NARRATIVES OF ETHNOGRAPHY IN THE CAT'S CRADLE-BOOK

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"Why not suppose that our stories came to us from cats?"

'Deftly he knocked me over, and with a sigh began to make love to me. The mossy grass was deep and cool.'

Warner sets anthropology as a textual frame for her collection of stories *The Cat's Cradle-Book* (1940)¹. The stories connect through this anthropological theme in her 'Introduction', which frames them as stories told by cats to their young, representing an oral tradition that has remained unchanged over centuries and across continents. Warner directly brings up ethnography (the more common word in the early twentieth century for the discipline of anthropology) in that framing 'Introduction' during the conversation between the narrator ('I') and the owner (or caretaker) of the cats. Arguing that cats are the ones with stories, not humans, that cats are more civilized than humans because they have taught these stories to

humans, not the other way around, the caretaker uses anthropology to make his case that cats are the basis of civilization, not humans: 'what a nother these ethnologists have got into, trying to account for the African and the Eskimo knowing the same tales' (1940. p. 28). He argues that the similarity in human folk stories globally does not map human travel across the continents, but instead reveals the spread of cat civilization. Human stories have so much similarity to each other despite cultural divides because cats teach human infants; human stories differ because humans don't have the capacity in memory that cats do. 'Humanism', which for this character means putting humans at the centre of civilization, should be jettisoned in favour of an unbiased understanding of the culture of cats.

Because ethnography is the framing device for the sixteen stories that follow, even though the stories are told by cats and reveal a culture of cats, 'humanism' still has a great deal of play: the humans present the stories and the stories are recorded by the human caretaker (for this edition of the stories) as he overhears the cats tell the stories to their kittens. Jane Marcus observes that, by using cats and their stories as the studied object, Warner is 'reproducing the structure of the anthropologist's investigation of the "other" (1989, p.288) - in other words, humans observe cats and place cats in the position of the object. That subject - object position, Marcus notes, replicates the coloniser's narrative of power and subjection, wherein anthropology positions the peoples observed as less civilized and less evolved; they are in the narrative power of the anthropologist².

My interest is in how Warner simultaneously establishes ethnography as a discipline and parodies it. The caretaker describes himself as 'in the position of anyone collecting folklore, or traditional songs and dances' (p.21), and he describes the process he uses to gather the stories, mainly by listening to the mother cats tell stories to their kittens. He has typed and translated the stories, and he has footnoted the variances, which are few, since cats have prodigious memories and don't make

mistakes. By the time the narrator appears on the scene, the caretaker has already completed this work of scholarship. Because it is already completed, the narrator and caretaker discuss the possibilities of publication. The narrator lists real presses, 'the Clarendon Press, the Pitt Press, the Rationalist Press, the Nonesuch,' even 'Random House' when she and the caretaker discuss publishing the book. Anthropology is a science with expected distribution, in which these characters participate (p.30).

The anthropological system is enhanced by a 'Note', which is paratextual to the 'Introduction' and the stories. This note follows the 'Introduction', separating the 'Introduction' from the stories:

The following stories are chosen from the collection of traditional narratives current among cats, made by the late Mr. William Farthing, of Spain Hall, Norfolk. The selection is the editor's. (p.41)

This note suggests that the narrator of the 'Introduction' has become the editor (and that she has added the narrative introduction, which is told from the narrator's first-person point of view) and that the caretaker (who is an unnamed character in the 'Introduction') is 'Mr. William Farthing', now deceased. The note helps to replicate the textual structure of ethnography, by ethnographer. adding to the particularizing the contextualization that the introduction provides. Warner's book of stories parallels an ethnographer's gathering of stories or tales from a studied human culture. It recalls, just to give one example (perhaps the most influential). Sir James Frazer's multi-volume The Golden Bough, first published 1890, with a second edition in 1900, and republished with further volumes through 1915, a text heavily drawn upon by modernist writers (See MacClancy, 2003).

