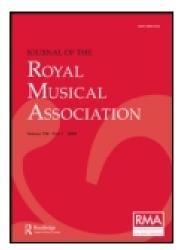
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SIR J. FREDERICK BRIDGE, C.V.O.,

PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

THE GENIUS OF DUNSTABLE.*

By CH. VAN DEN BORREN.

The mystery which shrouds the personality of Dunstable will probably never be elucidated. All that is known of him for certain is that he died on the 24th of December, 1453, and that he was an astronomer as well as a musician. For the rest, one may admit as a conjecture that he was older than Dufay and that he passed an important part of his life on the Continent.

His work is better known to us. About fifty of his compositions have been preserved in manuscripts of the fifteenth century—mostly of Italian origin.†

Fourteen of them have been made accessible by publication in modern notation.‡ Amongst these, three are works of

^{*} The Paper was read by Mr. W. Barclay Squire, who also translated it from the original French.

[†] See the thematic catalogue in Miss Stainer's article "Dunstable and the Various Settings of 'O Rosa Bella'" (Sammelbands of the I.M.G., II, p. 1). This catalogue should be completed by (1) the undeciphered piece on folio 18 of Ad. MS. 10,336 (British Museum), mentioned by Mr. Barclay Squire in the article on Dunstable in Grove's Dictionary (1905); (2) the little Motet "Sumens illud ave," in the Bibl. Naz. Centrale at Florence (Cod. MS. XIX, 112), reproduced by Johannes Wolf in his Handbuch der Notationshunds, I (Leipzig, 1913), p. 382 et seq.; and (3) by the Kyrie for Sundays in the British Museum (Lansdown MS., 462).

[†] Eleven in the Denkmåler der Tonkunst in Oesterreich, Jahrg., VII (1900) and XXVII (1920); one in Miss Stainer's article (1900) referred to in the previous note; one in Professor H. E. Wooldridge's and Mr. A. Hughes-Hughes' "Early English Harmony," II. (1903); and one in J. Wolf's Handbuch der Notationskunds (cf the last note. These transcriptions are quoted in the order of date, omitting duplicates which have appeared subsequently, such as those in Wooldridge and Hughes-Hughes' "Early English Harmony" (1903); J. Wolf's Geschichte der Mensural-Notation (1904); Wooldridge's "Oxford History of Music," Vol. II (1905); Riemann's Handbuch der Musikgeschichte II, I (1907) and

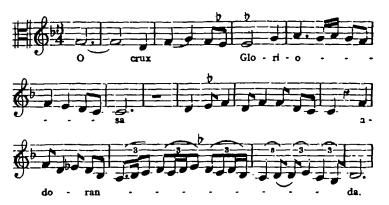
the first rank, characterized by individual features which are entirely out of the common; two are nearly as remarkable; the nine others display nothing which appreciably distinguishes them from the mass of contemporary compositions. It is difficult to decide upon the reasons which cause these differences, in value. Perhaps the least good works belong to the master's early years. Perhaps also some of them have been wrongly attributed to him in the fifteenth century manuscripts in which they are found.

(Denkm. der Tonkunst in The three best, Crux fidelis 183), O Crux gloriosa (ibid., Oester., vii, p. and the Veni Sancte Spiritus for four voices (ibid., p. 203), bear Dunstable's name in two different manuscripts—Codex 92 of Trent and the Modena MS. At the outset these exhibit special qualities, which separate them in a striking way from all contemporary works. I do not here speak of their form, for even a mediocre musician may conceive most diverse schemes without showing the least purely aesthetic The essential is not the form (contenant) but the And here Dunstable brings ideas to substance (contenu). which one cannot deny the merit of entire originality. may indeed neglect, up to a certain point, his tendency to realize that concordance of the separate parts which the ars nova of the fourteenth century had only exceptionally succeeded in realizing in more than two voices. tendency was general, at his period, and if he carried it out with especial brilliancy, it was, after all, only a secondary aspect of his art, even though to arrive so far he must have had a strong amount of intuition. The true genius of Dunstable lies rather in his gift of melodic invention. analyses of Hugo Riemann* show that it is no question of cantilenas of more or less regular form, such as popular songs, the liturgical hymns, or the Lieder of the Troubadours. Trouvères and Minnesänger, but, on the contrary, of broad phrases, which, based upon a given melody, amplify, vary and "paraphrase" it. Once more, the principle in itself was not new, but Dunstable's application of it shows so purely an individual character that it is impossible not to be struck Let us take, for example, the beginning of the Superius in the Motet O Crux gloriosa†:—

Musikgeschichte in Beispielen (1912).—Among modern manuscript transcriptions mention should be made of those by Mr. Barclay Squire of 34 compositions of Dunstable, in Ad. MS. 36,490 of the British Museum (cf. A. Hughes-Hughes, "Catalogue of the Manuscript Music in the British Museum," Vol. I (1906).

