. As has been discussed, there is a clear Wagnerian treatment of folk-song in *A Somerset Rhapsody* in the thematic development, chromatic shifts in harmony and sequential treatment of material, but the primary source material is modal and Holst

²¹⁴ Scheer, p. 129.

employs rotational modulation in much of the harmonic structure. Given that Holst draws on both modal and Wagnerian techniques, it is worth considering, in those pieces where both are present, what specific purposes he puts them to. In *Sita*, Scheer identifies modality in the score from near the beginning of the piece, associated with the Earth Goddess.

The increased austerity and modality identified by Imogen Holst and Raymond Head in the second scene of Act III, with its more frugal orchestration, reduced figuration, and chromatic modulation, in addition to pointing to a distinctly Holstian compositional voice, can also be construed as a musical evocation of the newly purified state of the world after the defeat of Ravana and his Rakshas. Modality has been closely associated with the Earth Goddess, and its pervasiveness in the final scene could reflect the return of the earth to her power.²¹⁵

Overall, Scheer generally sees the modal language in the piece as associated with the purity of the earth and the Earth Goddess, while the Rakshas are predominantly depicted with chromatic music. The use of modality to suggest renewal and the ‘return of the earth to her power’ is very similar in function to the return of the ‘Sheep Shearing Song’ at the beginning and end of *A Somerset Rhapsody*, signifying the continuity of the English countryside, impervious to human activity and an ideal state of being. While the three folk-songs are treated thematically throughout the rhapsody, the main section displaying Wagnerian harmonic practices is in the conflict between ‘High Germany’ and ‘The True Lover’s Farewell’, originally heard in the *Folksongs from Somerset*. The battle between the power, strength, masculinity and violence associated with the recruiting party clashes with the femininity, romance, heartbreak and lust of ‘The True Lover’s Farewell’, with the underpinning chromatic scalic figures and rising sequential treatment of the later theme calling to mind *Tristan und Isolde* (1859). Comparatively, the ‘Sheep Shearing Song’, functioning as an idyllic signifier of the pastoral, remains largely untouched, with its Dorian meandering bookending the piece. In both *Sita* and *A Somerset Rhapsody* modality indicates a notion of the earth in its ideal state, also suggesting something “other”, something beyond humanity

²¹⁵ Scheer, p. 116.

and its constant turmoil; the Earth Goddess in *Sita* and the English countryside in *A Somerset Rhapsody* share modal expression against a backdrop of chromaticism, which is used to depict the main disruptive force in both scenarios. It is interesting that Holst is consistent in the connotations he attaches to the two different forms of harmonic expression across these pieces. Considering the close proximity in which they were composed, the overarching thematic similarities could potentially suggest that the narrative expressed in *Sita* and the concurrent harmonic treatment formed a blueprint for the construction of *A Somerset Rhapsody*. There is no evidence in the composer's letters but the similarities are significant enough to be worth mentioning.

If *Sita*, *Savitri* and *A Somerset Rhapsody* were the only instances of Holst combining modality with Wagnerian chromaticism, their temporal proximity could indicate that it was simply a brief period of experimentation in the composer's music. However, there are several notable occurrences, including instances in *The Planets* where, perhaps unsurprisingly, Holst uses this combination of harmonic languages to set another otherworldly, peaceful female figure, in 'Venus'. Isted finds a mixture of modality and Wagner in Venus:

Venus could hardly differ more from Mars in almost all its characteristics; it is a curious mixture of some diatonic modal manipulation (although to nothing like the extent to which it appears in Mars) and opulent Wagnerian chromatic harmony.²¹⁶

Michael Short makes no mention of chromaticism or Wagnerian influence in his description of 'Venus', but he does discuss the pamphlet on horoscopes that Holst was reading at the time, in which Venus is described as awakening the 'affectional and emotional side of her subjects, giving them a keen appreciation of art and beauty'.²¹⁷ The combination of modality with Wagnerian chromaticism would be consistent with Holst's use of modality to suggest renewal and peace in the Earth Goddess of *Sita* and with his use of chromaticism to emphasise emotional

²¹⁶ Isted, p. 381.

²¹⁷ Short, p. 122.

conflict in *A Somerset Rhapsody*. Clearly, conflict is not the predominant theme of ‘Venus’, which is intended as a specific mood piece to counter the violence of ‘Mars’, but one could read into the combination of modality with chromaticism that Holst is imbuing the modal associations of peace and renewal with the sensual qualities of human emotion.

Whether or not the reader agrees with my reading of ‘Venus’, it seems clear that far from abandoning Wagner for modality, Holst repeatedly made use of both influences in combination for an extended period after the “discovery” of folk-song and modality, dispelling the notion that the two were mutually exclusive to the composer. With that said, Holst does expand his diatonic language through modality and develops specific modal techniques through his work with folk-song.

3.3.2 - Development of Rotational Harmony, Modal Flux and Fixed-Domain Bimodality

The process of working with folk-song and trying to preserve “found” melodies caused Holst to develop a series of modal harmonic techniques. Holst started using these techniques with his own melodies without the limitation of preserving the original folk-song. This resulted in Holst developing some of these techniques beyond the point where the music closely resembles the sound of folk-song. Warrack suggests that the abandonment of conventional harmonic forms is also an abandonment of conventional structure and form as the two are so linked in 19th-century art-music. He refers to *The Planets* as a crucial work in Holst compositional output as an experiment in bitonality and form. He identifies the influence of Stravinsky and Schoenberg in the work, both in terms of specific harmonic techniques such as the aforementioned parallel motion, but also in the method of structuring a work based on extended thematic variation within individual sections, that are themselves juxtaposed in mood and character.²¹⁸

²¹⁸ Warrack, pp. 733-734.

I would argue that Holst had already begun this practice in his earlier folk-song arrangements. Lisa Isted contends that folk-song lends itself to ‘variation rather than extension into organic and long-range structures’.²¹⁹ In the suites that either use or emulate folk-song for the primary thematic material, the structure of the music revolves around the juxtaposition of different melodies, whether in series or bimodally superimposed on top of one another. From a harmonic standpoint, Holst tends to rely on the innate interest of the modal melodies and the implications of modulating through rotational harmony rather than thematic development and long harmonic trajectories. This is another feature of modal harmony Isted associates with folk-song:

[Folk-song] brought with it material by which the central hierarchies of classical tonality were to be challenged, namely the modal permutations of diatonicism. Modulation could now be achieved solely by means of diatonic rotation, which openly defied the increasing chromaticism of contemporary European harmony as well as its underlying principles.²²⁰

Rotational harmony appears in Holst’s composition as a direct result of his work with folk-song. It is the mechanism through which Holst progresses from rudimentary, tonic-dominant orientated homophonic folk-song accompaniments into highly dexterous modal entities that seamlessly flow between related keys and tonal centres. Throughout the compositions discussed in chapter 3.2, including the *Terzetto*, Holst continually relies on conventional harmonic relations. There is almost always an underlying movement in either pitch-class set or tonal centre that displays tonic-dominant relationships or tertiary movement. However, through the use of rotational harmony Holst is able to expand his harmonic language without resorting to the chromaticism seen in *A Somerset Rhapsody*. The first step in this process can be seen best in the in the two suites for military band where for the majority of the suites, functional transitions are abandoned for bold juxtapositions between sections with different modal characters. The juxtaposition of harmonic

²¹⁹ Isted, p. 107.

²²⁰ Ibid, p. 107.

blocks is identified by Isted as a common trait of modal composers of the time. She explains this as a characteristic of working with folk-songs, which are self-contained musical entities.²²¹

After Holst develops a working knowledge of the parameters of rotational harmony, his block treatment of harmonic material transitions into modal flux. Holst will deliberately omit modally identifying pitches to create a level of harmonic ambiguity. Through this practice Holst is able to afford himself the harmonic recourse of multiple pitch classes simultaneously, which brings to mind his letter to Whittaker in which he extols the virtues of expanding the breadth of a key rather than jumping between different keys through transposition.²²²

In Holst's composition, modal flux predominantly manifests as a fixed tonic wavering between two modes. Typically, Holst will employ this technique when he is working with a gapped scale or an ostinato based on an incomplete diatonic pitch set. Gapped scales used with melodies allow him to expand his diatonic set by tapping into numerous pitch classes in his harmony. Over time, Holst develops an increasingly dexterous application of the rotational aspects of modal harmony and the harmonic ambiguity of gapped scales in his treatment of folk-song or pastiche material. It is seen to best effect in the 'Ostinato' of the *St Paul's Suite*.

In the second form of modal flux, one pitch-class set will waver between two tonics. This can be heard in the 'Song of the Blacksmith' from the *Second Suite in F*. Typically, when Holst is employing modal flux, he will do so with a closely related key. This practice is discussed by Dimitri Tymoczko:

One notable feature of traditional tonal practice is that modulation proceeds by way of efficient voice leading between scales sharing a large number of common tones.... "maximally smooth voice leading" – voice leading in which only a single pitch class moves, and it moves by only a single semitone.²²³

²²¹ Isted, p. 107.

²²² Short, *Letters to W.G. Whittaker*, p. 3.

²²³ Dimitri Tymoczko, 'Scale Networks and Debussy', *Journal of Music Theory*, 48 (2004), 219–94 (p. 233).

Bates describes the process of ‘maximally smooth voice leading’ as moving around the circle of fifths in order. When modal flux occurs with sufficient time for the listener to adjust to the new pitch set, it creates a similar effect to conventional modulation.

However, where different modal implications occur in close temporal proximity, they can create an atmosphere of diatonic expansion and harmonic ambiguity. Both Bates and Isted identify a vertical application of maximally smooth modal voice leading in the work of Vaughan Williams.

One of the most distinctive qualities at the surface of Vaughan Williams’ music is his frequent use of false relations, Tudor music and folksong, normally created by [...] diatonic modal manipulation.²²⁴

Unlike Vaughan Williams, Holst’s composition appears to be predominantly governed by linear rather than vertical considerations. I believe it is why there are so few of the mode specific cadences that present the tritone (and therefore characteristic modal scale steps) in Holst’s music.

In his article ‘Holst and the Linear Principal’ John Warrack stresses that Holst’s conception of harmony is driven by linear rather than vertical considerations. He discusses folk-song in terms of purging an ‘overdose of Wagnerian chromatic harmony’ from Holst’s work,²²⁵ and argues that as a composer who lets the harmony follow the trajectory of a melody, rather than dictate it, folk-song and Tudor music offered insight into freer rhythmic expression and the means to follow his melodies harmonically.²²⁶ The word ‘overdose’ is an important qualifier. It implies not *all* traces of Wagner disappeared from Holst’s work, rather that it was no longer the composer’s sole harmonic recourse. In particular Warrack mentions Holst’s practice of thickening a melody line in chords, regardless of the implications vertically. This technique can be seen to great effect in those coalescing moments in the *Terzetto* where the polyphonic trimodality lets up and parallel movement resets the listener’s ear. Warrack contends that it is a futile endeavour to discuss Holst’s

²²⁴ Isted, p. 369.

²²⁵ Warrack, p. 732.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 732.

harmonic progression or chord formations in conventional harmonic terms, as they are an extension of the melody and as such defy standard categorisation. On the surface of Holst's music, I would tend to agree. However, Holst definitely relies on underlying tonic-dominant relationships either in his pitch classes or tonal centres to structure much of his modal work, suggesting he had not completely abandoned a conventional conception of harmonic structure.

There is little evidence of Isted's "organic long-range structures" based on modality until looking at a work like *The Planets* and even then, as Warrack has pointed out, the work does not follow a single line of musical thought but is rather based on the juxtaposition of discrete sections. To understand the use of modality in *The Planets*, one has to look beyond the influence of folk-song. After acknowledging that folk-song was a "jumping-off point", it is more prudent to look to the development of modality in art-music of the time and the other composers that Holst might have drawn upon for inspiration. Isted's thesis follows the development of modal structures in European art-music in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

She contends that the trend towards modality in Holst's music is consistent with compositional developments across Russia and Europe during the period from 1870 - 1939. Isted is not the only commentator to suggest the influence of Russian composers on Holst. Gareth Thomas explores the influence of Russian music on English composers at the turn of the 20th century, with a section dedicated to Holst that looks at the use of musical layering, ostinato, structure and melodies in *A Somerset Rhapsody*, the *Beni Mora Suite* and *The Planets*.²²⁷ Dickinson suggests the composers use of ostinato, particular of irregular metre might also display the influence of Russian music, as does Warrack.²²⁸

²²⁷ Gareth James Thomas, 'The Impact of Russian Music in England 1893-1929', (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Birmingham, 2005) pp. 188-203.

²²⁸ A. E. F. Dickinson, 'The Revival of Holst.' *Tempo*, no. 111 (1974): 2-6; Warrack, p.733.

Isted sees the tritone as a structural force in *The Planets*, with the changing modes of the different movements altering the harmonic implications of the interval.

Like many other pieces discussed earlier, Mars is based upon a tritone relationship; it stands apart from all of them in the syntax of its tritone. Where Tchaikovsky, Sibelius and Vaughan Williams explored the extension of diatonicity into whole-tonality from the Lydian (sharp fourth) tritone, Holst turns to the least used mode of all, the Locrian, and recasts the tritone not as an upwards aspiration but as a threatening flattening of the dominant.²²⁹

While the music is modal, clearly the use of the Locrian mode and emphasis on the tritone is not a common feature of the English folk-songs Holst had been setting, nor is it a technique that can be traced to a predecessor in the modal compositions Holst wrote alongside his folk-song arrangements. Similarly, the exploitation of the Locrian tritone in the main theme of 'Saturn' exists in a different sonic realm to the folk-songs that begun Holst's modal experimentation, and while 'Neptune' extensively uses both the Dorian and Aeolian modes, the similarities with his folk-song settings ends there.

However, there are still instances in *The Planets* where one can see an extension of the techniques pioneered through folk-song. Isted views the clearest influence of folk-song to be seen in 'Uranus'.

This theme is thus a fascinating combination of two of the most important weapons in the original arsenal of Russian musical nationalism, the whole-tone scale and folk song... The splitting of the whole-tone scale into diatonically explicable halves that pivot symmetrically round a 'tonic' both recalls techniques used by Sibelius and is highly reminiscent of folk-song structure, in which pivot notes are made clear by melodic and rhythmic emphasis. Holst here reverses the tendency of many folk songs, in which the overall pitch set remains constant throughout while the pivot notes change; the pivot pitch (F#) remains unaltered as he moves from one theoretically explicable diatonic set to another. The faint underlying echoes of folk-melodic practice come from the rhythmic structure and

²²⁹ Isted, p. 372.

the general melodic shape with its scalar movement and persistent return to the pivot note.²³⁰

Changing the diatonic set around a pivot pitch is essentially an extension of rotational harmony and an inversion of the modal flux that Holst develops from gapped-scales. Rather than exploiting the potential single “missing” pivotal pitch to complete a diatonic set in different ways, Holst is fixing a single pitch in place and completing different diatonic sets around it. This technique is different in scale but not in kind. Another potential link with the earlier folk-song settings is the juxtaposition of two tonal centres in ‘Mercury’.

Holst is very careful not to let the ascending scales at the surface of the music merge into one continuous whole-tone scale, by clearly including the non-whole-tone fourth degree of each fragment; he is deliberately keeping the two tonics separated from one another and does not want them blurring together.²³¹

While the diatonic sets that form the basis of the movement are major, the main harmonic technique Holst is using is fixed-domain bimodality, where the mode is fixed and the pitch set and tonal centre are juxtaposed continuously. Again, this technique has been extended here beyond the point where it resembles Holst’s folk-song settings, but it derives from those earlier works.

3.3.3 - Modal Ambiguity: Bimodality and Diatonic Atonality

The extract below is taken from ‘The Revival of Holst’ by Dickinson. It displays the authors characteristic distaste for the works he unhelpfully groups as ‘written for the amateur’ and shows a fundamental misunderstanding of the composer’s compositional process and the importance of Holst’s more tuneful works to the development of some of his most experimental harmonic adventures.

²³⁰ Isted, p. 400.

²³¹ Ibid., p. 400.

Subsequently there appeared the sustained bitonality arising in the two-violin concerto, Hammersmith, 'Before sleep' for male voices; and, 'experimental' throughout, the three nominally simultaneous keys of the earlier *Terzetto* for flute, oboe and viola These various developments of an individual idiom are thrown into relief by the neo-classical style (in the broad sense) of the sundry suites, ballets, miscellaneous movements and traditional-song arrangements written for the amateur and partly juvenile bodies with whom Holst worked for most of his life.²³²

Rather than simply a random experiment in 'three nominally simultaneous keys', the *Terzetto* is a direct extension of both the melodic and harmonic techniques that Holst developed in his folk-song settings. Even those descriptions of the *Terzetto* made by musicologists with a favourable view of Holst's work with folk-song, tend to focus on the fact that the piece is written in three key signatures at once and miss the influence of folk-song in the modality of the work.

The *Terzetto* of 1924, one of his rare exercises in writing in three keys at once, is unusually rigorous; and it is difficult not to feel that the strictness of the polytonality here reflects the need on Holst's part – one that has been felt in different ways by different composers – to work out creatively an exercise in one of the most crucial aspects of his art. Certainly the three basic bitonal relationships which had absorbed him thereafter find a new richness of application that has moved far beyond technical experiment or special expressive use, and now acquire a new fluency.²³³

Warrack is correct in describing the *Terzetto* as an exercise; the use of polytonality here is certainly the most extreme example in Holst's composition and doesn't display any subtlety of application. However, while both Dickinson and Warrack find the *Terzetto* noteworthy as a harmonic experiment, neither of them comment on the modality of the three melodic lines. Each line is essentially modal in nature, with the opening meandering flute clearly reminiscent of the 'Sheep Shearing Song' in *A Somerset Rhapsody*, evoking the pastoral "lone shepherd". This effect dissipates, with the entrance of the contrasting pitch sets initially creating an uncomfortable juxtaposition with the familiar opening, but the listener is constantly reminded of the modality of

²³² Dickinson, 'The Revival of Holst.' p. 5.

²³³ Warrack, p. 735.

individual melodies in the moments where the texture thins and an individual melody can emerge. Holst even uses the same techniques of melodic fragmentation and variation between instruments that he employs in his choral folk-song settings. Underlying the constant harmonic upheaval on the surface, one finds a similar use of rotational harmony with underpinning conventional harmonic movement to the suites. The *Terzetto* actually displays many of the attributes identified by Dickinson in Holst's tuneful works as banal, but the daring notion of combining three pitch sets within this framework apparently qualifies the work as suitably "individual" for further comment. There is no denying that the work is highly original, more so than its forbears, but by separating Holst's musical output into those works worth critically considering and those works simply for amateurs, it is easy to miss the trajectories of development that span Holst's entire musical output. The same could be said of Warrack's description that this is a creative exercise in working out an element of Holst's art. I would not disagree with the description, but it misses the fact that this line of working out has been going on for some time; the more academically humdrum suites might be viewed as earlier experiments within the same medium, but with more restrictive parameters regarding tunefulness and accessibility due to the performers. Essentially, Holst needed a firm grip on modal relationships, rotation harmony and fixed and variable-domain bimodality before he could conceive of a work like the *Terzetto*.

Having established that the *Terzetto* is invariably viewed as a harmonic experiment, with the addition that modality and folk-song is a key part of the musical language, it remains to determine the full implications of Holst's most chromatically saturated work. In Lisa Isted's research into modality, she clarifies her terminology and defines both atonality and diatonicism such that the two are not mutually exclusive.

In atonal music no central tonic is discernible. This is most common with non-hierarchical formations such as the whole-tone scale, but, in theory at least, it is possible to envisage diatonic atonal music in which, although the overall pitch set

remains constant, the other parameters of music are such that no one pitch emerges as a controlling tonic.²³⁴

Isted finds potential examples of this in Sibelius's Fourth Symphony 'in which the fully chromatic middle ground is clearly subdivided into two whole-tones subsets'.²³⁵ Furthermore, Isted finds that 'throughout Vaughan Williams's output there is experimentation with the combination of diatonic modes on a common tonic.'²³⁶ It is my assertion that the harmonic ambiguity in the *Terzetto* borders on diatonic atonality.

The *Terzetto* is not strictly atonal due to the doubling of pitches, predominantly by the viola, but conversely it is also the third independent line that stops the music from simply being an example of bitonality; the viola prevents the music from being heard as a conflict between two tonal centres, typically occupying a harmonic space somewhere in between the other two instruments. The *Terzetto* is an extended study in exploring the harmonic potential of folk-song and does not have a single identifiable tonic, but rather three completely harmonic independent lines; each line in itself diatonic, but the combination creating constant chromatic saturation. It might be the case that Holst did not consider the vertical implications of the work, instead focusing on linear separation, but that does not explain the underlying harmonic movements that follow one another through conventional rotations. Whether or not it was his primary focus in the piece, Holst must have been cognisant of the absence of a definable tonality. Whether or not the *Terzetto* was intended as atonality, it certainly is the most chromatically saturated of the composer's works and still bears the clear influence of English folk-song, creating somewhat of a paradox with the notion of preceding scholars that modality would banish chromaticism from the composers work.

Modality may be the primary means by which Holst expanded his diatonic musical language, but there is an important distinction to be made between the modal influence of folk-

²³⁴ Isted, p. viii.

²³⁵ Ibid., p. 422.

²³⁶ Ibid., p. 438.

song and modality as a whole. Some of Holst's modal compositions show the influence of folk-song, or use techniques Holst developed through his work with folk-song, while many other works display an extended form of modality that goes so far beyond what is found in folk-song that it is no longer meaningful to draw the comparison.

Those compositional forms that display the most obvious harmonic influence of folk-song are those suites, unaccompanied choral works and chamber works that either incorporate actual folk-songs or consciously emulate it, such as the *Folksongs from Somerset*, the *Two Songs Without Words*, the *First Suite in Eb* and the *Second Suite in F*, or the *Six Choral Folksongs* and Op.34. Outside of these works are pieces like the 'Ostinato' and 'Intermezzo' of the *St Pauls Suite*, that extend the rotational modal language that Holst has developed beyond its largely functional use in the earlier suites, into something more creative, where Holst is expanding his diatonic reach.

However, as mentioned, folk-song was not the only model for modality that Holst came across, and Holst's efforts should be seen as part of a broader trend towards extending diatonicism through modality that stems initially from Russian nationalism. Therefore, equally as important as identifying the influence of folk-song has been identifying the limitations of that influence and recognising that modality is one harmonic tool that Holst uses in conjunction with others, including Wagnerian chromaticism.

What can be said is that folk-song was the first medium Holst interacted with that *required* him to conduct extended experiments with modal harmony and that folk-song in a broader sense was used by composers across Russia, Europe, America, and England to explore different dimensions of diatonicism at a time when many composers chose to abandon it. Regarding the influence of Wagner in Holst's work, Imogen Holst wrote the following in an essay titled 'Holst's Music Reconsidered':

I always used to think that he [Holst] had struggled year after year to *escape* from Wagner. The idea of following Wagner's music and then allowing himself to be led by it to other things is much more revealing.²³⁷

The influence of folk-song on Holst can be viewed in the same way. Folk-song was not an end for Holst but something to follow that led him to 'other things'. Holst's mature modal language is not exclusively derived from folk-song, but one can perhaps see folk-song as the agent that led Holst into these realms of musical experiment.

²³⁷ Imogen Holst, *The Music of Gustav Holst: Third Revised Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986) p. 134.

