

The Secretariat under Robin Band, Barbara Krader, Felicia Stallman, Christian Ejlers, and Connie Matthews: London, UK, and Copenhagen, Denmark, 1963–1969

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At the General Assembly of IFMC members in Jerusalem on 9 August 1963, Maud Karpeles retired as secretary of the International Folk Music Council, the organization that she had helped found in 1947.¹ She received a “Presentation Volume,” with messages and some three hundred signatures from thirty-five countries, cheques, and other gifts in recognition of her outstanding contribution to the Council. Karpeles was also made honorary president of the Council (*BIFMC* 24, Oct 1963:1).

In his message in the presentation volume, IFMC President Zoltán Kodály hoped that Karpeles would continue to “play a leading part in the life and activities of the Council for many years to come,” and also wished that she “may never see the decline of her most cherished creation, the IFMC” (*ibid.*:2). Karpeles certainly continued to play a very key role in the Council until her death thirteen years later, but she would also witness a serious decline of her most cherished creation.

While the membership had increased slightly from the previous year, Karpeles already noted in her report to the General Assembly that year:

It is no longer possible to carry on the work of the Council on a more or less voluntary basis as in the past. Salaried officers have to be appointed and costs are mounting in other directions. Moreover, there are special difficulties inherent in the task of raising funds for an international organization, for most of the national bodies are themselves struggling to maintain their own activities. (*BIFMC* 24, Oct 1963:10)

When Karpeles’s successor took over the task of the day-to-day running of the Council, he assumed responsibility for an organization that would face increasingly dire financial difficulties. Over the next few years, the Secretariat² would move to two new locations in

London, before moving out of London for the first time in its history; and the person in charge of the Secretariat would change four times.

The period from Karpeles’s retirement (1963) until the relocation of the Secretariat to Canada (1969) were challenging times for the Council. In addition to trying to maintain its scholarly activities, three intertwined elements were a constant concern: (1) finding someone to be responsible for the running of the Secretariat, called variously the secretary, executive secretary, or, today, secretary general;³ (2) the location of the Secretariat itself; and (3) the financial challenges that affected the first two issues and that threatened the existence of the Council.

Figure 1 graphs revenues, expenditures, and the resulting bank balance for the first twenty-one years in the history of the Council, as reported in the *Bulletins*.⁴ The difference between revenues (blue line) and expenditures (red line) is directly reflected in the balance (orange column) underneath.

The 1960s were tumultuous for the Council, and not only financially. The Executive Board finally accepted Maud Karpeles’s resignation in August 1963, and a stable successor for both her and the Secretariat would not

sake of simplicity and to show the connection with the present day, we usually write Secretariat.

3 In the credits for the *Bulletin*, Karpeles was initially listed as honorary secretary until *BIFMC* 10 (Oct 1956), when she is called secretary until her retirement; she is then listed as honorary president (from *BIFMC* 22, Oct 1962) until her death, when she is listed as honorary president and founder (from *BIFMC* 49, Oct 1976). This continued in the following issue, but in *BIFMC* 51 (Nov 1977), she is listed only as founder, a practice that would continue until *BICTM* 65 (Oct 1984), after which her name was removed. Her successors responsible for the day-to-day running of the Secretariat considered here were called executive secretary or, occasionally, secretary. To simplify things in this contribution, they will generally be called executive secretaries.

4 We did not use information reported elsewhere (e.g., presented at meetings of the Executive Board or General Assembly), as those materials are not always public and sometimes conflict with what was reported in the *Bulletins*.

1 We very much appreciate the efforts of Jeanette Mollenhauer in locating and copying relevant documents in the ICTM Archive at the National Library of Australia in Canberra, and the suggestions of Naila Ceribašić to improve this chapter.

2 In many of the documents of the time, what we now call the Secretariat is often called the headquarters of the Council. For the

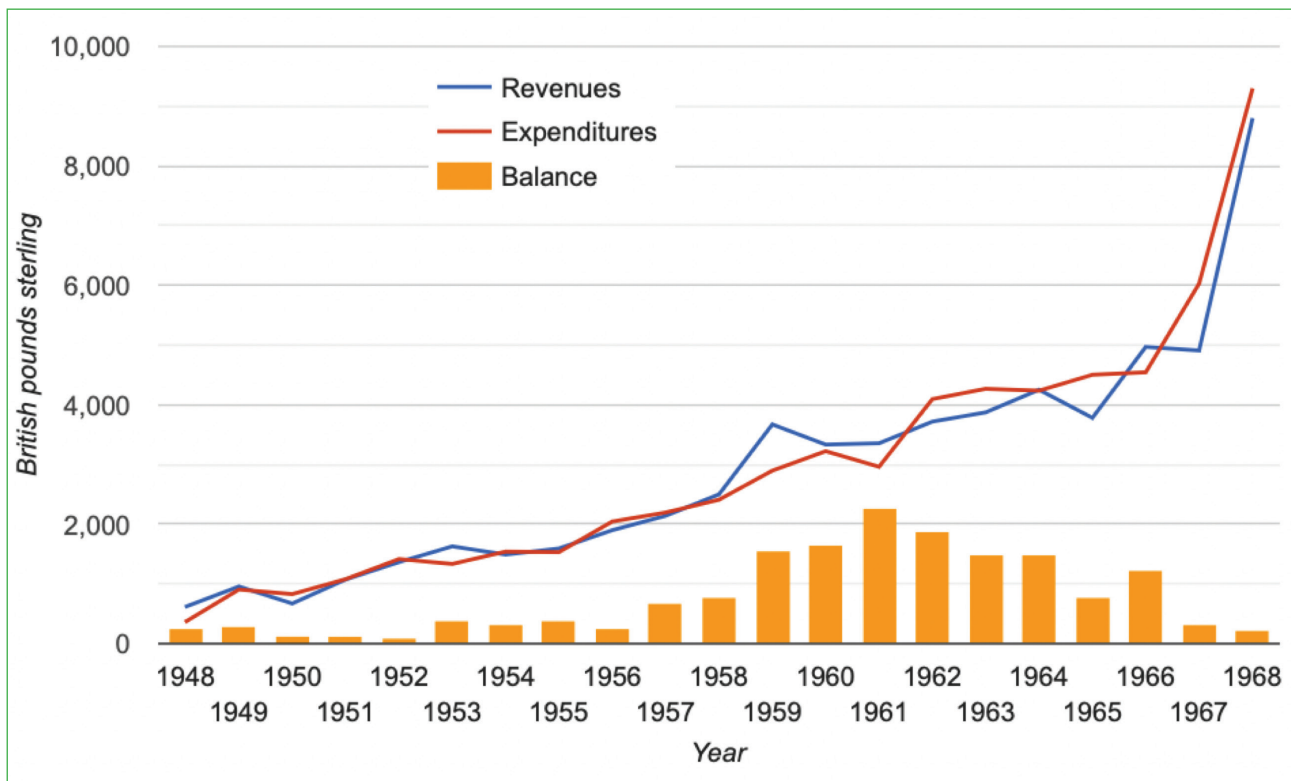


Figure 1. Financial situation of the IFMC Secretariat, 1948–1968.

be found until September 1969, when the Secretariat moved to Kingston, Canada.