But throughout Warner's text, things are not as they might seem. The cats, of course, would at first seem a

specious parody of an anthropological object, simply because they are not human. Simultaneously, Warner doubles back on this obvious parody by having the narrator and caretaker discuss the troubling aspect (to them) of having readers think that the caretaker has created these stories, of having readers think that the anthropological investigation into cats is a fantasy. In other words, they discuss the obvious parody, not as if it were parodic – the opposite. They undermine the parody, as it becomes parody, by putting in its place their own reality - that this study is valid. They worry that the anthropological endeavour will become, from 'notices in the press, misread as 'an epoch in fantasy' instead of 'establishing its claim as a serious work of scholarship' (p.31). Their anxiety comes down to the fact that 'Cat is not a recognized language' (p.31), rather than the obvious point that 'Cat' is not, of course, a language and that cats cannot tell these stories. Warner's parody is not working on a one-to-one level of understanding. Warner creates, through this doubling over and rewriting, an expected response, two realities that exist simultaneously, with a taste of the ridiculous, as if readers are in the middle of a joke. The arguments (made by the narrator and caretaker) seem germane. For instance, even 'if the book were seriously received' the cats' 'cultural heritage, guarded so long and scrupulously, would be laid open to commerce and prettification' (p.33). Their concerns seem legitimate because they parallel those of the science anthropology, vet, because this discussion is about cats and cat heritage, the arguments are specious. Because the narrator and caretaker discuss the possibility that cat stories will be read as 'fantasy', the obviousness of the parody becomes a complex play upon a reader's expectations. Warner parodies both the discipline and her readers' assumptions, satirising human culture.

A number of critics have shown how Warner, politically, playfully, and satirically, writes to change social configurations. Thinking about these stories, Claire Harman writes that Warner was an 'ironist' and a 'moralist' (1991, p.192), reflecting Warner's own

characterization of herself, when she writes, selfdeprecatingly, 'I see my own moral purpose shining out like a bad fish in a dark larder' (1982, p. 203). Maroula Joannou notes that in all her work Warner 'identifies the sclerotic, parsimonious and patriarchal arrangement of the British social order with rapier-like precision' (2006, p.i), and Frances Bingham also emphasizes Warner's 'intense criticism of man-made society' (2006, p.41). Jane Garrity notes Warner's 'subversiveness' (2003, p.148), and characterizes Warner's work as that which 'relentlessly undermines' the 'hierarchies' that form the basis of patriarchy (2003, p.7), and Gay Wachman, while reading Warner differently from Garrity by finding that Warner 'reverses a hierarchy rather than destabilizing it' (2001, p.45), notes the political experimentalism of those reversals. Heather Love (writing of Summer Will Show) suggests that 'Warner describes a form of hope inseparable from despair, a structure of feeling' that has political dimensions (2007, pp. 26; 159). In The Cat's Cradle-Book, Warner produces the moral stance that Harman observes, as well as the undermining of society that Joannou, Bingham, and Garrity document in other texts. Warner holds together a doubled reality of subject and object, similar to the seemingly-contradictory doubling of feelings - hope and despair - that Love analyzes, similar to the reversals that Wachman reads.

Because the parody of using cats in place of humans is doubled over as two realities, Warner's representation of these stories anthropologically puts into high relief all sorts of cultural assumptions. She works against anthropology that is, as Joan Vincent establishes for the Edwardian era, 'distinctly ethno-graphic', in the sense that 'professional, academic anthropologists chose to define themselves as writing about 'peoples' rather than, for example, politics, places, or problems. This choice would appear to have owed a great deal at the time to the primacy attached to language' (Vincent 1991, p.56). Warner also focuses on language (while 'Cat is not a recognized language', one must acknowledge 'Cat' as a language to go along with the doubled parody). She uses

Cat language, which produces Cat stories, to document the cultural formation, through cats, of human culture. Cats tell their stories, passed down through generations, to their kittens, but also to human babies. Instead of civilized humans documenting savage cultures, Warner presents this interspecies anthropology, and turns it about. Texts and their repetition through generations create culture, so the human culture forms in response to these cat stories. By replicating the ethnographic form, Warner foregrounds the ability of anthropology to create an account of a collective. By studying oral culture's transmission of cultural lessons, anthropology positions individuals as objects of study in terms of group cultural context; Warner brings awareness to anthropological positioning.

If one thinks about the early twentieth-century debate around 'armchair anthropology' versus 'field study' in terms of The Cat's Cradle-Book, one sees how fully Warner makes use of anthropological formal structures to veil her attacks on twentieth-century society. 'Armchair anthropology', the term Marc Manganaro has given to anthropological material gathered from the comfort of the armchair (Manganaro 1990, pp.3-47), describes the ethnographer gathering stories (as did Frazer) or reading reports of missionaries and travellers, rather than going among the people directly. In contrast, the 'field study' approach, which replaced the obsolete 'armchair anthropology', required that a participant observer enter the culture to observe and record it directly. The anthropologist Bronislav Malinowski scourged 'early amateur ethnographers' (1951, p.3); he championed the 'field study' approach from the early years of the twentieth century, and his highly influential 1922 Argonauts made that approach definitive.