Chapter 4 - Identity and Music

4.1 - Holst and Nationalism

There is a huge amount of variation in Holst's musical output, showing influences from Wagner and Grieg through to music heard in Algeria and his studies in Sanskrit. In later years, his music was often described as austere and it seems Holst's popular appeal really declined from *The Planets* onward. However, there are a series of works that span the majority of his mature composition (1911-1933) that are highly tuneful and redolent with folk-song, either quoted directly or clearly inferred. These works show very little of the compositional development in technique and style that can be seen the rest of Holst's work. This point of stasis in Holst's work is likely due to the performance forces and intended audiences for these compositions, potentially suggesting a vein of cultural nationalism running through the composer's works for school children, working class amateurs, and music for military bands. I have already touched on the development of modality through these pieces in chapter 3.2; here I will explore the performance contexts of the works in detail and look at instances where the emulation of folk-song in these compositions implies "found" melodies.

4.1.1 - Cultural Nationalism and Folk-song

As has been discussed in chapter 2.2, notions linking the folk and national culture originated in Prussian-Baltic provinces in the 18th century with the Prussian teacher and pastor, Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803).²³⁸ Through his observations, Herder became convinced that the stratification of social classes enabled peasant populations, isolated from the international influences prevalent in the middle and upper-class cultures, to develop their own regional cultures,

²³⁸ Key writings relating to the subject include: *Treatise on the Origin of Language* (1772); *Selection from correspondence on Ossian and the songs of ancient peoples* (1773); *This Too a Philosophy of History for the Formation of Humanity* (1774); *On the Effect of Poetic Art on the Ethics of Peoples in Ancient and Modern Times* (1778); *Folk Songs* (1778–79; second ed. of 1807 titled *The Voices of Peoples in Songs*) *Ideas for the Philosophy of History of Humanity (Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit)*, 4 vols. (1784–91)

the same view later held by revivalists in relation to English folk-song. In his *Briefe zu Beförderung der Humanität*, Herder developed his ‘conception of *das Volk* as a collective national personality’.²³⁹ Otto Kröhnert wrote that Herder’s ‘nationalism was not political but ideal and spiritual’.²⁴⁰ This thinking would have been typical for 18th-century Germany because it was not a political unit and so had to invent the concept of the *Kulturnation*, i.e. the “cultural nation”: a nation defined not politically, but by a common culture. Schmidt expands, saying Herder’s ‘cultural nationalism was anti-despotic and based on an awareness of individual worth and the value of national cultures’.²⁴¹

What this reduces to is that Herder did not see nationalism as prescribed by the state, but rather as an organic phenomenon that arises in the community. Thus, the peasant class, removed from the fashions and political impetus of court are a truer reflection of the national traits of a country. The conviction that peasant society is the root of a national culture, including high-culture and art, is a view that developed over the course of the century. In 1866 Carl Engel wrote:

In civilised countries where the art of music is scientifically cultivated, and where it has attained a high degree of development, we find, as might be expected, the characteristic peculiarities of the National music most strictly preserved among the less educated classes.²⁴²

The transformation of folk-culture into a symbol of nationalism played an important role in the development of national art in Europe in the mid-late 19th century.²⁴³ In the early 20th century, folk-song was often associated with cultural nationalism and in England this idea was propagated by a collaboration between anthropologists, musicians, and art-music composers.

²³⁹ Schmidt, p. 411

²⁴⁰ Otto Kröhnert, *Herder als Politiker und deutscher Patriot*, (Gumbinnen, 1905) pp. 7-10.

²⁴¹ Schmidt, p. 414.

²⁴² Carl Engel, *An Introduction to the Study of National Music; Comprising Researches into Popular Songs, Traditions, and Customs*, (London, Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1866) p. 3.

²⁴³ Francmanis, pp. 1-2; Vieda Skultans, *The Testimony of Lives: Narrative and Memory in Post-Soviet Latvia*, (Routledge, 2002) p. 146.

The concept of ‘imagined communities’ contends that for all communities larger than the smallest villages it is impossible for an individual to know and identify with everyone else in their community, therefore a sense of shared identity must be largely imagined. The concept of nationalism is based on the imagined roots, language, beliefs, and values shared by the population of a country, forming a rhetorical culture. Before the rise of nationalism, large communities tended to be unified through religions and monarchies. However, as a result of the Enlightenment and the subsequent weakening of faith in the existing institutions, new ways of defining national identity were required. Benedict Anderson discusses the awakening of national consciousness as a result of three factors: the impossibility of human linguistic unity; capitalism; and the invention of the printing press. Benedict Anderson is the originator of this concept and investigates the origins and manifestations of nationalism at length in his seminal text *Imagined Communities*.²⁴⁴

Before printing there was greater linguistic diversity across the inhabitants of countries, with many languages and dialects. In order to facilitate the spread of their literature across larger areas, publishers would print in one dialect for the entire country in which they wished to sell their literature. In this manner one dialect or language becomes the dominant version and, in some cases, the official language of the country.²⁴⁵ Anderson suggests that through the process of linguistic unification or standardisation people were given a sense of belonging to an imagined community of individuals who all shared the same written language.²⁴⁶ There became a clear sense of imagined

²⁴⁴ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Revised Edition*, (London. Verso, First Ed. 1983, 2nd Ed. 2006) p. 6.

²⁴⁵ The printing press was invented by Gutenberg around 1450, and the Gutenberg Bible is printed in Latin. However, the unification of German ‘hochdeutsch’ is often attributed to the dissemination of the complete German Bible by Martin Luther in 1534. The unification of the Italian language is often attributed to the propagation of *I Promessi Sposi* by Alessandro Manzoni in 1827, though some argument is made for the *Divine Comedy* by Dante (1265) as the first stage in this process. In England the transition from Middle English to Modern English from the late 15th century to the mid-17th century served to largely standardise the language, which previously had a great many more dialects and variations. In 1476 William Caxton started printing in Westminster but his publications display the range of dialects present in the authors, without an attempt to standardise the language. The works of William Shakespeare and the first edition of the King James Bible are two of the most widely distributed publications in early Modern English and are particularly important to the development of a Standard English, see Fausto, Ignorance., *Shakespeare’s Works and Elizabethan Pronunciation* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1981).

²⁴⁶ Anderson, p. 39-48.

boundary that was not dependant on any kind of divinity but on shared characteristics of the population of the country. Beyond standardising language, the printing press also serves to standardise culture in the form of news, literature, and songs; creating tangible objects that enhanced this sense of nationhood.

With the printing press came the circulation of broadside ballad sheets (discussed in chapter 2.2), which despite the protestation of the early Folk-Song Revivalists, we know to be integral to the dissemination of folk-songs throughout England. Wells describes how these functioned:

Isolated ballads were often preserved by being pasted up in country houses and inns, like that of Izaak Walton's *Compleat Angler* and in this way they passed into people's memories and became traditional. Many a folk-song of to-day comes from a seventeenth-century broadside.²⁴⁷

Many of these ballads were text only and the tune the text should be sung to would be noted at the top.²⁴⁸ Aside from helping explain the shared melodies of many English folk-songs, this gives us insight into communal nature of song at this point in time; certain songs were not simply enjoyed by the communities they originated in but were required common knowledge over the circulation area of the broadside ballads in order to access the material therein. Printing continued to be important to the dissemination and public conception of folk-song as it starts to be collected for publication. Firstly, in relation to MacPherson and the Celtic fringe and later in relation to the English Folk-Song Revival.

As was discussed in the introduction to this thesis, due to the growing imperial tensions with Germany and the change in social dynamics in Britain, there was a perceived need by a faction of the English art-music establishment to reaffirm national values whilst separating the country culturally from Germany; in the words of Vaughan Williams 'The art of music, above all other arts,

²⁴⁷ Wells, p. 87.

²⁴⁸ Atkinson, pp. 456-83; Wells, pp. 86, 89.

is the expression of the soul of the nation'.²⁴⁹ There were trends in Russia and Norway that preceded the English Renaissance in this vein,²⁵⁰ and were particularly influential to Holst. As far as developments in England go, the established view of this period is summarised well by Alun Howkins:

There were no English élite composers of any real note during the nineteenth century... Any performer who sought any sort of fashion adopted a foreign name, German if an instrumentalist Italian if a vocalist... Sharp, Vaughan Williams and others brought to this situation a crusading zeal to create an English music based on two different but related traditions. The first was that of a past English musical greatness... The second route lay through folk-song... These two traditions sought out roots for an English music in a 'natural' society—pre-industrial England and the countryside—where, in a sense, 'Tudor' England still lived.²⁵¹

Howkins's description is recognisable in Holst's experience as a young English musician, who had to feign a foreign identity when playing with the 'White Viennese Band' conducted by Stanislas Wurm,²⁵² and in his composition, which bear the heavy influence of both Elizabethan music and folk-song.

The perceived cultural hegemony of the continent justified the development of an English national music and the importance of folk-song as a national artefact. Similar movements can be seen across Europe and Russia,²⁵³ and there was a conscious emulation of these movements by Holst's teacher Sir Hubert Parry, referenced in his inaugural address as one of the vice-presidents of the Folk-Song Society:

Even Russia, which not so very long ago began to emerge from a state far removed from our idea of civilisation, had more than a century ago a very fine collection

²⁴⁹ Ralph Vaughan Williams, *National Music and Other Essays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987).

²⁵⁰ Alan Howkins, 'Greensleeves and the idea of national music' *Patriotism: The Making and Unmaking of British National Identity, Volume III: National Fictions* p. 89.

²⁵¹ Howkins, pp. 90-92, 95.

²⁵² Holst, *Gustav Holst*, p. 19.

²⁵³ It is most likely the case that this perceived need to develop a national musical voice was not felt so much in Germany and Italy who, as the centre of Western art-music for centuries, already had their own sense of national musical identities at this point. In addition, both countries were strongly regionalised, and folk-culture would likely have been more strongly felt as a regional identity than in other European countries.

of folk-music...Moreover it is worth remembering that the great composers of other countries have concentrated upon their folk-music much attention, since style is ultimately national.²⁵⁴

The use of folk-song as the primary means of delineating a national cultural product was by no means universally accepted at the time and Holst's composition on the whole does not suggest that he was preoccupied with cultural nationalism. Chapter 4.2 will explore Holst's identity from an imperialistic view, in which the folk function as a national exotic. Chapter 4.1 will determine if any of Holst's work fits into the narrow ideal of an English cultural nationalism rooted in folk-song and examine the performance context of works that might fit into this conception of a national English music in order to determine if Holst is selective in who he presents this representation of English culture to.

A common theme running through the literature covering the English Musical Renaissance is the link between rural life, community and culture, and the implications that has for nationalism and socialism that can be traced to the sentiments of John Ruskin, Edward Carpenter and William Morris.²⁵⁵ The vulgarity of industrialisation, disparity of wealth, and loss of identity was attributed to capitalism and the culture and values of urban centres.²⁵⁶ This is summarised by Allan Ruff:

In Socialism Morris saw the means to achieve his vision of an integrated, whole society. One in which the landscape was not damaged and the stark division between town and country was abolished. He repeated over and over again his hatred of the ugliness caused by rapid industrialisation, the poisoning of the atmosphere by sulphurous emissions from factories, pollution of rivers, cutting

²⁵⁴ Parry, 'Inaugural Address', pp. 2-3; Curiously, the first section of this quote where Parry references Russia is omitted from the version of this speech published in 'A Folk-Song Function', *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 40, 673 (1899): 168-69 (p. 168).

²⁵⁵ R. Kinna, 'William Morris and the Problem of Englishness' *European Journal of Political Theory*, 5, 1 (2006), 85-99; Charles Harvey and Jon Press. 'John Ruskin and the Ethical Foundations of Morris & Company, 1861-96' *Journal of Business Ethics* 14, 3 (1995), 181-94.

²⁵⁶ Tony Brown, 'Edward Carpenter and The Waste Land' *The Review of English Studies*, 34, 135 (1983), 312-15; G. Koteswara Prasad, 'Gandhi and Edward Carpenter' *The Indian Journal of Political Science* 47, 4 (1986), 591-602.

down of trees – in short the wholesale destruction of everything regarded today as the environment.²⁵⁷

Linked to international concerns (e.g. imperial tensions, imperial identity, capitalism, globalism and the European bourgeoisie), urban life was held in antithesis to a true national culture, embodied by romantic notions of Tudor England and the rural folk. In many regards, the idealisation of country life and the ‘promotion of cultural egalitarianism’ behind the Folk-Song Revival and the English Musical Renaissance was very much in line with the progressive rurality of English Socialism at the time.²⁵⁸ Originally envisioned by William Morris and Edward Carpenter, this can be seen at an institutional level in the Independent Labour Party’s “Rural Program” of 1913, which was ‘based on land nationalisation, small holdings, cooperation, and a minimum wage for agricultural labourers’.²⁵⁹ Jeremy Crump describes the change in music’s social value from the 1870s:

Musical life in England quickened from the late 1870s. Major institutions were founded or rejuvenated during that time, and musicians strove to increase their social status by promoting a professional code of high standards of education and performance... The main thrust was not so much the desire to spread certain forms of music to the working class, something which had been the aim of the mid-nineteenth century tonic solfa and brass band movements, but the establishment of music as a legitimate occupation for the English middle class.²⁶⁰

Interestingly, Holst, born in 1874 and the product of this new form of English musical life both published works in tonic solfa and wrote works for the brass band movement, harking back to those movements from the preceding century and it is these works that best display a style that could be characterised a cultural nationalism. Holst was socialist from early adulthood, influenced

²⁵⁷ Allan R. Ruff, *Arcadian Visions: Pastoral Influences on Poetry, Painting and the Design of Landscape* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2015) pp. 168-169.

²⁵⁸ Sykes, p. 483.

²⁵⁹ Alun Howkins, ‘The Discovery of Rural England’ in *Englishness: Politics and Culture 1880-1920* ed. by Robert Colls and Phillip Dodd, (London: Croom Helm, 1986) pp. 62-88 (pp. 69-70).

²⁶⁰ Jeremy Crump, ‘The Identity of English Music: The Reception of Elgar 1898-1935’ in *Englishness: Politics and Culture 1880-1920* ed. by Robert Colls and Phillip Dodd, (London: Croom Helm, 1986) pp. 164-190 (pp. 165, 180).

by William Morris, Bernard Shaw and his time as a member of the Hammersmith Socialist Society where he met his wife Isobel, participated in meetings and conducted the Hammersmith Socialist Choir.²⁶¹ Holst was friends with several socialists and closely linked to others through mutual acquaintances (e.g. Vaughan Williams, Balfour Gardiner, William Morris, Conrad Noel, Mary Neal and Percival Dearmer). In many cases these individuals were also fellow folk-song and dance enthusiasts. One period of Holst's life that saw many of these influences coalesce into a highly social musical community was his time and work in Thaxted with Conrad Noel.

Conrad Noel was a member of the Church Socialist League (formed 1906) and later set up the Catholic Crusade (formed 1918). Noel believed that the collective ownership of land and capital by the community would lead to political, financial and spiritual emancipation. He was supported in Thaxted by his patron Lady Frances Warwick, herself a socialist convert.²⁶² Noel was a fervent anti-imperialist and advocate for Christian Socialism and wrote extensively on the subject.²⁶³

It seems likely that Holst and his wife Isobel would have been aware of Noel's reputation before moving to Thaxted and Noel and Holst quickly became friends. Like Holst, Conrad Noel was educated in Cheltenham and he actively supported the revival of traditional and mediaeval elements of English culture. In 1904, prior to becoming the vicar at Thaxted, Noel had been an assistant priest to Percival Dearmer, whose ideas on worship were influenced by the Arts and Crafts movement. It was Dearmer who enlisted the help of Vaughan Williams (also a committed socialist), and through him Holst, with the preparation of the English Hymnal in 1906. The hymnal itself a manifestation of the Christian Socialism that Dearmer, and later Noel, espoused. Noel's

²⁶¹ Andrew Heywood, 'Gustav Holst, William Morris and the Socialist Movement', *Journal of William Morris Studies*, 11 (1996).

²⁶² Mark D. Chapman, *Liturgy Socialism and Life: The Legacy of Conrad Noel* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd Ltd, 2001) pp.13-14, 23-24, 26.

²⁶³ Conrad Noel, *The Meaning of Imperialism* (Watford: Watford Printers, [n.d.]); Conrad Noel, *The Church Socialist League* (London: C. Clayton and Co., [n.d.]); Conrad Noel, *Socialism in Church History* (London: F. Palmer, 1910).

humanitarian spirit and his enthusiasm for traditional English art, dance and music in both his church and community would have held obvious appeal for Holst.²⁶⁴

When Holst arrived in Thaxted he was enamoured with the role of music in the church and immediately started helping with the choir. Considering his growing reputation and prestige at this time, Holst's immediate voluntary involvement in the amateur musical life of the church demonstrates the personal importance of helping to creating a local musical community to him. Outside of sacred music, folk-dancing was championed in Thaxted by Noel's wife Miriam following an instructional visit from Mary Neale's protégée Blancne Payling from the Esperance Club. As discussed in chapter 2.2.5, Mary Neal's conception of folk-dance and song was as a mechanism for building social interaction and beauty into the everyday life of working people. Neal had been involved in missions for working girls for over a decade before she discovered folk-dance, so it would seem that the social impetus was the driving factor behind her involvement with the cultural revival. Conrad and Miriam Noel certainly saw significance in the movement and were avid supporters of folk-culture in Thaxted.

Thaxted has been a centre of English folk dance ever since it was introduced by Mrs. Conrad Noel in 1911, soon after her husband came there as Vicar. Mrs. Noel, one of those early enthusiasts who have helped to revive the Morris Dance in England, followed the lead of Mary Neal, learning and subsequently teaching the dances to the end of establishing in Thaxted a modern tradition. In this tradition it has been customary to hold an annual meeting for dancers from all parts of the country, and Conrad Noel, himself realising to the full the comradeship and unity implicit in the dance, sought to give this unity spiritual significance through the participation of the dancers in the Sunday morning service, wearing the full glory of their regalia.²⁶⁵

Conrad Noel's inclusion of Morris dance in the service lends an official importance to the tradition in the community. By the time Holst arrived in Thaxted there were already at least two

²⁶⁴ Gibbs, pp. 66-67.

²⁶⁵ Michael Howard [abbreviated as M.H. in article], 'I Ring for the General Dance' *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* 6, 1 (1949), 20-21 (p.20).

Morris teams and Thaxted went on to become one of four national festival centres for Morris dance.²⁶⁶ Holst had joined a community with a well-established culture of folk-revival founded on Espérance principals, with a socialist vicar that saw the spiritual significance of music and dance in worship.

Whether in Neal's work with the Espérance Girl's Club, William Morris's Arts and Crafts Movement, Dearmer's and Noel's style of worship, or Holst's amateur music-making there is a shared goal of bringing beauty to the everyday lives of people of every class. All of these individuals were, in varying degrees, socialists. Their efforts all focus on the socializing and spiritual value of art as part of the fabric of everyday life and worship are heavily influenced by traditional or folk-culture as a model for how art, music and dance can function to improve the life of the community and church.

This chapter builds on the preceding analytical work on modality in chapter 3.2, looking more closely into the intended function, performers and audiences for the suites Holst wrote for military band (*First Suite in Eb*, *Second Suite in F*), school children (*St Paul's Suite*) and brass band (*Moorside Suite*).

4.1.2 - Music for Military Band

Mitchell, in his thesis *Gustav Holst: The Works For Military Band* (1908), extensively covers both the development of the military band as an ensemble and its role in British Musical history.²⁶⁷ His account demonstrates that far from being simply a ceremonial musical force for state functions, the military band was an integral facet of British musical life and during Holst's life, was actively engaging with the broader musical establishment to foster British composition.²⁶⁸ The role of the military band as stated by the present Royal Military School of Music is as follows:

²⁶⁶ Gibbs, p.68.

²⁶⁷ Mitchell, pp. 20-63.

²⁶⁸ Mitchell, p. 51.

Through Music, Service Bands are to sustain and develop the moral component of fighting power, support State Ceremonial, and achieve influence in order to further Defence and National interests... Service Bands are to act as ambassadors of the Armed Forces: Representing the professionalism of Service personnel... Regarded as an essential part of the fabric of the nation, they are charged with tasks that are symbolic and represent centuries of British tradition. Emblems of patriotism, their sound stirs the soul and in every way they are a civilising influence... Military Bands draw attention and have a positive influence on the nations conscience and attitude towards supporting our Armed Forces during difficult, dangerous and politically charged operations... Service bands are tasked to engage the local population in operational theatres, paving the way for co-operation and communication.²⁶⁹

The quotation is taken from the current 'Our Role' section of the Royal Military School of Music website and reflects how military bands have come to be viewed over the last century and a half, in part due to the efforts of 20th-century English composers and in particular Gustav Holst. By the time Holst was writing his military suites, the Royal Military School of Music was one of the best music academies in the country and in its sphere, was highly thought of across Europe.

The fact that in 1884 several distinguished German Officers visited Kneller Hall, with the result that the German Government established a military school of music somewhat on the lines of the Institution is a matter of which we may nationally be somewhat proud.²⁷⁰

Indeed, the skill and prominence of the military band grew through the first decades of the 20th century to the point where they were a leading force in British musical life. Military bands were equitable in technical ability to the country's leading orchestras:

There are at least one hundred military bands of high average powers in this country. Of these a number, such as those of the Guards, are of superlative technical excellence. The best players in military bands are often identical with the best players in professional orchestras. The extent and frequency of military band performances are probably greater than those of any other form of concerted

²⁶⁹ 'Corps of Army Music', *The British Army* <<http://www.army.mod.uk/music/33204.aspx>> [accessed 3 February 2013].

²⁷⁰ 'The Royal Military School of Music', *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, 41 (1990), 513–22 (p. 519).

music. The military band has a virtual monopoly of open-air music, and the major part of its activity consists of civil engagements demanded and supported by an enormous public.²⁷¹

The quote above is essential in understanding the two suites for military band. Firstly, Dickinson is incorrect in asserting these compositions were composed for amateurs, to the contrary they were composed for musicians on a par with the best orchestral musicians of the time. Additionally, from this description the military band would have been one of the best vehicles for mass dissemination of an English composers' music at the time, both in terms of the number of performances and the cross section of society reached through promenade concerts. Despite this, there was a great reluctance on the behalf of English composers to write for military band, with the result that the majority of the military band repertoire consisted of selections and arrangements of orchestral works. There is no single clear reason that can pointed to as to why there was such a reluctance on the behalf of British composers to engage with the medium. It may be that this was a self-perpetuating phenomenon; few "serious" composers wrote for military band, leading the ensembles to play selections and other popular material in promenade concerts which in turn further put off British composers. Colonel-Commandant John C. Sommerville wrote in the musical times asking composers for works in 1920:

It seems to me they [British composers] are thus neglecting an important means of obtaining for their work a very wide public hearing, not only in the three kingdoms, but wherever throughout the world British units are stationed. Therefore, through your columns, may I put before them the following propositions with a view to inducing them to reconsider their present attitude.

The concert season at Kneller Hall is from the middle of May to the end of September, and during that time I will undertake to give performances of:

- (a) Original compositions for military band;
- (b) Original compositions for orchestra, arranged for military band'
- (c) Arrangements for military band of musical by classical composers.²⁷²

²⁷¹ George Dyson, 'The composer and the military band', *Music and Letters* 2, 1 (Jan, 1921), 58-66 (pg. 58).

²⁷² John C. Somerville, 'British Composers and the Military Band', *The Musical Times* 61, 934 (Dec, 1920) p. 834.