^{*} Handbuch der Musikgeschichte, II, p. 109 et seq.

[†] Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Oesterreich, VII, p. 187.



As in most contemporary works, this Motet gives rise to a number of most interesting technical questions; for example that of implied accidentals, that of the adaptation of the words to the notes, and in the same connection that of the possible—and even more than probable—introduction of instruments. I do not propose to attempt to solve them. They are, as is known, very controversial, and capable of many solutions. Also, they have, properly speaking, nothing to do with the aspect which we are now considering. One should nevertheless note that Dunstable's innovation does not lie in either the importance given to the upper voice or in the extreme rhythmical refinement which pervades it. Innumerable examples of these two characteristics are to be found in the Florentine Ars Nova of the fourteenth century.

Setting aside therefore all consideration of technique, the original element in Dunstable lies essentially in the *intrinsic quality* of the melody. With or without words, sung, or played by an instrument, the fragment quoted above possesses a value of originality which places it outside and above everything known to us of the product of the period. This passage is by no means isolated. Here, notably, in the same Motet, is the opening, in binary rhythm, of the Second Part:—





Here are the same amplitude of lines, the same richness of inspiration, the same manner of rising and falling in melodic curves of a broad and deep sonority beyond all expression.

In the Veni Sancte Spiritus* the second voice from

the top begins thus:-



In this, the novelty is one of those "cadences" of which Dunstable has the secret, and which surprise one by the intimate sentiment of mystical contemplation with which they are stamped. Further on the Superius has this splendid inflection †:



Et e-mit - te coe - li - - - tus

Written in the Seventh Ecclesiastical Mode, the work is illuminated momentarily with a supernatural light by the presence of F sharps expressly indicated, which break most happily the modal monotony of the whole. All the Medius part, written in binary measure, has a harmonic suavity which anticipates the second half of the fifteenth century.

The Motet, Crux fidelis,‡ opens in the Discant with a cadence

of imposing aspect:



which re-appears, throughout the whole piece, paraphrased with the extremest richness. In each of the "Variations" one recognizes Dunstable's innate gift of realizing "musical embroideries," which instead of resting on simple formulas, give free course to the widest imagination and the most capricious fancy.

^{*} Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Oesterreich VII, p. 203.

[†] cf. the parallelism between the passage marked by the two asterisks and that in the Motet O Crux gloriosa, indicated supra, by the same signs.

¹ Denkmaler der Tonkunst in Oesterreich, VII, p. 183.

The two compositions which are grouped after Crux fidelis, O Crux gloriosa and the Veni Sancte Spiritus for four voices, are: the short piece without words in Add. MS. 31,922 (British Museum)* and the Veni Sancte Spiritus for three voices.†

The last-named contains no single passage as typical as the three preceding Motets, but the whole is illuminated by the same poetical atmosphere. The British Museum piece, with its Tenor in the form of a modulating Pes, is less florid and undoubtedly less attractive, but the principal melody has a style which reveals undeniably the master's authorship, as may be seen from this fragment:—



Among the other pieces by Dunstable which have been published in modern notation, most of them are distinguished by a somewhat compact and untransparent polyphonic style, of which the consonant style is to a great extent owing to the use of figurated faux bourdon. The French chanson Puisque m'amour has nothing to distinguish it from the secular compositions of Dufay or Binchois, to which it is, indeed, rather inferior. The Canzone, O rosa bella, on the contrary, has a grace and delicacy which give it a pleasant individuality, though not enough to dispel a legitimate doubt as to Dunstable's paternity, in face of the fact that it is

^{*} Sammelb. der I.M.G., II, 1, pp. 14-15.

[†] Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Oesterreich, VII, p. 201.