The ever-increasing costs (caused by moving the London office several times, hiring part-time assistants, etc.) were not matched by revenues, especially after 1961, causing severe challenges for the operation of the Council. Despite such challenges, the Secretariat still managed to organize world conferences (including the first in Africa in 1966); produce *Bulletins*, *JIFMCs*, and other publications; and carry on doing their work as best as they could manage. None of these normal activities is detailed here; further information can be found in other chapters in this publication.

We have not been able to definitely establish why the Executive Board decided to move the Secretariat to Denmark, an expensive country at the time, when the funds in the bank were nearly exhausted (only £331 at the end of 1967), but some factors that probably played a role include the relative short distance of the move, the Secretariat remaining in Europe and being easily accessible from London, and local support. Such a short, temporary move was preparation to the much larger one that eventually took place to North America, where the Secretariat would remain for the next thirty-six years.

Researching this period is particularly challenging because we lack the minutes from key Executive Board meetings from 1967–1969, that is, from the time

the Secretariat moved out of London to immediately before the move to Canada. While our search for these minutes continues, the *Bulletins* have remained one of the primary sources for this chapter, supplemented wherever possible by any other relevant documents we have been able to locate, particularly available minutes from Executive Board (EB) and Advisory Committee (AC) meetings. The graph in figure 1 does not extend beyond 1968 because of complications of reporting finances that appear in the *Bulletin* in a different format and currency.

Growing financial concerns and finding a successor to Karpeles

Already in 1952, Karpeles had said that the Council's financial situation was causing her great anxiety, with funds barely covering her expenses. She considered that while she would be able to work for an additional year or two, it would prove difficult to find someone who would work in an honorary capacity (EB minutes, 9th meeting, 13 Jul 1952:§102). The issue resurfaced at later meetings, with Karpeles adding concerns about her health (e.g., EB minutes, 11th meeting, 8 Jul 1953:§130).

In December 1959, IFMC's Advisory Committee⁵ suggested drawing up a budget of administration costs after Karpeles's retirement (AC minutes, 1st meeting, 3 Dec 1959:§5). Between 1961 and 1962, it was generally agreed that the Secretariat should remain in London, if possible. At the same time, a number of potential replacements for Karpeles were discussed, but it was thought to be particularly difficult to find someone, because the position was unsalaried (AC minutes, 3rd meeting, 13 Apr 1961:§25). Karpeles was asked to stay on until the end of 1962 while attempts continued to find a suitable replacement (EB minutes, 25th meeting, 27–28 Aug 1961:§312).

Prior to the fourth meeting of the Advisory Committee, Karpeles prepared a memorandum on this and other urgent matters. She agreed to stay on until the end of 1962 because no suitable candidate could be found; however, her health was not good and she preferred to leave earlier. She suggested advertising the position, transferring the Secretariat to another country (perhaps the USA), or for the Council to focus its work on the journal and less on other activities to save costs.⁶

When the Advisory Committee met on 16 November 1961, Karpeles was asked to approach a number of people to serve as administrative secretary (AC minutes, 4th meeting, 16 Nov 1961:§30).

An extraordinary meeting of the committee was held on 23 March 1962 to interview a short list of candidates. They unanimously decided to recommend the appointment of Robin W. I. Band as executive secretary⁷ on a part-time basis at a salary of £800 per annum. He accepted the appointment starting on 9 April (AC minutes, 5th meeting, 26 Apr 1962:§34). Ratification took place at the Board meeting before the conference in Gottwaldov, Czechoslovakia (EB minutes, 27th meeting, 12–13 July 1962:§329). Band was from Sutton, part of Greater London, and had an MA degree (*BIFMC* 22, Oct 1962:7, inside back cover).

Band was introduced at the General Assembly on 19 July 1962, where he thanked the Council for their con-

fidence in him and paid tribute to the work done by Karpeles (*BIFMC* 22, Oct 1962:9). Karpeles said Band was learning quickly, but felt it would be unfair to him for her to resign at this point; instead, she would continue for another year (*ibid.*:10). It was noted that the Council was fortunate to have his services, and that he would “gradually take over from her [Karpeles] the entire administrative work of the council” (*ibid.*:12).

From the start of Band's employment until Karpeles's retirement on 9 August 1963, he worked with her to learn the running of the Council. Karpeles's biographer remarked:

Towards the end of this year [1962] some relief for Maud's heavy burden of paperwork arrived in the shape of Robin Band, who was appointed part-time secretary to the IFMC. She began to see some hope, at last, of resigning the post she had held for nearly eighteen years. (Pakenham 2011:244)

Although Band would be the first paid executive secretary,⁸ other paid staff did assist at the Secretariat; for example, an unnamed stenographer/typist who worked from 20 February 1961 until the end of April 1963 (AC minutes, 7th meeting, 13 Dec 1962:§54c; 8th meeting, 3 Apr 1963:§67b).

After Karpeles's retirement, the Advisory Committee recommended to the Executive Board that Band be appointed on a full-time basis at £1,000 per year, with additional bonuses of up to £500 per year; nevertheless, because of the uncertainty over the Council's future, they were concerned that he had offered to give up all other work (AC minutes, 8th meeting, 3 Apr 1963:§69). The Executive Board agreed to his fulltime appointment, which would be reviewed quarterly by the Advisory Committee. They also expressed concern that he was “without specialised knowledge of the subject” (EB minutes, 29th meeting, 4–5 Aug 1963:§363). Although not clear from these minutes, subsequent discussions would reveal that the Board's concern appeared to be over his lack of knowledge about folk music. Only shortly after Band officially replaced Karpeles, it appears his days were already numbered.

Robin W. I. Band, London, 1963–1965

After fourteen months learning to run the Secretariat from Karpeles, Band took over from her upon her retirement, 9 August 1963. Yet, even at their meeting immediately preceding this change, the Board was “apprehensive of the effect on the Council of the long-term appointment of a secretary without special-

5 At this time, the Advisory Committee consisted of members living in or near London. Their job was to advise the secretary, make recommendations to the Executive Board, supervise finances, act on the Board's behalf in urgent matters, etc. It existed from 3 December 1959 to 18 May 1967, and was chaired by Gilmour Jenkins (*BIFMC* 30, Apr 1967:5–6). Jenkins (1894–1981) was a civil servant particularly involved in maritime shipping, but outside of official work, his main interest was music; and just like Karpeles, he was a close friend of Ralph Vaughan Williams and his second wife, Ursula.