At this point in time, Holst was one of the only British art-music composers of the period to have written for military band and it was hoped that this would induce some of his contemporaries to follow suit.²⁷³ Percy Grainger had composed a small number of pieces that were well received, but Holst's two suites in Eb and F were seminal works that not only changed the course of this genre of composition, but are still to this day pre-eminent in both the British and American band repertoire.²⁷⁴ Not only were military bands of a high standard they played to a global audience as far as the term applies to imperial England. We must therefore consider the implications this has on the target audience and the approach to composition. Imogen Holst links Holst's work with school children and amateurs with his work for military bands:

The lessons he had learnt in writing for children and amateurs proved helpful in his works for military band. Here his players were highly skilled experts as far as their instruments were concerned but the music they played had to be simple and economical.²⁷⁵

When Holst was writing these suites, he was well acquainted with folk-song, having already written *A Somerset Rhapsody* and *Songs of the West* a couple of years earlier. It is not just the presence of folk-song in the suites that is important, it is the manner in which Holst uses this influence, both from the perspective of communication with his intended audience and from the standpoint of his compositional development. To suit the role of the military band as described above, the pieces need to be easily accessible to an audience that were unlikely to be highly musically literate.

The *First Suite in Eb*, is written in three movements: 'Chaconne', 'Intermezzo' and 'March'. The melodic material is original and each movement is founded on a single musical

²⁷³ Dyson, p. 59.

²⁷⁴ Mitchell, p. 82.

²⁷⁵ Holst, *The Music of Gustav Holst*, p. 34.

phrase, which is repeated in the ‘Chaconne’ as the melody for the whole movement with a variation in the relative minor in bar 72.²⁷⁶ Whilst there is no actual folk-song quotation in the suite, the melodic writing is highly reminiscent of the folk-song style in both the use of mode and the use of simple repetitive phrase structures. Some of the melodies have parallels with folk-songs that Holst had either set in *A Somerset Rhapsody* or that he uses in future compositions that he may well have already been familiar with.

The ‘Intermezzo’ consists of two melodies that are alternated and then combined, a technique Holst uses often when dealing with actual folk-song thematic material. The first melody is written in the Aeolian mode with a Phrygian inflection in its second phrase before returning to the Aeolian.

Figure 54 - First Suite in Eb, ‘Intermezzo’ (1st melody)

5

II. Intermezzo.

Vivace.
stacc.

A

As can be seen the melody is simple, constructed in an ABA form, with the movement to the Phrygian in the B phrase. Each Phrase is of a characteristic repetitive folk-style, with the first half of the phrase leading to the dominant and the second half of the phrase a repeat of the first half

²⁷⁶Holst, *A Thematic Catalogue*, p. 97.

but resolving to the tonic. The second melody is written in the Dorian mode and is very similar to the folk-song 'I'll love my love'. Holst had not yet set this particular folk-song but it does feature in the *Second Suite in F* and in the *Six Choral Folksongs*. Listening to the second melody in the 'Intermezzo', it seems likely Holst was already familiar with the folk-song. Below is a comparison of the two.

Figure 55 - First Suite in Eb, 'Intermezzo' (2nd melody)

The image displays a musical score for the second melody of the 'Intermezzo' from the First Suite in Eb. The score is written for piano and consists of three systems of music. The first system begins with the tempo marking 'Allegretto' and the instruction 'L'istesso tempo. (♩=♩)'. The melody is marked 'p dolce'. The second system continues the melody. The third system is marked 'D' and features a different melodic line, likely the folk-song 'I'll love my love' mentioned in the text. The score is written in a Dorian mode, which is characteristic of the folk-song.

Figure 56 - Second Suite in F, 'I'll love my love' (Folk-song melody)

II. Song without words "I'll love my Love."

Andante.

The musical score is written in F major and 4/4 time. It consists of three systems of staves. The first system includes parts for Flute (Fl.), Clarinet (Cl.), Saxophone (Sax.), Horn (Horn), Bassoon (Bass.), and Bass. The second system includes parts for Solo Oboe or Clarinet (Solo Ob. or Cl.) and Ad libitum (ad lib.). The third system includes parts for Wood Wind (A), Flute and Eb Clarinet (Fl. & Eb Cl. Bb), Solo Cor Anglais (Solo Cor.), and Trombone (Tromba sust.). The tempo is marked 'Andante' and 'a tempo'.

Both melodies share a mode and the same phrase structure: AB AC DB AC*, with the movement at C to the dominant. They also share the same general melodic shape. What differs is that in the 'DB' section of Holst's original melody the modal implication is displaced and sounds major. In both the melodies of the 'Intermezzo' Holst changes the modal implications of the melody in the middle phrase; in Melody 1 through a change in relative major key and in Melody 2 through a change in tonal centre. The change in modal implication in both cases is fleeting but it is enough to add a greater degree of melodic interest to the material, making it slightly less simplistic whilst maintaining the folk-song connotations.

These melodies are juxtaposed in blocks and finally combined at the end of the piece. Melody 1 is fragmented and modally transposed to fit over Melody 2, the first instance of a technique that is used throughout these suites.

Figure 57 - First Suite in Eb, 'Intermezzo' (Melodies combined)



The combination of two melodies, with one harmonically altered to fit with the other, is nothing new in western art-music. Of more interest is the use of different modes to facilitate the combination of melodies without the need for any harmonic alteration. This can lead to creating harmonic ambiguity between two tonal centres within the same pitch class and can be seen in the last movement 'March'.

In the 'March' Melody 1 shares rhythmic and modal characteristics with 'High Germany' from *A Somerset Rhapsody*. The rhythmic similarities are not surprising as both pieces are marches, but the modal similarities are more interesting. This could be a conscious reference to the earlier work.

Figure 58 - First Suite in Eb, 'March' (1st Melody)

The image displays a musical score for the first melody of the 'March' from the First Suite in Eb. The score is written for piano and consists of five systems of two staves each. The tempo is marked 'Tempo di marcia.' and the key signature is three flats (Eb). The score begins with a *tr* (trill) and a *ff* (fortissimo) dynamic. The melody is characterized by a series of chords and rhythmic patterns, with several notes highlighted in blue. The score includes various dynamic markings such as *f* (forte), *cres.* (crescendo), and *ff* (fortissimo). The piece concludes with a double bar line and a key signature change to two flats (Bb).

Melody 2 seems clearly based on 'Swansea Town' as featured in the first movement of *Second Suite in F*.

Figure 59 - First Suite in Eb, 'March' (2nd Melody)

Figure 60 - Second Suite in F, 'Swansea Town' (Folk-song melody)

In both suites these melodies are the second melodies in a movement title 'March'. They are both major and more lyrical than the first melody that each is being juxtaposed against.

Functionally and sonically the two are similar enough to suggest they were composed alongside each other. It appears that Holst was consciously imitating folk-song in his melodic writing, presumably for the national connotations that would make it ideal for the medium of military band. Having conceived these melodies, he then preserves them in their full iterations, unlike his treatment of melody in much of his work in extended forms or movements, where melodic material is treated thematically and developed. Although he changes mode within the melody in these suites, he generally keeps the melody in full form once it has been expressed, the exception being the fragmentation and alteration of Melody 2 in the 'Intermezzo'. This technique is seen later in some of Holst's part-songs.

The simple block treatment of melody can also be seen in the *Second Suite in F*, but the melodies are preserved to a greater extent. Here, Holst simply presents one melody after the other, with very little linking material and a simple and unobtrusive accompaniment. The only significant textural break from melody dominated homophony comes in the 'Fantasia on the Dargason', where Holst combines the melodies of the *Dargason* and *Greensleeves*, both from Playford's *The English Dancing Master* rather than folk-songs collected by Holst's contemporaries. Holst enjoys the pairing of these two melodies with the use of hemiolas and fixed-domain bimodality so much that he reuses them in almost exactly the same setting for the final movement of the *St Paul's Suite*. The *Second Suite in F* was composed in 1911 while the *St Paul's Suite* was composed in 1912 but both pieces were published in 1922. In the manuscript of the *Second Suite in F* submitted to Boosey and Hawkes for publication, Holst writes a reminder that a note should be written about the songs used and where they were from. That note can be seen in the published version of the score and interestingly a comment attributing the last movement of the suite to the *St Paul's Suite*, rather than the other way around.

Figure 61 - Second Suite in F, (Manuscript cover page)

2nd Suite for Military Band
in F
Op. 28 No. 2

Add note
about tunes and where
they are from

CA

Conductor's Part

ROBEY & CO.
LONDON
THE REGENT ST.

CA

Dedicated to James Causley Windram.

This Suite is founded on old English Country tunes.

1. March. (Morris Dance, 'Swansea Town' and 'Claudy Banks')
2. Song without words "I'll love my Love."
3. Song of the Blacksmith.
4. Fantasia on the Dargason. (introducing 'Green Sleeves')

The tune of the MORRIS DANCE is used by kind permission of Mr. Cecil Sharp. 'SWANSEA TOWN', 'CLAUDY BANKS', "I'LL LOVE MY LOVE" and the 'SONG OF THE BLACKSMITH' were collected in Hampshire by the late Dr. G. B. Gardiner. The two latter songs are published for voices by Messrs. Curwen.

The FANTASIA ON THE DARGASON is almost identical with the Finale of "St. Paul's Suite" for string orchestra, and is published by kind permission of Messrs. Goodwin & Tabb, the publishers of "St. Paul's Suite."

Both pieces were published in the same year by two different publishers and apparently the similarities between the two movements required Goodwin & Tabb to give permission for the music to be used. While it appears that the *Second Suite in F* predates the *St Paul's Suite*, the famous combination of melodies will always be associated with the latter. Much of the success of these pieces lies in their simplicity and in the fact that they are unashamedly tuneful. At a time when the military band was a highly unpopular medium for original works by English composers, Holst wrote not only two original suites for military band but also composed in a clearly English style through use of folk-song or emulation of folk-song. Another source of interest in these movements is in the development of techniques that Holst continued to use throughout his compositional career that enjoyed their first experiments here in the suites.

Without evidence of a commission for the suites there could be several motives behind the decision to compose for these forces. An easy explanation is that Holst was nationalistic and wanted to compose for the military band due to its function and image. There is no evidence beyond the

suites themselves to support this notion and from our current understanding it would seem completely out of character. Alternatively, Holst may have wanted to compose music that promoted the cause of the folk-song as a well-spring of inspiration for an English style of composition; a popular composition for military band would certainly secure frequent performance from excellent musicians around the country and the Empire. Another explanation focuses on the performers themselves; Holst was aware of the excellent musicians to be found in bands, having played in them and he realised the potential for exposure and success in writing for the medium in regards to both the musicians and the public. These suites could be a response to his natural affinity for the ensemble coupled with the knowledge that they would likely be a welcome break from the limited repertoire the performers were typically confined to. This is not a binary issue and it's probable that a combination of factors motivated the compositions. Ideologically, folk-song and the military are a good fit from the perspective of social cohesion. Folk-song serves as a nostalgic reminder to the soldiers that they are fighting for their country, as denoted by the cultural indicator of the "countryside". For the general public, it identifies the soldiers as part of the folk or "common" society. These works are a mechanism for displaying a shared culture between the military and the general populace. In addition, Holst is still young in his career at this point. Writing for these forces was a chance for him to showcase his ability and reach a wide audience. Given the rising tensions with Germany at this time, these compositions were also an opportunity for Holst to tie his name and musical output to an inarguably British institution.

The other side of the discussion is that these suites can be viewed as experiments in melodic writing. Holst can be seen attempting to put into practice lessons he has learnt from folk-song to create pastiché melodies that capture the economy of means and depth of expression that he associated with folk-song. In order to evoke national pride as per the role of the military band the melodies are easily memorable, stirring, and identifiably English. For those performances overseas particularly, this music would have been representing English culture. The key to this accessibility

in Holst's original composition is in the ideological associations of folk-song through simplicity of harmony and structure, and the economy and symmetry of melody with the use of modes.

By using folk-song as the primary thematic material for the *Second Suite in F* Holst is not only creating music for the military band that draws on national culture, he is embedding folk-song into a pre-existing symbol of English national and imperial identity, the English Military. An interest in folk-culture could manifest as an inward look, away from the wider Empire—an embodiment of a national rather than global identity. Conrad Noel for example was an advocate of expressing national identity through the revival of folk-culture but was vehemently opposed to imperialism.²⁷⁷ The link between the military as a key aspect of the Empire and folk-song as a key signifier of the nation could be seen as an attempt to mediate between the two, or equip the military with music that acknowledged its connection with the home country. On the other side of the equation, in this performance context folk-song becomes an expression of imperial identity by association; as arguably the most literal symbol of English power, combining the visual effect of a full military band with the sound of folk-song on a sub-conscious level marries the military to an image of the “real” pastoral England and folk-song with a sense of English superiority and global might.

4.1.3 - Suites for School Children

St. Paul's Suite was composed for the school orchestra of St. Paul's Girl School where Holst taught throughout the majority of his career. As with the other suites, an understanding of Holst's intended performers and purpose is essential in understanding his compositional approach. Imogen Holst describes the impact of Holst's role as a teacher on his composition:

From the first moment he began teaching, Holst had to lead a double life as a composer, striving towards the expression of his own individual mind and, at the same time, writing simple music for his pupils to play and sing. This double life

²⁷⁷ Noel, *The Meaning of Imperialism*

went on until the end. It had its occasional disadvantages, but in the early years it was the greatest blessing that could possibly have happened to him. Each new work he wrote for amateurs was a practical lesson in combining a wealth of imagination with the barest economy of notes.²⁷⁸

The economy of the writing is clearly a response to the ability of his players, as Imogen Holst states, although as mentioned in the modality section, *St Paul's Suite* certainly stretched the ability of Holst's students. Beyond artistic consideration though, is the unique importance folk-song held in musical education of the period. As exemplified in the case of Imogen Holst herself, whose heavy involvement in the folk-song and particularly the folk-dance revival began when she was still a school girl under her father's tutelage.²⁷⁹ Cecil Sharp was a friend of Holst's and the source of much of Holst's early contact with folk-song, and his views on folk-song and education likely had an impact on Holst:

We look, therefore, to the introduction of folk-songs in the elementary schools to effect an improvement in the musical taste of the people, and to refine and strengthen the national character. Our system of education is, at present, too cosmopolitan, it is calculated to produce citizens of the world rather than Englishmen.²⁸⁰

While there is some question as to whether Holst was consciously nationalistic in his use of folk-song, there is no ambiguity when it comes to Cecil Sharp. Sharp was an educationalist and professed that it was not enough to simply collect folk-song for cold-storage; it should be reintroduced to the people for the enrichment of society. Practically, the main way he sought to do this was through the use of folk-song in education. Sharp argued that for the introduction of national song into the classroom to have a positive effect it must be the right sort of song, i.e. true folk-song. As discussed in chapter 2.2, Sharp championed the theory of communal authorship and therefore

²⁷⁸Holst, *The Music of Gustav*, p. 33

²⁷⁹ Christopher Grogan, Rosamund Strode and Christopher Tinker, *Imogen Holst: A Life in Music*, ed. by Christopher Grogan (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007) p. 4.

²⁸⁰ Sharp, *Some Conclusions*, p. 173.

only true folk-song was a representation of national character, as opposed to popular or composed song. As a result of becoming acquainted with what he saw as racial products, Sharp felt that:

[The English School child] will love them the more, realise that he is united to them by the subtle bond of blood and of kinship, and become, in the highest sense of the word, a better citizen, and a truer patriot.²⁸¹

The rhetoric used here is clearly nationalistic, with a great importance attached to folk-song in the formation of national traits and national pride in children. It is clear, simply from the variety of material that Holst composed for his students that he did not fully subscribe to Cecil Sharp's dogmatic approach to nationalising the English schoolchild through folk-song immersion-therapy alone. The influence of Balfour Gardiner and Conrad Noel (and through them likely Percy Grainger and Mary Neal) combined with Holst's own socialising tendencies with music provide a broader interpretation of both the nature of folk-song and its role in society. That said, Holst's compositions for amateurs and school children often show a much more literal influence of folk-song and as a group represent the majority of Holst's compositions that feature folk-song as dominant thematic material. Holst was a good friend of Cecil Sharp and had taught in several of the EFDSS summer schools.²⁸² It is easy to infer that Holst supported the educational use of folk-song, the question remains as to what extent this manifested in his compositions.

St. Paul's Suite can be seen as a progression from the two suites for military band in terms of melodic writing. Holst is still clearly influenced by folk-song in terms of his use of modes, rhythmic patterns and phrase structures, take for example the opening melody of the suite, written in alternating 6/8 and 9/8 in D_D.

²⁸¹ Sharp, *Some Conclusions*, p. 139.

²⁸² Graebe, p. 5

Figure 63 - St Paul's Suite, 'Jig' (1st Melody)



The simple block treatment of melody is replaced with extended development between sections so that the melodic material within each movement is closely related. In the second melody of the 'Jig', the lilting rhythmic figures are a direct continuation of the opening melody, but the mode has changed to A_M.

Figure 64 - St Paul's Suite, 'Jig' (2nd Melody)



Holst then modally modulates to F_M and rhythmically augments the melody using sweeping strings in octaves, interspersed with fragments of melody 1 in E_D. Having cycled through this pattern once, he introduced a change in mode to B_D and metre using a version of Melody 1 with triplets to disrupt the preceding triplet feel.

Figure 65 - *St Paul's Suite, 'Jig'* (Modal modulation and triplets)

The image displays three systems of musical notation for the 'Jig' from *St Paul's Suite*. Each system consists of four staves: two for the upper strings (Violin I and Violin II) and two for the lower strings (Viola and Cello/Double Bass). The first system is marked with a circled '5' and includes dynamics like *p* and *Soli*. The second system continues the piece with similar dynamics. The third system is marked with a circled '6' and includes performance instructions such as *poco pesante*, *div.*, and *pizz.* (pizzicato). The notation includes various rhythmic values, including triplets, and complex harmonic structures.

Holst is honing his craft and creating something that incorporates the essence of folk-song with the melodic invention of the art-music composer. While the techniques Holst is using are traceable to his work with folk-song, some harmonic and melodic features are sufficiently removed as to be exotic sounding and not reminiscent of England at all. Holst introduces melodic elements that utilise an extension of the rotational theory, such as the use of the Phrygian Dominant scale in the 'Intermezzo', expanding the musical landscape for his students (see chapter 3.2, Figure 26).

In the *St Paul's Suite* Holst composed in a manner that often evokes an “English” soundscape; there are specifically melodic aspects of the piece that either quote or clearly emulate folk-song, that could be seen to engage with a national musical heritage. Holst then experiments

with the harmonic and rhythmic parameters to create melodic and harmonic interest that makes the music both accessible and appealing to his players and audience. This has led to the work becoming one of the most popular in the repertoire of English string music. However, it is clear that while Holst shared interest in folk-song as an aspect of English musical heritage he was not interested in indoctrinating his students and introduced a wide variety of influences to them. The combination of folk-song and exotic sounding influences in *St Paul's Suite* and his use of numerous compositions from continental composers with his students, such as Bach and Palestrina, show that Holst was not dogmatically nationalistic in his approach to music education or composition.

4.1.4 - Brass Band Movement.

The British brass band movement originated in northern working-class communities, where factory owners established and funded wind bands in order to give their employees a leisure activity and in many cases to divert their attention from the appalling working and living conditions they had to endure.²⁸³ Since the introduction of brass bands they have held a great deal of appeal both for working class performers and for their communities. Part of this success is due to the brass band contests between different regional communities. The high-quality musicianship exhibited by the workers in these bands was a source of pride for both the performers and their communities, generating respect from members of the upper-classes.²⁸⁴ There are a series of regional competitions as well as the National Brass Band Championships of Great Britain that are still alive and vibrant today. The contest is split into five sections: Championship, Second, Third, Fourth and Youth. This allows bands of a range of ability from all over the country to compete with other bands of a similar ability. The Championship section takes place at the Royal Albert Hall with a well-known composer or arranger commissioned to compose a work for the occasion.²⁸⁵ Holst

²⁸³ Michael Mamminga, 'British Brass Bands' *Music Educators Journal* 58, 3 (Nov, 1971) pp. 82-83.

²⁸⁴ "The British Brass Band," *A History of the Wind Band: Dr. Stephen L. Rhodes* (Lipscomb University) <http://www.lipscomb.edu/windbandhistory/rhodeswindband_07_britishbrassband.htm> [accessed 12 November 2014].

²⁸⁵ Mamminga, pp. 82-83.

would have known the movement as a working-class movement. The following excerpt from the *Musical Times* in October 1935 is illuminating regarding the culture and typical audience surrounding the brass band:

The brass band is rapidly getting a literature of its own, contributed to by some of the most distinguished British composers. But it must be remembered that these bands get their financial support from their following, a not very well-educated body musically and to some extent the same type one finds at a professional football match. Of late years there has been a leavening of better works in programmes arranged for popular consumption, but the crowd will not stand very much of it. The man who pays the piper still wants to call the tune.²⁸⁶

While this does not make explicit the type of music that the audience wants, it makes it clear that to a certain extent, the composer needs to be populist in these instances and play to the crowd. It can be inferred from Holst's composition what he felt the crowd wished to hear in this circumstance. However, we must also remember that Holst was an avid follower of William Morris in his younger days and it is unlikely that he would "compose-down" to anyone due to class. I think it is more likely that following the example of the arts and crafts movement, Holst would have approached this composition with the intention of making a work that was both fit for purpose and artistically beautiful. The 'Scherzo' has melodic parallels with the 'Jig' of *St. Paul's Suite* in the lilting 6/8 rhythm and Dorian modality of the first melody (Figure 66) and the manner the melody is extended and drawn out through the transition into the second melody of the movement (Figure 67).

²⁸⁶ George Bannister, 'Brass Bands' *The Musical Times* (Oct, 1935) p. 930.

Figure 66 - Moorside Suite, 'Scherzo' (1st Melody)

2

I. SCHERZO

♩ Allegro

Soprano Eb. 1. (C) (his note is to be played at the Da Capo only)

Solo Cornet Bb. 2.

Replano Bb. 3.

2nd Cornet Bb. 4.

3rd Cornet Bb. 5.

Flugel Bb. 6.

Solo Horn Eb. 7.

1st Horn Eb. 8.

2nd Horn Eb. 9.

1st Baritone Bb. 10.

2nd Baritone Bb. 11.

1st Trombone Bb. 12.

2nd Trombone Bb. 13.

Bass Trombone. 14.

Euphonium Bb. 15.

Bass Eb. 16.

Bass Bb. 17.

Drums. 18. TACET.

♩ Allegro.

R.S. & Co. Ltd. 20014

Figure 67 - Moorside Suite, 'Scherzo' (Melodic transition)

bar 33

R. S. & Co. Ltd. 2001 ©

Fin.
R. S. & Co. Ltd. 2001 ©

This approach differs from the simple block contrast Holst employs when using folk-songs in the *Second Suite in F*, which would suggest he feels more comfortable altering or extending his own melodies than actually folk melodies. Much like a conventional ‘Scherzo’, the second section of the piece is a ‘Trio’. However, where a traditional ‘Trio’ would typically be in a quick 3/4 metre, Holst contrasts with the preceding 6/8 by using a combination of dotted crotchets and triplet quavers to displace the metre, in a very similar rhythmic gesture to the earlier ‘Jig’.

Figure 68 - *Moorside Suite*, ‘Scherzo’ (Triplets with fanfare)

The image displays a musical score for the 'Scherzo' section of the *Moorside Suite*. The score is written for a large ensemble, with staves numbered 1 through 18. The music is in 6/8 time and features a 'Trio' section starting at measure 10. The score includes various dynamics such as *pp* (pianissimo), *p* (piano), and *ppp* (pianississimo). There are also markings for 'SOLO' and 'p cantabile'. The score is marked with 'Fin. TRIO' at the beginning and end of the section. The music features a combination of dotted crotchets and triplet quavers, which is characteristic of the 'Trio' section.



