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The Career and Reputation of Herbert Howells

Richard George Marshall

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Introductory Comments

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Bibliographical Referencing

Biographical citations are given fully in the first instance, and in abbreviated form in all subsequent references, providing surname, date and page reference only, (e.g., Howells 1922: 4.). It should also be mentioned that the Howells archive at the Royal College of Music and documents property of the Howells Estate are unordered and subsequently have no catalogue reference or shelfmark. They are therefore cited in footnotes as either 'Royal College of Music Library', or 'Howells Estate'.

Introduction

An overview of Howells and his place in the English Musical Renaissance

Howells lived in a time of musical change, advancement, and revival commonly termed the 'English Musical Renaissance'.¹ It encompassed the significant advances that were paramount in the progress of the nation's music, which in turn affected him throughout his education and career. As will be shown in this thesis, these included the founding of music schools and colleges; an expanding concert scene, both in London and the provinces; the establishment of a musical press during the 1830s and 1840s; and a greater emphasis on Englishness and national identity in music through the pastoral and the rediscovery of folk-song, plainsong, and old English music. Although this thesis is not primarily concerned with situating Howells within the wider aesthetic implications of the English Musical Renaissance, it is clear that Howells conformed to its precepts, both in form and context. As discussed in chapter two, for example, Howells' place in the English Musical Renaissance was primarily through his love of rural Gloucestershire and the Tudor and Jacobean revival. Indeed, the influence of folk-song compared with other composers of his generation affected him to a far lesser extent.

Howells' relation to the English Musical Renaissance may well have more obviously originated from the ethos of the National Training School (NTS), which later became the Royal College of Music (RCM), and in the opinion of Merion

¹ For literature discussing the English Musical Renaissance see M. Hughes: *The English Musical Renaissance and the Press, 1850-1914: Watchman of Music* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002); M. Hughes/ R. Stradling: *The English Musical Renaissance, 1840-1940: Constructing a National Music* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001); M. Trend: *The Music Makers: Heirs and Rebels of the English Musical Renaissance* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1985); P. Pirie: *The English Musical Renaissance* (London: Gollancz, 1979); and F. Howes: *The English Musical Renaissance* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1966).

Hughes and Robert Stradling was focus of the English Musical Renaissance.² On Howells' arrival as a student at the RCM, Sir C. Hubert H. Parry had been Director for some twelve years. Scott Goddard writes that up till then there had been two major events in British music that marked the turn of the twentieth-century; the first performance of Elgar's *Dream of Gerontius* (1900), and in the same year the death of Sir Arthur Sullivan. Yet Goddard suggests that greater still was the death of Sir George Grove, Director of the RCM from 1882 to 1894: 'his life had been more important for the future of British music than even Sullivan's. For while Sullivan was a creative artist of great ability, Grove was a teacher; and it was teachers with vision, which Grove undoubtedly had in fortunate conjunction with organising ability that British music most needed.'³ Indeed the RCM was Britain's foremost music college, employing the leading British composers of the day including Parry, Sir Charles Villiers Stanford and Charles Wood. Sir John Stainer wrote: 'Parry and Stanford are rapidly getting absolute control of all the music, sacred or secular, in England and also our provincial Festivals and Concert societies, and other performing bodies!!!; a nice prospect . . . they should compose more and talk less.'⁴

According to Hughes and Stradling the essential quality that marks composers of the English Musical Renaissance is the perception that their music is innately English.⁵ Howells fits this description being perceived as an English composer through his love of the countryside, his use of pastoral imagery, his love of English

² Referred to as the 'South Kensington Revival'.

³ S. Goddard: 'The Roots and the Soil: Nineteenth-Century Origins.' *British Music of Our Time* ed. A.L. Bacharach (Middlesex, Penguin Books, 1946): 11-29. Grove's legacy was his *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. This stood as a literary celebration of British music for which he contributed a number of articles. It contained lengthy entries on key British contemporaries, whilst composers such as Henry Purcell were shown greater importance than Haydn and Bach. The belief that there was an English equivalent was a source of national pride prompting Parry to write in the *Oxford History of Music*: 'Purcell's work covers more ground than any other composer this century . . . That most brilliant moment in the history of seventeenth-century music remained outside general evolution of European art. The style was too individual and uncompromising to appeal to foreigners.'

⁴ Hughes/Stradling 2001: 52.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 43 and 89-9.

literature, the inspiration he drew from church and cathedral architecture, and his interest in the revival of old English music. Similarly, in the opinion of Peter Pirie, English Musical Renaissance composers' use of folk-song in composition is the key to a national music and a new English school, whilst the rediscovery of old English music provides a direct link to the 'Golden Age' of Tudor and Jacobean composers and literary greats such as William Shakespeare. Hughes and Stradling refer to this as the pastoral-historical trend championed by individuals such as Ralph Vaughan Williams, Cecil Sharp,⁶ and Sir Richard R. Terry, among others (discussed in relation to Howells in chapter four).⁷

Howells was never an active collector of folk-songs, and rarely did he use folk-song in his music unlike his close friend Vaughan Williams, whose *Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis* made such a great impression on the young Howells at the first performance in 1910. Yet whilst Howells showed no great interest in folk-song, he like Vaughan Williams was deemed quintessentially English, writing music that was associated with the new English school, steeped in historical-pastoral associations. Howells believed that Britain was a singing nation and championed the centuries-old choral tradition. Vaughan Williams celebrated the same traditions, believing that English Christianity was part of the County's historic fibre, its traditions and the liturgy providing both emotional stability and unifying ethical and social support.⁸

⁶ Sharp was a founding member of the English Folk Dance Society (1911). He was first introduced to folk-music on Boxing Day, 1899 when he saw the Deadington Morris Side at Oxford dance *Laudnum Bunches* and *Four Traditional Dances*. His editions and writings include *Folk-Songs from Somerset* (1904-9); *Country Dance Tunes* (1902-22); *English Folk-Carols* (1911); and *English Folk-Chanteys* (1914). See G. Cox: 'The Legacy of Folk-Song: The Influence of Cecil Sharp on Music Education.' *British Music Journal of Education* 7 (1990): 89-97; M. Karpeles: *Cecil Sharp: His Life and Work* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1967); and A.H. Fox Strangways: *Cecil Sharp* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933).

⁷ Hughes/Stradling 2001: 75.

⁸ Hughes/Stradling 2001: 99; and M. Kennedy: *The Works of Ralph Vaughan Williams* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992): 110-11, and 42.

According to Pirie, by the outbreak of the Second World War, the historical-pastoral movement was no longer fashionable.⁹ The sensational impact of European progressives gave inspiration to and had inspired a new generation of British composer with different aesthetic values, whilst individuals such as Howells, Vaughan Williams, and Gerald Finzi continued to develop their own brand of conservatism. Yet foreign influences were becoming apparent in new works by younger English composers such as Benjamin Britten and Sir Michael Tippett. Even Vaughan Williams shows concessions to new trends in works such as *Job* (1930) and the Fourth Symphony (1931-4). Howells confessed that he failed to understand the principles of the Second Viennese School,¹⁰ whilst Vaughan Williams, rejected atonality as 'ugly', and because 'it meant fetters' for English music. He regarded the modernism of Schoenberg, Bartók and Stravinsky as largely unacceptable, whilst distrusting British moderns whom he saw as purveyors of 'superficial flippancy.'¹¹

Howells reached the end of his compositional career towards the late 1970s. Some years after Hughes and Stradling define the end of the English Musical Renaissance, and well after the release of *Hymnus Paradisi* (1938-50) and *Missa Sabrinensis* (1954) which in themselves were seen by some critics as radical. Indeed during this period British composition was at its most innovative, and after the death of Vaughan Williams in 1958, became an altogether more hostile environment for the more conservative Howells. Britten became the nation's leading composer, and following Britten's death, Tippett. During the 1960s, Britain's emerging composers included Alexander Goehr, Hugh Wood, Nicholas Maw, Richard Rodney Bennett,

⁹ Pirie 1979: 164.

¹⁰ For literature on the Second Viennese School see J. Auner: 'The Second Viennese School as a Historical Concept.' *Schoenberg, Berg, Webern: A Companion to the Second Viennese School*, ed. B.R. Simms (Westport CT, 1999): 1-36; O. Neighbour: *Second Viennese School Schoenberg, Webern, Berg* (London: Macmillan, 1983); and Rognoni, Luigi: *The Second Vienna School: Expressionism and Dedecaphony* (London: J. Calder, 1977).

¹¹ Kennedy 1992: 186-92 and 376.

Peter Maxwell Davies, Harrison Birtwistle, Robert Sherlaw Johnson, Thea Musgrave, Gordon Crosse, Jonathan Harvey, Jonathan Harvey, and John Tavener.

Literature review

This thesis examines some of the principal defining factors in Howells' career and reputation. It discusses the way in which his music and character was perceived by critics, as well as by himself, and it seeks to place these considerations in the larger context of his reception and its development over the greater part of the twentieth-century. The wealth of material which has been drawn upon to undertake this study includes notably a substantial archive kept at the RCM,¹² private papers property of the Howells Estate,¹³ and a collection of typescripts and miscellaneous papers held by the BBC Written Archives Centre, Reading.¹⁴ Smaller deposits are found in libraries and archives across the United Kingdom: Contained in the Bodleian Library is correspondence between Howells and Finzi; the British Library holds papers of the Royal Philharmonic Society which includes minute books and autograph letters; Cambridge University Library holds correspondence between Howells and Arthur Bliss; Gloucester City Library keeps correspondence between Howells and Ivor Gurney; the National Archives of Scotland holds papers of the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust referring to Howells' involvement with the Tudor Church Music

¹² This consists of nine box files (largely unordered) labelled A-I. Box A contains mostly correspondence between colleagues, family and friends; some letters are photocopies. Boxes B and C contain numerous draft mss and notes for broadcast talks, lectures and speeches. Box E contains the RCM Director's History Prize essays as well as miscellaneous newspaper cuttings of concert reviews and other events relating to Howells (see also Box H) The RCM holds the majority of Howells' music manuscripts.

¹³ The Howells Estate holds the majority of Howells' surviving personal papers including his diaries, and correspondence. The collection also includes some music manuscripts, typescripts of broadcast talks, concert programmes and press cuttings. It is likely that the contents will eventually be deposited with the archive kept in the library at the Royal College of Music, London.

¹⁴ The BBC Written Archives Centre, Reading keeps complete typescripts of Howells' broadcast talks which can be viewed on microfilm. The Centre also holds miscellaneous correspondence and internal memorandums relating to Howells' work with the BBC.

scheme; and the Dean and Chapter Library and Archives, Westminster Abbey, London holds four letters between Howells and William Mckie.¹⁵

The first comprehensive biography on Howells was written by Paul Spicer, a pupil of the composer whilst studying at the RCM.¹⁶ This is the first published chronological account of Howells' life and compositional output which is supplemented by interviews with the composer's daughter and other members of the Howells family. As Spicer wished, this project was intended as a tribute, and not a scholarly piece aimed at a specialist readership. Any factual error is minor and relatively insignificant, Spicer's study providing a concise and invaluable incite into the many aspects of Howells' life and career.¹⁷ It is purely biographical, and features little discussion of the music, unlike Christopher Palmer's *Herbert Howells: A Study*,¹⁸ and his more substantial *Herbert Howells: A Centenary Celebration*.¹⁹ The first of these two books aimed to give an insight into Howells' music and style. It begins with an interview between the author and the composer, followed by basic analyses of the music with illustrations. The book is divided into chapters: (1) Orchestral Music; (2) Chamber Music; (3) Vocal Music; (4) Choral Music [large-scale works for chorus and orchestra]; (5) Organ Music; (6) Piano Music; (7) Miscellaneous Choral Pieces [secular works]; and (8) Church Music. *Herbert Howells: A Study* was intended as a forerunner to *A Centenary Celebration* which to date presents the most significant published quantity of primary material in context. It is the culmination of a 21-year period of research which aimed to bring a wider

¹⁵ Some of these libraries, as well as many others also hold music manuscripts. For details, please see P. Andrews: *Herbert Howells: a Documentary and Bibliographical Study* (PhD diss., University of Aberystwyth, 1999): 643-56.

¹⁶ P. Spicer: *Herbert Howells* (Bridgend: Seren, 1999).

¹⁷ Spicer wrongly states that Howells wrote the 'Westminster Service' rather than the 'Gloucester Service' (January 1946) at his mothers deathbed. He also writes that the pieces from *Howells' Clavichord* whose titles and dedications were changed prior to its publication were additional pieces not included in the final version of the dedication.

¹⁸ C. Palmer: *Herbert Howells: A Study* (Sevenoaks: Novello, 1987).