6 “Memorandum to members of the Advisory Committee to be considered at the meeting on November 16th 1961, at 2.15 p.m.” 3 pp., 30 Oct 1961.

7 Throughout his appointment, Band was called executive secretary, even when he was learning the job from Karpeles, who was called secretary.

8 Karpeles was officially unpaid, but did receive an occasional honorarium of £400 per annum, beginning in 1954 (EB minutes, 13th meeting, 1–2 Jun 1954:§152) and continuing sporadically until her retirement.

ised knowledge of the subject” and agreed to review his appointment quarterly (EB minutes, 29th meeting, 4–5 Aug 1963:§363).

Five months later, there were already indications of diminishing satisfaction with Band for his lack of “specialised knowledge.” The Advisory Committee considered the possibility of hiring a part-time musicologist, although at this stage there was no mention of such a person taking over from Band. The only person in mind was Erich Stockmann (German Democratic Republic),⁹ but it was impossible to get a visa for him to reside in the UK. Band continued to consult with Karpeles on matters of policy. The Council had had such a difficult year that he offered to revert from full-time to part-time work from 1 February 1964, supplementing his income with other part-time work elsewhere. With Karpeles’s endorsement, the Committee agreed. At the same time, they also agreed to continued part-time secretarial work from Band’s wife, who was further thanked for translating from Russian for no charge (AC minutes, 10th meeting, 10 Jan 1964:§§94, 97a).

Continued attempts to find a musicologist were reported at the committee’s next meeting. The curriculum vitae of Stockmann was reconsidered, but also that of Barbara Krader. As Krader had to reside for half the year in the USA, the committee thought her employment would be impractical; consequently, they made no recommendation (AC minutes, 11th meeting, 28 May 1964:§99b). However, matters accelerated considerably in the three months leading up to the Board meeting in Budapest.

An Executive Board subcommittee was established to interview Krader during the 1964 Budapest conference and report back. Although Band reminded the Board of the Advisory Committee’s opinion that appointing Krader would be impractical, the subcommittee interviewed Krader; the Board unanimously decided to accept the subcommittee’s recommendation to offer Krader the post of secretary from May 1965, at a salary of £1,000 per year. She would work full-time for the Council, but live six months in London and six months in the US.¹⁰ Band would continue until 31 August 1965 and be given at least two months holiday in recognition of his devoted service to the Council (EB minutes, 31st meeting, 16–17 Aug 1964:§407).

Although Band remained executive secretary, both he and Krader attended the Board meeting immediately after the Budapest conference. Band said he had hoped to discuss matters further with the Board, but this was not possible. Band then offered his services to the Council following his termination (i.e., after 31 August 1965) for £100 per year, to work three afternoons a week while Krader was in the US, and one afternoon a week while she was in London. While Krader appreciated the offer, she felt unable to accept it and passed the question on to the Advisory Committee (EB minutes, 32nd meeting, 25 Aug 1964:§416).

At the General Assembly meeting in Budapest, 25 August 1964, just over a year after Karpeles’s retirement, Band was thanked for his services to the Council. It was announced that Krader would take over from him in May 1965 (*BIFMC* 26, Oct 1964:15).

At the next meeting of the Advisory Committee, Donal O’Sullivan placed on record his disagreement in hiring Krader, since she could only be in London half the year. It was also revealed that Krader was now expected to arrive in June 1965, rather than May. Even though Band had secured a part-time teaching post at the time, he felt he could carry on until Krader’s arrival, especially since there would not be a world conference to organize in 1965. Band proposed to work Monday and Saturday mornings during school terms, be always available by phone, and come in at 16:00 if something urgent would arise. Mrs. A. Berg, a part-time assistant for many years, could also work two-and-a-half days a week, and Band thought this would suffice. The committee agreed to let Band continue as executive secretary until Krader took over (AC minutes, 12th meeting, 16 Dec 1964:§109b).

In April 1965, the *BIFMC* announced that the Secretariat had been working under “great difficulties” for some months and apologized to members for any inconvenience. In the same issue, members were told that Krader would be starting in June. She was described as “well known to members for her work in folk music.” Band wished Krader and the IFMC “every success in the years to come,” and said how much he enjoyed his association with the Council. Finally, Jane Skillen, previously with the British Broadcasting Corporation (1951–1962), would begin work at the end of May as assistant secretary (*BIFMC* 27, Apr 1965:1). This was the last *Bulletin* in which Band would be listed as executive secretary.

Krader was appointed on 1 June 1965.¹¹ As secretary, she attended with Band (still executive secretary) and Skillen (assistant secretary), an Advisory Committee meeting (AC minutes, 13th meeting, 10 June

9 For some of Stockmann’s many later involvements with the Council, see the chapter on him as president (1982–1997) in this book.

10 Although it is not clear, Krader might have travelled to the USA to be with her husband at the University of Syracuse in New York; she used this affiliation when writing an obituary of Zoltán Kodály (Krader 1967). We appreciate information from Susanne Ziegler and Cyril Levitt on this and various other matters concerning Krader.

11 Document dated 18 April 1966 in the ICTM Archive (MS 10017, series 4, folder 123 “Krader”). Band apparently continued as executive secretary until the end of his contract.

1965:§116). Band and Berg had maintained operations at the Secretariat since January, despite some loss of efficiency. The committee thanked Band for his services to the Council for three years during a difficult period (ibid.:§§118b, 126c). Band's term heading the Secretariat was finishing; Krader's was about to begin.

At the same meeting, Karpeles noted that the Secretariat would have to move at the end of October 1965 as her lease was being terminated. A number of possible homes for the Secretariat were mentioned—British Institute of Recorded Sound, English Folk Dance and Song Society, London University, and Royal Anthropological Institute—but no recommendation could be made at the time, and Krader was asked to continue exploring possibilities. The Council thanked Karpeles for hosting the Council for the past three years (ibid.:§118c).¹²

Barbara Krader, London, 1965–1966

Barbara Lattimer (1922–2006) was born in the USA and spent 1948–1949 at Prague University. She is listed as a participant of the 1950 IFMC conference in Bloomington, USA, and is found in the famous group photo from that event amongst many European scholars (*JIFMC* 1951:4, photo following p. 5).¹³ In 1953, she married Lawrence Krader, a social anthropologist, particularly known for his work with Central Asian nomadic peoples. Her PhD dissertation on Serbian peasant wedding ritual songs was submitted in 1955 at Radcliffe College. By 1965, when she became secretary at the IFMC Secretariat in London, she had already worked in the Slavonic division at the Library of Congress, lectured at various universities, and published articles in *Ethnomusicology* (such as, Krader 1963).