R.S. & C^o Ltd 20015

The phrase lengths are irregular, so that the melody cannot be clearly placed in 3/4 or 4/4. Holst creates further metric ambiguity by displacing the beginning of the second phrase to the middle of the bar and accompanying it with an extended form of the fanfare from the first melody, similar to his treatment of melody in the first movement of the *First Suite in Eb*.

The difference in the ‘Scherzo’ is that Holst has already fragmented the melody into the fanfare before its use as an accompaniment to the second melody. By developing this motif in the original exposition of the melody he makes a feature of it that, when used as an accompaniment to the second melody, creates a clearer sense of continuity. The prominence of the fanfare has regal connotations and one could speculate whether it is intended here to extol the nobility of the common man or to instead to acknowledge the Royal Albert Hall as the Championship setting. In any case, a fanfare for brass instruments is a fairly obvious thing to do and without further evidence the feature is open to interpretation. A sense of nobility, though, seems to be developed further in the ‘Nocturne’.

The opening melody of the ‘Nocturne’ seems to play the same role as the ‘Sheep-Shearing’ song in *A Somerset Rhapsody*, the meandering Dorian modality of the solo cornet melody instilling the same pastoral vista of the idyllic England on the mind of the listener as the solo oboe of the rhapsody. Whereas the countryside in *A Somerset Rhapsody* is encroached upon by the band of soldiers with their military march, here the understated majesty of the people who inhabit it is expressed in the slowly growing, circular second melody. The processional, stepwise crotchet accompaniment in the lower brass adds a nobility to the music that is a stylistic match that is more in keeping with ‘Jupiter’ than with *A Somerset Rhapsody*.

Figure 69 - *Moorside Suite*, ‘Nocturne’ (1st melody)

II. NOCTURNE. 11

Adagio.

Adagio.

R.S. & CO Ltd. 2001

Figure 70 - Moorside Suite, 'Nocturne' (2nd melody)

The image displays a musical score for the 'Nocturne' (2nd melody) from the Moorside Suite. The score is organized into two systems, each containing 18 staves. The first system begins with a copyright notice '©' and a dynamic marking of *ppp*. The second system includes tempo markings 'rall.' and 'a tempo', along with various dynamics such as *cresc.*, *dim.*, and *ff*. The score is marked with 'R.S.&O, Ltd 2001a' and 'R.S.&O, Ltd 2001b'.

There is a similar approach to melody in the third movement. The 'March' opens in a fury, with the second melody in particular reminisce of 'High Germany' from *A Somerset Rhapsody* in both mode and rhythm. The melodies lead into one another, a feature of *St. Paul's Suite*.

Figure 71 - *Moorside Suite*, 'March' (2nd melody)

The image shows a musical score for the 'March' (2nd melody) from the *Moorside Suite*, starting at measure 22. The score is written for a 19-stem ensemble. The first five staves (1-5) are marked with a circled 'A' at the beginning. The sixth staff (6) is highlighted with a white box and labeled '2nd Melody'. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like *p* and *So i.*. The score ends at measure 18, marked with a circled 'A' at the bottom.

28

1. *p* *leggero*

2. *p* *leggero*

3. *p* *leggero*

4. *p* *leggero*

5. *p* *leggero*

6. *p* *leggero*

7. *p* *leggero*

8. *p* *leggero*

9. *p* *leggero*

10. *p* *leggero*

11. *p* *leggero*

12. *p* *leggero*

13. *p* *leggero*

14. *p* *leggero*

15. *p* *leggero*

16. *p* *leggero*

17. *p* *leggero*

18. *p* *leggero*

R. S. & Co. Ltd. 2001a.

Melodies are not combined in this piece but Holst merges one into another creating continuity throughout. The techniques Holst employs in his treatment of melody are in the same vein as those found throughout these suites. The three movements consist of two melodies per movement and these melodies are juxtaposed with different textures in the arrangement. In the first and third movements the melodies are also combined, with the melody fragmented in the first movement and both melodies kept in-tact in the third movement. The parallels with the *First Suite in Eb* are immediately apparent and this use of melody is certainly a characteristic of Holst's suites. However, the progression of Holst compositions can be seen in the extended linking passages, which are in themselves a development of the precursory melodic material. There is still much of the subtlety of *St. Paul's Suite* in this composition and whilst the brass band as a force is not as delicate as the string orchestra, it is certainly subtler than the military band.

4.2 - Musical Exoticism and the “National Exotic”

4.2.1 - Rationale for Investigation

Chapter 4.1 discussed those instances where Holst’s use of folk-song could be considered a form of nationalism and links this style of representation to the performance contexts of those works. When Holst is composing for orchestral forces and concert hall performances, his representation of the folk changes to reflect the cultural identity of his intended audiences. The great utility of the folk as a signifier of nationality is ironically attributable to their distance from mainstream society, or their “otherness”. It was their supposed isolation from British urban culture that guaranteed the separation from the culture of European elites. That same separation meant that they could be shaped in the minds of a metropolitan audience to whatever national figure was desirable. In relation to the idolisation of the folk as a signifier of national identity, Ken Worpole writes:

Underpinning this kind of thinking was the assumption that the working class as ‘the folk’ posed a much less serious threat to the established order than did the working class as an urban proletariat.²⁸⁷

The folk, as portrayed in art and literature, can be perceived as less of a threat than the urban proletariat because they are fictitious and geographically and culturally removed. Isolated rural peasants, happily singing their songs and fulfilling their roles in village life, secure in their national identity and happy with their lot in life are understandably less threatening than victims of the endemic poverty prevalent on the streets of London at this time. Philip Dodd discusses self-representation in ‘Englishness and the National Culture’:

A great deal of the power of the dominant version of Englishness during the last years of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century lay in its ability to represent both itself to others and those other to themselves. Such

²⁸⁷ Worpole. p. 133.

representation worked by a process of inclusion, exclusion and transformation of elements of the cultural life of these islands.²⁸⁸

There are similarities between the process of self-representation and other-representation. The representation of folk-culture and the orient can be seen as a continuum, part of a unified expression of imperial identity where the depicted cultures act as easily recognisable characters to help identify a distinct “self” seen in relation to them. Eric Saylor offers an insight into pastoralism and the link drawn between pastoralism and the exotic by critics from Holst’s generation.

Some of the most prominent British critics of the early to mid-twentieth century (including Ernest Newman, George Bernard Shaw, and later, Constant Lambert and Martin Cooper) argued passionately against composers evoking conspicuous markers of “Englishness,” considering it a “particular form of provinciality that has degraded nationalism to the level of the exotic”...Combining intellectual heft and institutional respectability, such writers helped create a climate in which any music deemed insufficiently modernist in its aesthetic or sound, like pastoralism, met with either withering contempt or general indifference.²⁸⁹

Much of Holst’s compositional output has been dismissed in this manner by writers such as Stradling and Hughes. In *The English Musical Renaissance 1860-1940* broad statements and opinions to this effect are often put forward without supporting evidence:

Even today, we suggest, only a small minority of British musicians and musicologists, and an even smaller element of the broader ‘music-loving’ public, would consider the composers produced by the Renaissance – figures such as Elgar, Delius, Holst or Vaughan Williams – to be the equals of the German masters... Largely through happenstance, the ideology of the pastoral mode has been given a new lease of life in the present generation by the ubiquitous propaganda of conservation and ecological awareness... the discourse of English Music History and music-criticism is so green that the innocent reader might be forgiven for thinking that the subject under discussion was horticulture rather than High Culture.²⁹⁰

²⁸⁸ Philip Dodd, ‘Englishness and the National Culture’ in *Englishness: Politics and Culture 1880-1920* ed. by Robert Colls and Philip Dodd, (London: Croom Helm, 1986) pp. 1-28 (p. 2).

²⁸⁹ Saylor, p. 2.

²⁹⁰ Stradling and Hughes, pp. 96-97, 138.

Pastoralism, nationalism and folk-song are presented synonymously when Stradling and Hughes discuss ‘the “school” of composers who followed the precepts of the English Pastoral and/or folk-music’.²⁹¹ They state that the journal *Music and Letters* ‘provided constant propaganda for the Pastoral School’ and that ‘exponents of what Vaughan Williams regarded as National Music were commanding officers of all the elite regiments’.²⁹² Referring to these composers as a “school” is misleading, suggesting a set of central tenets or a guide for style that is not borne out by the music and the recurring military metaphors and references to propaganda imply sustained hostility in the composer’s professional endeavours. Within this context Holst receives little credible treatment and is painted as a two-dimensional figure.

Holst produced a *Cotswold Symphony* as early as 1900, while Vaughan Williams planned a series of *Norfolk Rhapsodies*. However, although using ‘traditional’ tunes, this music represented no advance on the techniques of Liszt and Dvorak, nor even that of Stanford, their master at the RCM.... Then came their encounter with Sharp and their personal ‘field trips’ to collect folk-songs in East Anglia... Holst had utilised folk-tunes when writing his two *Suites for Military Band*... They were allegedly intended to improve the *quality* of marching tunes at Kneller Hall, but this was probably a euphemism, since so few of the existing variety were regarded as having a proper ‘national’ origin.²⁹³

While the first movement of the *Cotswold Symphony* is written in a rustic style, the piece does not use ‘traditional’ tunes, nor did Holst go on ‘field trips’ to collect folk-songs. It is not made clear which techniques of Liszt, Dvořák and Stanford that Holst and Vaughan Williams are reportedly unable to progress beyond. Almost every time Holst is mentioned in the book, it is in relation to Vaughan Williams and Holst appears as simply a follower of Vaughan Williams in his purported efforts to create a national music through folk-song and the pastoral. This creates an imbalance in the composers’ relationship that does not reflect Holst’s published views on national music (see chapter 4.1). The description in the quote above of Holst’s compositions for military

²⁹¹ Stradling and Hughes, pp. 145-149.

²⁹² Ibid., p. 145.

²⁹³ Ibid., p. 138.

band fails to mention that Kneller Hall openly requested works from English composers in 1920 in the *Musical Times*, omitting the impetus for the suites and exaggerating Holst's nationalism. Alain Frogley attacks this misrepresentation of the two composers by Stradling and Hughes in his article *Rewriting the Renaissance: History, Imperialism, and British Music Since 1840*.

[Stradling and Hughes] monistic belief in the dominance of the 'historical-pastoral' style in the careers of Vaughan Williams and Holst leads them to simply ignore or virtually dismiss large swathes of both composers' music that contradict the label; this is especially damaging in the case of Holst, who in Stradling and Hughes becomes effectively little more than a minor hanger-on of the pastoral movement.²⁹⁴

Frogley's remarks are useful in identifying the short comings of the Stradling and Hughes text in pigeonholing Holst's as a pastoral composer predominantly focused on creating an "English" music. However, he does not actually offer a more nuanced understanding of those works that use English folk-song. While it is important not to reduce Holst to a nationalist/pastoral caricature, it is also necessary to critically examine the representation of culture from rural England and the colonies in his works to understand the role of identity in his composition.

There is something to be said for the idea that Holst was part of a movement that was trying to invent traditions. Eric Hobsbawm points to the reintroduction of collected folk-carols into mainstream English culture as a prime example of this practice,²⁹⁵ as seen in Holst's Op.36b. This style of composition has been described by Stradling and Hughes as a case of inventing national traditions, but by itself this explanation is too simplistic.²⁹⁶ Viewing Holst's folk-song based compositions in this way hinders a more comprehensive understanding of the similarities and interplay between the different influences on the composer's work. It is my contention that one can see Holst's use of folk-song as the meeting point in a Venn diagram of pastoralism, exoticism and

²⁹⁴ Alain Frogley, 'Rewriting the Renaissance: History, Imperialism, and British Music Since 1840.' *Music & Letters* 84, 2 (2003): 241-57 (p. 248).

²⁹⁵ E. J. Hobsbawm, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983) p. 7.

²⁹⁶ Stradling and Hughes, p. 64-65.

nationalism. I will explore Holst's use of folk-song in the context of an imperial English culture and demonstrate that the innate conflict in the rhetorical role of folk-song within the English Musical Renaissance is reflected in Holst's composition.

One must remember that folk-song was an adopted tradition for Holst; in 1906-1907 when he started work on *A Somerset Rhapsody*, Holst made a conscious decision to start using folk-song in his compositions for his own purposes. This section of the thesis explores the presentation of folk-song as a cultural other in Holst's work. I will put forward the argument that the manner in which folk-song was used by Holst in *A Somerset Rhapsody* accentuates the separation of the source culture from the audience, suggesting that part of the initial interest in English folk-song on behalf of the composer and his audiences was its "exotic" rather than national characteristics. Chapter 4.2 will start with an introduction to musical exoticism as it pertains to Holst and the temporal and geographical context in which he was composing. Following this I will compare the use of source material and the presentation of culture in the explicitly exotic *Beni Mora Suite* and the implicitly exotic *Somerset Rhapsody*. The purpose is to determine the extent to which a fantasy version of the source culture is created in each piece and the techniques used to achieve this effect. With references to other instances of Holst using modality and metric freedom to suggest "otherness" I will consider the innate dichotomy between folk-song as both a national and exotic phenomenon in Holst's work.

4.2.2 - Imperial England/Commercialism

The interest in the exotic, particularly the interest of 19th/20th-century Londoners is two-fold. Firstly, juxtaposing an "other" against the "self" is a powerful tool in clearly establishing the boundaries of an identity. At a time of tremendous population growth, a complete transition from a predominantly rural to urban populace and increasing self-awareness of existence within a global

society,²⁹⁷ there was purportedly a crisis of identity amongst the English.²⁹⁸ The related second point is that the cultural exotic is a stimulus of fantasy and escapism. In a swelter of humanity, in constant contact with what would nowadays be considered unimaginable squalor and both financial and moral poverty, the urban populace of England sought reprieve. This escapism could take many forms, from prostitution to the use of numerous narcotics. However, they also sought escape through the observation, possession and spectacle of cultural others and in most instances their dominance over those others. Another benefit to cultural exoticism as a form of escapism is that the appropriator is put in a position of cultural dominance over the appropriated culture. While the changes in English society discussed above created the need for identity formation and an appetite for escapism, the burgeoning consumer culture facilitated the ability to commodify and import culture, both domestically and globally. Timothy Taylor addresses how consumption impacted Europe's perception of the rest of the world:

Consumption is important because Europe's others were increasingly introduced to Europe through a new form of consumer culture.... Thanks in part to international expositions, the "exotic" was increasingly consumed, increasingly viewed as a stimulus of fantasy.²⁹⁹

The exotic was closely linked with exploration and conquering other cultures. Cheap printing enabled the broad dissemination of literary works that enshrined this conquistador spirit and created contemporary idols out of the individuals who were associated with it. In *Propaganda and Empire*, Mackenzie gives a detailed account of the relationship between commercialism and the British world-view.

²⁹⁷ Not least since British Empire was a key force of globalisation and brought the "other" very close to home. If Britain saw herself as an imperial nation, then the different colonised "others" were bound up with a national British identity.

²⁹⁸ Brian Doyle, 'The Invention of English in *Englishness: Politics and Culture 1880-1920* ed. by Robert Colls and Phillip Dodd, (London: Croom Helm, 1986) pp. 98-115 (p. 91).

²⁹⁹ Timothy Dean Taylor, *Beyond Exoticism: Western Music and the World* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), p. 89.

The late nineteenth-century imperial world view was an integral part of the commercial, industrial, and social revolution which took place in Britain between the 1850s and 1914. During that period the population nearly doubled; incomes exhibited a similar growth at a time when prices remained relatively steady; and British society achieved nearly universal literacy.... There were also unrivalled opportunities for the leisure and entertainment industry, and a voracious new demand for collectable items, which contributed to the taste for bric-a-brac so characteristic of all but the very poorest homes.³⁰⁰

The increase in disposable income across the class spectrum and the exploding interest in leisure and collectables meant that producers of art had a lucrative market into which they could tap. It was simply a matter of finding the right way of displaying the product to appeal to the different types of consumer, which in turn meant utilising the different world-views of his performers and audiences. While the portrayal of the “other” in music was not a new phenomenon, it is certainly the case that the 19th and early 20th century was the time of the “collector”. From the time of Beethoven onwards there was an increasing specificity to the appropriation and reproduction of music from other cultures both native and foreign, made possible by the high numbers and quality of collections of indigenous music and folk-songs alongside a growing fascination and study of non-western cultures.³⁰¹ The trend in music towards the exotic was symptomatic of changes in societal thinking. At the time, imperialism was the biggest unifying force on the planet, with Europe controlling more than 85% of the world’s landmass.³⁰² The primary means by which Europe controlled its empires was through trade and the control of wealth.³⁰³ With an ever-expanding consumer market, there was an unprecedented mechanism for importing culture to the masses.

³⁰⁰ John M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: the Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960*(Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984) p. 16.

³⁰¹ Taylor, p. 73.

³⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 76.

³⁰³ That is not to diminish the rather large role that guns played, or to imply that the subjects of these empires were not (for want of a better word) subjected, but the *mechanism* that facilitated ongoing control was consumerism.

The problem for musicians, such as Holst, was that their work was ephemeral—it did not consist of collectable objects, but of experiences that happened at a particular time and place. There was sheet music, of course, for those who could play an instrument and the growth of recording technology began to create musical objects. However, it was only after World War I that gramophones became widespread and the sound problems of mechanical recording (until the mid-1920s) and the length constraints of shellac discs (max. 3 ½ minutes per side) meant that the art-music repertoire was not well-suited to the medium. Art-music *was* well suited for the creation of spectacles and the ability to shape the world-view of the populace that existed within this consumer culture. Ralph Locke discusses the role of art-music in creating emotive associations to places a consumer of culture has never visited and has limited knowledge of:

Most consumers of culture neither travelled abroad nor read anything about the region that was more reliable than the occasional magazine article. Inevitably, they received their most potent and memorable images of the Middle East from products of craftsmanship and artistic imagination.... Especially ballets and operas, with their extraordinary capacity for telling stories, evoking places, conveying passions.³⁰⁴

While it would have been hard for composers to create truly “collectable” items at this point in time, they were certainly able to either shape or reaffirm the perception of other cultures. Both the *Beni Mora Suite* and *A Somerset Rhapsody* are clear examples of pieces that tell stories, evoke places and convey passions (discussed in chapter 4.2.6).

4.2.3 - Holst and the Exotic

It is likely that from a young age Holst developed an interest in the exotic. Cheltenham, where the composer grew up, was also the home of many retired soldiers who had served in the colonies. Christopher Scheer dedicates a chapter of his doctoral thesis to explore the impact of

³⁰⁴ Ralph P. Locke, ‘Cutthroats and Casbah Dancers, Muezzins and Timeless Sands: Musical Images of the Middle East’ in *The Exotic in Western Music* ed. by Jonathan Bellman (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998), 104-136 (p. 108).

growing up in Cheltenham on Holst's imperial world view. He argues that the large number of retirees from the colonies or the East India Trading Company, coupled with the strong Evangelical church presence in the town, led to Holst forming a worldview based on Western superiority over the East. Scheer supports this argument with extracts taken from letters Holst wrote to his wife from his first visit to Algiers, in which he compartmentalises those he met into 'street Arabs', 'village Arabs' and 'real Arabs', each with a corresponding social characterisation.

I know now the true meaning of "street Arab" but our English imitation is mild and amateurish. I conceived the deadliest hatred against all Arabs and even now it is only just diminishing... Beyond Mustapha (aristocratic suburb) the country seems lovely and the village Arab delightful but I shall know more when I have cycled out some distance... (17th April, 1908)

...The real Arab is a blooming aristocrat who hardly deigns to notice you. However he usually spits after you have passed! He is comparatively clean and sometimes handsome— always dignified.... But there are those who are wild dirty looking blackguards with faces of fiends.³⁰⁵ (20th April, 1908)

This characterisation parallels conceptions of English urban denigration, where the 'village Arab' functions as the rural folk and within the city the distinction between the 'street Arab' and 'real Arab' is based on class. Holst sees the lower-class city dwelling Arabs as culturally inferior to their counterparts, much as the lower-class citizens of English cities were seen as culturally inferior to the rural folk.³⁰⁶ Aside from showing us how Holst compartmentalises the inhabitants of Algeria along the same lines as their English counterparts, his letters also display a clear sense of superiority. This view of Western superiority is compounded when Holst discusses Turks in very disparaging terms on his second trip east to Salonica ten years later, associating the darker skin tones of the inhabitants of Gallipoli with 'Arab or Turkish blood', suggesting that they only border on civilization.³⁰⁷

³⁰⁵ Scheer, p. 23.

³⁰⁶ Howkins, p. 66.

³⁰⁷ Holst, *Gustav Holst*, p. 79-80.

However, alongside these distinctly racial judgements of the inhabitants of the East (which it must be noted would have been the norm of the time) Scheer notes Holst also displays ‘a basic fascination with cultures and philosophies that were different from his own.’ His fascination would fit with the imperial culture of the time, but Holst’s particular sympathy with Eastern philosophy and cultural history is attributed to the role Theosophy played in Holst’s upbringing through his stepmother.

[The Theosophical Society] sought universal truths common to world religions.... A sizeable part of this quest was the translation and study of ancient Sanskrit texts... Many Eastern texts and ideas that would later fascinate Holst can be found in the pages of this journal [The Theosophist], to which his stepmother, as an organiser of the Theosophical Centre in Cheltenham, surely must have subscribed.³⁰⁸

In addition to his home environment, Holst would have been exposed to musical exoticism from an early age. In his younger years Holst held a fascination with Grieg, who played extensively on exotic themes as a stimulus for fantasy in one of his most well-known works, the *Peer Gynt Suite* (1875). As a childhood idol, it seems likely that this would have been a keen favourite of the young composer. The influence of Holst’s peers must also be considered. Samuel Coleridge Taylor, a friend who was a few years ahead of Holst at the Royal College, achieved his highest compositional acclaim with his vastly popular exotic work, *Hiawatha* composed 1889 - 1900. Seeing this level of success from one of his peers so early in Holst’s compositional career would have been a strong impetus to consider the use of exotic fantasy in his own work.

In the same vein, the influence of Vaughan Williams’ time in Paris should also be considered. In 1908, the same year Holst visited Algeria, Vaughan Williams spent some time studying under Ravel. Ravel composed *Gaspard De La Nuit* during Vaughan Williams’s stay, an

³⁰⁸ Scheer, p. 29.

Impressionist work which uses expanded tonality with augmented and diminished triads but also draws upon pentatonic glissandi and parallel motion, which were exotic markers and indicators of fantasy. Debussy was also influenced by the orient in 1889 and one can also find pentatonic scales and parallel motion to imply the orient and “other” in his works. According to Craig Wright, both Ravel and Debussy used modality as a signifier of otherness in their work,³⁰⁹ an interesting parallel, as modality was obviously one of the main musical interests that both Holst and Vaughan Williams took from folk-song. Aspects of Holst’s music reflect that of Debussy, such as the use of wordless voices for colour, so it is not untenable that he might also have been drawn towards exploring the exotic as well. Living in a European metropole, Holst would have experienced numerous exotic spectacles passing through, which were often a source of inspiration for artists and which might have provided the impetus and indeed a model for how to create exotic works himself. Exoticism was in no way limited to music and was indeed deeply imbedded in the visual arts too.

4.2.4 - Primitivism

Visual forms of exoticism were often tied to antiquity and could be centred on the acquisition and display of actual artefacts, such as the Neo-Assyrian exhibits that started arriving in the British museum in 1847, or from the artistic portrayal of those cultures. Early 19th-century works such as John Martin’s *The Fall of Nineveh* (1830) subsumed ‘present to past, consistently invoking ancient events supposed to have led to the reputedly wasted state of the region during the 19th century’.³¹⁰ By the early 20th century, some artists were displaying a fascination with the exotic that was less overt in its negative commentary. However, the focus of these works often still revolved around the antiquity or supposed primitivism of the culture it was representing.³¹¹ Rodin, for example, was so struck by seeing the dancers of The Royal Ballet of Cambodian in Paris, July

³⁰⁹ Craig Wright, “Lecture 21 - Musical Impressionism and Exoticism: Debussy, Ravel and Monet,” *Open Yale Courses* <<https://oyc.yale.edu/music/musi-112/lecture-21>> [accessed 17 September 2018].