¹⁹ C. Palmer: *Herbert Howells: A Centenary Celebration* (London: Thames Publishing, 1992).

awareness of Howells' life and music to the musical public at large. It also includes a comprehensive works list and select bibliography as a separate appendix compiled by Paul Andrews. Palmer's study, unlike Spicer's, was not intended as a conventional biography. It is divided into six chapters: (1) Biographical conspectus; (2) The story of *Hymnus Paradisi*; (3) Herbert Howells as Man and Artist; (4) Herbert Howells as Teacher and Friend; (5) Herbert Howells on Music; and (6) Howells on Howells.²⁰

The earliest significant thesis on Howells is *The Music of Herbert Howells* (PhD diss., University of Colorado, 1970) by Peter Hodgson. It is divided into three sections: (1) Biographical Summary; (2) Surveys of Howells' Music; and (3) Compositional Procedure and Style. Hodgson, unlike later scholars was fortunate to be able to interview Howells, who then despite his age was still teaching at the RCM. Hodgson extracted previously little-known biographical information, including his recollections of the tragic death of his son Michael in 1935. Nine theses on Howells followed: (1) Bird, Elizabeth: *The Instrumental and Choral Music of Herbert Howells* (MA diss., University of Wales, Bangor, 1982); (2) Hughes, Peter: *The Post-1940 Canticle Settings of Herbert Howells* (MA diss., University of Wales, Aberystwyth, 1983); (3) Beven, George: *An Evaluation of the Compositional Processes of Herbert Howells, with Particular Reference to Autograph Manuscripts of Selected Works for Organ* (MMus diss., The Royal College of Music, London, 1993); (4) Wilson, Jeffrey: *The Anthems of Herbert Howells 1892-1983* (PhD diss., University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, 1996); (5) Lapierre, Arthur: *Herbert Howells' Requiem for Unaccompanied Voices as a Manifestation of the New English Musical Renaissance Compositional Style* (PhD diss., University of Northern Colorado,

²⁰ Following Palmer's death in 1995, Paul Andrews supervised corrections and revisions to *A Centenary Celebration*. The appendices were updated and a chapter was added summarising the centenary year. The book was published as a second edition under the title *Herbert Howells: A Celebration* (1996).

1996); (6) McMillan, John: *The Organ Works of Herbert Howells 1892-1983* (PhD diss., University of Iowa, 1997); (7) Ferlazzo, Edgar: *The Shorter Sacred Choral Works of Dr Herbert Norman Howells* (PhD diss., South-Western Baptist Theological Seminary, 1997); (8) Gaston, Pamela: *The Solo Songs of Herbert Howells* (PhD dis., University of Missouri, Kansas City, 1998); and (9) Andrews, Paul: *Herbert Howells: a Documentary and Bibliographical Study* (PhD diss., University of Wales, Aberystwyth, 1999).

Paul Andrews' study has proved the most valuable scholarly resource being the only catalogue which accurately lists Howells' output chronologically, whilst giving the location of manuscripts and other primary material. As well as cataloguing Howells' output, Andrews discusses Howells' use of opus numbers, a subject which has until now caused confusion.²¹ In a separate chapter Andrews also examines Howells' working methods, and the thesis concludes with what was then a complete bibliography of published and unpublished writings and secondary sources with abstracts.

Thesis overview

Unlike Andrews' catalogue and bibliographically orientated study, this current thesis aims to place documented material in context with Howells' life and music. The first chapter 'Biography' is intended as a detailed chronological account of Howells' life and career. It examines his private and public life, his work as a teacher, and notably his activities as a broadcaster with the BBC. Listed also are major performances, in particular, concert premieres in London and the provinces, as well as his association with the Three Choirs Festival of Gloucester, Hereford and Worcester. Spicer's

²¹ Howells assigned opus numbers to his major works up to the late 1920s. The opus numbers differ when comparing several hand-written lists which he made in his student note-book. See Andrews 1999: 619-29.

interviews with Howells' daughter and Sir John Margetson have been drawn upon freely, and are used throughout this thesis.

The second chapter, 'The Construction of Howells' Englishness' examines the popular perception that Howells is quintessentially English. Through a series of articles published by various writers early in his career, it looks at his roots, his love of rural England, literature and architecture, and how these are among the attributes which contribute to the English atmosphere that adorns his music. Comparisons are made with other composers, including his teachers, notably Parry. The question of why Howells turned his back on the concert hall in favour of the Anglican Church is also debated.

The third chapter, 'Herbert Howells: His Thoughts on Music and Musicians' includes a discussion of the broadcast talks as well as close examination of both published and unpublished writings and manuscripts. Howells shares his views on musical issues, composers and their music providing an insight into his relations with his teachers, Parry, Stanford and Wood, as well as Elgar, and close friends Vaughan Williams and Ivor Gurney. A separate section 'Howells on Howells' features a series of short commentaries by Howells on his own music, including *In Green Ways* Op.24 (1928), and the Quartet in A minor for Piano, Violin, Viola and Cello Op.21 (1916).

The fourth chapter, 'Howells' Relation to Tudor and Jacobean Music' is a brief examination of the Tudor and Jacobean influence on Howells as heard in his music. Howells maintained that the revival of old English music made a great impact on him, and it is for this reason that a separate discussion is made. The background to the revival is discussed, with mention of key figures such as Sir Richard R. Terry, John Fuller Maitland, and William Barkley Squire. Howells' association with Westminster Cathedral is discussed in detail, especially his relationship with Terry

and his contribution to the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust's Tudor Church Music scheme. Whilst the music is discussed, the chapter is not intended to be an analytical explanation of his work, but an overview of some of the principal forces behind his interests in old English music.

Two appendices accompany this thesis. The first gives complete listings of Howells' compositional output providing where known the date of composition, dedication, first performance and publisher. Appendix two is an up-to-date list of performances of Howells' output giving details of date, venue and performers.

Chapter One

Biography

I have composed out of sheer love of trying to make nice sounds. I have written really, to put it simply, the music I would like to write and for no other reason. I love music as a man can love a woman. The one thing now which keeps me alive and makes me want to be alive is just that I love music.²²

Herbert Howells

Childhood and early years

Herbert Norman Howells was born on 17 October 1892 in the town of Lydney, Gloucestershire, which is situated on the north bank of the Severn Estuary, below the Forest of Dean. Herbert was the youngest of eight children born to Oliver Howells (1854-1919) and his wife Elizabeth Burgham (1856-1946), owners of a small hardware shop in Lydney High Street ruined by bankruptcy in 1909. According to Howells the family were so badly ostracised that if he was invited to a party, when supper was served, he ate in the kitchen or butler's pantry.²³ Even more degrading, as the youngest in the family, he was often sent to the butcher at closing time to beg for scraps. By all accounts Oliver was a highly sensitive and intelligent man, and his appreciation of the arts, architecture, and nature had an immediate influence on his youngest son. Often they walked cross-country to Gloucester Cathedral and regional churches to hear choirs and organs. Oliver would also rouse the boy in the early hours of the morning 'to talk about stars, planets and distances.'²⁴ Herbert received his first music lessons from his eldest sister Florence (Florrie) who taught him the piano. Oliver was also organist at the nearby Baptist chapel where Herbert would go every Sunday and often accompany the services, before joining the choir of Lydney Parish

²² 'Echoes of a Lifetime.' BBC Radio 3, compiled and presented by R. Paxman, 1981, repr. in Spicer 1998: 184.

²³ *Ibid.*, 30.

²⁴ Spicer 1998: 14-24; and P. Hodgson: *The Music of Herbert Howells* (PhD diss., University of Colorado, 1970): 5.

Church where he assisted the local organist Bertie Baxter, 'a worthy but sadly inadequate' musician.²⁵ Herbert was educated at a local dame-school (1896-8), then Lydney Church of England Elementary School (1889-1905), before being awarded a scholarship to Lydney Grammar School (1905-9). It was largely due to the Headmaster at the Grammar School that he was brought to the attention of local landowner Charles Barthurst who arranged piano lessons with Sir Herbert Brewer,²⁶ then organist of Gloucester Cathedral. The fees were paid by Barthurst's sister Mary, although the Barthursts would not commit to this indefinitely, and in 1909 at the age of 16, he was accepted by Brewer (at the proposal of Charles Barthurst) as an articulated pupil. He joined Ivor Gurney²⁷ and Ivor Novello,²⁸ both already articulated pupils.

Student years in London

Howells remained at Gloucester for a further two years 'twiddling young and envious thumbs while Dr Brewer played superb Bach Fugues and Handel Concertos',²⁹ then in 1911, under the influence of Gurney who had already moved to London to study

²⁵ Hodgson 1970: 5.

²⁶ See H. Howells: 'Brewer, Sir Alfred Herbert.' *Dictionary of National Biography* (London: Oxford University Press, 1937); and H. Howells: 'The Late Sir Herbert Brewer.' *Royal College of Music Magazine* 24/2 (1928): 46-8.

²⁷ For a general account of Gurney's life and music see J. Lucas: *Ivor Gurney* (Devon: Northcote House, 2001); R.K.R. Thornton/G. Walter: *Ivor Gurney: Towards a Bibliography* (Hay-on-Wye: Ivor Gurney Society, 1996); R.K.R. Thornton: *Ivor Gurney: Collected Letters* (Ashington: Mid Northumberland Arts Group, 1983); M. Hurd: *The Ordeal of Ivor Gurney* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978); and H. Howells: 'Ivor Gurney: The Musician.' *Music & Letters* 19/1 (1938): 12-17.

²⁸ For a general account of Novello's life and music see G. Jones: *A Portrait of Ivor Novello* (Cardiff: Rumney Publishing Company, 1997); J. Harding: *Ivor Novello* (London: W.H. Allen, 1987); and W.J.P. Pope: *Ivor Novello: The Story of an Achievement* (London: W.H. Allen, 1951).

²⁹ Extract from a radio talk-for schools given by H. Howells, 12 June 1942.

composition with Stanford³⁰ at the RCM, he too left Brewer to concentrate on a portfolio of works to compete for an open scholarship to the College. After submitting the First Organ Sonata Op.1, Five Songs for Low Voice and Piano and the Violin Sonata in B minor (all composed in 1911), Howells entered the RCM on 6 May 1912 on an open scholarship worth £80 per annum. His teachers were Parry³¹ for music history, Stanford for composition, Wood³² for harmony and counterpoint, Sir Walter Parratt³³ for organ, and Sir Henry Walford Davies³⁴ for choral techniques. Before entering the College, he had successfully sat in April 1912 the Associate examination of the Royal College of Organists (RCO), this being the first in a line of qualifications and prizes which date from this period including the: Grove and Bruce Scholarships; the Sullivan Prize; the Manns Memorial Prize; the Dove Prize; the Organ Extemporisation Prize; and on six occasions the Director's History Essay Prize. In July 1915 he was awarded the Tagore Gold Medal for the most generally deserving pupil, and in the same year he received the silver medal of the Worshipful Company of Musicians.³⁵ The following year he passed the Fellowship examination of the RCO. Indeed Howells enjoyed a highly successful student career at the RCM. Not only was

³⁰ For a general account of Stanford's life and music see J. Dibble: *Charles Villiers Stanford: Man and Musician* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002); P. Rodmell: *Charles Villiers Stanford* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002); M. Nosek: 'From a Destroyed Autobiography.' *Royal College of Music Magazine* 80/2 (1984): 29-36; S.P. Waddington: 'Stanford in the Early Days.' *Royal College of Music Magazine* 79 (1983): 19-22; and H.P. Greene: *Charles Villiers Stanford* (London: E. Arnold, 1935).

³¹ For a general account of Parry's life and music see B. Benoiel: *Parry before Jerusalem: Studies of his Life in Music with Excerpts from his Published Writings* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997); J. Dibble: *C. Hubert H. Parry: His Life and Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992); H. Howells: 'Hubert Parry.' *Royal College of Music Magazine* 65 (1965): 19-23; repr. in *Music & Letters* 50/2 (1969): 223-8; C. Graves: *Hubert Parry: His Life and Works* (London: Macmillan, 1926); and J.A. Fuller Maitland: *Hubert Parry.* *Musical Quarterly* 5 (1919): 299-307.

³² For a general account of Wood's life and music see I. Copley: *The Music of Charles Wood: A Critical Study* (London: Thames Publishing, 1978); M.H. Nosek: 'Wood: A Personal Memoir.' *Music & Letters* 108 (1966): 492-3; and H. Howells: 'Charles Wood.' *English Church Music* (1966): 56-60.

³³ For a general account of Parratt's life and music—see F.D. Tovey: *Walter Parratt: Master of the Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1941).

³⁴ For a biographical note see K. Shenton: 'A Forgotten Organist: Henry Walford Davies (1869-1941).' *The Organ* 71 (1991-2): 13-15.

³⁵ Please see n.a., 'Royal College of Music.' *Musical Times* 56/870 (August 1915): 489-90; and n.a., 'Royal College of Music.' *Musical Times* 971/56 (September 1915): 554.

he an exemplary student, but also a favourite of Stanford who referred to him as his 'son in music.'³⁶ The RCM also provided its students with a private listening ground for new compositions. The RCM Orchestra which was founded and conducted by Stanford and Henry Holmes included a number of Howells' works in its programmes including the Three Dances for Violin and Orchestra Op.7 (1915), the Suite *The B's* Op.13 (1914) and the second and third movements of the Elegy for Viola, String Quartet, and String Orchestra Op.15 (1917). The Elegy which is dedicated to Howells' student friend Francis Purcell Warren was performed again at a Mons Memorial Concert given at the Royal Albert Hall, London on 15 December 1917, conducted by Sir Hugh Allen.³⁷ The Suite *The B's* was short lived due to its title which was regarded by some as a hindrance. It was given its first (and only) public performance by the Bournemouth Municipal Orchestra on 13 February 1919, conducted by Sir Dan Godfrey.³⁸ Godfrey was a notable advocate of British music. A prominent figure of the English Musical Renaissance, he invited a number of composers to conduct their own works including Parry, Stanford, Elgar,³⁹ Ethel Smyth⁴⁰ and Mackenzie.⁴¹ Although never performed again, the Suite *The B's* was

³⁶ See interview between C. Palmer and H. Howells repr. in Palmer 1987: 12. See also Palmer 1992: 51.

³⁷ For a general account of Allen's life and work see T. Wood: 'Portrait of H.P.A.' *Music & Letters* 31 (1950): 290-4; C. Bailey: *Hugh Percy Allen* (London: Oxford University Press, 1948); J.A. Westrup: 'Sir Hugh Allen.' *Music & Letters* 27 (1946): 65; T. Armstrong: 'Sir Hugh Allen.' *Musical Times* 87 (1946): 73-6; and E.J. Dent: 'Sir Hugh Allen.' *Music Bulletin* 5 (1923): 6.