Ironically, Warner's caretaker combines these two approaches. He documents another culture by gathering stories, as the armchair anthropologist would. He also lives, as a participant observer, with the cats. Both these approaches, however, are reversed, since the cats are the participant observers, documenting and telling stories

that, through cat culture, make sense (for cats) of the human culture. The caretaker does not document and colonize a savage culture; he documents a culture literally twining around his feet, sharing his bed, and teaching him. The structure of subject – object replicates the anthropological process, as Marcus points out, but Warner's caretaker-anthropologist, studying the cats, looks into a mirror and objectifies himself. He is the one being observed.

Because the cats' stories are told to cat and human children, they indoctrinate, masking indoctrination as children's and kitten tales. The stories are odd, perhaps, for humans to read, but that oddity makes sense, since the narratives are filtered through the culture of cats, as are anthropological narratives through the dominant culture of the 'participant observer'. Warner undermines the anthropological discipline in that reversal, suggesting, without stating it, that civilized cultural versions of supposedly savage cultures must seem unreadable from the point of view of the supposedly savage culture described. Without needing to state it directly, Warner suggests too that human culture is savage – uncivilized – compared to cat culture.

The 'Introduction' shows the liminality of Cat culture by describing the caretaker's cats as halfway between the human world and the wild. The caretaker sells the kittens. he feeds the cats fish, he and the cats talk to each other, but the cats come and go as they please, in and out of doors and windows, house and woods. Because of this liminality, the parallels between humans and cats and points of interaction throughout the stories are important to note as places of possible criticism of human culture. They open up similar possibilities of revelation to what Warner herself describes when writing about her story 'Something Entirely Different' a story of human and elf substitution: 'about a human child that was taken into Elfin land and what became of him, and also what became of the elfin child who was planted in the <human child's> cradle' ('human child's' is inserted into the typescript by hand). By substituting a parallel non-human society for a human one, Warner writes, 'I kept on making the most delightful discoveries of great social importance' (Warner, Unpublished). By creating a non-human society in *The Cat's Cradle-Book*, Warner is able to let seemingly incontrovertible realities of politics, power, and emotion shift and slip.

After the 'Introduction', the narratives present doubled, alien, paralleled lives, but the stories themselves do not make clear that they originate with cats. Humans and cats both appear in the stories, but neither is the focus Some include interspecies transformation, as does 'Bread for the Castle' in which the daughter of the baker turns into an owl, because she has taken on the habits of owls, staying awake at night to help her father bake bread. Only with the 'Introduction' does question of story origin multiply layers of narrative authorship. Does 'Bread for the Castle', read in the terms of the 'Introduction' – with the proviso that it is passed down by cats - provide the reference in *Hamlet*, when Ophelia sings 'They say the owl was a baker's daughter' (IV.v.42-43)? There, Polonius has died, and Ophelia weeps, alone and cast off by Hamlet. In the ancient cat story recorded in Cat's Cradle-Book, the baker's goal in making money was to create a dowry for his daughter; the story shows the waste of living for a future, which might never The premise of this collection, from the develop. 'Introduction', that cats teach stories to both kittens and human children, would establish 'Bread for the Castle' as the original tale to which Ophelia's song of the baker's daughter makes reference³. Again, Warner reverses. Warner's 'Bread for the Castle' cannot be the referent for Hamlet, since Warner is writing it in the late 1930s; Warner must be alluding to *Hamlet* of course. Yet if the story 'Bread for the Castle' has been passed down through generations of cats, of course *Hamlet*'s allusion is to the cat story. With the 'Introduction', Warner has created Shakespeare as her addressee as surely as Stephen Dedalus, also using Hamlet, posits Shakespeare as his own father (Joyce 1986, Ch. 9).