³¹⁰ Frederick N. Bohrer, ‘Inventing Assyria: Exoticism and Reception in Nineteenth-Century England and France.’ *The Art Bulletin* 80, 2 (1998) 336-56.

³¹¹ Taylor, p. 83.

1906, that he followed them to Marseille, producing 150 of his most famous paintings in the space of a week.³¹²

They (the dancers) made the antique live in me (...) I am a man who has devoted all his life to the study of nature, and whose constant admiration has been for the works of antiquity: Imagine, then, my reaction to such a complete show that restored the antique by unveiling its mystery.³¹³

Primitivism is a common theme of imperial interest in colonial culture, but it is also the same quality that was exalted by the Folk-Song Revivalists in England. Central to this fascination is the idealisation of a purer form of existence, lost in “developed” society.

Rodin did not represent the dancers realistically. Instead he recorded his psychological impressions, capturing the energy of Cambodian dance using techniques from European art. The sculptor’s appropriation of Khmer dance reflected primitivist currents of his time. But it also highlights the importance of public spectacles of cultural difference in pre-war France—spectacles like the Colonial Exposition.... Rodin regarded the Cambodian dancers as embodying the past, as carrying “all that antiquity can contain” in their traditional dance. It is this Orientalist view of Cambodian culture that led him to consider the Cambodian dancers as ideal models, their bodies and movements uncorrupted by modern living.³¹⁴

Rodin and *The Royal Cambodian Ballet* is just one example of the penchant for primitivism and spectacle that shaped art in Imperial Europe; the most famous example is perhaps the shattering first performance of *The Rite of Spring*, which was an influence on *The Planets*. However, the Rodin example is interesting for the parallels it shares with Holst’s *Japanese Suite* (1915). Both were a response to an interaction with foreign dancers in their respective European capitals and

³¹² Erika Kinetz, ‘Auguste Rodin - Royal Ballet of Cambodia’, *The New York Times*, 2006

<<https://www.nytimes.com/2006/12/27/arts/design/27rodi.html>> [accessed 17 September 2018].

³¹³ “Rodin and the Cambodian Dancers,” *The Walking Man | Rodin Museum* <<http://www.musee-rodin.fr/en/exposition/exposition/rodin-and-cambodian-dancers>> [accessed 17 September 2018].

³¹⁴ Anna Blair, ‘Cambodian Dancers, Auguste Rodin, and the Imperial Imagination’, *The Appendix* <<http://theappendix.net/issues/2014/10/cambodian-dancers-auguste-rodin-and-the-imperial-imagination>> [accessed 17 March 2018].

both produced works of art that couched that experience in a European aesthetic that draws on the exoticism they offered. Short describes the inception of Holst's *Japanese Suite*:

The Japanese dancer Michio Ito was working at London's Coliseum Theatre at this time, and had asked Holst to write a work based on ancient Japanese themes. The result was the *Japanese Suite*; four brief dances with a prelude and interlude, founded on tunes whistled to Holst by the dancer. Despite its provenance, the *Suite* has little in common with traditional Japanese music, and is more reminiscent of the Mendelssohn of the Hebrides overture, with occasional idiosyncratic touches of harmony.³¹⁵

In common between the two responses is the collection and incorporation into an artwork of an explicitly foreign source. In both instances, the resulting artwork is a European response to that culture rather than an accurate depiction of the source culture itself. The two works were created for a metropolitan audience, which was aware of the source culture being represented through spectacle—in Holst's case the work was intended to function as part of the spectacle. In both cases the antiquity of the culture being represented has been stressed and the artform being interacted with is dance.

What is striking are the similarities that can be drawn with the use of folk-song: the source culture is represented unrealistically, 'using techniques from European art'; the source culture is seen to embody antiquity; the source culture is seen to be 'uncorrupted by modern living'; the representation of this culture by the artist feeds into a metropolitan culture of spectacle, in which the source culture provides entertainment and escapism; the aspect of the source culture that is drawn upon is physical human expression, embodied through music and dance.

At one and the same time, then, we can see considerable support for a stable and conservative order, as well as the emergence of quietly dissenting voices – the main ideological differences emerging in the ways the relationship between the

³¹⁵ Short, *Gustav Holst*, p. 132.

centre and its Others were imagined, whether by the latter we mean the English “peasants” or the Empires “natives”.³¹⁶

In this context, primitivism can be seen as the uniting force between artistic evocations of the homegrown “peasants” and the colonial “others”. Whether the respective primitive cultures are seen in a positive or negative light may matter less than their appeal as an apparatus for questioning national, social and cultural identities. In the Grove Art article for ‘Primitivism’, Roger Cardinal writes:

In its widest sense interest in primitivism can be traced back to such 19th-century movements as Romanticism and Orientalism. The history of culture and in particular of the creative arts has been periodically marked by movements of radical retrospection or of rebellion, inspired by alien values that run counter to establishment values. The primitivist impulse implies a desire to start again, unhindered by history, by abandoning a contemporary sophistication judged to be arid, and by seeking contact with alternative modes that are perceived as elemental and more authentic.³¹⁷

Cardinal makes clear the importance of primitivism as a source of counter-cultural inspiration and a rejection of ‘contemporary sophistication’. As largely imagined entities, an accurate depiction of the “primitive” culture being represented may be less important than creating vivid imagery, both as a stimulus of fantasy and for the purpose of cultural comparison. Having established common themes between primitivism and the interest in English folk-song, it is possible to explore the circumstances under which the folk could be presented as a culture “other”.

4.2.5 - The Folk as an “Other”

The Grove Online entry for Exoticism stresses the lack of geographical specificity needed to delineate the exotic. ‘The exotic locale that is evoked may be relatively nearby (e.g. a rural

³¹⁶ Vaughan Williams and Holst, *Heirs and Rebels*, p. 71.

³¹⁷ Roger Cardinal, ‘Primitivism | Grove Art’, *Oxford Art Online*, 2017
<<http://www.oxfordartonline.com/groveart/view/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.001.0001/oa0-9781884446054-e-7000069588>> [accessed 11 August 2018].

French village, in an opera composed for Paris) or quite distant.’ Exoticism is understood as the evocation of an unspecified cultural “otherness” rather than as deriving from any particular geographic location. It is easy to see how quite distinct cultures can exist in close proximity, for example the Celtic Fringe in relation to England.

In his text *The Exotic in Western Music*, Jonathan Bellman acknowledges the similarities between musical exoticism and folklorism. He suggests that both draw on ‘folk, indigenous, or popular musics to flavour an artwork and to evoke a particular geographical and cultural frame of reference’.³¹⁸ Folklorism and exoticism were unified by setting a supposedly ‘primitive’ (or if positive, ‘uncontaminated’) Other against the metropolitan Self. Bellman goes on to make a case for the role of intention and perspective in the characterisation of a work as exotic or national. Using the example of a Balakirev symphony, Bellman suggests that while it would sound exotic to an American audience, the intention of the composer was to create something that sounded national to a Russian audience and therefore the music is not exotic, but national in character. The implication is that a composer using the indigenous music of his own nation in a composition for an audience of that nationality, is composing in a nationalistic rather than exotic style.³¹⁹ As discussed in chapter 4.1, there is certainly a body of Holst’s works which can be seen in this light. However, challenging the notion that folk-song was a signifier of nationality in English composition at the turn of the 20th century is the reality that “the folk”, as prescribed by the musical establishment and Folk-Song Society, existed as a series of non-urban regional cultures.³²⁰ The folk had supposedly been isolated from the metropolitan society by geographic location and illiteracy for generations, and therefore were initially presented as an “other” to the London concert audiences of the time; the key word here is “presented”. As discussed in chapter 2.2.5-2.2.6, there

³¹⁸ Jonathan Bellman, *The Exotic in Western Music* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998), p. ix.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. ix.

³²⁰ The folk were typically presented according to region. Cecil Sharp’s *Folk-Songs of England* series covers Somerset, Dorset, the Eastern Counties and Hampshire all as discrete collections. Examples of this practice from Holst’s repertoire include *Songs of the West*, *Folk-songs from Somerset/Somerset Rhapsody*, *Folk-songs from Hampshire* and the *Twelve Welsh Folksongs*.

is plenty of academic debate and discussion that shows just how spurious these claims of illiteracy, a solely oral folk-tradition and isolation are. However, I believe an argument still remains to be made that in instances where a composition based on folk-song presents the source material in a similar way to quintessentially foreign musical sources (such as those from the orient), the music could be considered a form of internal exoticism rather than musical nationalism. A further interesting point that Bellman makes concerns the treatment of the source material in exotic works, ‘the characteristic and easily recognised musical gestures from the alien culture are assimilated into a more familiar style’.³²¹ The assimilation of a foreign culture into a familiar style is self-evident in Holst’s *Beni Mora Suite*, but I would argue it is equally true of *A Somerset Rhapsody*. The initial treatment and presentation of folk-culture suggests it was an alien culture to the composer and his audience. Both nationalism and orientalism are tools for identity formation that imply a political and cultural agenda, with the former typically intended to identify the self and the latter to define the “other”. Bellman describes self-definition and other-definition as inextricably linked:

The doctrine or theory according to which the primary determinant of human character and destiny, and the primary object of social and political allegiance, is the particular nation to which an individual belongs... Thus self-definition is practically always accompanied, indeed made possible, by other-definition. Any act of inclusion is implicitly an act of exclusion as well.³²²

If we take Bellman’s point and apply it to English folk-song, it raises questions as to how the folk functioned as a cultural identifier to metropolitan audiences. Folk-song was not a part of the metropolitan culture, so part of its appeal to a metropolitan audience may have been its “otherness”, rather than its “national” attributes. In other words, the folk-song collectors and composers who used their transcriptions were not trying to define themselves as the folk, they were trying to define themselves in relation to the folk. To support this premise are instances in Holst’s

³²¹ Bellman, p. ix.

³²² Richard Taruskin, ‘Nationalism’, *Oxford Music Online*, 2001
<<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000050846>> [accessed 9 May 2015].

folk-song based works that parallel his interactions with other alien cultures. His interactions with folk-song in *A Somerset Rhapsody* are very similar to those with the North African exotic in the *Beni Mora Suite*, playing on cultural tropes and creating an idealised but unrealistic representation of the source culture.

4.2.6 - *A Somerset Rhapsody* and the *Beni Mora Suite*

The following analysis follows from the discussion of *A Somerset Rhapsody* in chapter 3.2.1. It focuses on those elements of the composition that are necessarily discussed in parallel with the *Beni Mora Suite*. Eric Saylor's *English Pastoral Music: From Arcadia to Utopia, 1900-1955* deals with the misunderstandings, misrepresentations, fallacies, and flaws that often abound around the designation of works as "pastoral".³²³ In the chapter titled 'Landscape' he gives a detailed account of pastoralism in Holst's work, considering the "soft" pastoralism of *A Somerset Rhapsody* with the "hard" pastoralism of *Egdon Heath*.³²⁴ One of the great merits of Saylor's research is how he shows the progression in Holst's outlook and compositional style between the two works, considering changes in the state of English music and Holst's standing within the English musical establishment. However, his discussion of *A Somerset Rhapsody* focuses predominantly on landscape:

To call the work "pastoral" in the post-1920 sense misunderstands both the English pastoral style and its cultural meaning... *A Somerset Rhapsody* reflects a particular vision for English music, one in which national points of reference – geographic, musical or literary – could be invoked as a means of helping composers assert an individual musical voice... As such, *A Somerset Rhapsody* represents an early attempt by Holst to present a variety of conventional techniques and devices within the context of an appealing geographical locus...the presence of "Somerset" in the title would not have simply indicated the point of origin for the folk songs quoted within. It would also have conjured vision of picturesque villages nestled within a bucolic landscape and attractively provincial alternative to the cosmopolitanism of London and other urban

³²³ Saylor, pp. 9-24.

³²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 135-144; *hard and soft* pastoralism are conceptually in-line with Raymond Williams's *pastoral* and *counter pastoral* in *The Country and the City*, (London: The Hogarth Press, 1985) pp.13-34.

centres...*A Somerset Rhapsody* thus epitomises a soft pastoral approach to the evocation of the English landscape: an idealised geographic setting conveyed through attractive and easily accessible folk-derived music, now transformed into an orchestral guise and compositional language suitable for urban consumption.³²⁵

It is not that I would disagree with Saylor's assessment; at this point in his career Holst *was* trying to establish his identity as an English composer, the rhapsody does indeed conjure images of an idyllic rural countryside and the songs have been composed-out to make them more palatable for an urban audience. This reading of the piece does not *explicitly* engage with the human element which I would argue is central to the subject matter for the narrative Holst is putting forward. One could consider the human element to be implicit when Saylor refers to 'picturesque villages', the 'bucolic landscape' (which implies human pastoral activity) and the 'provincial alternative', which also infers a particular kind of lifestyle rather than just a landscape. Behind the image Saylor paints of the landscape is the suggestion that Holst's work is evocative of the "organic community" that is part of folk-song collecting rhetoric of this period. However, while the program notes that accompanied the first performance of the piece spoke in general terms about an English landscape being filled with human activity then returning to peaceful tranquillity, Holst later gave a clearer outline of a narrative that suggested the piece is less about the idyllic landscape than it is about a set of specific human interactions that occur within that landscape.

The musical language and setting are certainly evocative of the English countryside but the subject matter of the piece is about a young country lad leaving his true love to join the military and fight for England, essentially the narrative of 'High Germany' as will be discussed below; at this point in British history that fight would have taken place in far-flung parts of the Empire, once more connecting the local and the global. Bear in mind, Holst specifically chose three songs from the ten he was originally working with in *Folksongs from Somerset* to create his narrative, 'The Sheep-Shearing Song', 'High Germany' and 'The True Lover's Farewell'. If Holst's sole purpose

³²⁵ Saylor, p. 139.

was in creating an ideal landscape he could have picked three songs with more a focus on nature or country life; ‘The sweet primroses’, ‘The trees they do grow high’, ‘The Little Turtle Dove’, ‘Bruton Town’, ‘The sign of the bonny blue bell’ and ‘Let bucks a-hunting go’ would all arguably do a better job of evoking the English countryside than ‘High Germany’ or ‘The True Lover’s Farewell’.

Cecil Sharp collected the words to ‘High Germany’ from Mrs Emma Overd in Langport, Somerset on the 23rd of January 1906. Taken from the original handwritten entry in Sharp’s journal, the lyrics discuss a young man leaving his true love with child as he leaves for war in ‘the Isle of Germany’:

Oh Polly my dear Polly the rout has now begun
And I must away by the beating of the drum
Go dress yourself all in your best and come along with m
I’ll take you to the war my love in the Isle of Germany

Oh Billy my dear Billy listen to what I say
My feet they are so very sore I cannot march away.
Besides my dearest Billy I am with child by thee
I’m not setting for the war, my love, in the Isle of Germany.

I’ll buy you a horse my love, my Polly you shall ride
And all my delight shall be a walking by your side.
We’ll call to every ale house that ever we pass by
We’ll sweetheart on the road my love, get married by and by

Cruel, cruel was the war when first the rout began
And out of Old England went many a [quaint] young man
They pressed my love away from me, likewise my brothers three,
They sent them to the war my love in the Isle of Germany

The drum that my love’s beating is covered with green
The pretty lambs is [spating] ‘tis pleasure to be seen
And when my pretty babe is born sits smiling on my knee
I’ll think upon my own true love in the Isle of Germany.³²⁶

³²⁶ ‘High Germany’, *Cecil Sharp Manuscript Collection - CJS2/9/878*
<<https://www.vwml.org/record/CJS2/9/878>> [accessed 18 September 2018]

The term ‘High Germany’ is a dated English expression referring to the mountainous regions in the south of Germany—as Germany is not an island, the singer Sharp collected from may have misheard ‘Isle of Germany’ for ‘High Germany’. The song originally dated back to the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714) but given the rising tensions between Germany and England in the early 20th century it likely would have held different connotations to the English populous at the time. It would appear that the impetus for *A Somerset Rhapsody* may well have come from this folk-song; in the *Folk Songs from Somerset* Holst was already playing with the combination of ‘High Germany’ and ‘The True Lover’s Farewell’. Holst’s choice of songs were likely intended to do more than simply bring to mind village life; he wanted a specific set of interactions to occur within his country scene that highlighted the moral character of the people living within it. Saylor’s chapter is very helpful in highlighting Holst’s changing response to the countryside, but by failing to account for the important role of human behaviour in the piece, Saylor misses the specific purpose of the work as a tool for comparing identity between different cultures. *A Somerset Rhapsody* can be considered as an example of soft pastoralism. However, considering *A Somerset Rhapsody* as an exotic work is a way of exploring the different conceptions of “the folk” that Holst put forward and the link between the use of source culture from rural England and the colonies in his composition.

In both *A Somerset Rhapsody* and the *Beni Mora Suite* there is an overemphasis on musical indicators of the cultures Holst is trying to represent. The harmonic language of *A Somerset*



Figure 72 - Beni Mora Suite, 'First Dance' (Opening)

Rhapsody has already been discussed in detail; Holst selected only modal melodies for the work and particularly emphasises the Dorian modality of the ‘Sheep shearing song’ in the opening and closing bars of the work that are used to signify the idyllic pastoral countryside. This parallels the use of scalic indicators in the *Beni Mora Suite*, where the first phrase of the work displays the interval between the diminished second and augmented third, the quintessential signifier of the exotic in western music. In both instances, the geographical context for the work is immediately established in the opening melody, rural England through the meandering Dorian modality and the North African desert through the use of the double harmonic major scale, also known as the Byzantine, Arabic or Gypsy major scale. The solo melody in *A Somerset Rhapsody* and the unison strings of the *Beni Mora Suite* both denote space and the absence of man, in an exotic appeal to an urban audience.

Interestingly, despite the very different locales being evoked modality is used in both compositions, probably because of the archaism associated with modes. Part of the appeal of folk-song was its “otherness” derived from the perceived age of the culture. The folk themselves did not elicit the interest, it was their perceived temporal distance from the modern urban world; an appeal which is also found in representations of the Orient. Following from the Byzantine scale of the opening melody, in the second melody of the ‘First Dance’ Holst employs modal flux through changes in his accompaniment. The melody itself uses the pitches B, C, D and E, but the accompaniment variably uses F/F# and G#, underpinning the melody with E^{dim9}, D or Dm chords and implying either the Phrygian Dominant, Aeolian or Phrygian modes.

Along with clear indicators in the scales used, Holst also uses instruments to call to mind specific images attributed to the respective cultures that signify primitivism, for example the use of solo oboe (or oboe d'amore) to evoke the lone shepherd in *A Somerset Rhapsody* and the solo flute ostinato to suggest a snake charmer in the 'Finale' of the *Beni Mora Suite* (starting in bar 15 and continuing through the movement).

Figure 74 - *Beni Mora*, 'Finale' (Flute ostinato)

The image displays a musical score for the 'Finale' of the Beni Mora Suite, specifically the flute ostinato section. The score is written for a 2nd Flute (2 Fl.), Viola (Viola div.), and Double Bass (Db. div.). The flute part begins at bar 13 with a repeating ostinato pattern of eighth notes, marked with a first ending bracket and a '1.' above it. The tempo is indicated as 'Allegro moderato' and the dynamic is 'ppp sempre'. The Viola and Double Bass parts provide a harmonic accompaniment with sustained notes and some rhythmic movement. The score is presented on a page with a double bar line at the top and bottom.

In addition, the heavy use of percussion, particularly cymbals struck with sticks, gongs and tambourines create a clashing jangly-ness to the *Beni Mora Suite* that seems to call to mind the Janissary Band, along with the violence, barbarousness and primitivism associated with it. The effect is not only achieved through the choice of percussion but also through the performance directions and the rhythms used. The repetitive irregular rhythmic ostinatos in and of themselves are common in Holst's work, but combined with the extensive use of the timpani in close harmony (played with wooden sticks) and the tambourine given prominence in the foreground of the texture

they are a clear representation of the Janissary bands.³²⁷ Figure 75 and 76 show percussive ostinato in both the ‘Second Dance’ and ‘Finale’.

Figure 76- Beni Mora, ‘Second Dance’ (Percussion)

Second Dance

Allegretto

In *A Somerset Rhapsody* Holst also uses percussion, particularly the snare drum, along with heavy brass to evoke the military band as it enters the rural village, clearly juxtaposed against the preceding strings and wind. However, the manner in which the military is implied in each

Figure 75 - Beni Mora, ‘Finale’ (Percussion)

composition differs. In *A Somerset Rhapsody* the entrance of the military band is suitably tuneful and noble. There is a percussive element to the music that helps the imagery, but the focus of the

³²⁷ In fact, the bass drum was actually originally introduced into the western orchestra as the Turkish drum because it was taken from these Janissary bands.

music is the big brass tune that romps along with a pied piper element to it, drawing the young men off to the glory of serving king and country. The ferocity of the percussion in the *Beni Mora Suite*, particularly the 'Finale', almost overwhelms the melodic component of the music, creating a terrifying cacophony. In modern recordings of the work, the percussion is often subdued, creating a backdrop for the other instruments which are brought forward. However, in 1924 Holst conducted the work in a recording by the London Symphony Orchestra and even taking into consideration the limitations of recording techniques at the time, the prominence of the percussion is outstanding, giving a far wilder feel to the music.³²⁸

Holst may supplement the imagery of his narratives and cultural commentary with musical indicators of the locale, but both pieces overall owe far more to Western art-music than they do to either folk-song or North Africa; they are set in a European musical vogue, much as Rodin's Cambodian dancers. The harmonic structure of *A Somerset Rhapsody* with its combination of Wagnerian harmonic techniques, modality and conventional underlying tonic-dominant movement has already been discussed at length. Similar attributes can be seen in the *Beni Mora Suite*. Take for example the first movement. Holst has used the Byzantine scale and Phrygian Dominant to imply the exotic, but the underlying harmonic movement is still based around tonic-dominant tonal centres.

³²⁸ Gustav Holst, *Holst Conducts Holst*, IMP (B0000AOWXV, 2005)

Table 39- Beni Mora, 'First Dance' (Harmonic Structure)

Theme	Bar Number	Tonal Centre	Pitch Class
1a	1 - 19	B	B C D# E F G# A
1b	20 - 30	E	E F/F# G# A B C D
2	31 - 46	E	E F# G A# B# C #
1b	47 - 57	B	B C D/D# E F# G A
2	58 - 69	E	E F# G A# C ³²⁹ C #
1a	70 - 86	B	B C D# E F# G A#
2	87 - 106	E	E F# G A# C C #
1b	107 - 115	B	B C D/D# E F# G A
1a	127 - 137	E	E F/F## G# A B C D#

The westernised harmony can be seen at a phrase level as well. Take for example the sustained chords progression in the brass from 126 coming to a climax in bars 130-134. Holst accentuates the drama of the climax by rising through consonant sustained brass chords, offering the possibility of a conventional cadence. Instead, the sequence leads to two stacked diminished fifths separated by a tone – F#-C and E-Bb, where Holst remains rocking to Em and back,³³⁰ reiterating the danger and violence of the locale being presented.