³⁸ For an autobiographical account of Godfrey's life and work see D. Godfrey: *Memoirs and Music: Thirty-Five Years of Conducting* (London: Hutchinson, 1924). See also S. Upton: *Sir Dan Godfrey and the Bournemouth Municipal Orchestra* (West Wickham: Vintage Light Music Society, 1979).

³⁹ For a general account of Elgar's life and music see M. Kennedy: *The Life of Elgar* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004); S. Mundy: *The Life of Elgar* (London: Omnibus, 2001); R. Anderson: *Elgar* (London: Dent, 1993); M. Kennedy: *Portrait of Elgar* (Oxford: Oxford Clarendon Press, 1987); J.N. Moore: *Spirit of England: Edward Elgar and his World* (London: Heinemann, 1984); M. De-la-Noy: *Elgar: The Man* (London: Hamilton, 1983); and I. Parrott: *Elgar* (London: Dent, 1971).

⁴⁰ For a general account of Smyth's life and music see G. Anderson: *Ethel Smyth: The Burning Rose* (London: Cecil Woolf, 1997); L. Collis: *Impetuous Heart: The Story of Ethel Smyth* (London: William Kimber, 1984); C. Saint John: *Ethel Smyth: A Biography (with additional chapters V. Sackville-West and Kathleen Dale)* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1959); and T. Beecham: 'Dame Ethel Smyth (1858-1944).' *Musical Times* 30 (1949): 329-36.

one of Howells' better received orchestral pieces, described as 'a work with much ingenuity, and full of life and colour.'⁴²

Not including Howells' output for Westminster Cathedral Choir, which was performed liturgically, he had one other notable public performance whilst still a student in London. The First Piano Concerto in C minor Op.8 (1913) was premiered at the Queen's Hall on 10 July 1914 by the Queen's Hall Orchestra with Arthur Benjamin⁴³ as soloist, conducted by Stanford. The work was poorly received, Howells later recalling that it suffered 'murder by critics', although Eaglefield Hull writing for the *Musical Opinion* considered it 'magnificent . . . well worth ranking by those of Rachmaninov which we hear so frequently.'⁴⁴ However, there were others who felt that Howells had 'greatly taxed his powers of imagination', and disheartened, he withdrew the work from performance.⁴⁵ Howells struggled to accept criticism, something that in later life would prove destructive to his creative confidence.

Illness, recuperation and a new beginning

Howells studied at the RCM until 1917, after which he moved to Salisbury to take up the post of Assistant Organist at the cathedral under Sir Walter Alcock. He also applied to Queen's College, Oxford to read music out of residence in 1916, which although successful was deferred after the sudden diagnosis of Graves Disease in June the following year (although he had probably contracted the condition as early as 1914).⁴⁶ Howells' illness was a heart-related condition which meant that he had

⁴¹ For a general account of Mackenzie's life and music see D. Baker: *The Music of Sir Alexander Campbell Mackenzie (1847-1935): a Critical Study* (PhD diss., University of Durham, 1999); J.P. Baker: 'Alexander Mackenzie.' *Musical Quarterly* 13 (1927): 14-28; and C. Maclean: 'Sir Alexander Mackenzie: A biographical Sketch.' *Music Student* 8 (1916): 277-82.

⁴² n.a., 'Bournemouth.' *Musical Times* 60/913 (March 1919): 130.

⁴³ For a biographical note see H. Howells: 'Arthur Benjamin 1893-1960.' *Tempo* 55/56 (1960): 2-3.

⁴⁴ Repr. in Spicer 1998: 37.

⁴⁵ n.a., 'The Patron's Fund Concert.' *Musical Times* 55/859 (August 1914): 540.

⁴⁶ He was awarded the Oxford BMus in 1934 and the DMus in 1937.

difficulty walking and talking at the same time. His pulse rate was around 130, and his eyeballs protruded.⁴⁷ The condition was considered terminal, and predicted only six months to live he returned to the family home in Lydney after intensive experimental radium treatment at St Thomas' Hospital, London. To add to his distress, he was forced to relinquish his post at Salisbury in May after barely three months in residence.⁴⁸ It took three years convalescence during which time Howells edited Tudor church music manuscripts for the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust before he could return to normal work. He had impressed the Trust, being one of seven successful entrants selected as part of their music publication scheme (1917). Stanford, as an act of kindness had submitted the Piano Quartet in A minor on Howells' behalf which was subsequently published by Stainer & Bell under the auspices of the Trust in 1918. The Tudor Church Music Scheme was headed by Richard Terry⁴⁹ under whom Howells worked until 1920 when the executive committee were no longer willing to provide further financial assistance, suggesting that he might be employed as a cataloguer in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, or perhaps as a teacher at either at the RCM or the Royal Academy of Music, London (RAM) 'until he find something more suitable.'⁵⁰ His subsequent part-time appointment in April 1920 to the teaching staff of the RCM to teach 'harmony etc' at a rate of ten shillings per hour⁵¹ was initially only a temporary arrangement. He had since declined the offer from Walford Davies of an academic post at the University of Wales, Aberystwyth, writing in his diary: 'perplexity follows such a letter and offer.'⁵²

⁴⁷ Spicer 1998: 43.

⁴⁸ See J.R. Weeks: 'Howells' Salisbury Period.' *Musical Times* 127/1718 (April 1986): 225 and 227.

⁴⁹ See R. Turbet: 'An Affair of Honour: 'Tudor Church Music', 'The Ousting of Richard Terry, and a Trust Vindicated.' *Music & Letters* 76/4 (November 1995): 593-600.

⁵⁰ Committee minutes dated 25 February 1920, Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, National Archives of Scotland.

⁵¹ Repr. in Andrews 1999: 743.

⁵² Diary entry, 3 June 1919, Howells Estate.

During his illness, Howells had missed a number of important first performances of his music. On 25 October 1917, the 'Fantasy' String Quartet Op.25 was first performed at the Steinway Hall, London by the London String Quartet. The Elegy for Viola, String Quartet and String Orchestra Op.15 was premiered at the Royal Albert Hall by the London Symphony Orchestra conducted by Sir Hugh Allen on 15 December 1917. On 19 January 1919 Sybil Eaton performed the Three Pieces for Violin and Piano Op. 28 at the South Place Institute London. Finally, on 13 December 1923, the popular *Puck's Minuet* Op.20 (1917) for small orchestra was performed at the Queen's Hall by the London Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Sir Hamilton Harty.⁵³ Successive performances followed in Bristol (1920), Manchester (1920) and Liverpool (1924).

Herbert Howells – the family man

Since 1911, Howells had on and off been courting Dorothy Dawe (1891-1975)⁵⁴ of Churchdown, Gloucestershire. They were engaged on 2 April 1913 when he proposed after a recital (Dorothy sang soprano) given in the Gloucestershire village of Newnham-on-Severn. The course of Herbert's illness placed some strain on their relationship, but on 3 August 1920 they finally married at Twigworth Parish Church, near Gloucester. Dorothy and Herbert were two very different characters and in the opinion of their daughter Ursula, although they were genuinely 'fond' of each other, they should have never married.⁵⁵ Dorothy suffered from an inferiority complex caused not just by a lack of education, but her own family (her father was

⁵³ For a general account of Harty's life and work see D. Greer: *Hamilton Harty: his Life and Music* (Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 1979); and J.F. Russel: 'Hamilton Harty.' *Music & Letters* 22 (1941): 216-24.

⁵⁴ Dorothy's biological family name was Goozee. She and her sister were adopted by a family called Dawe.

⁵⁵ Interview between P. Spicer and U. Howells repr. in Spicer 1998: 83-4.

illegitimate). Herbert too had his insecurities although these stemmed from his childhood deprivations. He worried about social status and money, whilst his depressions, although not clinical, were worsened by the guilt of many extra-marital affairs which continued until late into his life.⁵⁶

By 1921 Howells was working full-time at the RCM, and had since been appointed an examiner to the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music (ABRSM) for which he undertook tours of South Africa in 1921, and Canada in 1923.⁵⁷ On 17 September 1922 Ursula Mary Howells was born; Howells notes in his diary: 'the dear daughter came at 7.45 p.m.'⁵⁸ Also, in 1922, Howells made both his Promenade and Three Choirs Festival debuts. *Procession* Op.36 was originally envisaged for piano, and later orchestrated by Howells for that year's [Sir] Henry Wood⁵⁹ Promenade Concert on 29 August at the Queen's Hall, London featuring the Queen's Hall Orchestra, conducted by Howells. *Sine Nomine: A Phantasy* Op.37 was commissioned specially for the 1922 Gloucester Three Choirs Festival. It was Elgar's idea to invite three young British composers to contribute music to that year's Festival, the others being Eugene Goossens and Arthur Bliss.⁶⁰ *Sine Nomine* was first performed in Gloucester Cathedral on 5 September 1922 by the London Symphony Orchestra with soloists Carrie Tubb (soprano) and John Coates (tenor), conducted by Howells. It was the opening work in a concert that also included Mendelssohn's *Elijah*, what was seen as unfortunate programming, although Howells later recalled

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ See H. Van der Mescht, Heinrich: 'Herbert Howells' Visit to South Africa in 1921: His Views on Music and Musicians.' *South African Journal of Musicology* 18 (1998): 47-60; and 'The Views of Herbert Howells: an English Music Examiner on Travelling to South Africa in 1921.' *Musicus* 27/1 (1999): 124-34.

⁵⁸ Diary entry, 17 September 1922, Howells Estate.

⁵⁹ For a general account of Wood's life and work see A. Jacobs: *Henry J. Wood: Maker of the Proms* (London: Methuen, 1994); C.B. Rees: *Sir Henry Wood: Fifty Years of the Proms* (London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1948); and H.J. Wood: *My Life of Music* (London: Gollancz, 1938).

⁶⁰ For a general account of Bliss' life and music see J. Sugden: *Sir Arthur Bliss* (London: Omnibus, 1997); S. Craggs: *Arthur Bliss: a Bio-Bibliography* (London: Greenwood, 1988); and A. Bliss: *As I Remember* (London: Faber & Faber, 1970).

that *Sine Nomine* seemed to please the 'Elijah audience.'⁶¹ In a review however, *The Times* said:

The plan was no doubt well-intentioned but it was not a fortunate position to give Mr Howells' work. When many hundreds of people have come together to share in a certain and well defined experience the interpolation of something so totally different as this, a piece of modern impressionistic music with voices used instrumentally and singing nothing in particular in the way of words is apt to be received unsympathetically. The audience who comes to *Elijah* comes primarily to hear *Elijah* call down fire from Heaven, bring rain on the earth and do other mighty works. It is because Mendelssohn has made all these things so graphic that they can never hear his music often enough...⁶²

A heavy work load and a new family resulted in a slight diminishing of Howells' output during the mid-1920s and early 1930s. Of the works dating from this period, the 'Pastoral' Rhapsody Op.38 (1923) was premiered at the Eastbourne Festival by the Eastbourne Municipal Orchestra conducted by Henry G. Amers on 10 November. It was performed again in Manchester by the Hallé Orchestra conducted by Hamilton Harty on 21 January 1925. This culminated in the same year with the embarrassing premiere of the Second Piano Concerto Op.39 on 27 April.⁶³ Although a success, the performance which was given by the Royal Philharmonic Society Orchestra, with Harold Samuel as soloist, conducted by Sir Malcolm Sargent, was tarnished by the behaviour of critic, Robert Lorenz, who following the performance stood up, turned to the audience and exclaimed 'well thank God that's over', or words to that effect.⁶⁴ Ursula Howells recalls that 'the Second Piano Concerto had a desperate effect on [her father]. He was a mess, [and] like so many people, underneath, and he wasn't big enough to overcome that.'⁶⁵ Howells withdrew the work, but in later life was calmer in reflection:

⁶¹ Interview between C. Palmer and H. Howells repr. in Palmer 1987: 14.

⁶² n.a., 'Three Choirs Festival: Popularity of 'Elijah.' *The Times* (Wednesday 6 September 1922): 7.

⁶³ For a review see n.a., 'Royal Philharmonic Society: A British Programme.' *The Times* (Tuesday 28 April 1925): 12.

⁶⁴ Spicer 1998: 80.

⁶⁵ Interview between P. Spicer and U. Howells repr. in Spicer 1998: 82.

I wasn't surprised this man got up, but he got up for purely political reasons. You see there were cliques in those days, and he belonged very much to the Philip Heseltine clique who weren't at all friendly to the people I was working amidst, and I think [he] was furious because I had been asked and commissioned to do this work instead of E.J. Moeran.⁶⁶

Following the premiere of the Second Piano Concerto, Howells suffered what is best described as a crisis of creative confidence. He was not completely inactive and works post-dating this period include *Lambert's Clavichord* Op.41 (1927), consisting of 10 miniatures and *In Green Ways* Op.43 (1928) which he composed for that year's Three Choirs Festival held at Gloucester. Howells conducted the first performance given in the cathedral on 7 September by the Festival Orchestra with Joan Elwes (soprano). On the 12 April 1926, Howells noted in his diary: 'Dear Sonnie born today at 4 p.m.'⁶⁷ This marked the arrival of Michael Kendrick Howells, completing the family who lived at flat 44 in Castelnau at Barnes on the river Thames, near Hammersmith Bridge. Although Dorothy seemed content to stay at home with the children, the thought of her sacrificing a singing career troubled Herbert greatly, and his unfaithfulness left him racked with guilt. According to Ursula, he was 'ruled by sex . . . He was unbelievably attractive to the female sex and was as attracted to them.'⁶⁸ Finally in May 1936 he was forced to confess his liaisons to Dorothy. His current mistress Valerie Trimble had announced she was pregnant, although this later proved to be a false alarm. Herbert was forgiven yet the affairs continued.⁶⁹ Meanwhile the Second Organ Sonata (1932-3) had been premiered by Sir George Thalben Ball⁷⁰ on 20 March 1934 at the Royal Albert Hall, London, and *Pageantry: Suite for Brass Band* (1934) performed in Manchester as the test piece for the Belle Vue National

⁶⁶ 'Out of the Deep.' BBC Radio 3, compiled and presented by A. Green, 1992, repr, in Spicer 1998: 81.