Krader apparently first contributed to the *JIFMC* in 1954, in a review of an English book on Bulgarian music, where only her initials appear, as was the tradition at the time. From then until the late 1960s, she reviewed many books, folksong collections, articles, and pamphlets, written in a wide variety of languages, such as Czech, French, German, Russian, Serbo-Croatian, Slovak, and Slovenian. Her academic credentials were considerable (figure 2).¹⁴

At Krader's first Executive Board meeting, the Board agreed that her title should be changed from secretary to



Figure 2. Barbara Krader with folklorist Tvrtko Čubelić at a symposium celebrating the centenary of the birth of ethnomusicologist Vinko Žganec. Čakovec, Croatia, October 1990 (photo courtesy of Institut za etnologiju i folkloristiku, Zagreb).

executive secretary (EB minutes, 33rd meeting, 14–17 Jul 1965:§429a). Karpeles reminded the Board that she had been seeking a new home for the Secretariat since 1963, when rental charges were raised by £350. The Board asked Krader to investigate further (§434).

When the Advisory Committee met two months later, it requested the treasurer, William Stanley Gwynn Williams,¹⁵ to take a much more active role during the Council's financial troubles (AC minutes, 14th meeting, 23 Sep 1965:§129c). In comparison with her predecessor, Krader certainly appeared to be much more involved in such meetings and in Council activities, including attending two study-group meetings (§135). Presumably, this was the kind of increased scholarly involvement that the Executive Board had desired.

Since 1962, the *Bulletin* had appeared regularly in April and October, but the October 1965 was delayed until July 1966, fifteen months since the previous issue. By the next meeting of the Advisory Committee, the situation had become dire. Krader was absent, presumably

12 In her autobiography, however, Karpeles observes: "For the first 18 years the I.F.M.C. office consisted of a room in my flat (wherever it happened to be)" (Karpeles [1976]: 256), which would be 1947–1965.

13 For a clearer, larger photo with everyone identified, see Cowdery (2009:806).

14 Christensen (1988:15) considers Krader "the first scholar in the post" of executive secretary, apparently not appreciating Karpeles's activities as scholarly.

15 Gwynn Williams was treasurer from the beginnings of the Council until it moved to Denmark in 1967. At the time, the treasurer was an elected member of the Board, who did the work for free and was not considered a part of the Secretariat. Today, looking after Council finances is part of the job of the Secretariat's staff.

still in the USA where she had been since November 1965, so Skillen represented the Secretariat. There was no response from Treasurer Gwynn Williams to an earlier request for him to become more active in the Council's work (AC minutes, 15th meeting, 21 Apr 1966:§139d). The Secretariat would move to the Royal Anthropological Institute's building at the end of April (§140). One member of the committee, S. J. Saunders, forecast that the Council's funds would be exhausted by the end of the year (§141b).

But the greatest surprise in the minutes of that meeting was that Krader had announced her resignation. Although the Advisory Committee's chair thought it difficult to begin considering a successor until "it was known if the Council was to continue to exist," Karpeles pressed them to contemplate possibilities. After pondering dividing the work or running the Secretariat with a small group of professionals, Karpeles suggested that consideration be given to moving the Secretariat to another country, possibly the USA. The committee felt this was not a good option, and preferred London to remain its home. UNESCO would be approached for assistance (§142).

On 5 May 1966, Krader wrote to IFMC President Zoltán Kodály, including a copy of the official resignation letter she had written to Willard Rhodes.¹⁶ In his reply dated 18 May 1966, Kodály regretted her decision, but understood it. He agreed that her "qualities and activity deserve a much higher salary than our poor Council can offer." On 14 June, Krader thanked Kodály for his understanding, noting that he and Rhodes were the only ones to see her resignation as a matter of "cold financial need (which it is)," rather than a "dishonourable act of deserting a post at a crucial and difficult time," as seen by others (ICTM Archive MS 10017, series 4, folder 122).

The grim situation regarding the future of the Council was apparent at the next Advisory Committee meeting. While the chair, Krader, and Karpeles would meet at the beginning of July to make a recommendation on the Council's future (AC, 16th meeting, 19 May 1966:§150), they also agreed that "the Council should not give the impression to members and others that it was about to close down" (§148). In spite of this exhortation, the *Bulletin* announced to members that "this may be the final year of the International Folk Music Council," warning that if expenditures continued as predicted "the Council will run out of money before the end of 1966" (*BIFMC* 28, Jul 1966:1).

¹⁶ Presumably, Krader wrote to Rhodes since he was chair of the Executive Board. In contrast to today, where the Council president presides over such meetings, in earlier times the chair of Board meetings was elected by its members.

At their pre-conference meeting in Legon, Ghana, the Executive Board considered a future home for the Secretariat, with German possibilities in Regensburg, Freiburg im Breisgau, and Berlin. An offer was also received from Alexander Ringer at the University of Illinois, which the Board considered preferable to the others.¹⁷ In Illinois, Ringer and Bruno Nettel would be in charge of Council administration, with a transfer taking place in 1967 for a period of three to five years. The University of Illinois Press was interested in possibly publishing the journal, and this would be explored. The Board agreed that the provisional offer from Illinois be accepted in principle, subject to further agreement. The transfer would take place no later than September 1967. A committee to negotiate the transfer was established, as was a steering committee of Board members (EB minutes, 34th meeting, 25–26 and 30 Jul 1966:§455b).

The Board was also updated on the resignation of Krader, effective from the end of October 1966, and that Skillen, the assistant secretary, would leave at the end of September. Karpeles reported the possibility of hiring Felicia Stallman as executive secretary (§§455c, 457a).

At their post-conference meeting, the Board was told Stallman had only recently retired from twelve years as executive secretary with the International Federation of University Women. She had also worked with the Royal Anthropological Institute and had assisted Karpeles during her organization of the 1935 International Folk Dance Festival and Conference. The Board authorized the Advisory Committee to make an appointment (EB minutes, 35th meeting, 3 Aug 1966:§§468a, 468d).

At her final Advisory Committee meeting, Krader, along with Skillen, reported that there would be no funds by the end of 1967 (AC minutes, 17th meeting, 13 Sep 1966:§154). The Illinois offer now suggested that financial matters would be looked after in London by the treasurer. The committee agreed with the Board to provisionally accept the Illinois offer to take place no later than September 1967. Karpeles stated the fear that moving the Secretariat to the USA would destroy its international character and that the Council might lose interest in Europe, particularly Eastern Europe. Then she introduced a new twist: the Dansk Folkemindesamling (Danish folklore archives) had stated that they might be able to accommodate the Council in "a few years' time," so it might be possible to continue the Secretariat in London until then. The Danish offer would be kept under consideration (§155b).