[†] Quam pulchra (Denkmåler der Tonkunst in Oesterreich, VII, p. 190; Salve Regina, also attributed to Lionel (ibid., p. 191); Sancta Maria (ibid., p. 197); Sub tuam protectionem (ibid., p. 198); Salve Regina (ibid., XXVII, p. 39); Patrem (Wolf, Gesch. der Mensuralnotation, III,p. 177); Sumens illud ave (Wolf, Handb. der Notationskunde, I, p. 382); O rosa bella (Denkmåler der Tonkunst in Oesterreich, VII, p. 229); Puisque m'amour (ibid., p. 254).

^{||} cf. especially Quant pulchra, 1st Salve Regina and Patrem.

only attributed to him in one of seven manuscripts.* We may, however, note here with interest that the first of the three anonymous Masses on O rosa bella, published in the Denkmāler der Tonkunst in Oesterreich (xi, 1, p. 1), and which is most probably the earliest of the three, is written in a style so like that of Dunstable that one is almost tempted to attribute it to him. This hypothesis is all the more plausible as the work is of much more than mediocre aesthetic value.

Among the musicians of the first half of the fifteenth century who were most directly inspired by the style of Dunstable, we may especially mention Johannes Brasart,† a member of the Papal Chapel in 1431-32, at the same time as Dufay, and Johannes Sarto, who was probably identical with Johannes Dusart or Dussard, Maitre de chant at the Cathedral of Cambray from 1458 to 1464.‡ The few motets which we know by the former, especially the Ave Maria Denkm. der Tonk. in Oester., vii, p. 95) and O flos flagrans (ibid., p. 102), as well as the delicious Quam mirabilis of Sarto (ibid., p. 215), show how profoundly the melodic and harmonic style of Dunstable influenced these Continental Clearly it is the breath of the English master, powerful and at the same time light, which lives again in passages like these:—



All the same, a complete perusal of the pieces in which they occur, clearly shows that they are only ingenious and charming adaptations of harmonic combinations recently perfected, and of a new system of figuration to temperaments

^{*} The Roman MS. (Cod. Urb. 1411); in all the others O rosa bella is anonymous. Cf. Wooldridge, Oxford History, II, p. 126 et seq.

[†] There is every reason for believing that he was a native of the district of Liège.

[‡] Stainer (Dufay and his Contemporaries) supposes on good grounds that he came from Sart-lez-Spa.

which had not the commanding breadth of a Dunstable. Nothing in these pieces recalls the amplitude of line and the contemplative ardour which are exhaled from the motets of the composer and astronomer. They are exquisite miniatures, delicate jewels, which reveal in certain points, especially in Sarto, a later date; but they never rise above a gentle, intimate feeling, with a supple, florid grace, and in spite of all their charm, they never at any point attain the level of inspiration of Dunstable's most typical works.

It is not the same with Guillaume Dufay. He indeed dominates entirely the second and third quarters of the fifteenth century, and if, as is testified by his contemporaries, he owes much to Dunstable, it is precisely because he knew how to emancipate himself from this influence, that he has won the eminent position which he occupies in the history

of Music.

But there can be no doubt that Dufay would not have been what he was if the English master had not shown him the way.

What Tinctoris says in the Prohemium of his Proportionale Musices, that the origin of the Ars Nova of the fifteenth century must be looked for "among the English, of whom Dunstable is the principal," seems to be the expression of an undeniable truth. The revelation which the art of the chief of the English School* was for the Franco-Belgian musicians at a date which may approximately be fixed between 1425 and 1440 is echoed with equal precision and fidelity in the Champion des Dames of Martin le Franc (c. 1440).

If Guillaume Dufay and Binchois "deschantent en mélodie

de tel chois," it is, says the poet, that they :-

... ont nouvelle pratique
De faire frisque concordance
En haulte et en basse musique,
En fainte, en pause et en muance,
Et ont prins de la contenance
Angloise et ensuy Dunstable;
Pour quoy merveilleuse plaisance
Rend leur chant joyeux et notable. †

The melodic value of the music played by the English at the Court of Burgundy seems to have especially struck contemporary hearers, if one is to believe in the shame and

^{*} This expression is used here in a general and abstract sense, for it is not proved that there was an English School properly so called, of which Dunstable was the chief.