³²⁹ It is unclear why Holst spells the 2nd theme with a B# in the first iteration and as a C in the second iteration of this melody. Holst extensively uses enharmonic spelling in this piece, though it is not immediately clear why. Take for example the section from bar 70 – 86. The majority of the orchestra is scored with a key signature of G major with accidentals. Meanwhile the flutes are scored in B major and the Harps in Gb major, but both parts are limited to the pitches of a B major triad. Both instruments are scored in the same key as the rest of orchestra in the preceding passage so it is unclear why Holst has treated both instruments differently to the rest of the orchestra and differently to each other. It could suggest that the composer was unclear as to the specific harmonic nature of the passage, though that seems unlikely. Alternatively, it could be an attempt by the composer to think of the passage outside of the confines of traditional harmonic structures, but as the sound itself isn't altered it is hard to imagine why this is beneficial.

³³⁰ Though in the second iteration of the chord the Bb is spelt as A#.

Figure 77 - Beni Mora, 'Finale' (Climax)

The image displays a page of a musical score for the 'Finale' (Climax) of Beni Mora. The score is arranged in a standard orchestral format with multiple staves. The instruments listed on the left include Piccolo (Picc.), 2 Flutes (2 Fl.), 2 Oboes (2 Ob.), English Horn (E.H.), Clarinet in B-flat (Cl. in Bb), 2 Bassoons (2 Bsn.), Horn in F (Hn. in F), Trumpet in C (Tpt. in C), Trombone 1 (Tbn. 1), Trombone 2 (Tbn. 2), Trombone 3/Euphonium (Tbn. 3/Eph.), Timpani (Timp.), Percussion (Perc.), Violin 1 (Vln. 1), Violin 2 (Vln. 2), Viola (Vla.), Violoncello (Vlc.), and Double Bass (Db.). The score begins at measure 126 and ends at measure 131. The key signature is one flat (B-flat major/D minor). The score features a variety of musical notations, including dynamics such as 'cresc.' (crescendo) and 'ff' (fortissimo), and articulation marks like 'acc.' (accents). The percussion part includes cymbals (Cym.), snare drum (B.D.), and a tambourine (Tamb.). The string parts show sustained harmonies and rhythmic patterns. The overall texture is dense and climactic, characteristic of the end of the piece.

In *A Somerset Rhapsody*, Holst likewise uses sustained harmonies in the brass to build to climactic points, such as the triumph of the ‘High Germany’ melody over ‘The true lovers farewell’. Obviously in this case, Holst does resolve to a resounding tonic, underlining the wholesomeness and strength of the military in this context, which is still a compositional technique of western art-

music rather than folk-song. Consider that Holst's understanding of both Eastern musical language and English folk-song was purely melodic; Holst collected melodies in Algeria and used melodies collected in England. Therefore, any harmonic treatment is coming from experimentation and his existing harmonic language. Harmony is still used as an essential part of creating the drama in both of these works, and in both instances, Holst uses a combination of conventional language with the different scale systems proposed by the melodies. In each instance, the underlying structure and approach to harmonic climaxes is based on art-music frameworks, while the nuances of the different scale systems are used to infer the foreign locale. While the works sound very different due to these differing scales systems, in principal there are conceived in a very similar manner. The harmonic language used is important because the purely melodic source material is being framed in a harmonic context in which it never previously existed, changing the listener's perspective of the melodies. In the case of folk-song Holst is romanticising the pastoral and reaffirming the wholesomeness and strength of the military. In the exotic he is creating extra tension by accentuating those pitches that have a foreign dissonance.

As much as Holst plays on the perceived nuances of each culture, he also employs conventional scoring and harmonic techniques where necessary to bring the works in line with his audience's expectations. Take for example the use of glitzy soaring strings in octaves underpinned by arpeggiated figures in the harp and swelling chords in the brass in the 'First Dance'.

primitivism Holst is going to some pains to represent. The audiences experience a fantastical or dreamlike glitziness, framing the cultural representation in terms they can understand; the music is not primitive, it is a glorified depiction of primitivism. Given that in both instances similar compositional techniques are used for the dual role of accentuating the narrative and standardising the musical experience for the listener, the predominant difference between the works is the narrative being put forward rather than the way the source material is used.

In his doctoral dissertation, Scheer examines the *Beni Mora Suite* in great detail, both from a rhetorical and musical standpoint, to better understand the composition as a product of Holst's Imperial upbringing.³³¹ His reading of the circumstances around the composer's holiday to the region questions the account of Imogen Holst that her father's trip was simply for the good of his health. Said maintains that the 'Orient', at least conceptually, was a place where people could look for sexual experiences unavailable in Europe,³³² and Mabilat specifies that the harem was the focus of this sexual dimension to the Western "othering" of the orient.³³³ Scheer's position is that much of our perception of Holst is based on the writings of his daughter and friends; those letters of Holst's that the broader public have access to have been selected and published predominantly by Imogen or Vaughan Williams's wife Ursula, who are unlikely to malign him by discussing a sexual aspect to his holiday to Algeria. In the absence of further evidence, it remains conjecture whether or not Holst's reason for making an unaccompanied trip to Alegria was purely for the good of his health. Holst certainly plays on the exotic and sensual associations that the English held for Algeria in the *Beni Mora Suite*, in fact the very title of the suite is taken from the novel *Garden of Allah*, which contains detailed descriptions of a sultan and his harem.³³⁴ Perhaps the important point, regardless of Holst's actual experience in Algeria, is that his composition focuses on and reaffirms the stereotypical view of Algeria as a place of danger and sensual delight. One of the first critics of

³³¹ Scheer, pp. 62-86.

³³² Said, pp. 188, 190.

³³³ Mabilat, pp. 56-58

³³⁴ Short, *Gustav Holst*, p. 86.

the work said ‘We do not ask for Biskra dancing girls in Langham Place’,³³⁵ so these implications within the music were clearly recognised by the audience at the time.

There are similarities in the compositional techniques and dramatic imagery between the *Beni Mora Suite* and *A Somerset Rhapsody* that create fantasy versions of the cultures they are depicting. Scheer’s research discusses Holst’s treatment of Algeria in the *Beni Mora Suite* as a product of his imperial identity; considering *A Somerset Rhapsody* in the same way highlights the role of the folk as a domestic “other”, a foil to the urban proletariat. In this context, the folk are considered as a colony to the metropolitan audience to whom they are being depicted.

Common themes are played on in each composition but in each instance, as one would expect, the English version of events is portrayed in a more positive light. For example, both compositions open in a natural space, away from an urban environment, with the idyllic pastoral England contrasted with the barren desert. In both instances the musical representation is a simple solo melody line hanging in space; the only distinction is the scale used. Both pieces also refer to the military, but the tuneful, almost merry march in *A Somerset Rhapsody* contrasts with the ferocity and violence of the heavy percussion and jarring horns of the *Beni Mora Suite*. In essence, the military connotation of *A Somerset Rhapsody* infers pride and an object of violence and fear in the *Beni Mora Suite*. This could be considered a moral comparison between the interpersonal relationships in the two cultures. The wholesome couple in ‘The true lovers farewell’, where the young man breaks his true lover’s heart by leaving to fight for king and country is contrasted with the dancing girls of Biskra, with their raw sensuality associated with harems, polygamy, and sexual deviance. One can even see a distinction being made between the musicians portrayed within the narratives. The “lone shepherd” in *A Somerset Rhapsody* is assigned Holst’s favourite folk-song to open and close the piece solo in its full beauty. The snake charmer in the ‘Finale’ of the *Beni Mora Suite* repeats the same incessant short figure throughout the movement as the accompaniment

³³⁵ Holst, *Gustav Holst*, p. 45.

builds to a barbarous climax. There is an implied distinction between the quality of musical offering from the common people of the disparate locales.

It is not surprising that equivalences are being made between the two cultures, nor that Holst ultimately portrays England in a positive light and Algeria in a comparatively negative light. Indeed, what may be more important than any negative connotations associated with Algeria, is its pronounced otherness, which would have been the main appeal of the music along with the imagery it invokes; the sexual inference and the percussive violence of the work are common in early modern European representations of the Orient.³³⁶ The western fantasy of the Orient is to a large part a projection of impulses that could not be acknowledged openly. The fact that Holst chose folk-song as the object for his idealised England is telling. The pronounced otherness of the rural pastoral imagery to a London audience is part of the appeal of the music in much the same way as the locale of the exotic work. The English fantasy of the “folk” is a projection of the dissatisfaction felt with modern life and an expression of the yearning for a clearly defined identity. The Orient made such a good “other” to define the self against because it was recognisable enough to conjure a set of clichéd associations and reactions without being so well known that the shallowness of this portrayal was detrimental to enjoyment of the fantasy being created. The same can be said of *A Somerset Rhapsody*. The rural “folk” could carry connotations of purity, national identity, moral supremacy and patriotism because they were a cultural other and therefore these notions were not as easily contestable by the audience as to ruin the fantasy. Noticeably, Holst did not set this narrative in London, or Cheltenham which was the England he grew up in. That would suggest that he did not associate those places with the ideal England, or if he did, he did not think they were “exotic” enough to form the engaging basis of a rhapsody.

³³⁶ Benjamin Schmidt, ‘Exotic Bodies: Sex and Violence Abroad’ in *Inventing Exoticism: Geography, Globalism, and Europe’s Early Modern World*, (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), pp. 163-226.

The perception of a rural folk, even if they function as an internal exotic, is still going to be significantly different to the perception of, say, the inhabitants of Algeria. Whether or not it was based on personal experience, the *Beni Mora Suite* obviously had clear connotations for those listening at the time and this is the crux of the matter. Irrespective of the reality, the world the composer creates in an artwork informs the audience's understanding of both the composer's experiences and the locality they are presenting. What then, can be inferred from Holst's initial offering to the London concert going public from English folk-song, *A Somerset Rhapsody*?

In *A Somerset Rhapsody*, folk-song is treated in the same manner as foreign cultural source material. The composition, presented to the metropolitan elite in a dramatic construction that distances the audience from the original culture, plays on their cultural preconceptions to reaffirm their sense of identity. The technique perpetuates a romantic ideal of the folk and sets them up as a local "other" supporting the notion that folk-song was seen by the composer as a signifier of nationality, but challenging the idea that Holst championed folk-song as a shared cultural heritage across class boundaries. Holst used folk-song to appeal to members of all social classes by changing the manner in which he presents the medium to play on the connotations that different sections of society already attributed to it. His compositions involving the medium do not suggest he saw folk-song as able to stand alone before the cultural elite in the same way he did with his compositions for amateur musicians, military bands and children.

4.2.7 - The National Exotic

The necessary ideological justifications for European superiority were derived from influential works of the 19th century including *The Principles of Geology* by Charles Lyell and the *Origins of Species* by Charles Darwin.³³⁷ Societies (inevitably linked to race) were thought of in relation to evolutionary theory. The "other", much like "the folk", became a window onto an earlier

³³⁷ The basic idea of the progressive development of human societies from primitive origins to a more enlightened state are an inheritance from 18th-century Enlightenment historical theory, and were well established when these books appeared.

stage of evolution and thus a key to understanding the origins of more “developed” civilizations. The rural and the archaic were idolised for the simplicity and purity of existence that was attributed to them. Thus, a mixture of the demand for escapism, the commodification of culture and prevalent cultural evolutionary theories, resulted in a cultivation of the pagan, primitive and exotic in marketing, advertising and importantly, art.³³⁸

To the city dwelling concert audience for whom Holst was composing *A Somerset Rhapsody*, the “other” includes the “rural folk” who exist outside of their immediate surroundings. The rediscovery of folk-song created a form of localised exoticism. Folk-song was viewed as a cultural survivor of an earlier evolutionary period and held many of the same romanticised attributes (pagan, primitive, exotic, etc.) as cultural imports from the colonies, which is reflected in Holst’s compositional approach when writing for the metropolitan elite. As opposed to his composition for the northern working class or school children, where folk-song is reproduced in a more faithful and simple manner in the interest of making a “shared cultural heritage” accessible, when Holst first composes with the medium for full orchestra and a concert hall audience he uses folk-song as a means to create a dramatic narrative that plays on military themes and the pastoral ideal. The technique was used in advertising for imports from the colonies and can be seen in the composer’s approach in the *Beni Mora Suite*.

However, while in principle the process of importing and distributing folk-song is the same as importing other foreign cultures for consumption, the cultural and political agenda clearly differs. The cultural agenda of the musical establishment in relation to folk-song was largely positive. The music itself was regarded very highly and “the folk” were seen as being culturally pure. There was a conscious effort to disseminate folk-song through all levels of society. However, in dipping beneath the surface of these characterisations, one can see undertones of condescension and superiority. The folk were seen to be pure because they were thought to be a “cultural survivor”

³³⁸ Taylor, p. 86.

due to their separation from urban society and continental influence. In other words, the folk were seen as comparatively primitive in their purported illiteracy; isolated from the progress of the metropolitan society and unencumbered by the burden of a broad enough world-view and education to be influenced by anything outside of their immediate sphere of existence. When defining imperialism, one of the central tenets is an uneven distribution of power between the imperial and colonial culture—the metropole assumes a position of control over the subordinate culture. If one is to examine the relationship between the London metropole and the rural folk, much the same disparity of power is seen politically, financially, and culturally. The same disparity of power is true for the relationship with both the fictitious folk as presented in the arts as peasants and the actual singers from whom songs were collected. The collectors themselves held a position of financial and cultural superiority over the singers they collected from, fully controlling the publication process and reaping the financial benefit. Through publication they also controlled the identity of the folk within broader society. A cultural relationship of any kind is intrinsically linked to perception. Therefore, by maintaining control over the perception of the folk, the collectors of the Folk-Song Revival and by association those composers like Holst who built upon their work, were helping to shape and redefine the cultural relationships within England at this point in time. The manner in which they did this simultaneously holds both an inclusive nationalistic agenda alongside a metropole/colony relationship that emphasises the otherness of the regional culture. I would define this conflicting relationship as the *national exotic*; a cultural subset that holds inarguable innate national connotations but whose otherness is part of their primary artistic appeal. This is distinct from an *internal exotic*, which we might use to describe a regional culture within a nation that does not hold the same national connotations as “the folk” at this time.

The parallels between folk-song and the exotic are compounded when one examines imperial consumerism and the commodification of culture. One must consider the means by which folk-song was brought to the audience—namely in forms that generated money, be it collections, organisations, journals or concerts. There was inarguably a culture of appropriation, in which the

cultural artefacts of “the folk” were transformed into marketable products and then sold to the benefit of individuals outside of that source culture. “The folk” filled a gap in the market at the time. The desire for fantasy, escapism and identity reinvention that fuelled the trade in cultural artefacts from the orient and the imperial territories, found in folk-song a form of escapism which expanded beyond possession into actual participation. It was not only acceptable but encouraged as a moral imperative to assimilate, interact with and admire English folk-culture in a way that would have been undesirable to do with foreign cultural imports.

If folk-song is to be understood as a cultural import in *A Somerset Rhapsody*, what does the different approach Holst takes when presenting folk-song to different audiences tell us about his perspective of those communities? Disparities in level of education, social standing and financial recourse available to sections of the English public at the time meant that people inevitably developed different world views and understandings of national and imperial identities. For those not involved in its administration and protection and without direct financial interests in it, the Empire would have been a fairly abstract concept, primarily viewed through advertising and imports. Conceptions of nationhood would have been more relatable and based on those cultural representations that were free or affordable: music in church, the songs of the music hall, the performances of community or amateur choirs and promenade concerts in public spaces. For these audiences, Holst composes works that are more accessible and interactive. The music is simple, tuneful and memorable and the folk-songs and original tunes that imitate them are the primary musical interest themselves. The melodies are supposed to be taken at face value by the audience and represent a sense of community and identity that is attainable to all.

On the other hand, the British upper-middle and upper-classes likely did not know a lot about the specifics of working-class lives (and indeed may have wanted to keep a degree of separation), which creates a world-view constraint of its own. Though trade concerns, travel and political motivations, they would often have interests in both rural England and the colonies and a

financial stake in the British Empire but they did not live in community with the inhabitants of these places. The folk can be portrayed as caricatures of happy idyllic peasants where their urban counterparts cannot, because they are removed from the immediate sphere of the audience. This representation reaffirms and justifies the existing power structure as it suggests the status quo works to the benefit of all. The folk then exists as both an exotic and national stimulus in an artwork. The musical language introduces new scale systems, rhythms, metres and harmonic considerations, evoking a locale and culture that is removed from that of the audience. At the same time, the preconceptions of this culture reinforce the social structure of the audience and imply a shared heritage, at times going so far as to encourage participation. Considering that different sections of society require differing and sometimes contradictory levels of justification to sustain a national or imperial identity alongside the fact that Holst along with his contemporaries needed to market his compositions to a paying public, it is of little surprise that stylistic changes in his compositional output reflect not just his own development, but also the tastes and trends of the different sections of the public that he is trying to appeal to.

In a chapter titled 'Englishness and the National Culture', Philip Dodd makes the important point that the approach to the reinvention of a national consciousness and identity in 19th and 20th-century England cannot simply be viewed as an imposition of identity by a political elite on the rest of society.³³⁹ The variance in both the location and the nature of cultural change in England during this period is too multifaceted and even contradictory to be seen as a single unified endeavour. Identity was revaluated, contested and reconciled through educational, cultural and commercial institutions as well as the political sphere.

To reconcile the variety of ways in which Holst uses folk-song one must recognize that composers of his time needed to market their work beyond the whims of a wealthy patron or court. Rather than viewing Holst as a symptom of a broader prescribed musical agenda, I think the motives

³³⁹ Dodd, pp. 1-28.

behind much of the stylistic diversity in the way he presents folk-culture suggests a utilitarian approach. This might say more about his perception of his audiences than his perception of the folk. He plays on the identity of his anticipated audience to create works that he thinks are going to resonate with them. His compositions do not show a clear ideal of the folk, nor the role of folk-song within society. Holst appeals to the man on the street, the child in the classroom and the worker in the northern factories by creating an artform that can be interacted with, in a very real sense giving them a shared heritage, even if its pedigree is spurious. This approach can be seen in the suites and to an extent in Op.34 and Op.36b. Holst appeals to the middle and upper-class concert goer by perpetuating the view of rural England as a playground populated with happy peasants going about their duties, ready to be summoned for king and country when needed. This approach can be seen in *A Somerset Rhapsody* and is divorced from reality in a similar manner to Holst's depiction of Algeria in the *Beni Mora Suite*—a desert waste populated by dancing girls, janissary bands and snake charmers. These are clearly contradictory uses of folk-song. Holst's presents the folk in a fundamentally different way depending on his audience. Neither accurately portrays village life in early 20th-century England but then I do not think they were intended to. Both usages are a tailored fantasy playing to an audience.

During the latter 18th and 19th centuries the economic mechanism of the composition and dissemination of music changes from a patronage system to a commercial system. As a result, modes of musical representation and the focus of composers begin to fall in line with the prevailing interests of a wider section of the populace rather than those of an individual (and usually aristocratic) patron or institutions like the cities or the church. Folk-song's ultimate value to Holst was its utility in holding different cultural meanings for different groups, enabling the composer to hold multiple, sometimes conflicting, compositional identities to appeal to diverse segments of the British musical public while retaining cohesive elements across his compositions.

4.2.8 - Conclusion

Across the suites there is a striking continuity in the manner in which Holst approaches composition. In comparison with developments in his orchestral work or part-songs, his melodic and harmonic language change very little and these similarities can be viewed as the result of a shared purpose and intended audience. The suites are written for military band, school orchestra and brass band, a different set of performers and intended audience than the works for symphony orchestra. Holst is not writing for the social élite, but for service men, school children and working-class communities, predominantly northern. Whilst the original performers of the suites (especially in the case of the military and competition brass bands) were excellent musicians, many of the audiences to hear the compositions would not have been musically literate or very experienced in listening to art music (though they may have had ample experience in other kinds of music). Holst is aware of the different expectations and requirements of the audience for these pieces and his musical language reflects this. The use of folk-song in the suite form is appropriate as the focus is on the melody and the shorter movements lend themselves to simple melodic juxtaposition and harmonic modulation as opposed to the extended thematic development of harmony and melody to be found in larger works. These compositions are also a series of experiments on Holst's part, where he is initially refining his ideas of modal harmonic relations and then learning how to incorporate properties of English folk-song into his own melodic writing. Holst utilises and is influenced by folk-song differently in these compositions as a result of the performance forces and his audience.

In the two military suites and the *Moorside Suite* there is comparatively little melodic variation, the melodic interest instead being derived from the juxtaposition of different melodies that are preserved intact. Rather than creating a complex musical narrative, Holst's use of folk-songs in the *Second Suite in F* is simple, presenting the melodies and providing an accompaniment that accentuates their dancing and emotive characters, or plays on a key object of the text (e.g. the ringing blacksmiths hammer in the accompaniment to 'Song of the Blacksmith'). In his own

melodic writing across the *First Suite in F* and the *Moorside Suite* he tries to do the same, writing melodies that through their phrase structure and modality are clearly in an English folk-song style.

In *St Paul's Suite*, whilst the music is influenced by folk-song with the use of modes and the lilting or dancing rhythmic characteristics, overall Holst does not structure the melodies or the compositions as simply as in the other works. The melodies are extended and as opposed to the block treatment of the earlier suites, are composed into one another. The 'Intermezzo' features the only block treatment of melodies between the two sections, but this is to highlight the distinction between the English sounding Aeolian and Dorian and the exotic Phrygian dominant.

St Paul's Suite was written for the school orchestra and as a result walks the line between being accessible while also challenging and musically educational. Holst's friend Cecil Sharp advocated teaching folk-song and dance in schools and it is probable that Holst would have thought of the influence and inclusion of folk-songs in his music as part of helping the girls to identify with their national heritage. However, he has developed the melodies further, creating rhythmic challenges and introducing new scales and soundscapes to his pupils. He is also clearly introducing them to soundscapes that are outside English folk-song and seem indicative of the exotic east. In some of his compositions, Holst used modality to accentuate "otherness", as has already been discussed in relation to the *Seven Part-songs* to words by Robert Bridges.

There is a fundamental challenge in trying to view Holst stylistically as a nationalist composer; much of his compositional output either clearly displays the influence of foreign source material or otherwise uses modality and some of the techniques developed through his folk-song compositions to suggest "otherness" rather than a national identity. Holst was questioned on his use of exotic influences in his work and asked about his views on English musical nationalism after the composition of the *Japanese Suite*.

The composition of a 'Japanese' suite by an English composer (who had previously written the 'Oriental' suite *Beni Mora*) prompts a definition of genuine

nationalism in music, a matter which was discussed by *The Times* of 10 July 1915 in a review of Elgar's *Polonia*. As a result of this article, the *Musical Herald* sounded out the opinions of several composers by asking the question: 'Do you, as a British composer, think that our wide sympathies check our national spirit in composition?' Holst replied evasively: 'It is useless to approach the question without an entire absence of prejudice and a delicate balance of artistic values.' He declared that 'In art everything matters except the subject,' and suggested that composers show their own nationality more when their range of subject matter is broader: 'When this breadth of outlook is most apparent in English history - as in the 16th century - English music flourishes. Contrast the Elizabethan, a brilliant linguist, poet and musician, with the Englishman of the 18th century. No wonder there is so much difference between the madrigal and the glee.'³⁴⁰

The excerpt above is interesting on several fronts. Firstly, that Holst's *Japanese Suite* and *Beni Mora Suite* called into question his identity as a nationalist composer in a publication as prestigious as *The Times* shows the importance of this in the national debate at the time. Holst and his contemporaries were under external pressure to write in a national style. Secondly, Holst's response is very telling. By 'an entire absence of prejudice' Holst is presumably referring to abandoning a preconception of what national composition entails and in calling for a 'delicate balance of artistic values' he is perhaps saying that overt nationalism cannot be the primary focus of a composer and works must have artistic integrity. Most revealing of all though is the sentiment that 'in art everything matters except the subject'. In the context of this discussion, this would imply that nationalism to Holst is more a matter of perspective than subject, meaning that an English response to the Orient is in itself a form of musical nationalism. *A Case for Musical Nationalism*, written in 1918 offers an understanding of musical nationalism based less on style than effect within the national community.