Krader then announced that the Executive Board had agreed that Stallman should succeed her and had authorized the Board to make Stallman's appointment at

¹⁷ Many of these and subsequent events are summarized by Christensen (1988:15–17).

£1,000 per annum (§156). In the November *Bulletin*, it was noted that Krader had resigned for personal reasons (*BIFMC* 29, Nov 1966:1).

After leaving the Secretariat, among many other accomplishments, Krader translated articles from German and Russian into English for the *JIFMC* and *YIFMC*, and served as book-review editor for the *YIFMC*, 1978–1979. She taught at universities in New York and Berlin, was the first female president of the Society for Ethnomusicology, and worked as a professional translator, indeed “much of her bibliography ... consists of writings meant to explain European scholars and scholarship to Americans, and vice versa” (Slobin 2005). For further information on Krader, see Morgan (2001), Slobin (2005), and Levitt (2018).

Felicia Stallman, London, 1966–1967

Sophia Felicia Stallman was born in 1899 in Dorking, UK. She attended St. Hugh's College, University of Oxford, from which received her MA, 1925–1926.¹⁸ Stallman assisted in the organization of the Congrès international des sciences anthropologiques et ethnologiques in London in 1934 (Howes 1935:4). As noted by Karpeles, she was also secretary to the executive committee for the 1935 festival (*Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* 2, 1935:app. A, 145).

Stallman was assistant secretary at the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, May 1942 – 1 July 1952.¹⁹ During her subsequent twelve years as executive secretary of the International Federation of University Women (IFUW), she attended the twelfth session of the UN Commission on the Status of Women in 1958 (United Nations 1958:2), and was a participant in a discussion about women's education in the Commonwealth (Gwilliam 1963:826). Stallman is listed in the *Education Directory* (US Department of Health, Education, and Welfare 1966:119). She retired from IFUW in 1965 because she had reached the mandatory retirement age.²⁰

Her appointment as IFMC executive secretary on 1 November 1966 was announced in the same *Bulletin* that noted Krader's departure (*BIFMC* 29, Nov

1966:1). Once again, a non-academic was in charge of the Secretariat.

On 10–11 January 1967 in London, Karpeles met with Alexander Ringer to discuss his offer to take over the Secretariat. His position would be called executive director, and would require a part-time personal assistant and part-time secretary. Ringer's decision would be dependent upon him receiving the assistance that he felt was necessary. While previously suggested as assistant director, Bruno Nettl would not accept any such position, although he expressed interest in possibly editing the journal.²¹ Ringer would also be meeting with IFMC President Kodály in Budapest, and might be able to attend the Board meeting to be held after the IFMC conference in Ostend, Belgium (AC minutes, 18th meeting, 18 Jan 1967:appendix).²²

The Advisory Committee met a week after Karpeles's meeting with Ringer. Stallman's appointment as executive secretary was announced (AC minutes, 18th meeting, 18 Jan 1967:§164a). A special appeal had increased income from subscriptions and donations, and the committee felt that the Secretariat could continue at its present location for some months (§§165a, 165b). Karpeles reported on her meeting with Ringer, but also noted that Copenhagen “seemed ready to receive the Council, but was waiting on approval and support from the Government.” The committee felt that if definite offers were received from both, they would probably recommend Copenhagen; but if only one offer was made, they would likely accept it because of the Council's financial situation. Definite news was expected from both within a few weeks, so the committee had to be ready to consider them (§166). Karpeles reported that Robin Band, former executive secretary, would be happy to work an afternoon per week for the Council “on an expenses basis” (§173b).

It was three months before the committee met again. This time, Stallman was accompanied by Connie Matthews, who replaced Skillen as assistant secretary when she left on 3 February 1967 (AC minutes, 19th meeting, 6 Apr 1967:§180a; *BIFMC* 31, Nov 1967:10). And Band was working one half-day a week (§180b). Hence, at this moment in time, the Secretariat accommodated two former executive secretaries (Karpeles, Band), the present one (Stallman), and a future one (Matthews). Once again, the committee considered the offers from Copenhagen and Illinois, concluding that Illinois better relieved the Council of many of its financial burdens and, hence, it offered a

18 We very much appreciate the assistance of Vicky Barnecutt and Rebekah Hayes in locating this early information about Stallman at Surrey History Centre (n.d.:117, no. 311) and St. Hugh's College ([1926]:10). Thanks are also due to Rachelle Saltzman for information about her interviews with Stallman.

19 <https://www.therai.org.uk/archives-and-manuscripts/archive-contents/lectures-a152>. Stallman left this position because of difficulty in attending work regularly as she was looking after her elderly mother (email from Sarah Walpole, 31 Jul 2020).

20 Letter from Meribeth E. Cameron, 2 September 1966 (ICTM Archive MS 10017, series 4, folder 201 “Stallman”).

21 Although not at that time, Nettl did eventually serve as editor of the *YIFMC*, 1974–1976.

22 The appendix is called “Notes on meeting with Professor Alexander Ringer in London, January 10 and 11, 1967,” consisting of two pages, written by Karpeles, dated 12 January 1965.

more attractive future. They decided to ratify the decision that the Board had made back in Ghana (1966): to accept the invitation from Illinois to take over the Secretariat in September 1967 (§182).

In the April *Bulletin*, the third new address for the Secretariat in a year was announced, noting that it was a very small office, but was all that could be afforded. And Skillen's replacement, Matthews, with experience and business training, was also announced to the membership (*BIFMC* 30, Apr 1967:2; 31, Nov 1967:1).

At the final meeting of the London Advisory Committee, with Stallman and Matthews, it was noted that the Executive Board had approved the Illinois offer. While one more offer had been received,²³ the committee felt that the one from Illinois should be accepted and Denmark notified accordingly (AC minutes, 20th meeting, 18 May 1967:§188). Also discussed were costs for the move, Ringer's travel plans, and the imminent closing of the London office (§§189a, 189b). It was noted that this was the final meeting, and thanks were extended to the chair, Gilmour Jenkins (§194a).

But there was a twist in these plans. Using materials referenced in Christensen (1988:16–17) that were not available to us, in June 1967, Karpeles, Ringer, and several Board members met in Berlin, with a dramatic result: the organizational scheme proposed by Ringer was now deemed impracticable. His insistence that the financial side of the Secretariat remain in London was the main sticking point. Although the Illinois offer had been accepted in principle, it was ultimately declined. Stallman wrote to the provost of the university to announce this decision on 22 June 1967. Christensen (1988:17) concludes that the “gracious and generous Danes had been persuaded to accept the Council, after all, if only for a year and a half,”²⁴ although he does not cite documents that precisely support this claim.