⁶⁷ Diary entry, 12 April 1926, Howells Estate.

⁶⁸ Interview between P. Spicer and U. Howells repr. in Spicer 1998: 94.

⁶⁹ Interview between P. Spicer and U. Howells repr. in Spicer 1998: 106.

⁷⁰ For a biography of Thalben Ball see J. Rennert: *George Thalben Ball* (Newton Abbott: David & Charles, 1979).

Brass Band Contest held on 3 September. The competition was won by the Brighthouse and Rastrick Band.

Family tragedy and the composition of Hymnus Paradisi

In September 1935, tragedy struck whilst holidaying in Bream, near Lydney. The family were walking in the countryside when Michael complained of feeling unwell. In one of the two diaries that Howells kept at that time he recounts events: 'Mick seemed lack-lustre and complained of feeling a little sick. I feared the distance for M if we went all round the roads. So I . . . found a short cut to the left which took us over a winding route past open ground, then through a wood-still damp and slippery with recent rains (M fell once) - that led us to the barns of Noxon Farm. We paused by the pond, watching about a dozen fisherman angling for carp.'⁷¹ With no further signs of illness, the following day was spent on the farm, and on Tuesday 3rd, Michael busied himself mowing lawns followed by afternoon tea with Grace Jarratt (sister of Maurice Jarratt). As the family walked home, Michael again complained of feeling unwell and was sent to bed early. The diagnosis of polio and the boy's final hours are recorded in Howells' diary:

Wednesday 4: Mick's coming to our room in early morning. Temperature. Bad back. Dr Nada sent for. Herbert [Sumsion?] arrived with coat he thought Mick had lost. Dr N came at 2.30. Chill?

To St B[riavels] for medicine. At 9 o'Clock in Taylor's car.

Thursday 5: Mick worse: Dr N at 11.15. Orders for London. Ambulance and Cheltenham Flier - London - Dr Dowling, Nursing Home. Dr Hunt. Fearful anxiety.

Friday 6: Nursing home at 8.45 - Dr H at 9am. With M most of the morning - lunch with Scotts. M again at 2.30. Grave change. Mrs Fisher came - Mick worse always. Dr H 7pm. Hope then despair. Dr Brunton. Dr Disher . . . Mick died at 10.10pm. +⁷²

Michael Kendrick Howells (1926-35) died from the most virulent form of polio on Friday 6 September 1935, aged only nine years. He was buried at Twigworth Parish

⁷¹ Diary entry, 1 September 1935, Howells Estate.

⁷² Diary entries, 4, 5 and 6 September 1935, Howells Estate.

Church on 11 September. The original plot is notoriously marshy and susceptible to flooding, and his grave was moved to dryer land the following year. Whilst Dorothy verged on a nervous breakdown, Ursula, desperate to find her grieving father consolation, suggested that he 'write about Michael in music'.⁷³ Three years later, he began composing *Hymnus Paradisi*:

The sudden loss, in 1935, of an only son - a loss essentially so profound and, in its very nature, beyond argument - might at any time be of such an impact as to impel a composer, after a time to seek release and consolation in language and terms nearest and most personal to him. Music might well have the power beyond any other medium to offer that release and comfort. It did so in my case.

From the first, what I then composed became a personal, private document. For text I sought immemorial prose. At the outset, and at the end, I used only two sentences from the Latin Requiem Mass, knowing that one of them - 'et lux perpetua eis' - would govern the work: especially that word 'lux' - light. Light, indeed, touches all but one of the six movements. 'Blessed are the dead' alone stands outside, and yet is in sight of, that same light: and even the gravest verse of the 23rd Psalm reflects it. And the movement in which I combine 'Sanctus' with 'I will lift up mine eyes' blazes with it. For an ending I had still to summon, if I could, an even more intense degree of the work's pervasive radiance. I searched a long time for verbal text that would serve that purpose - and for a long time I was baffled. Then my friend Sir Thomas Armstrong found what I had been looking for. Gratefully, I still read again the letter in which Sir Thomas, in his beautiful handwriting, wrote the text of 'Holy is the true light', found in the Salisbury Diurnal and again at the end of Robert Bridges' 'The Spirit of man'.

Hymnus Paradisi was finished in 1938. For twelve years more it remained what I had originally wished it to be - a personal, almost secret document. But in 1950 Ralph Vaughan Williams asked to see the work, and insisted upon my releasing it...⁷⁴

The full score and orchestral parts were not completed until 1950. Christopher Palmer established conclusively through correspondence with Herbert Sumsion and Howells' diaries that it was in fact Sumsion, then Organist of Gloucester Cathedral who first persuaded Howells to release the work. In his diary Howells records having played the work to Sumsion at the RCM.⁷⁵ In a letter to Palmer, Sumsion confirms that he wished to perform the work at the following year's Gloucester Three Choirs Festival, but writes that it was only when Vaughan Williams⁷⁶ and Sir Adrian Boult⁷⁷ were

⁷³ Spicer 1998: 100.

⁷⁴ BBC radio talk given by H. Howells, 5 December 1968, repr. in Palmer 1992: 414-5.

⁷⁵ Diary entry, 30 August 1949, Howells Estate.

⁷⁶ For a general account of Vaughan Williams' life and music see L. Foreman, ed.: *Vaughan Williams in Perspective* (London: Albion, 1998); A. Frogley, ed.: *Vaughan Williams Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Kennedy 1992; U. Vaughan Williams: *Ralph Vaughan Williams: A Biography of Ralph Vaughan Williams* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); and M. Hurd: *Ralph Vaughan Williams* (London: Faber & Faber, 1970).

emphatically in favour that Howells granted permission.⁷⁸ The first performance was given in Gloucester Cathedral by the Festival Orchestra and Chorus with Isobel Baillie (soprano) and William Herbert (Tenor), conducted by Howells on 7 September 1950.⁷⁹

Some exaggerate the impact of *Hymnus Pardisi*. It is true that arguably after such a long period of producing little substantial, the work was a significant advertisement for Howells, who had since the Second Piano Concerto immersed himself mainly in teaching. It should also be pointed out that the tragic, yet touching genesis was no secret among audiences perhaps moved by its story and not just the music. Following the Gloucester premiere however, reaction among the Press and friends of Howells was fervent. In a review, *The Times* said:

This morning Dr Herbert Howells conducted his own new work *Hymnus Paradisi*, which is larger in conception than anything else that has ever come from him. If one thinks of paradise as a place, or even a state of mind, its dominant characteristic is light, "the white radiance of eternity." This score is full of light. It takes its start from the words "Lux Luceat eis" because it took its origin in a requiem for the composer's son. Its texture is made of long flowing contrapuntal lines sufficiently numerous to give not so much density as a deep glowing light as from a canvas of Rembrandt, but the setting of the *Sanctus* which follows in juxtaposition to Psalm 121 blazes with a dazzling effulgence. Some of the vocal writing may seem unnecessarily difficult, as though involution and complexity for their own sake come more naturally to the composer than directness and simplicity, the sequence of thought running through an unusual choice of texts is so deeply personal that the listener may lose thread of its formal unity, but its tonal effect is like the rising of the summer sun.⁸⁰

Gerald Finzi⁸¹ wrote in the *Musical Times*:

Quiller-Couch has written of those springs and streams which dive into chasms and are lost to emerge into daylight at long distances having pierced their way through subterranean channels. This might well describe the impact which 'Hymnus Paradisi' first made on many of its hearers. It was quite clear that the work over-topped such known things of Howells' as had recently preceded it; but a generation had passed since Howells' stream had first dived underground, and it was not easy to remember that behind 'Hymnus Paradisi' lay nearly forty years of creative work.⁸²

⁷⁷ For a general account of Boult's life and work see M. Kennedy: *Adrian Boult* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1987); and N. Simeone: *Sir Adrian Boult: Companion of Honour* (London: Midas Books, 1980).

⁷⁸ See Palmer 1992: 107.

⁷⁹ For reviews of the premiere see n.a., 'Three Choirs Festival.' *The Times* (8 September 1950): 6; and M. Cooper: 'Three Choirs Festival.' *Musical Times* 91/1292 (October 1950): 398.

⁸⁰ n.a., 'Three Choirs Festival.' *The Times* Friday 8 September 1950): 6.

⁸¹ For a general account of Finzi's life and music see S. Banfield: *Gerald Finzi: An English Composer* (London: Faber & Faber, 1997); and D. McVeagh: 'Gerald Finzi 1901-1956.' *World of Church Music* (1981): 16-20.

⁸² G. Finzi: 'Herbert Howells.' *Musical Times* 95/1334 (April 1954): 180-3.

Contrary to belief, successive performances were not always as well received as the Gloucester premiere, but *Hymnus Paradisi* nevertheless toured the country and by the mid 1950s had been heard in many major provincial centres including London (1951 and 1952), Cambridge (1951), Worcester (1951), Leeds (1951), Hereford (1952), Birmingham (1953) and Manchester (1953).

Howells and the BBC

Although Michael's death had a drastic effect on Howells, he remained busy, not just as a teacher and lecturer, but also as a broadcaster on radio. The majority of his output was mostly small scale in the immediate years following Michael's death which suggests that he was preoccupied with *Hymnus Paradisi*. He did however write a Concerto for String Orchestra which was first performed as part of a BBC broadcast on 16 December 1938, conducted by Boult, and a number of important organ works including the second set of *Psalm Preludes* (1938-9) and the *Six Pieces* which date from the 1940s.

His activities as a teacher and lecturer continued to grow when in 1936, he accepted the post of Director of Music at St Paul's Girls' School, Hammersmith, a position he held until 1962. He succeeded Vaughan Williams who had temporarily accepted the role following the death of Gustav Holst's⁸³ in 1934. His duties included a small amount of departmental administration, concert organising as well as conducting the senior orchestra and class singers. According to Spicer he was only required to attend St Paul's on Mondays, although it is likely to have been more than this in reality, combined with a full schedule at the RCM, external examining, and a

⁸³ For a general account of Holst's life and music see J.C. Mitchell: *A Comprehensive Biography of Composer Gustav Holst with Correspondence and Diary Excerpts* (Lewiston NY; Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 2001); A. Gibbs: *Holst Among Friends* (London: Thames Publishing, 2000); A. Dickinson: *Holst's Music: A Guide*, ed. A. Gibbs (London, 1995); M. Short: *Gustav Holst: The Man and his Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990); and I. Holst: *Holst* (London: Faber & Faber, 1974).

growing amount of broadcast work with the BBC.⁸⁴ Howells received his first formal invitation to give a radio broadcast in November 1933, but was unable to accept due to the proposed schedule. He was approached again the following year, and gave his first broadcast on 20 November in the place of Bliss speaking on Vaughan Williams' Fourth Symphony. Following this, he broadcast a further three introductory talks to concerts between 1935 and 1937, a series of six talks entitled 'Music and the Ordinary Listener: The Modern Problem' during February and March 1937, and the following year, two series entitled 'Music and Everyday Life'. In 1938 he gave a talk on 'Choral Singing', transmitted across Africa, the West Indies, the Mediterranean, and Eastern Canada (15 April), a five-minute pre-concert talk on Ivor Gurney's song-cycle, *Ludlow and Teme* (18 July), and accompanied three recitals featuring sopranos Mary Cadbury (24 April), Isobel Baillie (21 July), and tenor Sinclair Logan (23 July). Following a four-year period away from radio, he gave his first 'Talk for Schools' in February 1942.⁸⁵ This was a reminiscence of the 1910 Three Choirs Festival, during which he first Vaughan Williams' *Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis*, and Fritz Kreisler playing passages from Elgar's Violin Concerto. This talk was broadcast on 12 June 1942 as part of the 'I shall never forget' series, co-ordinated by John Horton, Director of Schools Broadcasts for whom Howells gave a further four talks.⁸⁶ A BBC internal memorandum by Horton describes Howells' presentation as 'carefully prepared, full of character, pleasant and energetic.'⁸⁷ There also exists a second report, again by Horton, in defence of Howells' style which suggests possible dissatisfaction

⁸⁴ Spicer 1998: 105.

⁸⁵ Howells' first 'Talk for Schools' was given on 5 November 1937. The script and production details are no longer extant, however the BBC Written Archives Centre does record these talks having taken place. Correspondence also exists between Howells and the BBC.

⁸⁶ These are in consecutive order: 'Listening to the Orchestra.' (21 May 1942); 'The Musician's Paintbox.' (11 January 1943); 'The Composer, the Performer, the Listener.' (21 February 1944); and 'Elgar and the Orchestra.' (28 February 1944).