The only broad, general basis for nationalism is, I think, not aesthetic at all but social... all strong feelings, whether pleasurable or painful, act as socialising factors; and artistic production, being the most natural result of strong feelings, is therefore a socialising factor, too... The value of music, from the social point of view, is greatly increased if it be composed and interpreted by actual members of the society to which it is intended to appeal. For instance, it is impossible that a

³⁴⁰ Short, p. 30.

Richard Strauss, describing, let us say, Munich in terms of music, can convey so much to the ordinary Englishman as a Vaughan-Williams writing a symphony about London... Music may be a universal language, but a language is only intelligible if it talks of things we are able to understand... to have its maximum effect, the music of a nation must talk to a nation about itself ... Heredity, climate, food, education, prejudice keep men apart long after the railway has annihilated the geographical distance between them... nationalism, far from being merely a question of the value of folk-music, is in reality a question of how far music shall bridge the chasm that at present exists between music and the life of every day—to the very great harm of both.³⁴¹

If nationalism is to be considered as relating to a particular style of composition, then outside of a small group of works, best typified by the suites discussed in chapter 4.1, one cannot consider the majority of Holst's compositional output to be nationalistic. Furthermore, the development of a national style cannot be seen to be the main purpose or outcome of his interactions with folk-song. However, if one is to understand musical nationalism as artistic interaction with the community and the effect of an artist's compositions on a nation as suggested above, then Holst is definitely in both spirit and effect a nationalist. Through his teaching posts, work with the YMCA, the Whitsun Festival and his numerous compositions for amateur musicians, Holst strove throughout his life to bring music to as many people in his extended community as possible. It was by all accounts the driving force of his professional and personal existence. Furthermore, *The Planets* has become one of the most performed and recorded British works of all time, satisfying the socialising factor of delivering a strong emotional response from the community, discussed above in terms of designating a composer or artwork as national.

The suites discussed in chapter 4.1 were in a practical sense nationalising, as they were intended to be socialising in their performers and audiences. From a stylistic perspective, these suites also clearly interact with a cultural heritage that is identifiably “English” in concept and sound. This is not an aggressive form of nationalism; Holst is not making a statement of English

³⁴¹Francis Toye, ‘A Case for Musical Nationalism’, *The Musical Quarterly*, 4 (1918), 12–22 (pp. 18–22).

cultural superiority. Rather, in each of the suites the character of the composition is derived from folk-song, and the pieces are crafted to engage both the audiences and the performers in a shared English culture. These compositions are distinct from much of Holst's compositional output. Holst's use of folk-song is not consistently inclusive in this manner, at times highlighting the gap between "the folk" and the audience rather than encouraging interaction with this cultural subset.

There are consistent themes that run through many of the composer's works, which often display elements of fantasy and an interest in identity. Those works that utilise the Orient (*Beni Mora Suite*, *Japanese Suite*), Sanskrit (*Sita*, *Savitri*, *Hymns from the Rig Veda*) and even horoscopes (*The Planets*) are all loosely concerned with identity. They explore those ideas through a framework that is in some form fantastical. The same can be said of *A Somerset Rhapsody*.

There is an important distinction in Holst's compositions that interact with or are influenced by folk-song between "national" works and "exotic" works. The suites and the part-songs Holst wrote are interactive forms of expression, intended to be inclusive and draw people into an invented national tradition. *A Somerset Rhapsody* performs a different task, what Saylor would describe as soft pastoralism and I would describe as the *national exotic*. The audience is meant to understand they are separate from the culture being depicted, to see it as an idealised far-off place with recognisable caricatures. Both styles of composition concern identity formation but *A Somerset Rhapsody* uses folk-song as a tool to define a cultural "other" that the audience can then relate to, rather than including the audience as part of the culture being depicted.

The *Beni Mora Suite* and *A Somerset Rhapsody* are an interesting moment in time for Holst. The overt exoticism of the former and highly romantic treatment of the folk in the latter are not modes of representation that Holst continued to use. These pieces are not the start of a trend in the composer's work but a rather stand-alone works. This makes an interesting contrast with the suites and part-songs Holst wrote that continued in a similar compositional vogue across his career. After the success of *A Somerset Rhapsody*, Holst may simply have decided he had achieved his desired

result and abandoned the form, not wishing to become repetitive. One can see the continual composition of folk-song based suites and part-songs rather than further rhapsodies as a reflection of Holst's changing attitudes towards the use of folk-song. The suites and part-songs Holst wrote were intended to be enjoyed and performed by the communities and amateur musicians Holst lived and worked with. They were able to be easily performed, sung and enjoyed as part of building a musical tradition. As a result, these suites reached a wider and more engaged audience than the rhapsody. *A Somerset Rhapsody* is an orchestral piece intended to make a stylised point about country life and most importantly, entertain its intended audience with a fantasy version of the national exotic.

Summary of Findings

This thesis has explored current assumptions about the influence of folk-song on Gustav Holst. It has attempted to show the mechanics of *how* folk-song changed Holst's composition and the process Holst went through to incorporate musical attributes of folk-song into his own original style. It has demonstrated the diversity of the influence, challenging the one-dimensional terms folk-song is often couched in. Finally, it has explored questions of identity that are often associated with the medium.

The first area of study concerned the development of a modal harmonic language. This thesis has expanded upon current knowledge in identifying specific harmonic techniques that can actually be attributed to folk-song, in particular the use of rotational harmony to effect conventional harmonic structures and the use of bimodality. The second point of clarification offered by this research concerns the common fallacy that folk-song removed the influence of Wagner from Holst's work. To the contrary, modality and chromaticism are used in tandem to enhance the musical imagery of *A Somerset Rhapsody*. I have argued that this composition deliberately and skilfully combines the two harmonic spheres to increase the tension within the narrative being put forward; it should not be taken as a milestone in Holst expelling Wagner from his compositional language.

The thesis has attempted to explore the distinction between the specific influence of folk-song on Holst's harmonic language and the influence of modality in general. Where Holst is working through experiments in a modal language based on folk-song, it tends to be in pieces of a smaller scale. While he uses a modality in works like *The Planets*, I suggest that the techniques are too far removed from those he developed in his interactions with folk-song to be associated with the predominantly melodic medium. There are exceptions where Holst is using associations of folk-song to create a dramatic or ideological effect, such as the rustic joviality of 'Jupiter'. However, beyond the commonality that modes are being used, it is hard to draw parallels between folk-song

and Holst's symphonic modal structures, which likely owe a greater debt to the examples set by his Russian and European contemporaries. Holst's experiments with folk-song-based modality border on atonality in the *Terzetto*, challenging the common assumption that folk-song influenced Holst to move away from chromaticism. Folk-song was undoubtedly one influence that gave Holst a framework to experiment with different scale systems. However, the notion that it was in direct opposition to Wagner's influence seems to be a scholarly construct. The argument that it could provide a replacement for 19th-century harmonic language holds little credibility, and the notion that the influence of folk-song was limited to tuneful works for amateur performers is dispelled when one closely examines the *Terzetto*.

The second area of study has focused on the role of folk-song in identity formation. The assumption in academia seems to have generally been that folk-song was a nationalising influence on Holst—that is not to say that overall Holst is seen as a nationalist composer. Rather that his interactions with folk-song have been associated with a desire to create a national voice in his composition. I think this is unclear at best. There are certainly instances when one can see Holst using actual folk-song or implying “found” English melodies in inclusive compositions that are arguably intended to create a nationalising effect; his compositions for military bands, school children, and brass bands are all clearly playing on national identity in contexts where that would be seen as desirable or appropriate. However, in other instances his treatment of folk-song creates a degree of separation from the audience that implies “the folk” are seen as an “other”. The fact that Holst presents folk-song in different ways to appeal to the identity of his intended audiences, suggests his interest in folk-song was its utility in appealing to various groups, rather than an innate national identity to which he subscribed or was trying to establish.

The issue with previous descriptions of Holst's work with folk-song is that they have tended to be one-dimensional. There is actually a huge variety in the works that exhibit the influence of folk-song; it was a tool and a source of inspiration, which Holst repeatedly used to work out

different compositional issues and create new sounds. The results of this undertaking have in places been surprising, particularly in relation to the development of diatonic atonality, the conscious creation of synthetic myths, and the role of the folk as a national exotic to be contrasted with the external exotic. Through this research I have hoped to promote a broader view of folk-song that will lead to more holistic work that examines contrasting influences in Holst's life together to find their commonalities. Holst is often discussed as being an "eclectic" composer, but I propose part of this perceived eclecticism is a result of an academic approach that compartmentalises different influences on the composers work rather than exploring commonalities. In each section of this thesis, the discussion of folk-song has resulted in the discussion of other partner influences, and I believe that a more inclusive dialogue would greatly enhance our understanding of Holst's compositions.

Bibliography

- 'A Folk-Song Discussion', *The Musical Times*, 47 (1906), 806–9
- 'About - The Folklore Society', *Folklore | The Folklore Society* <<https://folklore-society.com/about/>> [accessed 13 April 2017]
- Ackroyd, Peter, *Albion: The Origins of the English Imagination* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2002)
- Adams, Byron, and Robin Wells, *Vaughan Williams Essays* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003)
- Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Rise and Spread of Nationalism*, Rev. ed. (London: Verso, 2006)
- Antcliffe, Herbert, 'A Decade Of English Song', *Musical Quarterly The Musical Quarterly*, 11 (1925), 219–30
- Armitage, David, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000)
- Armstrong, Frankie, and Brian Pearson, 'Some Reflections on the English Folk Revival', *History Workshop Journal*, 7 (1979), 95–100
- Artz, Frederick Binkerd, *From the Renaissance to Romanticism; Trends in Style in Art, Literature, and Music, 1300-1830*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962)
- Atkinson, David, 'Revival: Genuine or Spurious', ed. by Ian Russell and David Atkinson, *Folk Song: Tradition, Revival, and Re-Creation*, 3 (2004), 144–62
- Atkinson, David, 'Folk Songs in Print: Text and Tradition', *Folk Music Journal*, 8 (2004), 456–83
- Baker, James M., 'Voice Leading in Post-Tonal Music: Suggestions for Extending Schenker's Theory', *Music Analysis*, 9 (1990), 177–200

- Baker, James M., David Beach, Jonathan Bernard, and Daniel Harrison, 'Bitonality, Pentatonicism, and Diatonicism in a Work by Milhaud', in *Music Theory in Concept and Practice* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 1997)
- Ballantine, Christopher John, *Twentieth Century Symphony* (London: D. Dobson, 1983)
- Banfield, Stephen, and Peter Evans, 'Instrumental Music I', in *The Blackwell History of Music: The Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995)
- Bannister, C. George, 'Brass Bands', *The Musical Times*, 76 (1935), 930
- Bates, Ian, 'General Diatonic Modality and Ralph Vaughan Williams' Compositional Practice' (Yale University, 2008)
- Bax, Clifford, 'Recollections of Gustav Holst', *Music and Letters*, 20 (1939), 1–6
- Beach, David, and James Baker, 'Schenkerian Analysis and Post-Tonal Music', in *Aspects of Schenkerian Theory* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983)
- Bearman, C. J., 'Kate Lee and the Foundation of the Folk-Song Society', *Folk Music Journal*, 7 (1999), 627–43
- Bearman, C. J., 'Who Were The Folk? The Demography of Cecil Sharp's Somerset Folk Singers', *Historical Journal*, 43 (2000), 751–75
- Bearman, C. J., 'Cecil Sharp in Somerset: Some Reflections on the Work of David Harker', *Folklore*, 113 (2002), 11–34
- Bearman, C. J., 'Percy Grainger, the Phonograph, and the Folk Song Society', *Music and Letters*, 83 (2003), 434–55
- Bellman, Jonathan, ed., *The Exotic in Western Music* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998)
- Bentley, Jerry H., *Old World Encounters: Cross-Cultural Contacts and Exchanges in Pre-Modern Times* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993)
- Bhabha, Homi K., *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994)

- Bithell, Caroline, 'The Past in Music: Introduction', *Ethnomusicology Forum*, 15 (2006), 3–16
- Blair, Anna, 'Cambodian Dancers, Auguste Rodin, and the Imperial Imagination-The Appendix', *The Appendix* <<http://theappendix.net/issues/2014/10/cambodian-dancers-auguste-rodin-and-the-imperial-imagination>> [accessed 17 September 2018]
- Born, Georgina, and David Hesmondhalgh, *Western Music and Its Others Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000)
- Boyd, Morrison Comegys, *Elizabethan Music and Musical Criticism*, 2nd edn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1962)
- Boyes, Georgina, *The Imagined Village: Culture, Ideology, and the English Folk Revival* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993)
- Bridges, Robert, *Poetical Works of Robert Bridges, Excluding the Eight Dramas*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1913)
- Bridges, Robert, and M. M. Bridges, *Collected Essays and Papers of Robert Bridges* (London: Oxford University Press, 1935)
- Broadwood, Lucy E., and J. A. Fuller Maitland, *English County Songs* (London: J. B. Cramer and Co., Ltd., 1893)
- Broadwood, Lucy E., 'On the Collecting of English Folk-Song', *Proceedings of the Musical Association* (1904-1905), 31st Sess., 89–109
- Brown, Calvin S., *Music and Literature: A Comparison of the Arts* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1948)
- Brown, Howard Mayer, *Music in the Renaissance* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1976)
- Brown, Tony, 'Edward Carpenter and The Waste Land' *The Review of English Studies*, 34, 135 (1983), 312-15

- Bukofzer, Manfred F., *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1950)
- Bullock, Alan, Baron Bullock, and John Lukacs, 'Adolf Hitler', *Encyclopædia Britannica* (Encyclopædia Britannica, inc., 2018) <<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Adolf-Hitler/Rise-to-power#ref249686>> [accessed 13 September 2018]
- Byard, Herbert, 'Robert Bridges: Church Musician', *Music and Letters*, 53 (1972), 44–55
- Canny, Nicholas P., *The Origins of Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998)
- Capell, Richard, 'Gustav Holst: Notes for a Biography (I)', *The Musical Times*, 67 (1926), 1073–75
- Capell, Richard, 'Gustav Holst: Notes for a Biography (II)', *The Musical Times*, 68 (1927), 17–19
- Cardinal, Roger, 'Primitivism | Grove Art', *Oxford Art Online*, 2017
<<http://www.oxfordartonline.com/groveart/view/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.001.0001/oao-9781884446054-e-7000069588>> [accessed 11 August 2018]
- Carney, George O., *The Sounds of People and Places: A Geography of American Folk and Popular Music*, 3rd edn (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1994)
- Carr, Jame Revell, '“An Harmlesse Dittie”: Ballad Music and Its Sources', *UCSB English Broadside Ballad Archive*, 2007 <<http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/page/ballad-music-sources>> [accessed 13 September 2018]
- Carr, Maureen Ann, 'Keys and Modes, Functions and Progressions in Mussorgsky's Boris Godounov', (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1972)
- Cercignani, Fausto, *Shakespeare's Works and Elizabethan Pronunciation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981)
- Childs, Adrian P., 'Moving beyond Neo-Riemannian Triads: Exploring a Transformational Model for Seventh Chords', *Journal of Music Theory*, 42 (1998), 181–94

- Clarke, David, and David Clarke, 'Only Half Rebellious': Tonal Strategies, Folksong and 'Englishness' in Tippett's Concerto for Double String Orchestra', in *Tippett Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)
- Cohn, Richard, 'Maximally Smooth Cycles, Hexatonic Systems, and the Analysis of Late-Romantic Triadic Progressions', *Music Analysis*, 15, 9–40
- Colls, Robert, and Phillip Dodd, *Englishness: Politics and Culture 1880-1920* (London: Croom Helm, 1986)
- Cooper, Frederick, and Ann L. Stoler, 'Introduction Tensions of Empire: Colonial Control and Visions of Rule', *American Ethnologist*, 1989, 609–21
- Cormac, Joanne, 'Liszt, Language, and Identity', *19th-Century Music*, 36 (2013), 231–47
- 'Corps of Army Music', *The British Army* <<http://www.army.mod.uk/music/33204.aspx>> [accessed 3 February 2013]
- Cox, Gordon, 'The Legacy of Folk Song: The Influence of Cecil Sharp on Music Education', *British Journal of Music Education*, 7 (1990), 89–97
- Cox, Gordon, *A History of Music Education in England, 1872-1928* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1993)
- Curley, Thomas M., *Samuel Johnson, the Ossian Fraud, and the Celtic Revival in Great Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- Darcy, Warren, 'Rotational Form, Teleological Genesis, and Fantasy-Projection in the Slow Movement of Mahler's Sixth Symphony', *19th-Century Music*, 25 (2001), 49–74
- Degirmenci, Koray, 'On the Pursuit of a Nation: The Construction of Folk and Folk Music in the Founding Decades of the Turkish Republic', *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, 37 (2006), 47–65
- Dickinson, A. E. F., 'The Revival of Holst', *Tempo*, New Series (1974), 2–6
- Dickinson, A. E. F., *Holst's Music: A Guide* (London: Thames Publishing, 1995)

- Doel, Fran, Geoff Doel, and Tony Deane, *Spring and Summer Customs in Sussex, Kent and Surrey* (Rainham: Meresborough Books, 1995)
- Domokos, Mária, 'Hungarian Folk Music from Moldavia and Bukovina', *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 44 (2003), 127–36
- Dunsby, Jonathan, and Arnold Whittall, *Music Analysis in Theory and Practice* (London: Faber, 1988)
- Eatock, Colin, 'The Crystal Palace Concerts: Canon Formation and the English Musical Renaissance', *19th-Century Music*, 34 (2010), 87–105
- Engel, Carl, *An Introduction to the Study of National Music: Comprising Researches into Popular Songs, Traditions, and Customs* (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1866)
- Ensor, R. C. K., *England, 1870-1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936)
- Evans, Edwin, 'Modern British Composers. VI. Gustav Holst (Continued)', *The Musical Times*, 60 (1919), 524–28
- Evans, Edwin, 'Modern British Composers. VI.-Gustav Holst (Concluded)', *The Musical Times*, 60 (1919), 657–61
- Evans, Edwin, 'Gustav Holst September 21, 1874 - 1934', *The Musical Times*, 75 (1934), 593–97
- Everett, Yayoi Uno, *Locating East Asia in Western Art Music* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 2004)
- Farrell, Gerry, *Indian Music and the West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997)
- Fenlon, Iain, *Man and Music: The Renaissance, from the 1470s to the End of the Century* (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd, 1989)
- Finnegan, Ruth H., *The Hidden Musicians: Music-Making in an English Town* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989)

'Folk', *Oxford English Dictionary Online*

<<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/72542?redirectedFrom=folk&>> [accessed 13 September 2018]

'Folk Song', *Merriam-Webster Online* <[https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/folk song](https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/folk%20song)> [accessed 13 September 2018]

'Folk-Song', *Oxford English Dictionary Online* <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/72553>> [accessed 13 September 2018]

'Folklore', *Oxford English Dictionary* <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/72546>> [accessed 13 September 2018]

Foreman, Lewis, and Jeremy Dibble, 'Parry, Stanford and Vaughan Williams: The Creation of Tradition', in *Vaughan Williams in Perspective: Studies of an English Composer* (Ilminster: Albion for the Vaughan Williams Society, 1998)

Fox, Adam, 'Ballads, Libels and Popular Ridicule in Jacobean England', *Past and Present*, 145 (1994), 47–83

Fox Strangways, A. H., 'The Hindu Scale', *Sammelbände Der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, 9 (1908), 449–511

Fox Strangways, A. H., and Maud Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp* (London: Oxford University Press, 1933)

Francmanis, John, 'The 'Folk-Song' Competition: An Aspect of the Search for an English National Music', *Rural History*, 11 (2000), 181–205

Francmanis, John, 'National Music to National Redeemer: The Consolidation of a 'Folk-Song' Construct in Edwardian England', *Popular Music*, 21 (2000), 1–25

Frogley, Alain, ed., *Vaughan Williams Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996)

Froude, James Anthony, *Essays in Literature and History* (London: J. M. Dent & Co., 1906)

- Fuller, Ramon, 'A Structuralist Approach to the Diatonic Scale', *Journal of Music Theory*, 19 (1972), 182–210
- Gammon, Vic, 'Folk Song Collecting in Sussex and Surrey, 1843–1914', *History Workshop Journal*, 10 (1980), 61–89
- Georges, Robert A., and Michael Owen Jones, *Folkloristics: An Introduction* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995)
- Gerson-Kiwi, Edith, 'Béla Bartók: Scholar in Folk Music', *Music & Letters*, 38 (1957), 149–54
- Gibbs, Alan, *Holst Among Friends* (London: Thames, 2000)
- Gibbs, Alan, 'New Light on Holst and Friends: Manuscript Discoveries at St Paul's Girls' School', *Tempo*, 60 (2006), 44–58
- Gilsenan, Michael, *Imagined Cities of the East: An Inaugural Lecture Delivered before the University of Oxford on 27 May 1985* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986)
- Goldron, Romain, *Music of the Renaissance* (H. S. Stuttman Co., 1968)
- Good, Edwin M., *Giraffes, Black Dragons, and Other Pianos: A Technological History from Cristofori to the Modern Concert Grand* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001)
- Grace, Harvey, 'Gustav Holst: Teacher', *The Musical Times*, 75 (1934), 689–96
- Graebe, Martin, 'Gustav Holst, Songs from the West, and the English Folk Song Movement', *Folk Music Journal*, 10 (2011), 5–41
- Grainger, Percy, 'Collecting with the Phonograph', *Journal of the Folk-Song Society*, 3 (1908), 147–62
- Green, Edward, 'Music and the Victorian Mind: The Musical Aesthetics of the Rev. H. R. Haweis', *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, 39 (2008), 239–56
- Green, Jeffrey P., *Samuel Coleridge-Taylor: A Musical Life* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2011)

- Greenberg, Noah, *An Anthology of English Medieval and Renaissance Vocal Music* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1961)
- Greene, Richard, *Gustav Holst and a Rhetoric of Musical Character: Language and Method in Selected Orchestral Works* (London: Garland, 1994)
- Grogan, Christopher, ed., *Imogen Holst: A Life in Music* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007)
- Grogan, Christopher, 'Daughter of the Renaissance', *The Guardian* (Guardian News and Media, 2007) <<https://www.theguardian.com/music/2007/oct/17/classicalmusicandopera>> [accessed 12 September 2018]
- Handler, Richard, and Jocelyn Linnekin, 'Tradition, Genuine or Spurious', *The Journal of American Folklore*, 97 (1984), 273–90
- Harker, David, 'Cecil Sharp in Somerset: Some Conclusions', *Folk Music Journal*, 2 (1972), 220–40
- Harker, David, *One for the Money, Politics and Popular Song* (London: Hutchinson, 1980)
- Harker, Dave, 'May Cecil Sharp Be Praised?', *History Workshop Journal*, 14 (1982), 45–62
- Harker, David, *Fakesong: The Manufacture of British 'Folksong' 1700 to the Present Day* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1985)
- Harman, Alec, *Mediaeval and Early Renaissance Music*, Rev. ed. (London: Barrie & Jenkins Ltd, 1988)
- Harvey, Charles and Jon Press. 'John Ruskin and the Ethical Foundations of Morris & Company, 1861-96' *Journal of Business Ethics* 14, 3 (1995), 181-94
- Head, Raymond, 'Holst and India (I) 'Maya' to 'Sita'', *Tempo*, New Series (1986), 2–7
- Head, Raymond, 'Holst and India (II)', *Tempo*, New Series (1987), 27–36
- Head, Raymond, 'Holst and India (III)', *Tempo*, New Series (1988), 35–40
- Hepple, Norman, *Lyrical Forms in English* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911)