In September, Stallman sent a letter to all IFMC members announcing the move to Copenhagen and the appointment of Christian Ejlers as executive secretary, effective 15 September 1967 (ICTM Archive MS 10017, series 4, folder 94). The front cover of *BIFMC* 31 (Nov 1967) bears the Secretariat's new address at the Danish Folk Archives; inside the back cover, Ejlers (executive secretary), Poul Rovsing Olsen (treasurer),

and Nils Schiørring (chair of Advisory Committee)—all from Denmark—are listed amongst Board members.

Page 1 of that *BIFMC* mentions the relocation notice sent by Stallman, but further announces that the Secretariat “will” move to Copenhagen on 15 September 1967, Stallman “will” finish her employment as executive secretary upon the move, and Matthews “will” continue as assistant secretary in her post in Copenhagen. Note the future tense of these announcements, even though the *Bulletin* is from November, two months after the move had taken place. Presumably this issue was prepared well in advance of the issue date.

In the same issue, the report from the Board mentions the proposals from University of Illinois and Dansk Folkemindesamling.²⁵ But after long deliberations, the Board decided to accept the proposal from Copenhagen. It noted Stallman's replacement in Ejlers, and that Matthews would go to Copenhagen as assistant secretary (*BIFMC* 31, Nov 1967:10–11). Karpeles would later recall that she spent three weeks putting files in order before they were transferred to Copenhagen, and destroyed anything of an “ephemeral” nature (EB minutes, 38th–39th meetings, 1–3 Aug 1968:§491).

Stallman was interviewed in 1986 concerning her activities before and during Great Britain's 1926 General Strike (Saltzman 2012:7, 11, 120–122), but we have been unable to find further information about her.

Christian Ejlers, Copenhagen, 1967–1968

Christian Ejlers (b. 1935; [figure 3](#)) completed his Candidate of Law degree in 1961 and began working at Gyldendal, Denmark's largest publishing house in 1962. Intending to start his own firm in Copenhagen, he went to London in 1967 to seek publishing contacts. A friend of his, ethnomusicologist Andreas Fridolin Weis Bentzon, somehow knew that the IFMC Secretariat would be moving to Copenhagen and that they needed an administrator. He encouraged Ejlers to apply. Ejlers met with Karpeles, but his appointment had to be approved by the IFMC Executive Board, so he flew from London to Ostend, Belgium, where the 19th IFMC conference was to take place, 28 July–3 August 1967. As is the custom today, the Board met before and after the conference, and must have approved his appointment.²⁶ Ejlers then returned to Copenhagen

23 There was a tentative expression of interest for hosting the secretariat in Canada from Graham George: “I don't know whether we can swing it from Canada's side. But I certainly don't want to sit quietly and let the IFMC slide into disaster, when *maybe* Canada could help!” (letter from George to Karpeles, 20 Jan 1967; ICTM Archive MS 10017, series 4, folder 120). Of course, this offer would eventually be taken up in 1969.

24 Note that the Secretariat was located in Copenhagen for exactly two years: 15 September 1967 – 15 September 1969.

25 Ringer was able to attend the Board meeting at some point, and Poul Rovsing Olsen from the Dansk Folkemindesamling attended by invitation (*BIFMC* 33, Oct 1968:4).

26 Minutes are unavailable for these Board meetings, but there is a brief curriculum vitae from Ejlers, dated 24 July 1967 (ICTM Archive MS 10017, series 4, folder 75 “Ejlers”).

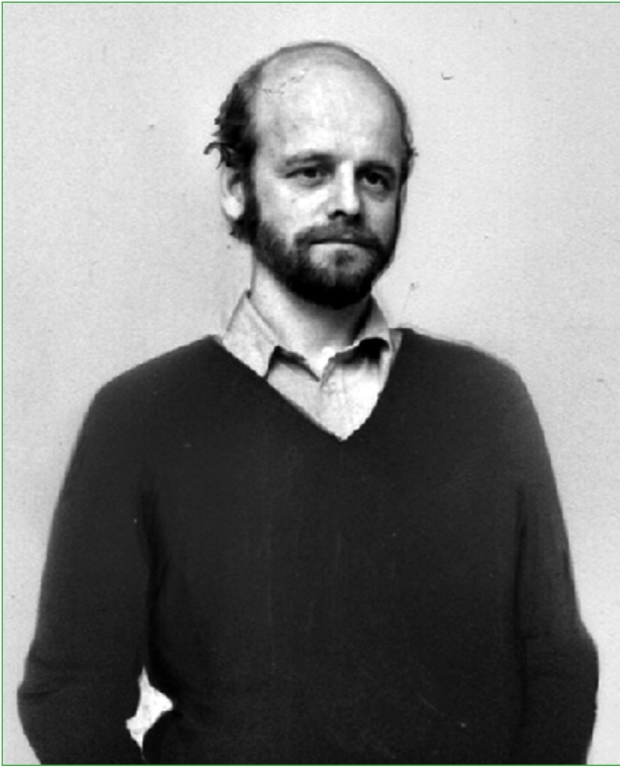


Figure 3. Christian Ejlers, 1975 (photo by H. H. Tholstrup, courtesy of Christian Ejlers).

to begin his job, but also arranged concerts there for a Kathakali group that had performed for participants on the last day of the Ostend conference.

Ejlers would be executive secretary for less than a year, from 15 September 1967²⁷ until 1 September 1968, when Matthews took his place (*BIFMC* 33, Oct 1968:1). His IFMC job enabled him to be an administrator and also continue his interest in publishing. Documents in the ICTM Archive show that Ejlers corresponded frequently with Karpeles on many matters concerning IFMC affairs (ICTM Archive MS 10007, series 4, folder 120). At the last Board meeting before his departure, Ejlers and Matthews left the room while the Board discussed new homes for the Council. Of three offers, that from Graham George at Queen's University in Kingston, Canada, appeared most promising, and it would be further explored. If all was in order, the move there would be at the end of 1969, and George would become executive secretary (EB minutes, 38th–39th meetings, 1–3 Aug 1968:§§497a, 502; *BIFMC* 35, Oct 1969:13–14).

As recalled by Ejlers, a minor disagreement with the Board led to his departure, but Eric Dal, an Executive Board member, helped him secure a position as assistant

²⁷ Because of preparations in Copenhagen before the transfer from London, the Advisory Committee subsequently moved Ejlers's date of appointment forward to 15 August 1967 (EB minutes, 38th–39th meetings, 1–3 Aug 1968: app. B).

professor at the Dansk Biblioteksskole (Danish School of Librarianship). Board minutes simply note that Ejlers had secured another job. Matthews was appointed as executive secretary until the end of 1969 (*ibid.*:§497b).