[†] Stable, in another version; notable is more probably correct, considering the number of syllables in the line.

jealousy which their performance aroused in Binchois and Dufay:--

J'ay veu Binchois avoir vergongne Et soy taire emprès leurs rebelles Et du Fay despite et frongne Qu'il n'a mélodie si belle.

This melody is, without doubt, the broadly developed, varied and figurated cantilena which Dunstable's motets have revealed to us. With one or two other vocal or instrumental parts it forms that "frisque concordance" which the fourteenth century had sought for in vain. One may imagine the effect which it produced on the Continental musicians brought up in the school of the rugged motets of the preceding century, and of the miniature style of the rondeaux and secular ballads. Dufay made ample use of it. His masses and motets are all impregnated with this new spirit and given life by this amplifying mood which constitutes, properly speaking, "musical composition."

With Dunstable this only occupied a modest place. With Dufay it expanded so as to form the basis on which modern music would expand, and it was increased by experiments in expression which give it an increasingly rich and living appearance.*

The question arises whence Dunstable derived this idea of the art of figuration upon which he has left so personal a stamp. If his own country had made, without doubt, very remarkable progress in harmony,† it is on the other side hazardous to pretend that one could find there the source of the especial melodic efflorescence with which his work is so full. Here one turns naturally to Italy, to the Florentine school of the fourteenth century, embellished by men like Landino, Jacobus di Bononia, Johannes and Paolo da Firenze, and it is inevitable that we shall find, as Hugo Riemann‡ has done, a striking likeness between the capricious arabesques of their ballati and madrigali and the variation-style of Dunstable. All the winged fancy which reigns in these Italian contemporaries of Dante and Petrarch is found again

^{*}One of the most characteristic examples is the Ave Regina coelorum, printed in Haberl's Dufay (Leipzig, Breitkopf & Hartel, 1885). A work of his old age, probably written to be performed at the master's death-bed, it presents entirely new expressive in ideas, though based primarily on Dunstable's variation-style.

[†] Here must be recalled the celebrated Sumer is icumen in. On the other side the absence of prejudice in England with regard to consonances of thirds and sixths and the consequent propensity to favour sequences of chords in faux-bourdon.

[†] Handb. der Musikgeschichte, II, 1, p. 111.

in the English master, but with this important difference, that he has transferred it to the realm of religion, and in addition has stamped it with all the flavour of his personal originality.

The Florentine Ars Nova is of extreme interest in regard to the progress of expression in secular music. Such works as the Madrigals Fra duri scogli, by Paolo da Firenze,* or Un bel sparver, by Jacobus di Bononia†, are, in this respect, as striking revelations as Dunstable's motets, by the bold romanticism of their melodic lines and the strong contrast which they present to traditional popular song. Why such music had no immediate successors in the country of its origin‡ is a mystery which we will not attempt to solve. Doubtless polyphony, when it arrived at a period of full development, was ill fitted for these lyrical effusions, which need for their free expression more liberty than is to be found in combinations of three or four independent voices.

This reconciliation of melodic fancy and contrapuntal rigour was attempted by Dunstable in the sphere of sacred music.

He succeeded in his enterprise, for he created works of considerable length, unified from beginning to end, in which the devices of form (tenor, system of variation, etc.), ensure at the same time unity, homogeneity and diversity.

The type of motet of the English master is constructed as follows: A plain-song theme occupies the upper voice; richly figured, it is accompanied by two or three other voices written in a simpler style and even sometimes destitute of any ornamentation. In this combination the Gregorian chant does not play an accessory part in an inner (tenor) voice, but is conspicuous at the top of the polyphonic structure, where it appears in full view; on the other hand, if, as is inevitable, it is subject to mensural discipline, the capricious figuration with which it is treated takes from it the rigidity of the earlier measured tenor in long notes. Lastly, the application of all the subtleties of a quasi-free rhythm gives back to it all that mobility which it seemed to have lost for ever after two and a half centuries of polyphony.

Plainsong, thus reconstructed in a figured form, appears in Dunstable and his disciples as an entirely new creation.

^{*} Cf. J. Wolf, Florenz in der Musikgeschichte des XIV. Jahrh. (Sammelb der I.M.G., III, 4, p. 644).

[†] Idem. Gesch. der Mensuralnotation, III, No. 40.

After two centuries' pause, it seems to have re-appeared in the form of accompanied monody. On this deep subject also H. Riemann has expressed ideas which seem by no means illfounded.