⁸⁷ BBC internal memorandum, 15 April 1942, BBC Written Archives Centre, Reading, Howells Box File.

among some senior figures.⁸⁸ Howells appeared less frequently after 1945, broadcasting talks on 'William Walton' (1947/8?),⁸⁹ 'Ralph Vaughan Williams' (1950? and 1959), 'The Three Choirs Festival in Elgar's Time' (1960), 'Elgar as I Knew Him: A Personal Portrait' (1960), 'English Keyboard Music' (1962), 'Malcolm Sargent' (1965), 'Fifty Years Ago: Vaughan Williams' *Sea Symphony*' (1965), '*Hymnus Paradisi*' (1968), and 'A Tribute to Sir William Harris' (1973).⁹⁰

Cambridge and the middle years

On his appointment as Assistant Organist at Salisbury, Howells wrote to his close friend Harold Darke: 'I am going to Salisbury! . . . I must admit the joy I feel.'⁹¹ So in 1941, Howells returned to the organ-loft as Acting Organist of St John's College, Cambridge in the absence of Robin Orr who had been conscripted into the RAF. He was allocated rooms in Second Court which included their own bathroom, a luxury he had insisted on. He took his first chorister practice at 9.15am on Friday 10 October, after which he visited the University Press, followed by lunch with his nephew, Neil, a Physics student who had been evacuated to King's College from Queen Mary's College, London. He spent the afternoon in St John's Chapel practising the organ, followed by a visit to King's College Chapel where Darke (Acting Organist) was preparing for a broadcast.⁹² The following day he had breakfast in his rooms, followed by a boys' practice lasting from 9.15am to 10.55am. He had lunch in his rooms, and took a full choir practice at 5.30pm. His diary entry for Sunday 11

⁸⁸ BBC report, 21 May 1943, BBC Written Archives Centre, Reading, Howells Box File.

⁸⁹ For a general account of Walton's life and music see S.R. Craggs: *William Walton: A Source Book* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1993); M. Kennedy: *Portrait of Walton* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989); C. Smith: *William Walton: a Bio-Bibliography* (London: Greenwood, 1988); and S. Walton: *William Walton: Behind the Façade* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).

⁹⁰ See n.a., 'Sir William Harris: Organist, Choir Trainer and Composer.' *The Times* (Saturday 8 September 1973): 14; H. Howells: 'Sir William Harris: He Being Ninety, 28 March 1973.' *English Church Music* (1973): 8-10; and n.a., 'Obituary.' *Musical Times* 14 (1973): 1160.

⁹¹ Letter from H. Howells to H. Darke, 22 February 1917, Howells Estate.

⁹² Diary entries repr. in Spicer 1998: 123.

October reads 'a happy first day's services.'⁹³ According to John Margetson, then a choral scholar at St John's, Howells liked to dine in Hall 'and thereafter would sometimes entertain three or four of us undergraduates to coffee in his rooms . . . A particular reason for dining in Hall, so he told me was to extract from the don sitting next to him an account of the latest work being done in any particular academic field. This would then form the basis of his Monday lecture at the RCM, which in accordance to Parry's wish must broaden the minds of music students with the discussion of subjects other than music.'⁹⁴ Margetson also recalls the numerous girls who surrounded Howells' life at that time, and how he and his Cambridge compatriots regularly visited the RCM, in the knowledge that the prettiest girls in the College would be in Howells' room or thereabouts: 'He was well known to love pretty girls, and we were quite happy to use him as a sort of upper-class pimp.'⁹⁵ Howells occupied his rooms at St John's until the Michaelmas Term 1945 after which Orr resumed his duties. College records confirm that Howells was made a Fellow Commoner on 11 January 1946, and was admitted by order of the College Council on 7 February. His privileges included dining at the High Table at his own expense, dining with a guest, and attending College functions. Ursula believes that his connection with Cambridge might have influenced his decision not to accept a lectureship from Oxford which was offered to him by Herbert Kennedy Andrews, (New College) in March 1947: 'I believe that it would make all the difference to the future of music here . . . and if I might say so, you might find . . . time for the thing you ought to be doing, i.e. composing.'⁹⁶

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Interview between Sir J. Margetson and C. Robinson repr. in Spicer 1998: 123.

⁹⁵ Interview between Sir J. Margetson and P. Spicer repr. in Spicer 1998: 125.

⁹⁶ Letter from H. Kennedy Andrews to H. Howells, 9 March 1947, Howells Estate. Oxford's Faculty of Music was instituted in 1944. Jack Westrup was appointed Heather Professor of Music in 1947 presiding over a full undergraduate programme and the creation of an Honours school in 1950. An

Two BBC appointments were offered to Howells in 1947, both of which he declined. The first was an invitation from W.H. Haley to serve on the Corporation's Central Musical Advisory Committee. The second, again from Haley asked permission to nominate Howells for the position of Director of Music following the death of Victor Hely-Hutchinson in March that year. Lennox Berkeley who had canvassed Howells informally wrote: 'I wish you could be persuaded to offer yourself to be D.M. I know that it would be to some extent an act of self-sacrifice . . . but this is just the kind of job that calls out for a man of natural good manners and dignity, which he must have in addition to his musical qualifications, and if I may say so you are such a man.'⁹⁷ In event, Kenneth Wright became Acting Director of Music until the appointment of Stuart Wilson in late 1947.

During 1948, Howells examined the degrees of BMus and DMus at Durham University, and the following May, was elected to the Board of Professors at the RCM. Later that month he set degree papers at Cambridge, including the new BA (Hons), the success of which is expressed in a letter from Thurston Dart (1921-71):

...May I take this opportunity of saying how much we have valued your help in shaping this new Examination of ours. I think we have set an excellent precedent for future years & I hope future Examiners will live up to it . . . I do hope that after quite such a load of examining and adjudicating you will have a satisfactory, and v. well-earned holiday...⁹⁸

Indeed the previous twelve months had been a stressful time for Howells and the family. Dorothy had been taken ill in October and admitted to St Mary's Hospital, London for a major operation, and in January the following year their home in Barnes was burgled and badly vandalised. The family silver was stolen including valuable Georgian cutlery. It was assumed that the thieves were disturbed as articles were recovered later, abandoned on nearby Barnes Common.

application for a senior lectureship was received by Gordon Jacob following Howells' declination, however the position was offered to, and accepted by Edmund Rubbra.

⁹⁷ Letter from L. Berkeley to H. Howells, 1 June 1947, Howells Estate.

⁹⁸ Letter from T. Dart to H. Howells, 18 June 1948, Howells Estate.

In 1954 Howells was appointed the King Edward Chair of Music at King's College, the University of London, a position he held for a decade, although it was not until after his departure that a music department was eventually established. In the same year *Missa Sabrinensis* was first performed at the Worcester Three Choirs Festival on 7 September in Worcester Cathedral by the London Symphony Orchestra and Festival Chorus, with soloists Gladys Ripley (soprano), William Herbert (tenor), and Gordon Clinton (bass), conducted by Howells. The work was commissioned for radio broadcast by the Cathedral's Organist and Festival Director, Sir David Willcocks who specified a secular mass of one and a quarter hours in duration. Critics were quick to note the work's complexities. A BBC memorandum dated 8 November 1955 reads:

I've now had time to go through the score (vocal) of this work and I must confess to feeling that it would be very hard for the Home Service listener, or indeed any other who did not *ab initio* love Howells and wish him well. It is astonishingly devoid of any real rhythmic basis for long stretches, and as I played it to myself I became almost drugged and becalmed by its meanderings, and by its shifting but directionless harmonic sequences. It is melodically undistinguished – its mood of almost undisturbed reflection lasts for hours, it seems. Loud or soft, the texture is either involved and complicated, or else bare and ascetic.⁹⁹

Missa Sabrinensis received its London premiere at the Royal Albert Hall on 17 March 1956. It was not performed again until 25 October 1982 at a concert given by the Bach Choir to celebrate Howells' 90th Birthday.

Howells' output was now almost completely devoted to choral and organ music. His many anthems and services, and other choral works included *An English Mass* which was commissioned a year after the first performance of *Missa Sabrinensis* to celebrate Harold Darke's 40 years as organist of St Michael's Church, Cornhill, London. The work was first performed by the St Michael's Singers in St Michael's Church on 4 June 1956. The same year, Howells accepted an honorary fellowship from Trinity College of Music, London. He was honoured again in 1963

⁹⁹ BBC Memorandum, 8 November 1955, BBC Written Archives Centre, Reading.

with a Fellowship from the Royal School of Church Music. He held Presidencies of the Incorporated Society of Musicians (1951-2), the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society (1958-9), and the RCO (1959-60). From 1957 he served as a council member of the National Youth Orchestra of Great Britain. He was Master of the Worshipful Company of Musicians from 1959 to 1960, and in 1959 he was elected the third John Collard Life Fellow in succession to Vaughan Williams and Elgar. He was awarded the CBE in 1953.

A number of notable choral works date from the 1960s and early 1970s. 'A Hymn for St Cecilia' (1960) was commissioned by the Livery Club of the Worshipful Company of Musicians to mark Howells' mastership of the Company (1959-60). It was first performed under Sir John Dykes-Bower on 22 November 1961 at a special service held in St Paul's Cathedral, London. Howells wrote 'A Sequence for St Michael' (1961) for a special recital to mark the 450th anniversary of the foundation of St John's College, Cambridge. This included an evening service by Michael Tippett¹⁰⁰ and 'Songs of Zion' by Robin Orr. Although the entire concert was intended for broadcast by the BBC, only Tippett's service was recorded for transmission which angered Howells considerably who felt greatly insulted by such an omission, and without explanation too.¹⁰¹ Other works include 'Take Him Earth for Cherishing' (1964) which was Howells' first foreign commission, dedicated to the memory of John F. Kennedy. It was first performed on 22 November 1964 at the National Gallery of Art, Washington DC by the choir of St George's Cathedral, Kingston, Oratorio, Canada, directed by G.N. Maybee. The *Coventry Mass* (1968)

¹⁰⁰ For a general account of Tippett's life and music see S. Robison, ed.: *Michael Tippett: Music and Literature* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001); D. Clarke: *The Music and Thought of Michael Tippett* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); D. Clarke ed.: *Tippett Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); M. Bowen : *Michael Tippett* (London: Robson, 1997); I. Kemp: *Tippett: The Composer and his Music* (London: Eulenburg, 1984); D. Matthews: *Michael Tippett: An Introductory Study* (London: Faber & Faber, 1980); and M. Hurd: *Tippett* (Sevenoaks: Novello, 1978).

¹⁰¹ See Andrews 1999: 464.

was commissioned by the Dean and Chapter of Coventry Cathedral and first performed on 5 October 1969, just over a year after the Cathedral's consecration. 'Thee Will I Love' (1970) commemorates the massacre of the monks of Medehamstede, now Peterborough Cathedral. It was first performed on 9 November 1970 conducted by Stanley Vann. Howells' fee of 25 guineas was donated at his request to the 'Sir Malcolm Sargent Cancer Fund for Children'. The Te Deum (1974), commissioned for the Wes Riding Cathedrals Festival is one of Howells' last canticle settings. It was first performed on 2 November 1974 in Sheffield Cathedral as part of a Festival service sung by the cathedral choirs of Sheffield, Bradford and Wakefield.

The final years

The usual retirement age for RCM professors is 70, yet even at 75 despite what Ursula describes as his 'great love-hate relationship with the College',¹⁰² Howells showed no intention of retiring. Remarkably his final teaching day was on 12 July 1979 concluding 59 years on the RCM teaching staff. Even at 70 the Board showed no desire to lose Howells, suggesting that he simply reduce his teaching commitments. In a letter, Sir Keith Falkner, Director of the College wrote: 'There will always be a place for you here so long as you feel well and able and happy to continue. You are a very special person and part of the fabric of the great traditions of the College.'¹⁰³ Four years later, Falkner's successor David Willcocks wrote: 'At the last Board of Professors meeting it was agreed that I should write annually to all Professors over the age of 70 to invite them to continue teaching at the College on a

¹⁰² Interview between P. Spicer and U. Howells repr. in Spicer 1998: 85.

¹⁰³ Letter from K. Falkner to H. Howells, February 1971, Howells Estate.

yearly basis. I have taken the liberty of assuming that you will carry on as usual, and so your name is already in the prospectus for 1975/76.'¹⁰⁴

In May 1975, Dorothy fell ill. The doctor visited Thursday 8th. She remained in bed and Howells felt 'anxiety for D, acute, most of this week.'¹⁰⁵ On the 26th, 'D's state was giving sign's of decline',¹⁰⁶ and the following day she was admitted to Charing Cross Hospital where after suffering several minor strokes and contracting pneumonia she died peacefully on 22 June 1975. Dorothy was cremated at Putney Vale Crematorium. The service was lead by the Reverend Neil Howells with George Thalben-Ball at the organ. On 4 August her ashes were interred in the plot where Michael was buried at Twigworth. In the months that followed Howells showed increasing signs of loneliness: 'a day alone: seemingly endless.'¹⁰⁷ On 8 December 1977, Howells accepted an Honorary Fellowship from Queen's College, Oxford, although due to his own deteriorating health was unable to attend. The following year, he suffered the first of two serious falls which left the fingers of his left hand smashed and bone sticking through the flesh. He made a full recovery however, although this marked the beginning of a difficult period. Howells made his last public appearance at Clarence House in November 1982 when he received an honorary doctorate from the RCM. Now 90 years old, he could no longer live independently and his failing mind, declining health and refusal to accept outside care made life impossibly difficult for other family members.¹⁰⁸ Howells spent his final years nursed by his daughter Ursula, who was caring also for her second husband Anthony Pellissier (1912-88). Anthony had suffered a serious stroke which had left him disabled without speech. Ursula tells of her father's final decline:

¹⁰⁴ Letter from D. Willcocks to H. Howells, 26 May 1975, Howells Estate.