None of Warner's stories seems necessarily told by a cat if read on its own. Only the framing 'Introduction' makes the origin (back to cats) clear. The stories are sometimes about cats, but often from a point of view inimical to cat. 'The Magpie Charity', about an indigent cat and ravens who deem the cat too rich for charity since the cat still has his skin, and 'Popularity', a story of a wolf who wishes to be popular and, so, casts himself first as dog, then cat, then lamb, provide moral parley to both human and cat culture; both stories reveal the violence towards and the destitution of the outsider. Some of these stories explode the idea that the past should act as a model of action. In other words, tradition will not hold water as an excuse for behaviour. Generational cultural attitude can change, for example, as is shown in the story 'The Castle of Carabas' about the son of the family that, throughout the generations, has feared and hated cats vet the son does not fear them but instead likes them. When he finds a cat and listens to the cat's side of the story, he realizes how fully humans have been at fault in the feud between the family and cats. The final story, 'Bluebeard's Daughter', also makes this point that traditions can change. Women don't need to be killed for curiosity; the daughter becomes an astronomer.

Because the stories do not themselves make reference to cat culture or ethnography, they rely upon the 'Introduction' for that direct connection. The stories themselves, nevertheless, emphasize constructions of culture, and this theme supports Warner's framing supposition. The stories include many species, and challenge prescribed social roles that fix individual and cultural identity. The stories show that social roles emerge from established cultural texts, and that those social roles create and interpret realities. The plot of 'The Fox-Pope', for instance, focuses on a fox who is kidnapped to become the next Pope. As with the anthropological doubling, the narrative challenges human readers' perception of what is possible (a fox as hermit), yet mischievously doubles human readers' sense of the preposterous, since it is humans who travel to the fox to make it Pope (and, so, superseding that first fantasy, make it a reality). The fox declines the invitation, is kidnapped, and finally escapes by presenting himself as the devil to a stable-hand (who lets him out of the cage to save Christendom from having the devil as a Pope).

The fox initially models himself on a text, The Lives of Saints, and he does become a Saint, living as a hermit and resisting temptation. He is so good at this role that two cardinals (thugs) come to him at first to ask him to be Pope, and, then, when the fox declines, kidnap him so that he must become Pope. The story should be parodic; after all, a fox becomes a Saint based on The Lives of Saints. The parody doubles back, however, when the humans, ratcheting up the stakes, imagine the fox as Pope. As they transport him to Rome, they keep him caged during the day and tied to beds at night. The crisis emerges when the innkeeper's wife will not allow the fox into the inn, so the fox is kept caged in the stable. The fox creates, then, a third persona based on cultural religious beliefs, adding to his roles of Saint and Pope. Now he pretends to be the devil, so as to persuade the stable boy to let him out of the cage. At first the stable boy refuses, fearing the devil, but he agrees to release the fox when he realizes that 'the devil was going to be made Pope' (p.70). The fox, at the importunities of the boy, agrees not to go to Rome to become Pope and agrees not to hurt the boy, swearing "I will be gone before you've had time to see the tag at the end of my tail", which plays upon the clichéd understanding of the devil, whereupon the boy thinks, 'It's true, then [...] He's got a tail' (p.70). The role of devil has supplanted the identities of Saint, of Pope, of fox. After being let out of the cage, the fox becomes, once more, a fox, and, reverting to another clichéd role, 'trotted quietly towards the hen-house' (71).

That this story was important to Warner is suggested by her presentation to her spouse Valentine Ackland of the story in a handmade typescript, as 'St. Reynard', subtitled in this handmade version as one of 'The Communion of Lesser Saints Series, number one'. Warner inscribed the manuscript to 'Valentine with love

from The Author and The Artist'. She provided imagined ""A fragrant little tale." Catholic endorsements: "Rather profound". Catholic. Universe. "Praiseworthy" Catholic Home, "A laudable little effort". On the inscription page, Warner illustrated a scene from the story, quoting from the story underneath the picture: 'At night he was chained securely to the foot of a bed stead'. And she has added the Latin Jib fecit, which might be translated, "made from the source." Jib fecit might refer to the illustration's being made from the source (the story), and, in that sense, doubles over the story's theme of established textual roles being perceived within culture as the source of identity, once again. Anthropologically, this theme, made from the source, presents itself through the fox as a mark for an individual's ability to take different identities, all socially story emphasizes anthropological available. The insistence on social collectivity and subjectivity that is socially, not individually, formulated (all quotations from Warner, Unpublished).