And yet it preserves, or more correctly revives to a large extent, that which constitutes the essential originality of the Choral Monody from which it arose. All the fluent flexibility of the latter is reproduced, and its power of raising imagination to the realms of the indescribable and the absolute. The words indeed have less importance, on account of the intervention of instruments, which seems in many cases to have been considerable. But this is of little importance: the manner of performance is a secondary matter when the music is conceived in such a spirit. It is also clear that composition for several voices has had in itself an important transforming influence.

The melodic richness and the rhythm of the Gregorian chant, "transfigured" by means of amplifying paraphrase, is increased by a harmonic richness whose primary quality is to appropriate to itself the delicate flexibility of the plainsong in a way which no later attempt at harmonization has ever succeeded in doing. The result is a lyrical atmosphere impregnated with a strange mysticism, which the personal temperament of the master has developed to the utmost limit of expression.

Expression—that is the right term to use in speaking of In this respect I do not entirely agree with Professor Wooldridge,* who, in admitting the exceptional "beauty, sweetness and purity of sound" that characterize the master's music, considers that it is "not at all adaptable to the special sentiment of the words." One must certainly admit that the "madrigalesque" conception of expression, such as is displayed in the music of Western Europe from about 1530, is entirely absent from the work of a Dunstable, as indeed from that of all his contemporaries.† But this absence of "specialized" expression by no means excludes expression in the general sense of the term, and there can be no doubt that, in this respect, Dunstable has realized works are more and better than beautiful which compositions. The sacred motets have not only a character essentially different from the secular chansons of the time, but one may go so far as to say that the English master often inspires the generalized expression of his melody with a romantic subjectivity, of which no trace is to be found in his Franco-Netherlandish successors of the second half of the fifteenth century. These latter, better disciplined and

^{*} Oxford History of Music, II, 1, p. 126, et seq, 1905.

[†] Excepting purely descriptive pieces such as the Cacciando per gustar of Zacharias (J. Wolf, Florenz in der Musikgeschichte Sammelb. der I.M.G., III, 4, p. 618).

more strictly subject to a kind of technical orthodoxy, gradually abandoned the expansive and fantastic figurations which were indeed ill adapted to the exigencies of a contrapuntal science based on strict laws. Like the Florentine arabesque of the fourteenth century, the figurative embroidery of Dunstable gradually passed into the background, though not without leaving the indelible imprint of its ethereal flexibility and its dreamlike quality in the broader and more neutrally expressed cantilenas of such composers as Dufay, Okeghem, Obrecht and Josquin.

DISCUSSION.

THE CHAIRMAN: I may mention that Mr. Barclay Squire is only the mouthpiece of M. Van den Borren, having also translated his paper. I look forward to reading the paper, for in parts it was difficult to follow, but all present must have enjoyed the three illustrations. We are indebted to Dr. Terry for bringing his friends, who have done so well. I was sorry for the man who had the alto part, for he had no chance of taking breath from beginning to end, and there seemed danger of collapse. But his singing did him credit. It was a great thing to have rendered. What struck me was the extraordinary ornamentation; in spite of the queer, dull old passages, the upper part was extremely melodious and extremely figurative. It is pleasant to find that our English school of that period has so well come to its own; that it is so well thought of abroad. In this connection I may mention that I came across a curious thing not long ago—a thesis written at the University of Paris for the degree of Doctornot Doctor of Music or Philosophy—the subject of which was Captain Cook's Chorister Boys-the Chorister Boys in the Chapel Royal in the reign of Charles the Second. this subject he wrote a delightful paper, particularly in reference to the three important boys Blow, Pelham Humfrey and Purcell. For that thesis he obtained the Doctor's degree. That I think is a compliment to our country; that we are not so low down in the scale as a musical nation as some would have us think.

DR. TERRY: What strikes one particularly after a Paper like this, from a continental authority, is that the English music of Dunstable's period has only to be examined to excite the admiration of every unbiassed critic. The only biassed (I might even say depreciatory) criticism would appear to have come from Dunstable's own countrymen. Even if

we do not understand his music, or even if we dislike it, we might at least have been expected to give it the attention due to any representative national work. No wonder that musicians of other countries—when they come across it for the first time—can hardly believe their eyes or ears. Their wonder is that music displaying such melodic freedom and constructive skill should have been relegated to Museums and Libraries by the countrymen of the composer. It seems that the time is now ripe for us to take a lesson from the foreigner, and devote some little attention to our own music.