¹⁰⁵ Diary entries repr. in Spicer 1998: 179.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Interview between P. Spicer and U. Howells, repr. in Spicer 1998: 182-3.

As his brain began to fail Herbert couldn't accept the fact that Anthony had had a stroke, and it got to the stage when he wouldn't let anyone come into the house to look after him so that Anthony and I could have a break. He would say 'You go. I'm perfectly all right on my own.' He had flooded the house twice, and almost set fire to it. Finally, I was so tired trying to cope with both . . . that the doctor tried to persuade Herbert to go into a home for a fortnight so we could have a holiday. That didn't work as, despite agreeing to his face, the moment the doctor's back was turned, Herbert insisted that he would be perfectly alright by himself at home. Finally, I had to be tough and I took him to this very nice nursing home in Putney. I said to him 'it's for two weeks.' By this time he was incontinent. I was having to lift him all the time. I felt terrible because he knew; he just knew he wouldn't come out. He sat with his head in his hands. He wouldn't speak, he wouldn't do anything. And the sister said I was just to go and that she would ring if it was absolutely necessary. I had been in Brighton in the flat for about four days when they rang to say he had had another slight stroke. Finally I came back early because I was worried, and he didn't know me. He died two days later.

It's a well known thing that if you put people in an environment where they feel alien, they will last about six weeks. He did not want to die, and he was furious. By the end he was semi-conscious, so he didn't know. He never realised how old he was, and he never made any allowances for age. He was a remarkable man and a loving and understanding father.

In the last months I saw that 'Hymnus' was on the radio and I told him it was on. He asked what it was. I told him that he had written it for Michael. He said 'I don't want to hear it', but I just left it on. And I went through at the end of it, and there he was just lying there with tears streaming down his face saying 'did I write that?'¹⁰⁹

Herbert Norman Howells died on 23 February 1983 aged 90. His great friend and colleague Sir Adrian Boult died the previous night. Howells' funeral took place at Putney Vale Crematorium officiated by Neil Howells. Thalben-Ball, who accompanied the service was now 91 years old and a little erratic. Willcocks promised that he would take over at any sign of a problem. On the 3 June, a Service of Thanksgiving for Howells' life was held at Westminster Abbey during which his ashes were interred in the north isle. Sir Thomas Armstrong read the lesson, Willcocks gave the address,¹¹⁰ and Neil Howells took the prayer of commendation. The choir sang 'Take him, earth for cherishing', 'Like as the hart' (1941), and the *Collegium Regale* setting of the Te Deum. Hymns were sung to tunes by Howells ('Michael'), Parry and Vaughan Williams.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ D. Willcocks: 'Address Given at a Service of Thanksgiving for Herbert Howells in Westminster Abbey, 3 June 1983.' *Royal College of Music Magazine* 79/3 (1983): 104-7.

Chapter Two

The Construction of Howells' Englishness

Introductory

James Day writes that the term 'Englishness' characterises all aspects of living and culture that is considered unique to Britain, listing the Monarchy, the Political State, the Anglican Church, the landscape, the English language, and even our national food.¹¹¹ In music, Englishness might also include compositions of the Tudor and Jacobean, the Anglican choral tradition, the popular operettas of Gilbert and Sullivan, Parry's 'Jerusalem', Elgar's 'Land of Hope and Glory', and even the yearly spectacle, known simply as the 'Last Night of the Proms'.¹¹² According to Day, Arthur Sullivan along with Sir William Sterndale Bennett and Sir George A. Macfarren were amongst the most significant and influential native talent which blossomed in the wake of Felix Mendelssohn, whose death was marked by some as a catastrophe in British music.¹¹³ His oratorio for the Birmingham Festival, *Elijah* was hailed by *The Times* as 'one of the most extraordinary achievements of human intelligence',¹¹⁴ whilst works such as the *Hebrides Overture* Op.26 (1826), the 'Scottish' Symphony Op.56, *A Midsummer Night's Dream* overture (1843), as well as settings of verse by Byron, Alan Cunningham and Thomas Moore conveyed a love of the British countryside and English literature.¹¹⁵ Howells shared such an affinity

¹¹¹ J. Day: *Englishness in Music: From Elizabethan Times to Elgar, Tippett and Britten* (London: Thames Publishing, 1999): 1-3.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 4-6.

¹¹³ According to Hughes and Stradling, Mendelssohn's success in Britain was proof that musical excellence was potentially a source of national pride. He had brought credibility and distinction to English musical life and in the opinion of the *Musical Times*, his death was a national tragedy: 'the personal influence of Mendelssohn on the progress of music, especially in England cannot be replaced . . . He was the adopted son of England.' repr. in Hughes/Stradling 2001: 15.

¹¹⁴ n.a., 'Birmingham Festival.' *The Times* (Thursday 27 August 1846): 5.

¹¹⁵ Both the *Hebrides Overture* and the 'Scottish' Symphony were inspired by a walking holiday in Scotland in July and August 1829. According to James Day points out, Mendelssohn's success in Britain had much to do with his personality. He came from a respectable background and was

which inspired such works as the Third String Quartet 'In Gloucestershire', the 'Pastoral' Rhapsody, *Paradise Rondel* and numerous songs and choral works set to text by Shelley, Blake and Walter de la Mare. Despite this, Nicholas Temperley however disputes the extent of Mendelssohn's impact on English music in general writing that, as did Handel, he had little influence on nineteenth century British composers.¹¹⁶ In his opinion, Mendelssohn was simply one in a 'series of foreign influences' whose impact was notable in oratorio in particular.¹¹⁷ Yet, in other genres, for example opera and to a large extent church music, there is little sign of any influence.¹¹⁸

Whatever Mendelssohn's impact on British musical life during the middle of the nineteenth century, as well as early developments associated with the English Musical Renaissance, even by the turn of the twentieth-century Englishness remained a contentious issue amongst some critics and composers, whilst music still occupied a relatively low status in the grander scale of British culture.¹¹⁹ H. Jackson's *The Eighteen-Nineties* (1913)¹²⁰ excludes the discussion of music altogether, whilst inexplicably Blake Murdoch's *The Renaissance of the Nineties* (1911)¹²¹ considers the greatest English composers of the period to be Edward MacDowell and Ethelbert Nevin, both of whom held American citizenships.¹²² Nevertheless, there were those whose loyalty to Englishness was abiding. John Fuller Maitland of *The Times* wrote of Parry's *Magnificat* (1857): 'The English master works it into the innermost texture of his fabric, treating it moreover with grandeur of conception, a certainty and power,

comfortable in all aristocratic circles. He possessed the social graces of a Victorian gentlemen as well as speaking fluent English and being well versed in the arts. See Day 1999: 118-19.

¹¹⁶ N. Temperley: 'Mendelssohn's Influence on English Music.' *Music & Letters* 43/3 (July 1962): 224-33.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 224.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 225.

¹¹⁹ Hughes/Stradling 2001: 53.

¹²⁰ H. Jackson: *The Eighteen-Nineties* (London: Grant Richards, 1913).

¹²¹ W.G.B. Murdoch: *The Renaissance of the Nineties* (London: Moring, 1911): 81.

¹²² Both MacDowell and Nevin were born in America and were of American nationality.

which were entirely beyond Mendelssohn's reach.¹²³ His review of *A Song of Darkness and Light* (1898) reads: 'it seems almost to exhaust the powers of music . . . a work which we must not hesitate to pronounce sublime, in spite of the reluctance which all Englishness seems to feel in acknowledging the presence of the highest qualities of a musical composition by a countryman.'¹²⁴

The development of this increasingly politicised quality is borne out in the relationship between the idea of 'Englishness' and that of the 'pastoral' following the outbreak of the First World War. In painting and drawing, for example, countryside images were widely used to promote national hatred of the enemy. The thought of an unblemished rural landscape under threat could motivate a sense of self-defence, self-love and self-sacrifice, although according to Alex Potts, this method of propaganda was not always successful, and the image of England's unspoilt countryside was often a vivid reproach for troops in the trenches faced by 'the ugly inhuman landscapes of death and desolation created by mayhem and bloodshed.'¹²⁵ In the musical context, pastoral vocabulary was applied within a musicological framework: 'soil', 'seed', 'root', 'garden', 'harvest'.¹²⁶ In a review of Vaughan Williams' 'Pastoral' Symphony (1922) Henry C. Colles of *The Times* wrote:

One has climbed the hill, and can look away to a horizon which seems infinitely distant as the eye is led to it through infinite gradations of blue . . . to me this symphony speaks like that wide Down country in which, because there is no incident, every blade of grass and tuft of moss is an incident . . . One may appeal to these twenty fragments of tune which are put forward in its thematic material. Every one of them is based on the simplest diatonic intervals of music. They are of the stuff of plainsong and folk-song, the blades of grass and tufts of moss, the primitive growth of musical nature . . . The interlacing growth of these intervals brings a polythony on which the ear rests, as one's foot does in the turf of the hillside.¹²⁷

¹²³ J.A. Fuller Maitland: 'Hereford Musical Festival.' *The Times* (Thursday 16 September 1897): 16.

¹²⁴ J.A. Fuller Maitland: 'Gloucester Musical Festival.' *The Times* (Friday 16 September 1898): 5.

¹²⁵ Repr. in Malvern 2004: 24.

¹²⁶ Hughes/Stradling 2001:

¹²⁷ H.C. Colles: *Essays and Lectures* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1945): 92-4.

Relation to nation and land

Although the idea of Englishness is multifarious, the Englishness of Howells' music owes a great deal to its psychological origins, his rural associations as well as the influence of his teachers, notable Parry and Stanford whose compositional traits are seen also in the music of composers such as Vaughan Williams, Bliss, Walton and Finzi.¹²⁸ Alexander Brent-Smith for example describes Parry as having all the best qualities of the 'true Englishman',¹²⁹ and claims that 'if the English character has been moulded by the action of suns, winds, and waters, then that particular type of character which has found expression in [Parry's] work is no less attributable to the action of these three elements upon the appearance and fertility of his own country beneath the Cotswold Hills.'¹³⁰ Of Howells' English character, as Brent-Smith suggests, comes from as we know an amalgamation of influences: (1) He adored the English countryside; (2) he drew inspiration from church architecture, writing music for the Anglican choral service; (3) he appreciated English literature and set English verse to music; and (4) he felt a close affinity with old English music.

According to Rutland Boughton, a natural extension of Englishness in this multifarious kind stems from folk-song: 'The Chorales out of which Bach's music grew were in their origin folk-songs, the themes of Haydn's symphonies are nearly always couched in the idiom of folk-music [and] Weber's tunes are saturated with folk-spirit.'¹³¹ Charles Kennedy Scott, like Brent-Smith and Boughton writes that the 'source' of England's music is found in folk-song,¹³² yet referring also to old English composers and the music of Tallis, Byrd, Purcell and others he writes: 'Let our musical heritage be made clear to all; let the church music of Tallis and Byrd sound in

¹²⁸ Dibble 1992: 258.

¹²⁹ A. Brent-Smith: 'The Englishness of Parry.' *Musical Times* 65/981 (November 1924): 977-9.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 979. Parry was born and brought up at Highnam Court Country Estate nr. Gloucester.

¹³¹ R. Boughton: 'English Folk-Song and English Music.' *Musical Times* 51/809 (July 1910): 428-9.

¹³² C.K. Scott: 'What of English Music.' *Musical Times* 880/57 (June 1916): 279-80.

our ears; let us know of Purcell and any other musicians who have produced beautiful work and have reflected in any vital way an English spirit . . . let it be taken in by our children, almost with their mother's milk; let it be remembered almost as a sort of spiritual standard in our musical institutions and throughout the whole range of our musical activities.'¹³³

Some of these same issues emerge in a two-part article by Edwin Evans, which marked the first in-depth study into Howells' music, published as part of a series entitled 'Modern British Composers' which lasted from January 1919 to June 1920.¹³⁴ An introductory article reviews British music following the 'debilitating influence' of Mendelssohn and Handel. Evans writes that 'England has become within a generation or two, the most copious contributor to contemporary music.'¹³⁵ Looking at the British scene chronologically, he marks its initial figures as Stanford, Parry and Mackenzie, then Elgar, William Wallace, Smyth, Bantock; and finally John B. McEwen. Since 1870, a new generation of composers had emerged, many of whom studied under the Brahms-Schumann tradition, but were later influenced by Wagner, and a new English school contra-Parry and Stanford that arose after the 'Brahms revolt' headed by Vaughan Williams.¹³⁶ This is founded on two musical currents; the rediscovery of folk-song, and the restoration of old English music. Folk-song embodies biological and native characteristics, whilst old English music seeks to restore accordingly the glories of the past for the purpose of continuing tradition.¹³⁷

Howells studied under the-Parry-and-Stanford-led Brahms, Schumann tradition, yet outside his formal education there were many other factors that

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ The series was published in the *Musical Times* and discussed individually the music of Frank Bridge, Arnold Bax, Benjamin Dale, Eugène Goossens, John Ireland, Gustav Holst, Lord Berners, Howells, and Ralph Vaughan Williams.