By doubling parody, Warner blurs reality and fantasy. Reality is all fantastical, all narrative. Reading practices that rely upon an uncontested unchanging truth are not useful in approaching these stories. Gillian Beer writes that in general Warner 'uses surreal oppositions' (1999, p.77), and in 'The Pope-Fox', that description of technique seems apt. The story, told from the point of view of cats, presents a doubled world within worlds of possible roles. It observes human subjectivity as collective agency, despite (western) human belief in individuality, where individuality is always part of the role the culture requires and allows, where individuality reflects cultural mores. The stories sometimes seem incomplete, if read with an expectation of individualized meaning. Meaning seems to flicker, to become almost illegible. When read together, however, as a collection, even without the 'Introduction', the stories suggest parables, as if they mark critical cultural junctions of cat culture. Beyond two or three stories, such as the final one 'Bluebeard's Daughter,' anthologised by Jane Marcus in

Gender of Modernism, a story which easily stands alone, the full parodic meaning of the stories depends upon the supposition that these are stories of the cat culture, even while no cat narrator is posited specifically for each story. The caretaker has heard the cats tell these stories, even while the stories are presented in the compilation without those narrators. The delight of their fantasy depends in part upon that parodied fact, presented in the 'Introduction'.

The structure of storytelling is multi-layered within *The Cat's Cradle-Book* because of the interweaving of cat and human culture through stories. Cats tell the stories to their kittens and to human children. This interweaving is made clear in the 'Introduction', which presents its own stories. In the 'Introduction', the cat Huru tells the first cat story to the man whom she loves, and years later the man eavesdrops on the mother cats telling the stories to their kittens. The man tells the stories to the woman (the narrator), whom he does not know, who has simply stopped to look at the house from the lane, who becomes by that night his lover. The origin of the stories lies with the cats, but humans also tell them.

The erotic, which crosses species, is a strand of the 'Introduction' narrative, which undermines one-to-one signification even more fully. The erotic strands undermine expected cultural narratives so fully that it is clear that Warner uses them to question basic attitudes towards sexuality and family structures, again a thematic link to anthropology, here to kinship systems. interspecies love between the caretaker, who was in his youth assigned to the embassy at Ankara in the British diplomatic corps, and Haru, the Siamese cat, is Warner's first indication that she will play with sexual boundaries and narrative ones simultaneously. Haru's entrance seems to describe the wife of the naval attaché, who was the original owner of Haru. Haru and the man 'fell in love'. At first the narrative seems to make reference to the wife, not the cat: 'I fell in love. The wife of the naval attaché had bought a Siamese cat. She was beautiful. sensitive, unappreciated'. Every reference, if one reads as

if the humans are the ones attracted to each other, seems to signify the woman: 'by a complicated process of advances and withdrawals, exchange of looks, fusion of silences, we fell deeply in love with each other'. The lover then comes to him: 'she stood in moonlight, poised, rocking lightly like a soap-bubble. Then with a cry of joy raucous and passionate, she sprang onto my bed' (pp.16 - 17).

Still, the narrative refers more easily to the woman, not the cat, and the narrative continues with that rift between signifier and signified: 'After that she lived with me. Naturally, there was a good deal of talk about it'. The references only close the gap when the man describes how 'the naval attaché's wife made a fuss, and tried to reclaim her. But after Haru had scratched her to the bone [...] she recognized the inevitable and gave way' (p.17).

The man and the cat Haru love each other passionately. When he is ill, Haru licks his lips. Haru goes into heat, and the young man can neither satisfy her nor consummate his own desires for her. The cat dies after the man throws cold water over her in order to punish her for, and diminish, her lust.

A second insertion of sexuality in the 'Introduction' this thematic strand even more firmly anthropology. As a non sequitur, it surprises and jolts a reader, since another example of how one "must not make these hard and fast rules" would make more sense. The example of not making rules is one of Havelock Ellis's sexology cases, in which Ellis 'tells of a woman who for her own pleasure was enjoyed twenty-five times in a Havelock Ellis, like an armchair night' (p.27). anthropologist, gathered stories - case studies - in order to find patterns of sexuality that had heretofore not been described scientifically. By presenting Ellis's case study as an example that one "must not make these hard and fast rules." Warner questions the interpretation of alternative sexualities.