The second thing that strikes us is that it has been left to foreign critics to show sufficient discernment to see what lies at the root of so much that has puzzled us in Dunstable's music, but which is intelligible to any Plainsong student—

I mean the elaborately-floriated melodies.

We in this country have got into the habit of referring to Dunstable in a patronising way, as a person who was very creditably employed—during a "barbaric" period—in bringing the art of music a little further towards the "perfection" ultimately attained in—shall we say—"Elijah"? favourite adjective for Dunstable was—"crude." In this connection a little personal experience may be instructive:— A well-known English musician, whose tendencies (as you would admit if I mentioned his name) are absolutely modern, happened to hear my pre-war choir sing one of the items you have heard this afternoon. He was immensely struck by it When I asked who was the composer. "Dunstable," he almost laughed in my face, and said: "Well, you do surprise me. There's nothing crude about it!"

The fate of Dunstable's music is only one more example of the Britisher's habit of achieving a big thing and then resting on his oars and allowing the foreigner to outstrip him. The barren period that immediately followed Dunstable is well illustrated in the contents of the Old Hall MS., about which Mr. Barclay Squire wrote an article in the Sammelbande der Internationalen Musikgesellchaft, Jahrgang II, Heft 3. In this MS, you have a large number of composers writing in the same style and never getting any further. Indeed their tendencies are really retrograde, for where Dunstable gives you a floriated part, they seem so anxious to get their chords right, that the freedom of the traditional part almost disappears and their Plainsong is reduced to a procession of breves. For the next hundred years or so they confined themselves to repeating over and over again the old clichés (here the speaker gave illustrations of characteristic cadences on the piano). Well, all through the Old Hall MS., as I said before, you find the whole crowd of composers repeating these click's

over and over again and missing the whole point of the thing that made Dunstable great—I mean his freedom; I mean melodic freedom, as well as the freedom of technical form and structure.

These are only a few disjointed remarks, I know. One has only felt constrained to make them because—having scored the greater part of the Old Hall MS.—one realised as the work went on, what a flood of light it throws on the musical lethargy of its period. While the Franco-Flemings were developing the art with canon, imitation and other devices, we rested on our oars, quite content with feeble imitation (a very long way behind) of Dunstable. The foreigner took the game clean out of our hands, until at last—in the early Tudor period—we were again stimulated into activity, and once more took the lead with a line of composers who held the field for nearly a hundred years.

Miss S. T. Warner spoke of the stagnation in music about the time referred to as probably having been due to the Wars of the Roses, when many had to give up their private

chapels.

Dr. Terry: I hardly think that is the explanation. The number of private chapels was small; the number of monasteries, cathedrals and collegiate chapels was large. The choirs of the three last named were mainly composed of boys and clerics, neither of whom were liable for military service.

Sir Frederick Bridge: I have now to ask you to express our best thanks to Mr. Squire for the trouble he has taken in this matter. All over the country there are people who realise what an immense service he has rendered to us all in his position at the British Museum. I do not think he has given up going, though they may have given up paying him; but the time has come when he must retire. His services deserve every possible recognition, and we do well in offering him our best thanks for having been the means of bringing forward this interesting Paper, for having translated and read it to us.

Mr. Percy A. Scholes: Although I am not an authority on this subject, I take a general interest in it, and we ought to thank M. Van den Borren for his paper, the translation of which has been read to us. We owe much to M. Van den Borren for the fine book he wrote calling attention that modern pianoforte music was built on a British foundation. Coming from a foreigner that is welcome testimony. When that book was translated into English and published by the firm, in a room of whose premises we are now meeting, I cannot believe that they got their money back; and

scarcely expecting this, it was a very public-spirited thing for them to have done. So we owe M. Van den Borren the recognition of the fact that he has done a great deal for us in giving us a better conceit of ourselves by showing us the debt which piano music owes to early British composers. What he had published must have been particularly startling to some German Professors and would-be authorities on Music.

The CHAIRMAN: We have also to thank Dr. Terry for bringing his singers to-day. They must have found it hard work, but they did themselves great credit.

The votes of thanks were passed unanimously and the proceedings terminated.