¹³⁵ E. Evans: 'Modern British Composers.' *Musical Times* 60/911 (January 1919): 10.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 12.

influenced his musical make-up and procedure. By any account he could not be considered a nationalist, and was never inspired by nationalist tendencies, unlike other composers, for example Elgar.¹³⁸ Indeed Evans rightly observes that it would be wrong to label Howells a nationalist: 'His compositions are rich in traits which, whether they have any affinity with folk-song or not, are recognisably English; but if these were cited as evidence of nationalist tendencies, there is little doubt that he would promptly and energetically, if not wrathfully, dissociate himself with any such movement.'¹³⁹ Howells, accordingly, eschewed overt nationalist references in relation to his music: 'I have written, to put it simply, the music I would like to write.'¹⁴⁰ Evans too points out: 'he merely sat down to write as he felt.'¹⁴¹ It should be stated however, that whilst Howells perceived himself not a musical nationalist, he was nevertheless patriotic as seen in his frustration at not being able to join his fellow countryman in fighting for King and country. Arthur Benjamin in a letter of reassurance wrote: 'Of course it would be idiotic if you were called up for service, and if the authorities (I'm always going to write that word small) insist on you becoming a soldier you must get Sir Hubert to take up the cudgels. You are not strong enough.'¹⁴²

As a patriot, rather than a nationalist, Howells was in a sense able to use the elements of folk-song without using folk-song itself unlike other composers of his

¹³⁸ During the First World War, Elgar composed a series of 'nationalist' works which Hughes and Stradling refer to as 'serious propaganda.' In November 1914, he produced his dramatic work *Carillon*, which celebrated the resistance of 'Gallant little Belgium' to the German invasion. It toured the provinces, and was recorded on phonograph in early 1915. His later war works included *Fringes of the Fleet* (1917) and *The Spirit of England* (1916-17), settings of three of Binyon's poems. Binyon himself urged the composer to 'think of England, of the English-speaking peoples, in whom the blood stirs as never before . . . I think of the thousands who will be craving to have their grief glorified and lifted up and transformed by an art like yours.' Repr. in Hughes/Stradling 2001: 86.

¹³⁹ Evans 1920: 87. [Part One]

¹⁴⁰ 'Echoes of a Lifetime.' BBC Radio 3, compiled and presented by R. Prizeman, 1981, repr. in Spicer 1998: 184.

¹⁴¹ Evans: 1920: 87. [Part One]

¹⁴² Letter from A. Benjamin to H. Howells (Summer 1916) repr. in Palmer 1992: 33.

generation. He once said that 'his interest in folk-song was perhaps for its modal colouring rather than for its human associations.'¹⁴³ Generally as Evans indicates, and as Howells suggests, he avoided it as a medium in composition preferring to create his own folk-song type melodies. For example in *Sir Patrick Spens*, he creates 'folk-y' music by composing his own tunes which have the 'essential swiftness of action', and 'direction', of simple folk-tunes.¹⁴⁴ The work is as he intended, 'absolutely British in idiom; definitely planned to make, as far as possible, an absolute union of feeling and expression between the Border Ballad and the Music.'¹⁴⁵ As Howells said: 'It is an example, I hope of a fitting compromise and union between the spirit of Folk-music and modern organised musical expression.'¹⁴⁶ This same union is outlined by Evans where he cites Howells' apparent affinity with the English countryside:

The English atmosphere in Herbert Howells' work rests neither upon a characteristic melodic idiom, nor upon harmonic treatment, nor upon any other of the devices which constitute a composer's raw material. If it did it would be less subtly true than it is, and our recognition of it as such would be a mere matter of external features. It lies deeper than that. Probably his circumstances have very largely conduced to it, for constant ill-health has compelled him to spend the greater part of his time at his home in the Forest of Dean, and the Gloucestershire countryside is a better school than any academy. He stands out among contemporary English composers as perhaps the most truly lyrical of them all, not merely in the sense of writing songs or lyrical melodies, but because his music really and truly sings where that of other composers is content to recite. His music is singularly free from rhetoric, and singularly rich in poetry. Now the problem is this: Did the countryside make him a lyricist, or is it because he was born one that he is so subtle an interpreter of the countryside?¹⁴⁷

Howells for his part often recalled visiting Gloucester's cathedral and surrounding churches with his father, and in later youth taking long country walks with Gurney.

I used to sit with Gurney on a hill half way between Gloucester and Cheltenham and from there, on a clear April day . . . when the visibility was second to none, you could see the outline of the Malvern Hills thirty miles north of that hill. Gurney said to me one day 'look at that outline', he meant the outline of the Malverns, he said, 'unless that influences you for the rest of your life in tune-making, it is failing one of your chief essentials'. And of course outlines of hills, and things are tremendously important especially if you are born in Gloucestershire, God bless it.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴³ Interview between C. Palmer and H. Howells repr. in Palmer 1987: 12.

¹⁴⁴ H. Howells: Interview-article printed in *The Music Teacher*, 1922, repr in Palmer 1992: 438-9.

¹⁴⁵ H. Howells: Unpublished Note, undated, Howells Estate.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Evans 1920: 88. [Part One]

¹⁴⁸ Repr. in Spicer 1998: 20.

On a similar note, other articles which followed the 'Modern British Composers' series dwell on this link to the landscape. These included amongst others, a piece by Margaret Marion Scott for the *Music Bulletin*, which like Evans examines in detail Howells' native origins.¹⁴⁹ Presenting Howells against a background that seems 'most relevant', Scott writes: 'he came naturally into an inheritance of beauty, hill, sky, cloud, river – all these are Gloucestershire.'¹⁵⁰ Scott's article examines Howells' output of the period. She places his Latin church music on a par with composers such as Byrd and Whyte, whilst instrumental works such as 'In Gloucestershire' – String Quartet No.3 Op.34 (1916) and the 'Pastoral' Rhapsody are described as 'reactions to certain landscapes.'¹⁵¹ Howells himself described the Quartet as 'real Gloucestershire',¹⁵² whilst the 'Pastoral' Rhapsody was reviewed by *The Times* following its premiere as 'a fairly short work in the current English idiom . . . which readily gives the impression of a February landscape in the plains.'¹⁵³ For many years Howells 'tried to feel, define and express what it meant to a potential musician, to have been nurtured in a countryside of companionable hills, two lovely but very diverse rivers, and three magical cathedrals: so that it seemed that the Severn and the Wye were flowing in one's veins, and that the three great churches of Worcester, Hereford and Gloucester were Houses of the Mind.'¹⁵⁴ His third string quartet, the 'Gloucester', 'Hereford' and 'Worcester' Services, the 'Pastoral' Rhapsody, and *Missa Sabrinensis* ('Mass of the Severn') are representative of this. Furthermore it was Howells' opinion that the English national atmosphere is evoked especially by

¹⁴⁹ M.M. Scott: 'Herbert Howells.' *The Music Bulletin* 6 (1924): 140-4.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 140.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 143.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

¹⁵³ n.a., 'Eastbourne Musical Festival: Howells' Pastoral Rhapsody.' *The Times* (Monday 12 November 1923): 17.

¹⁵⁴ C. Palmer: Sleeve Note for Helios CDH55045.

music for strings.¹⁵⁵ Indeed he wrote a large corpus of string music: The Suite for String Orchestra Op.27 (1917); the Elegy for Viola, String Quartet and String Orchestra; the Concerto for String Orchestra (1938); the Suite for Strings (incomplete-1940); the First Suite for String Orchestra (1942); as well as various chamber works. To try and understand this, Palmer also explains that Howells' music is vocal in origin, and in his opinion of all instruments, strings are closest in character to the human voice.¹⁵⁶ In a BBC talk which Howells gave on 22 May 1943, he states that 'strings are born to sing – rightly, passionately, simply, or lightly.'¹⁵⁷ He makes a direct link between the present and the past by imagining Byrd listening to Vaughan Williams' *Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis*, watching his face for signs of recognition and saying: 'this man and these strings speak of things I have known and felt (in my own way) and expressed as a good Englishman and a normal Englishman.'¹⁵⁸

Likewise, Howells regarded sonority in string-writing as England's 'native genius', and for his part he would listen to music for strings 'primarily as an Englishman.'¹⁵⁹ In Palmer's opinion this is the background to Howells' own music for strings in which Englishness is a key factor. His works possess a landscape quality unlike many of his predecessors (Palmer suggests Parry as an example), possibly because folk-song had yet to fully establish its place in Art Music.¹⁶⁰ For Howells, Vaughan Williams' *Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis*, and Elgar's Introduction and Allegro were two 'supreme works', which provided the inspiration for much of

¹⁵⁵ Palmer 1992: 174.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Palmer 1992: 176.

his own string writing.¹⁶¹ In a programme note for the Concerto for String Orchestra, Michael Kennedy quotes Howells who recalled asking Elgar at a Three Choirs Festival meeting the secret to 'sheer sonority of string writing'.¹⁶² His answer was 'study George Frederick [Handel] . . . now and all your life.'¹⁶³ According to Howells 'Handel was Elgar's God in this matter', and in his opinion Vaughan Williams would probably have felt similarly about Purcell.¹⁶⁴ For Howells, it was a unity of Elgar and Vaughan Williams whom he regarded the 'two supreme fellow-English composers' of his time.¹⁶⁵

Relation to British poetry

Howells set a variety of verse including Shakespeare, Shelley, Blake, Tennyson and many settings of works by his favourite poet and lifelong friend Walter de la Mare. De la Mare was a chorister at St Paul's Cathedral and later Howells recalled: 'he was one of the few poets I've known who really understood music – one always felt he was on one's wavelength, that for instance his concept of rhythm was identical with one's own.'¹⁶⁶ De la Mare's first volume of poetry (*Songs of Childhood*) appeared in 1902, and nearly 20 more volumes were published during his lifetime of which *Peacock Pie: A Book of Rhymes* (1913) was the most widely set to music. It is recorded that Howells completed various settings of De la Mare's poems in August 1919, although some of these were left unfinished. He worked sporadically during the years that followed, culminating in *A Garland for de la Mare* (1919-73) which includes such titles as 'Before Dawn', 'The Old Stone House', and 'The Three Cherry

¹⁶¹ H. Howells: Programme note for Liverpool Philharmonic Concert, 4 April 1974, Howells Estate.

¹⁶² Quoted in a programme note by M. Kennedy for a concert given by the Hallé Orchestra, 6 December 1973, repr. in Palmer 1992: 403-4.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 403.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 403-4.

¹⁶⁶ Interview between C. Palmer and H. Howells, repr. in Palmer 1987: 16.

Trees'.¹⁶⁷ A notable setting of De la Mare's verse includes 'Oh Lovely England', although in fact de la Mare had not much liked the text saying: 'It was waiting for YOU', on hearing Howells' setting which he later renamed 'Inheritance'.¹⁶⁸ The text reads:

Oh Lovely England

O lovely England whose ancient peace
 The direst dangers fret,
 Be on the memory of your past
 You are sure devotion set;
 Give still true freedom to fulfil,
 Give still your all without regret!
 Heed, through the troubles that benumb
 Voices now stilled, yet clear,
 Chaunting their deathless songs too oft
 To ears that would not hear,
 Chaunting their deathless songs
 Urging you, solemn, sweet,
 To meet you fate unmoved by fear.
 Earth's ardent life incites you yet
 Beyond the encircling seas;
 And calls to cause, else forlorn,
 The children at your knees.
 May their brave hearts in days to come
 Dream unashamed of these.

Howells also admired the Irish writer and poet Helen Waddell who introduced to modern literature the medieval goliards published in *The Wandering Scholars* (1927),¹⁶⁹ and later translated in *Medieval Latin Lyrics* (1929).¹⁷⁰ The title 'Hymnus Paradisi', derives from a Medieval Latin poem by Prudentius (348-c.405), 'Hymnus circa exsequias defuncti'. The following is printed at the head of the score as a motto:

Nunc suscipe, terra, fovendum,	Take him earth, for cherishing,
Gremioque hunc concipe molli.	To thy tender breast receive him.

Waddell's translations provided a literary link to the past, whilst the poetry of Walter de la Mare and others offered the opportunity for pastoral unity between music and

¹⁶⁷ Howells envisaged the *Peacock Pie* settings Op. 33 as two sets of songs. Set one (1919) consists of 6 songs. Set 2 was amalgamated into *A Garland for de la Mare*.

¹⁶⁸ See Spicer 1998: 154.

¹⁶⁹ H. Waddell: *The Wandering Scholars* (London: Constable, 1927).

¹⁷⁰ H. Waddell: *Medieval Latin Lyrics* (London: Constable, 1929).

verse. Howells explained that his passion for literature was immediate, and the stylish, although some might argue occasionally excessively flowery, even self-consciously prosaic prose style for which he was renowned came to him almost automatically.¹⁷¹ His diaries¹⁷² show some examples of elevated language and a poetic sense of syntax, for example in an entry for the 31 January 1919 he writes: 'Parton Lane is paved with musical thoughts: and cows and sheep walk on them and vainly imagine that they walk on stones and mud.'¹⁷³ An entry for the 3 February reads: 'I extemporised mad absurdities for D[orothy] . . . she repaid me with laughter. And I potted about the Tune Lane, in the dark and the damp, with trees like ghosts, and cows and horses like dimly-seen terrible monsters.'¹⁷⁴ Examples of the same colourful choice of text are seen in songs such as the 'Three Cherry Trees':

Three Cherry Trees

There were three cherry trees once,
Grew in a garden all shady;
And there for delight of so gladsome a sight,
Walked a most beautiful,
Dreamed a most beautiful lady.

Birds on those branches did sing,
Blackbird and throstle and linnet,
But she walking there was by far the most fair –
Lovelier than all else within it,
Blackbird and throstle and linnet.

But blossoms to berries do come,
All hanging on stalks light and slender,
And one long summer's day charmed that lady away,
With vows sweet and merry and tender;
A lover with voice low and tender.

Moss and lichen and green branches deck;
Weeds nod in its paths green and shady:
Yet a light footstep seems there to wander in dreams
The ghost of that beautiful lady,
That happy and beautiful.