A third insertion of sexuality in the 'Introduction' occurs when Warner's human characters use the lawn for sex. The woman who has only stopped to lean over the

gate and look at the house, who has 'never seen a handsomer young man' than the man living in the house. who has been asked in to tea, then dinner, is, that evening, walking on the lawn with the man. She has been 'submissive' and 'obedient' in her dealings with him. reading the stories when he has asked her to do so, agreeing to have dinner with him. They have discussed the possible publishing of the stories. They have walked out: the man 'took my arm and led me to the lawn'. Then 'deftly he knocked me over, and with a sigh began to make love to me' (p.33). The next morning, he brings her coffee on the lawn after they have slept there that night, and says, "I love you a great deal," then, "Now I think you must be going" (p.34). The sexuality between the visiting woman and the man takes place on the vast lawn at night, the night after they meet. The speed of that relationship, and the foregrounding of the sexual act as opposed to an emotional or cultural act (marriage or lover relationship). undermines the heterosexist anthropological) expectations for reproductive sexuality.4 The sexual strands are added without plot. The strands are laid over the anthropological theme at intervals. Sexuality simply inserts itself in this 'Introduction'. Using sexuality, the 'Introduction' questions narrative, discourse, and human culture, presenting sexualities alternative to dominant heterosexual patriarchal roles. Sexuality can be charged between species; women can be passionate and actively sexual; the romance plot takes shape as an erotic sexual one, not one of emotional courtship.

It is as if Warner were raising the issue – and fighting against the convention – that Lauren Berlant and Michael Warner bring up when they write in 1998 that 'People feel that the price they must pay for social membership and a relation to the future is identification with the heterosexual life narrative; that they are individually responsible for the rages, instabilities, ambivalences, and failures they experience in their intimate lives' (Berlant 1998, p. 557). Warner depicts none of that 'price they must pay'. The markers for these encounters are both

casual and intimate, parodying heterosexual sex and its boundaries of species, appetite, and public/private. The haphazardness of the markers reiterates the misalignment between signifier and signified in the caretaker's story of his love with Haru, the Siamese cat.

In The Cat's Cradle-Book, Warner uses anthropology to replace and parody heterosexual romance, kinship, and identity plots, and she replicates the anthropological structure both to mark and to parody itself. By framing the short story collection with the cultural context of anthropology, Warner radically challenges bourgeois sexual values, anthropomorphism, and definitions of subjectivity. She challenges, through parody anthropology, using its structure to foreground a social science practice of collectivization of identity. referencing Havelock Ellis, outside of his own scientific context, and by inserting her own narrative of the narrator and caretaker. Warner challenges the anthropological practice of scientifically identifying sexual groupings. Identity misread. misleads. The science anthropology has not, perhaps cannot, Warner seems to be saying, accurately identify sexual feeling, narrative roles, or cultural practices.

NOTES

- 1. 1940 is the date of the original American publication. *The Cat's Cradle-Book* had to wait until 1960 for a UK publication (by Chatto & Windus).
- 2. Within a larger argument about politics of women's displacement, Marcus notes that Warner 'anticipates the critique by Gayatri Spivak, Edward Said, and others of anthropological methodologies that project patterns of behaviour onto the objects of study, robbing them of subject-hood' (1989, p.286). Marcus's interest is primarily on Warner's satirizing of storytelling.
- 3. I thank an anonymous peer reviewer for this reminder of Ophelia's reference to the baker's daughter in *Hamlet*. Equally intriguing is the reviewer's connection to Walter de la Mare's poem 'The Owl' in *The Fleeting* (1933).

4. Frances Bingham's identification of the 'handsome [. .] young man' as Warner's spouse, Valentine Ackland, adds a further dimension to Warner's scene, caustically challenging anthropology to read lesbian sexuality accurately

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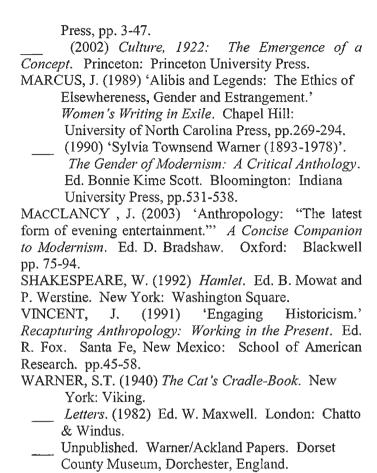
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Figure 1

An original example from a six voice-part manuscript by John Taverner, copied from the *Tudor Church Music* Prospectus, 1922. By kind permission of the Oxford University Press Archive