- Herissone, Rebecca, 'Playford, Purcell, and the Functions of Music Publishing in Restoration England', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 63 (2010), 243–90
- Heywood, Andrew, 'Gustav Holst, William Morris and the Socialist Movement', *Journal of William Morris Studies*, 11 (1996)
- Hibbert, Christopher, *The English: A Social History, 1066-1945* (London: Harper Collins Publishers, 1987)
- 'High Germany', *Cecil Sharp Manuscript Collection*
 <<https://www.vwml.org/record/CJS2/9/878>> [accessed 18 September 2018]
- 'History of the Society', *The History of The Society of Antiquaries*
 <<https://www.sal.org.uk/about-us/our-history/>> [accessed 13 September 2018]
- Hobsbawm, E. J., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983)
- Hold, Trevor, *Parry to Finzi: Twenty English Song-Composers* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002)
- Holst, Imogen, 'Cecil Sharp and the Music and Music-Making of the Twentieth Century', *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society*, 8 (1959), 189–90
- Holst, Imogen, *The Music of Gustav Holst*, 2nd edn (London: Oxford University Press, 1968)
- Holst, Imogen, *Gustav Holst: A Biography*, 2nd edn (London: Oxford University Press, 1969)
- Holst, Imogen, *A Thematic Catalogue of Gustav Holst's Music* (London: Faber Music Ltd., 1974)
- Holst, Imogen, 'Holst's Music: Some Questions of Style and Performance at the Centenary of His Birth', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 100 (1974), 201–7
- Holst, Imogen, 'Gustav Holst's Debt to Cecil Sharp', *Folk Music Journal*, 2 (1974), 400–403
- Holst, Imogen, 'Holst's 'At the Boar's Head'', *The Musical Times*, 123 (1982), 321–22
- Holst, Imogen, *'The Music of Gustav Holst' and 'Holst's Music Reconsidered'* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986)

- 'Holst Manuscripts Discovered in New Zealand', *Holst Birthplace Museum*, 2018
- <<http://holstmuseum.org.uk/holst-manuscripts-discovered/>> [accessed 14 September 2018]
- Howard, Michael, 'I Ring for the General Dance' *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* 6, 1 (1949), 20–21
- Howes, Frank, Jos Vranken, W. Jacobs, Martin Friedland, and H. S., 'The Folk-Song Expedition to Holland and Germany', *Journal of the Folk-Song Society*, 8 (1929), 159–67
- Howes, Frank, 'Gustav Holst. September 21st, 1874-May 25th, 1934', *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society*, 1 (1934), 178-178
- Howes, Frank, *The English Musical Renaissance* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1966)
- Howes, Frank, *Folk Music of Britain and Beyond* (London: The Camelot Press Ltd., 1969)
- Huisman, Mary Christison, *Gustav Holst a Research and Information Guide*. (Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2011)
- Hunter, Mary, and Jonathan Bellman, 'The 'Alla Turca' Style in the Late Eighteenth Century: Race and Gender in the Symphony and the Seraglio', in *The Exotic in Western Music* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998)
- Hussey, Dyneley, 'Two Modern Composers', *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*, 135 (1923), 217–18
- Irwin, Colin, 'Folk's Man of Mystery: Is Cecil Sharp a Folk Hero or Villain?', *The Guardian*, 2011 <<https://www.theguardian.com/music/2011/mar/24/cecil-sharp-project-folk-hero-villain>> [accessed 13 September 2018]
- Isted, Lisa, 'Modal Structures in European Art Music (1870-1939)' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Bristol, 1993)
- Judge, Roy, 'Mary Neal and the Espérance Morris', *Folk Music Journal*, 5 (1989), 545–91
- Judge, Roy, 'Cecil Sharp and Morris 1906 - 1909', *Folk Music Journal*, 8 (2002), 195–228

- Karsten, Gustaf E., 'Bismarck', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 7 (1908), 85–101
- Kealiinohomoku, Joann W., 'Folk Dance', *Encyclopædia Britannica* (Encyclopædia Britannica, inc., 2017) <<https://www.britannica.com/art/folk-dance#ref993461>> [accessed 13 September 2018]
- Keel, Frederick, 'The Folk Song Society 1898-1948', *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society*, 5 (1948), 111–26
- Kinna, R., 'William Morris and the Problem of Englishness' *European Journal of Political Theory*, 5, 1 (2006), 85-99
- Kidson, Frank, 'English Folk-Song', *The Musical Times*, 49 (1908), 23–24
- Kidson, Frank, 'English Traditional Songs and Carols', *The Musical Times*, 49 (1908), 716
- Kinderman, William, and William E. Benjamin, 'Tonal Dualism in Bruckner's Eighth Symphony', in *The Second Practice of Nineteenth-Century Tonality* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996)
- Kinetz, Erika, 'Auguste Rodin - Royal Ballet of Cambodia', *The New York Times*, 2006 <<https://www.nytimes.com/2006/12/27/arts/design/27rodi.html>> [accessed 17 September 2018]
- Knighton, Tess, and Daivd Fallows, *Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music* (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992)
- Kong, Lily, 'Music and Cultural Politics: Ideology and Resistance in Singapore', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 20 (1995), 447–59
- Kopp, David, *Chromatic Transformations in Nineteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)
- Krone, Max T., 'The Choral Works of Gustav Holst', (unpublished doctoral thesis, Northwestern University, 1940)

- Lambert, Constant, *Music Ho! A Study of Music in Decline* (New York: C. Scribner, 1934)
- 'Letter from Ralph Vaughan Williams to Joyce Hooper', *The Letters of Ralph Vaughan Williams*
 <<http://vaughanwilliams.uk/letter/vw12291>> [accessed 16 September 2018]
- Levine, Philippa, *The Amateur and the Professional: Antiquarians, Historians and Archaeologists in Victorian England 1838-1886* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986)
- Lewin, David, 'A Formal Theory of Generalized Tonal Functions', *Journal of Music Theory*, 26 (1982), 23–60
- Lewin, David, *Generalized Musical Intervals and Transformations* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987)
- Lichtheim, George, *Europe in the Twentieth Century* (London: Phoenix, 1972)
- Lilliat, John, *Liber Lilliat, Elizabethan Verse and Song (Bodleian MS Rawlinson Poetry 148)*
 (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1985)
- Livingston, Tamara E., 'Music Revivals: Towards a General Theory', *Ethnomusicology*, 43 (1999), 66–85
- Locke, Ralph P., 'A Broader View of Musical Exoticism', *Journal of Musicology*, 2007, 477–521
- Locke, Ralph P., 'Exoticism', *Oxford Music Online*
 <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/45644>> [accessed 10 September 2017]
- Macan, Edward L., *An Analytical Survey and Comparative Study of the Music of Ralph Vaughan Williams and Gustav Holst, c. 1910-1935* (Ph. D. diss: Claremont Graduate School, 1991)
- MacKenzie, John M., *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984)

- MacKenzie, John M., ed., *Imperialism and Popular Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986)
- Mamminga, Michael, 'British Brass Bands', *Music Educators Journal*, 58 (1971), 82–83
- Manning, David, *Harmony, Tonality and Structure in Vaughan Williams's Music* (unpublished doctoral thesis: University of Wales, Cardiff, 2003)
- Manning, David, ed., *Vaughan Williams on Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007)
- Marsh, Christopher, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010)
- Matthews, Colin, 'Some Unknown Holst', *The Musical Times*, 125 (1984), 269–271–72
- Maynard, Winifred, *Elizabethan Lyric Poetry and Its Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986)
- McGowan, Rebecca W., and Andrea G. Levitt, 'A Comparison of Rhythm in English Dialects and Music', *Music Perception: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 28 (2011), 307–14
- McKinnon, James, *Man and Music: Antiquity and the Middle Ages, from Ancient Greece to the 15th Century* (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd, 1990)
- McNaught, W., 'Choral Notes and News', *The Musical Times*, 61 (1920), 104–6
- McVeagh, Diana, Purcell Singers, and Imogen Holst, 'Songs and Partsongs', *The Musical Times*, 110 (1969), 274–75
- McVeagh, Diana, 'Elgar, Sir Edward', *Grove Music*, 2017
 <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000008709>> [accessed 12 September 2018]
- Melhuish, Martin, *Celtic Tides: Traditional Music in a New Age* (Kingston: Quarry Music Books, 1998)
- Mellers, W. H., 'Holst and the English Language', *The Music Review*, 2 (1941), 228–34
- Mendoza, Zoila S., 'Defining Folklore: Mestizo and Indigenous Identities on the Move', *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 17 (1998), 165–83

Metfessel, Milton, 'The Collecting of Folk Songs by Phonophotography', *Science*, 67 (1928), 28–

31

Mitchell, Jon C., 'Gustav Holst: The Works for Military Band', (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Illinois, 1980)

Mitchell, Jon C., *From Kneller Hall to Hammersmith: The Band Works of Gustav Holst* (Tutzing: Schneider, 1990)

Morley, John, *Studies in Literature* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1891)

Morrison, Charles D., 'Formal Structure and Functional Qualities in the First Movement of Bartok's Violin Sonata No. 1 (1921)', *Music Analysis*, 2001, 327–45

Moulton, Mo, *Ireland and the Irish in Interwar England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014)

Nettl, Bruno, 'Ideas about Music and Musical Thought: Ethnomusicological Perspectives', *Journal of Aesthetic Education*, 30 (1996), 173–87

Nicholsen, Michael D., 'Identity, Nationalism, and Irish Traditional Music in Chicago, 1867–1900', *New Hibernia Review*, 13 (2009), 111–26

Noel, Conrad, *The Meaning of Imperialism* (Watford: Watford Printers, [n.d.])

Noel, Conrad, *The Church Socialist League* (London: C. Clayton and Co., [n.d.])

Noel, Conrad, *Socialism in Church History* (London: F. Palmer, 1910)

Norris, Christopher, and Paul Harrington, 'Holst and Vaughan Williams: Radical Pastoral', in *Music and the Politics of Culture* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1989)

Norton, Richard, *Tonality in Western Culture A Critical and Historical Perspective* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1984)

O'Riordan, Colin Lucas, 'Aspects of the Inter-Relationship between Russian Folk and Composed Music' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, 1970)

- Olson, Ian, 'The Folk Song Society's Hints for Collectors (1898)', *English Dance and Song*, 57 (1995), 2–5
- Onderdonk, Julian, 'Vaughan Williams and the Modes', *Folk Music Journal*, 7 (1999), 609–26
- Ota, Mineo, 'Why Is the 'Spirit' of Folk Music so Important on the Historical Background of Bela Bartok's Views of Folk Music?', *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, 37 (2006), 33–46
- Pagden, Anthony, *European Encounters with the New World: from Renaissance to Romanticism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993)
- Palmer, Roy, 'Kidson's Collecting', *Folk Music Journal*, 5 (1986), 150–75
- Palmer, Tony, 'The Inner Orbit of Gustav Holst', *The Guardian* (Guardian News and Media, 2011) <<https://www.theguardian.com/music/2011/apr/21/gustav-holst-tony-palmer>> [accessed 12 March 2014]
- Pepys, Samuel, and O. F. Morshead, [*Everybody's Pepys: the*] *Diary of Samuel Pepys, 1660-1669, Abridged from the Complete Copyright Text and Edited by O. F. Morshead, with 60 Illustrations by Ernest H. Shepard.* (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1929)
- Perlove, Nina, 'Inherited Sound Images: Native American Exoticism in Aaron Copland's Duo for Flute and Piano', *American Music*, 2000, 50–77
- Persichetti, Vincent, *Twentieth Century Harmony* (London: Faber & Faber, 1962)
- Pesce, Dolores, *Hearing the Motet Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997)
- Pflanze, Otto, 'Bismarck and German Nationalism', *The American Historical Review*, 60 (1955), 548–66
- Pickering, Michael, 'Janet Blunt - Folk Song Collector and Lady of the Manor', *Folk Music Journal*, 8 (1976), 345–61
- Pirie, Peter John, *The English Musical Renaissance* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979)

- Pollard, Michael, *Discovering English Folksong* (Aylesbury: Shire Publications, 1982)
- Powers, Harold S., Frans Wiering, James Porter, James Cowdery, Richard Widdess, Ruth Davis, 'Mode', *Grove Music*, 2017
 <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000043718>> [accessed 22 July 2018]
- Prasad, G. Koteswara, 'Gandhi and Edward Carpenter' *The Indian Journal of Political Science* 47, 4 (1986), 591-602
- Remak, Henry H. H., 'Exoticism in Romanticism', *Comparative Literature Studies*, 15 (1978), 53–65
- Renwick, Roger, *English Folk Poetry: Structure and Meaning* (London: Batsford Academic and Educational Ltd., 1980)
- Reynolds, George F., *English Literature in Fact & Story* (New York: Century Co., 1929)
- Riley, Matthew, *British Music and Modernism, 1895-1960* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2010)
- Roberts, W. Wright, 'Music in Robert Bridges', *Music and Letters*, 11 (1930), 341–51
- Rodabaugh, Delmer, and Agnes L. McCarthy, *Prose and Poetry of England*, 5th edn (Syracuse N.Y.: L.W. Singer Co., 1955)
- 'Rodin and the Cambodian Dancers', *The Walking Man | Rodin Museum* <<http://www.musee-rodin.fr/en/exposition/exposition/rodin-and-cambodian-dancers>> [accessed 27 November 2017]
- Rollins, Hyder E., 'The Black-Letter Broadside Ballad', *Pmla*, 34 (1919), 258–339
- Rosenberg, Neil V., *Transforming Tradition: Folk Music Revivals Examined* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993)
- Ross, Deborah, Jonathan Choi, and Dale Purves, 'Musical Intervals in Speech', *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 104 (2007), 9852–57

- Roud, Stephen, Eddie Upton, and Vic Gammon, 'Cecil Sharp and English Folk Music', in *Still Growing: English Traditional Songs and Singers from the Cecil Sharp Collection* (London: English Folk Dance & Song Society in association with Folk South West, 2003), pp. 2–22
- Roy, Eleanor Ainge, 'Original Gustav Holst Scores Discovered in New Zealand Library', *The Guardian* (Guardian News and Media, 2017)
 <<https://www.theguardian.com/music/2017/jul/19/original-gustav-holst-scores-discovered-in-new-zealand-library>> [accessed 14 September 2018]
- Rubbra, Edmund, *Gustav Holst* (Monaco: Lyrebird, 1947)
- Rubbra, Edmund, and Stephen Lloyd, ed., *Gustav Holst/Edmund Rubbra: Collected Essays* (London: Triad Press, 1974)
- Ruff, Allan R., *Arcadian Visions: Pastoral Influences on Poetry, Painting and the Design of Landscape* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2015)
- Russel, Ian, 'Competing with Ballads (And Whisky?): The Construction, Celebration, and Commercialization of North-East Scottish Identity', *Folk Music Journal*, 9 (2007), 170–91
- Russell, Dave, *Popular Music in England, 1840-1914 a Social History*, 2nd edn (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997)
- Russell, Ian, and Robert Burns, 'British Folk Songs in Popular Music Settings', in *Folk Song: Tradition, Revival, and Re-Creation* (Aberdeen: Elphinstone Institute, University of Aberdeen, 2004)
- Ryder, Sean, 'Male Autobiography and Irish Cultural Nationalism: John Mitchel and James Clarence Mangan', *The Irish Review (1986-)*, 1992, 70–77
- Said, Edward W., *Orientalism* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1978)

- Samson, Jim, *Music in Transition: a Study of Tonal Expansion and Atonality, 1900-1920*
(London: J. M. Dent & Co., 1977)
- Samson, Jim, 'Nations and Nationalism', in *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music*
(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)
- Samuel, Raphael, ed., *Patriotism: The Making and Unmaking of British National Identity*.
Volume I: History and Politics; Volume II: Minorities and Outsiders; Volume III:
National Fictions (London: Routledge, 1989)
- Santa, Matthew, 'Analysing Post-Tonal Diatonic Music: A Modulo 7 Perspective', *Music*
Analysis, 19 (2000), 167–201
- Saylor, Eric, *English Pastoral Music: from Arcadia to Utopia, 1900-1955* (Urbana: University of
Illinois Press, 2017)
- Scheer, Christopher M., 'Fin-De-Siècle Britain: Imperialism and Wagner in the Music of Gustav
Holst', (unpublished doctoral thesis, The University of Michigan, 2007)
- Schmidt, Benjamin, *Inventing Exoticism: Geography, Globalism, and Europe's Early Modern*
World (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015)
- Schmidt, Royal J., 'Cultural Nationalism in Herder', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 17 (1956),
407–17
- Schoenberg, Arnold, and Roy E. Carter, *Theory of Harmony* (Berkeley: University of California
Press, 1978)
- Schofield, Derek, 'Sowing the Seeds: Cecil Sharp and Charles Marson in Somerset in 1903', *Folk*
Music Journal, 8 (2004), 484–512
- Scott, John Anthony, 'Cecil Sharp', *History Workshop Journal*, 16 (1983), 191
- Sharp, Cecil J., 'Folk-Song Collecting', *The Musical Times*, 48 (1907), 16–18
- Sharp, Cecil J., *Folksong: Some Conclusions* (London: Simpkins and Co Ltd./Novello and Co
Ltd., 1907)

- Sharp, Cecil J., and Maud Karpeles, *Eighty English Folksongs* (London: Faber and Faber Ltd, 1968)
- Sharp, Cecil, *One Hundred English Folksongs* (New York: Dover Publications, 1975)
- Shaw, Christopher, *The Imagined Past: History and Nostalgia* (Manchester: Manchester University Press; 1989)
- Short, Michael, ed., *Gustav Holst, Letters to W.G. Whittaker* (Glasgow: University of Glasgow Press, 1974)
- Short, Michael, *Gustav Holst, 1874-1934: A Centenary Documentation* (London: White Lion Publishers, 1974)
- Short, Michael, *Gustav Holst: The Man and His Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990)
- Shull, Jonathan, 'Locating the Past in the Present: Living Traditions and the Performance of Early Music', *Ethnomusicology Forum*, 15 (2006), 87–111
- Stanek, K., 'The Meaning of Halk in Turkish Language and Culture', *The World of the Orient*, 1 (2014), 76–88
- Stanford, Charles Villiers, *Pages from an Unwritten Diary* (Miami: HardPress Publishing, 2014)
- Stradling, R. A. and Meirion Hughes, *The English Musical Renaissance, 1840-1940: Constructing a National Music*, 2nd edn (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001)
- Straus, Joseph N., 'The Problem of Prolongation in Post-Tonal Music', *Journal of Music Theory*, 31 (1987), 1–1
- Straus, Joseph Nathan, *Remaking the Past: Musical Modernism and the Influence of the Tonal Tradition* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990)
- Strunk, Oliver, *Source Readings in Music History: The Renaissance* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1965),

- Swan, Alfred J., 'The Nature of The Russian Folk-Song', *The Musical Quarterly*, 29 (1943), 498–516
- Sykes, Richard, 'The Evolution of Englishness in the English Folksong Revival, 1890-1914', *Folk Music Journal*, 6 (1993), 446–90
- Taruskin, Richard, 'Nationalism', *Oxford Music Online*, 2001
<<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.01.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000050846>> [accessed 9 May 2015]
- Taruskin, Richard, *The Oxford History of Western Music: Music from the Earliest Notation to the Sixteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford university press, 2010),
- Taylor, Timothy Dean, *Beyond Exoticism: Western Music and the World* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007)
- Temperley, Nicholas, and David Temperley, 'Music-Language Correlations and the 'Scotch Snap'', *Music Perception: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 29 (2011), 51–63
- Terry, Charles Sanford, 'John Forbes's 'Songs and Fancies'', *The Musical Quarterly*, 22 (1936), 402–19
- 'Text of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage', *Intangible Cultural Heritage Website*, 2003
<https://ich.unesco.org/en/convention?raw_uri=/fr/convention> [accessed 13 September 2018]
- 'The British Brass Band', *A History of the Wind Band: Dr. Stephen L. Rhodes* (Lipscomb University)
<http://www.lipscomb.edu/windbandhistory/rhodeswindband_07_britishbrassband.htm> [accessed 17 September 2018]

'The English Dancing Master'

<<http://www.contrib.andrew.cmu.edu/~flip/contrib/dance/playford.html>> [accessed 13 September 2018]

'The Royal Military School of Music', *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, 41 (1990), 513–22

Thomas, Gareth James., 'The Impact of Russian Music in England 1893-1929' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Birmingham, 2005)

Toye, Francis, 'A Case for Musical Nationalism', *The Musical Quarterly*, 4 (1918), 12–22

Trend, Michael, *The Music Makers: the English Musical Renaissance from Elgar to Britten* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1985)

Trentmann, F., 'Civilization and Its Discontents: English Neo-Romanticism and the Transformation of Anti-Modernism in Twentieth-Century Western Culture', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 29 (1994), 583–625

Tymoczko, Dimitri, 'Scale Networks And Debussy', *Journal of Music Theory*, 48 (2004), 219–94

Vaillancourt, Michael, 'Modal and Thematic Coherence in Vaughan Williams's Pastoral Symphony', *Music Review*, 53 (1991), 203–17

Vaughan Williams, Ralph, 'English Folk-Song', *The Musical Times*, 52 (1911), 101–4

Vaughan Williams, Ralph 'Gustav Holst. I', *Music and Letters*, 1 (1920), 181–90

Vaughan Williams, Ralph, 'Gustav Holst (Continued)', *Music and Letters*, 1 (1920), 305–17

Vaughan Williams, Ralph, *National Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934)

Vaughan Williams, Ralph, *National Music and Other Essays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987)

Vaughan Williams, Ursula, and Imogen Holst, *Heirs and Rebels; Letters Written to Each Other and Occasional Writings on Music, by Ralph Vaughan Williams and Gustav Holst* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959)

- Vieru, Anatol, 'Modalism-A 'Third World', ' *Perspectives of New Music*, 24 (1985), 62–71
- Vincent, John, *The Diatonic Modes in Modern Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951)
- Wardlaw Miles, Louis, 'The Poetry of Robert ', *Sewanee Review*, 23 (1915), 129–39
- Warrack, John, 'A New Look at Gustav Holst', *The Musical Times*, 104 (1963), 100–103
- Warrack, John, 'Holst and the Linear Principle', *The Musical Times*, 115 (1974), 732–35
- Wells, Evelyn K., 'Playford Tunes and Broadside Ballads', *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society*, 3 (1938), 195–202
- 'What Is a Broadside?', *American Antiquarian Society*
 <<http://www.americanantiquarian.org/thomasballads/whatisabroadside>> [accessed 13 September 2018]
- White, Harry, 'The Preservation of Music and Irish Cultural History', *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, 27 (1996), 123–38
- Whitlock, Keith, 'John Playford's the English Dancing Master 1650/51 as Cultural Politics', *Folk Music Journal*, 7 (1999), 548–78
- Wiener, Martin J., *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit, 1850-1980* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981)
- 'William Caxton', *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, 2014
 <<https://www.britannica.com/biography/William-Caxton>> [accessed 2 September 2018]
- Williams, Raymond, *The Country and the City* (London: The Hogarth Press, 1985)
- Wright, Craig, 'Lecture 21 - Musical Impressionism and Exoticism: Debussy, Ravel and Monet', *Open Yale Courses* <<https://oyc.yale.edu/music/musi-112/lecture-21>> [accessed 17 September 2018]
- Yates, Michael, 'Percy Grainger and the Impact of the Phonograph', *Folk Music Journal*, 4 (1982), 265–75