In November 1967, two months after his departure, Ejlers started his own successful publishing firm, Christian Ejlers' Forlag. In 2008, it combined with two other publishing houses.²⁸

Throughout the Secretariat's time in Copenhagen, Poul Roving Olsen served as treasurer. He would later serve on the Executive Board (1970–1977), and as president (1977–1982) until his death. While president, he oversaw another crucial transition, when IFMC became ICTM in 1981.

Connie Matthews, Copenhagen, 1968–1969

Constance Evadine Smith (1943–1993), usually called Connie, was born in Jamaica. Although information on her early life is particularly scanty, it appears that she married Tony Matthews as a young adult, adopted his surname, and had a daughter with him. She reportedly went to England and earned a bachelor's degree, followed by a master's degree in psychology in Austria. Presumably her marriage ended by this time.²⁹

Connie Matthews began working as assistant secretary with the IFMC Secretariat in London on 3 February 1967, when Stallman was executive secretary. When the Secretariat moved to Copenhagen on 15 September 1967, she worked there as assistant secretary under Ejlers. Upon Ejlers's resignation on 1 September 1968, Matthews was appointed executive secretary. At twenty-five years of age, she appears to be the youngest person ever to hold this position. She would continue in this capacity until the Secretariat left Europe to be established under Graham George in Kingston, Canada, on 15 September 1969, exactly two years after the Secretariat's move to Copenhagen (*figure 4*).

²⁸ Because of the absence of some key Board minutes, Advisory Committee minutes, and much else from the period that the Secretariat was in Copenhagen, only limited information supplements that which appears in *Bulletins*. What information we do have was located and copied for us by Lene Halskov Hansen, project researcher at the Dansk Folkemindesamling in June–July 2020. She also put us in touch with Christian Ejlers, who recalled events over fifty years ago (emails from Ejlers, July 2020; Wikipedia Contributors 2020b). We are much indebted to them both.

²⁹ The information in this section about Matthews's early life has benefitted greatly from an unpublished article by Robyn C. Spencer (n.d.). We appreciate her sharing it with us. And we are greatly indebted to Robert Wade for allowing us to use his photo of Matthews in *figure 4*.

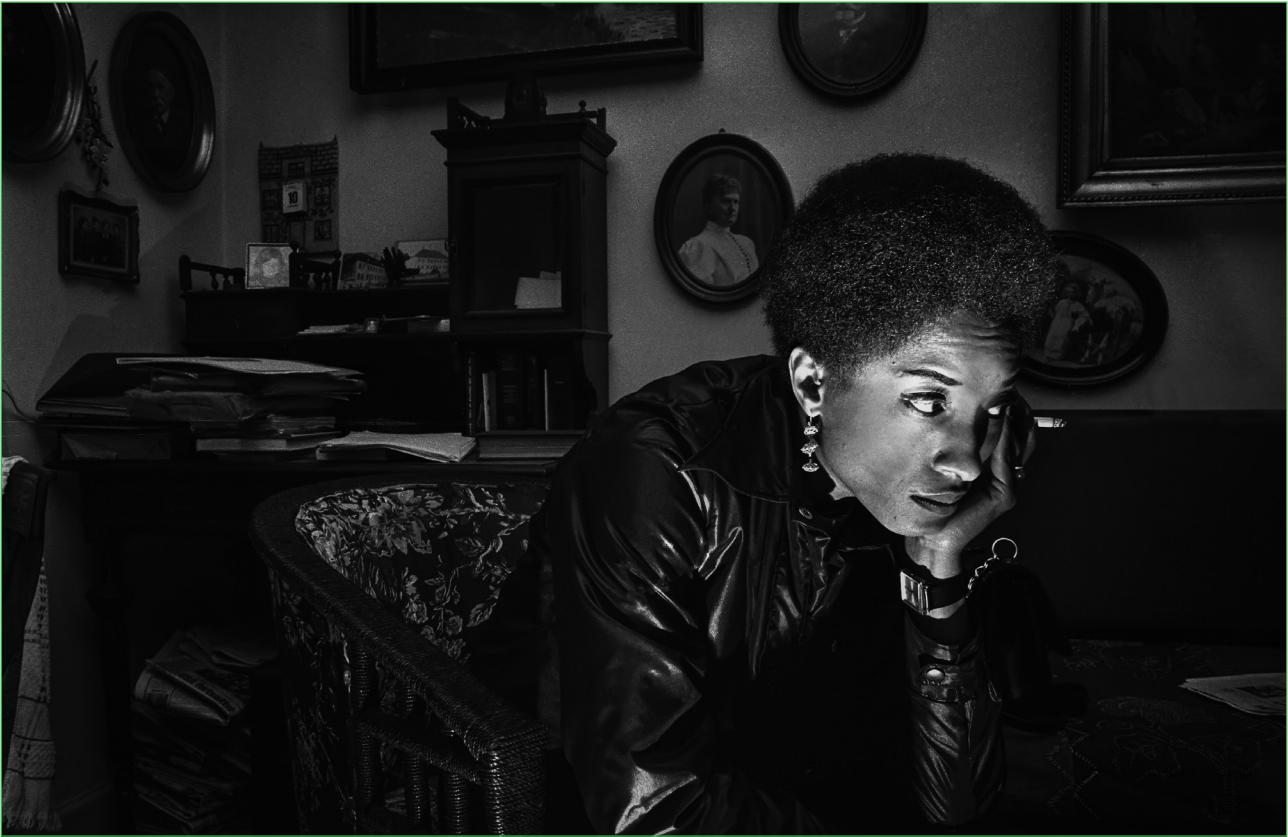


Figure 4. Connie Matthews in Copenhagen, probably early July 1969 (photo by Robert Wade).

Reporting in *BIFMC* 33 (Oct 1968:3), Matthews noted a decrease in membership at the end of 1967. If there was not a considerable increase in membership, the Council would be unable to survive. On 28 October 1968, she wrote confidentially to IFMC President Willard Rhodes about unexpected overspending (see [figure 1](#)). With the absence of the treasurer, Roving Olsen, as well, she commented:

I would probably be very much on my own during the next year. This I had accepted but now I am also faced with this new problem which I had no idea would recur. (ICTM Archive MS 10017, series 4, folder 120)

But then at the first Advisory Committee meeting of 1969, Matthews said that she would definitely be leaving IFMC by the end of September 1969 to further her studies in the USA (AC minutes, 3 Jan 1969:§6). While nothing further was heard about the possible move to Canada, the Advisory Committee noted that the Council would have to move from Copenhagen by about January 1970 (AC minutes, 24 Jan 1969:§4).

On 14 April 1969, Matthews told the Advisory Committee again that she would be leaving at the end of September, but this time said it was for personal reasons. They understood her position, but also noted that a number of members of the Committee were also planning on leaving, so they would have to find a replacement for Matthews after September; in any case, the

Council would have to leave Denmark (AC minutes, 14 Apr 1969:§4).

Later on the same day, she wrote to Karpeles, enclosing a copy of her letter of resignation to Rhodes (unavailable to us):

I, more than anybody else, realise the difficulty the IFMC will be placed in but I am afraid due to an accumulation of personal reasons which I would prefer not to write about, I find it necessary to leave Europe. This time I am afraid there really are no other alternatives open to me.

I have discussed this matter (not my personal reasons) in general with the Advisory Committee and the minutes of that meeting will be circulated to Board members later this week. I really do feel rather badly but as I said before there is no other alternative. (ICTM Archive MS 10017, series 4, folder 120)

Two weeks later, the Committee learned that Karpeles had informed the Secretariat by phone that George would be willing to take over the Secretariat in September, but if his grant application was not approved, he would try to run it “on a shoe-string” until the end of the year (AC minutes, 28 Apr 1969:§2a). It appears that Matthews’s September departure, coupled with those of other key people in Copenhagen and the eventual lack of financial support, helped determine the date for the move of the Secretariat to Canada.

The Board next met in Edinburgh, just prior to the IFMC conference there. George's appointment would take effect in September, as soon as Council files arrived in Kingston. George was then invited to join the Board members (EB minutes, 40th meeting, 5–6 Aug 1969:§608b). And at the General Assembly meeting on 9 August, the Board announced their decision to the membership, noting that the stay in Copenhagen was always foreseen to be for a limited time. The Board thanked the Dansk Folkemindesamling for their support and various Danish bodies for grants during the past two years, and also expressed appreciation to Matthews "for the invaluable services she has rendered for the Council, first in London and for the past two years in Denmark" (*BIFMC* 35, Oct 1969:13–14).

At the Board meeting following the conference, Karpeles spoke of her concern about the discontinuity that would arise when the Secretariat moved to Canada. To assist, she offered to visit Canada soon to assist George. The Board agreed to this proposal (EB minutes, 41st meeting, 13 Aug 1969:§636c). The president and the Board once again expressed their appreciation to Matthews, and wished her every success in her new undertakings (*ibid.*:§636d).

On 26 August 1969, a couple weeks after the Edinburgh conference, Karpeles wrote to Matthews, remarking "hope you're still alive. I'm feeling rotten and unable to do much" (ICTM Archive MS 10017, series 4, folder 120). On 28 August 1969, Matthews wrote to Karpeles, following their earlier phone call, discussing various administrative matters, and mentioning future travel to the USA and the possibility of travelling to Canada. She then notes: "I think this will be my last letter but I will keep in touch. / Very kind regards. / Yours," (*ibid.*). On the same day, Matthews wrote a reference letter for Chakée Kirkiacharian,³⁰ who had worked as assistant to the executive secretary from 1 October 1968 until, presumably, 15 September 1969 (*ibid.*). Matthews was winding up her work in the Secretariat for the official move in less than three weeks. Matthews's term finished when the Secretariat moved to Canada on 15 September 1969.

But what were Matthews's "personal reasons" (a change from the original desire to study in the US) that she did not write about, but that led to her resignation? From at least January 1969, Matthews had become increasingly involved with the Black Panthers Party (BPP),³¹ and

she helped organize a two-week visit in March 1969 by Bobby Seale (BPP co-founder) and Raymond Masai Hewitt (BPP minister of education) to Sweden, Norway, Finland, and Denmark. After Seale and Hewitt returned to the USA, Matthews was praised for her organizational efforts (Bloom and Martin 2016:313), and in May was made the BPP International Coordinator,

authorized to mobilize to carry out demonstrations of support, raise funds, and inform the peoples of Scandinavia about poor black and oppressed peoples' revolutionary struggle from the Panthers' vanguard position. (Klimke 2011:118)

Working with supportive groups in Scandinavia, she organized May Day workers' demonstrations on 1 May 1969 and passed out BPP literature (Bloom and Martin 2016: 313). In July–August 1969, she joined the BPP delegation to attend the Pan-African Cultural Festival in Algiers (Cleaver 1998:228). Between March and September, she also featured in various articles in *The Black Panther* newspaper. All these activities took place while she was executive secretary of IFMC.³²

After her IFMC employment had finished, Matthews continued work with the BPP in Europe, but also travelled for the first time to the USA, where she became personal secretary of co-founder Huey Newton. She married Michael Cetewayo Tabor in 1970. When Tabor failed to appear for trial in February 1971, he and Matthews were denounced by Newton as "enemies of the people," and Matthews was accused of taking various valuable BPP records with her. In the following month, they appeared in Algiers, joining up with Eldridge Cleaver and his wife, Kathleen (*The Black Panther*, 13 Feb 1971; Cleaver 1998:238; Bloom and Martin 2016:361–362).

When disagreements erupted between the Algerian BPP chapter and that in the USA, Matthews and Tabor settled in Lusaka, Zambia, in 1972. Matthews later worked in Lusaka as secretary for Hage Geingob, director of the UN Institute for Namibia, who would later become prime minister of Namibia. Tabor became a writer and radio personality. After Matthews and Tabor divorced, she returned to Jamaica, where she died of cancer in 1993 (Spencer 2011).

Conclusions

During the period 1963 to 1969, the Secretariat had three different addresses in London, before moving to Copenhagen. During this six-year period, there were five different executive secretaries: Band served almost

30 Also spelled Shake Kiryasharian (*BIFMC* 35, Oct 1969:18) and Kirkyasharian (letter from Matthews to Karpeles, 15 Oct 1968, ICTM Archive MS 10017, series 4, folder 120).

31 A "revolutionary socialist political organization founded by ... Bobby Seale (Chairman) and Huey Newton (Minister of Defense)" on 15 October 1966 in Oakland, California. It was active in the USA, 1966–1982, with international chapters in different parts of the world (Wikipedia Contributors 2020a).

32 Such coverage also continued after she ceased being IFMC executive secretary; for example, there is an interview with her (*The Black Panther*, 18 Oct 1969), and an interview by her with Angela Davis (*ibid.*, 1 Nov 1969).

two years; Krader just short of one-and-a-half years; Ejlers and Matthews about a year each; and Stallman about ten months—much shorter lengths than at any other time in the history of the Council.

At the end of the period discussed here, the Secretariat moved to Canada, with the hope that Graham George would be able to save the Council. The Council's turbulent period of uncertainty in Europe appeared to be over. George would change his administrative title from honorary executive secretary to secretary general, which survives to this day.³³ Further details about him and his successors are found in the remaining chapters about the Secretariat.

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33 In 1969, Graham George was initially called honorary executive secretary, but later requested the title secretary general, in conformity with other international organizations (EB minutes, 45th meeting, 2–4 Aug 1972:§713).