¹⁷¹ Palmer 1992: 132. The Howells Estate contains several exercise books containing literary essays on writers and poets including Chaucer, Hazlitt, Johnson, Lamb, Milton, and Shakespeare. These were written by Howells for his own pleasure.

¹⁷² The majority of Howells' diaries from the years 1919 to 1981 survive. Those years for which there are no extant diaries are 1925, 1928, 1938, 1944 and 1966. There are two diaries for the years 1949, 1951, 1953, 1954, 1958, 1959, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1967, and 1977.

¹⁷³ Diary entry, 31 January 1919, Howells Estate.

¹⁷⁴ Diary entry, 3 February 1919, Howells Estate.

Howells showed ability as a writer in his student years. Among a collection of essays and literary manuscripts includes a student notebook signed 'Herbert Howells, Bath Villa, Lydney, Glos.' This contains prize-winning student essays, and texts by Francis Chesterton, De la Mare and others which Howells set between 1916 and 1918. Howells entered and won the RCM Director's History Essay Prize on four occasions. All four essays were marked by Parry who awarded marks according to mind, matter, style and order. Parry's comments for two essays are extant and quoted below:

'Schubert and Weber with Side Glance at Hummel'.¹⁷⁵

Remarkably Good – intelligent, wide awake, well informed –
Mind A
Matter B (a gap or two)
Order A
Style B (occasional glimpses of shirt sleeves)

'Essay on Berlioz and Mendelssohn'.¹⁷⁶

Remarkably good as a discussion in essay form of the contrasting aspects of the two composers' characterisation – Quite interesting
Matter – full enough
Mind – thoroughly alive and vigorous
Order – good
Style – admirable

A second notebook dating from between late 1935 and early 1936 reproduces poems in Howells' hand by Hubert Wolf, Lionel Johnson, De la Mare, Daniel Mare, Hilaire Belloc, John Drinkwater, Shakespeare, Julian Sturgis, W.H. Davies, and Samuel T. Coleridge. A third notebook (undated) which Palmer refers to in *A Centenary Celebration* contains nine literary essays:¹⁷⁷ (1) 'Johnson's Merits and Defects as a Critic'; (2) 'Milton's Power of Characterisation'; (3) Shakespeare's *Richard II: the Character of the King*'; (4) 'On the Part Played by Fate in *Romeo and*

¹⁷⁵ H. Howells: 'Essay on Schubert and Weber with a Side Glance at Hummel.' (1912) Royal College of Music Library.

¹⁷⁶ H. Howells: 'Essay on Berlioz and Mendelssohn.' (n.date) Royal College of Music Library.

¹⁷⁷ See Palmer 1992: 132.

Juliet'; (5) 'Richardson and Fielding Compared and Contrasted'; (6) 'The Characteristics of Johnson's Prose Style'; (7) 'The Element of Common-Sense in Johnson's Criticism of Milton'; (8) 'A Note on the Charge of Persistent Depreciation of the Poet's Character' (in *Johnson's Life of Milton*)' and; (9) 'The Merits of Johnson's Observations upon *Paradise Lost*'.

Ironically, as Palmer points out, Howells was not a true Englishman, but in fact a Celt. However, adamant that he was not from Welsh decadence, (regarding the Welsh a thoroughly unmusical nation) Howells regarded his family as 'all true-blue Gloucestershire folk', with no Welsh blood in their veins.¹⁷⁸ Palmer argues though that everything about Howells in terms of his character, disposition and appearance was Welsh, and certainly Celtic.¹⁷⁹ He writes that: 'as a composer he was, despite (or rather because of) a busy public life, very private, a poet, an artist-in-sound, a visionary, and a dreamer. These qualities together with his small stature, his finely-cut facial features, finely modulated speaking voice, natural eloquence as a speaker and musicality as a prose-stylist, all suggest the Celt.'¹⁸⁰ Ernest Bradbury in an article for the *Musical Times* does not refer to any Celtic providence, but describes Howells as someone with a 'cultivated mind', which is 'sharp, logical and articulate.' He talks of Howells' deep experience and sympathetic understanding of life, combined with a fertile imagination that is reflected in his prose and speech.¹⁸¹ Bradbury writes of his short stature and handsome features, finely moulded, whilst his eyes are those of a countryman who has looked with 'quiet appreciation on countless beautiful things.'¹⁸²

¹⁷⁸ Interview between C. Palmer and H. Howells repr. in Palmer 1987: 11.

¹⁷⁹ Palmer 1992: 130. The present author can find nothing to support Palmer's theories regarding characteristics and appearance. However the name Howell is an anglicization of the Welsh *hywel*, 'eminent'. There was a Brenton version Hoel, in the Middle Ages and Camden lists Howel I the seventeenth century.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ E. Bradbury: 'Pen Portrait: Herbert Howells.' *Musical Times* 99/1382 (April 1958): 193-4.

¹⁸² Ibid.

In the opinion of C.B. Rees also noted a Celtic presence writing in the 1953 *London Musical Events Profile*: 'Atmosphere touches him at once. You feel it in his work, and you find it in his conversation. The sensitive antennae of his mind are seldom idle. Watch him at a concert and note the intense concentration. Meet him in the foyer of British Broadcasting House, and though you may think he is somewhat aloof – brooding, perhaps with a part of his mind in another dimension – you cannot escape the impression of awareness, that feeling you get with some people that they hear with the eye and see with the ear.'¹⁸³

Church music and architectural inspiration

One of the significant attributes that confirms Howells' Englishness is his prolific contribution to, and lasting association with the Anglican choral tradition which stands as a link between the Golden age of the Renaissance and the present day.¹⁸⁴ Of it Vaughan Williams wrote: 'We pupils of Parry, if we have been wise, inherited the great English choral tradition which Tallis passed on to Byrd, Byrd to Gibbons, Gibbons to Purcell, Purcell to Battishill and Greene, and they in turn to the Wesleys to Parry. He has passed the torch to us and it is our duty to keep it alight.'¹⁸⁵ Howells fulfilled that duty – he wrote anthems and services for which he is renowned, although in truth only a handful of these are widely performed.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸³ Repr. in Palmer 1992: 130-1.

¹⁸⁴ For a general history of Anglican Church music see W.J. Gatens: *Victorian Cathedral Music in Theory and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); N. Temperley: *The Music of the English Parish Church* (2 Vols.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); E. Routley: *Twentieth-Century Church Music* (Illinois: Agape, 1978); E. Routley: *Church Music and the Christian Faith* (Illinois: Agape, 1978); E. Routley: *The Church and Music* (London: Gerald Duckworth, 1950); W. Douglas: *Church Music in History and in Practice* (New York: Charles Scribner, 1949); and E.H. Fellowes: *English Cathedral Music From Edward VI to Edward VII* (London: Methuen, 1941).

¹⁸⁵ R. Vaughan Williams: 'A Musical Autobiography', repr. in *National Music and Other Essays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987, 2 ed.): 182.

¹⁸⁶ See J. Patton: *A Century of Cathedral Music 1898-1998* (Winchester: John Patton, 2000): 13, 16, and 136-7. Patton's survey is a record of music performed in Britain's principal choral foundations throughout the twentieth-century. Patton undertook a survey himself in 1998 in which he compares his

It was Vaughan Williams' opinion that the established church represents a vital pillar of Englishness in the nation's history, whilst providing emotional and social support, and stability for the people.¹⁸⁷ Howells wrote English church music throughout his life. As his daughter recalled, although he was not religious, 'he adored the music and the buildings – he adored cathedrals.'¹⁸⁸ As well as canticles and Anthems, an impressive corpus of Latin church music composed for Richard Terry and Westminster Cathedral choir also exists and this is discussed in chapter four. As we have seen, Howells began writing music for the Anglican Church relatively early in his life, although the majority of these early works, especially the canticles are forgotten by many whose tendency to elevate services for King's, Gloucester, St Paul's and St John's, in particular, overshadow the earlier settings. Howells dedicated over 20 services and individual settings of the canticles to cathedrals and churches both in Britain and abroad. The earlier services which pre-date the *Collegium Regale* Te Deum and Jubilate (1944) are rarely performed with the exception of the G major Evening Service (1918).¹⁸⁹ There also exists settings of the Morning, Communion and Evening services which date from 1924; an Evening Service (TTBB) from 1935 (written at the request of Ernest Bullock, then Organist of Westminster Abbey); and an Evening Service for Men's Voices (1941), again composed at the request of Ernest Bullock to meet the wartime resources of the Abbey choir. A number of anthems and shorter sacred choral pieces also date from this period including the Three Carol Anthems (1918-1920), 'Blessed are the Dead'

findings with previous surveys of 1898, 1938, 1958, and 1986. Each composer is grouped alphabetically and their individual works marked by percentage according to the number of choral foundations that include them in their repertoire. Patton's survey on Howells' music coincides with my examination of service lists at Durham, Lichfield and St Paul's cathedrals, York Minster, and Westminster Abbey.

¹⁸⁷ Hughes/Stradling 2001: 99; and Kennedy 1964: 42.

¹⁸⁸ Spicer 1998: 98.

¹⁸⁹ Patton 2000: 136-7.

(1920), 'My Eyes for Beauty Pine' (1925), and the Four Anthems for Chorus and Organ (1941). According to Patton's researches the most popular services include the *Collegium Regale*, morning communion and evening services, and evening services for Gloucester and St Paul's Cathedrals, the Collegiate Church of St Peter's, Westminster, and St John's College, Cambridge.¹⁹⁰ The *Three Carol Anthems*, 'Like as the Hart', and 'O Pray for the Peace of Jerusalem' are among the most widely performed anthems.¹⁹¹

Howells was not a church employed composer as is sometimes wrongly thought. According to Palmer however, it disappointed him that so few composers composed church music regularly. Some obvious exceptions are William Harris, Francis Jackson, Herbert Sumsion, and William Walton. Nevertheless Howells' output is the largest of any composer of his generation, and in Palmer's opinion he laid the foundations for the 'renewal of musical fitness and strength within the Anglican church', after the Second World War.¹⁹² His teachers, Stanford and Wood had done the same towards the end of the nineteenth-century. Following a performance of 'A Spotless Rose' from the Three Carol Anthems at King's College, Cambridge, Eric Milner-White, then Dean wrote to Howells:

We did your Anthem Carol in King's last night – Candlemas; . . . You might, I thought, care to know of the travels of your 'children'; & may feel pleased that one of them has found a home in this building – whose purity of choir, and the wonderful sound-qualities of its spaces, added beauty to beauty.

Dr Mann was a wee bit puzzled with the exigencies of its time; & I doubt that his interpretation was here and there correct; but whatever he did and however he did it the result was exquisite.

We have recently shut out dozens of services etc, and even the minimum that remains is not all up to the lofty standard that we desire here. If you feel minded to write a Magnificat & Nunc Dimittis – accompanied or unaccompanied – we'll put it on at once, gratefully. The Church would profit from a new idiom there!¹⁹³

The idea of a 'new idiom' is conveyed in a second letter from Milner-White following a performance of the Gloucester Service in York Minster which was given in 1950:

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., 63-4.

¹⁹² Palmer 1992: 166.

¹⁹³ Letter from E. Milner-White to H. Howells, 3 February 1920, Howells Estate.

The choir sang it beautifully. It is not a service that can or should be sung on the 'weekly bill'; its intensity is too great not to call for a special practice on such occasion that it is employed. That does not mean we shall *seldom* sing it, but that we shall take special pains over it *whenever* we sing it. That, speaking practically, is the highest tribute which can be paid to it.

By these two last services of yours, [*Collegium Regale* and 'Gloucester'] I personally feel that you have opened a wholly new chapter in Service, perhaps in church music. Of *spiritual* moment rather than liturgical. It is much more than music-making; it is experiencing deep things in the only medium that can do it. I cannot help hoping that you will give yourself with renewed hope & vision to composition in a field in which – may I say it? – you can create *masterworks*. However seldom they come, let them come! You can give, if you will, so much music, to Church and to the souls of men...¹⁹⁴

Howells again was unique as he did not follow a career as a practising church musician, unlike, for example composers such as Darke (St Michael's Church, Cornhill, London), Harris (Christ Church, Oxford and Windsor), Jackson (York Minster), and Sumsion (Gloucester Cathedral). He composed not out of need to provide new music for the choral repertoire but, amongst other things, out of love for the buildings and the music performed within. When asked if he considered theological or moral principles when composing, Howells replied that, 'the straight answer would be 'no'.¹⁹⁵ He felt 'indebted' to his impressions gained in village and parish churches, and in particular cathedrals, and it was they, not matters of theology which influenced his music.¹⁹⁶

In the same way the inspiration on Howells' non choral music was drawn on a psychological link to nation and land, his church music drew particularly on qualities of space in religious buildings. In a set of extensive notes entitled 'The Cathedral', presumably written for a lecture or broadcast talk the prevailing theme is 'space'.¹⁹⁷ He refers to the 'augmented wonder of Gloucester's pillars – (awe), 'architectural grandeur', and vaulting transepts', whilst naming the cathedrals of Gloucester, Durham, Ely, Winchester and York Minster.¹⁹⁸ In Howells' opinion secular buildings are merely built according to public need. He writes that most public purposes lack

¹⁹⁴ Letter from E. Milner White to H. Howells, 30 July 1950, Howells Estate.

¹⁹⁵ Interview between E. Routley, A. Robertson and H. Howells repr. in Palmer 1992: 170.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ 'The Cathedral.' ms draft, Royal College of Music. repr. in Palmer 1992: 142-5.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

imagination, he notes for example the cinema, whilst cathedrals 'protrude so immensely out of the Middle Ages, and alone raise architecture to the higher peaks of imagination.'¹⁹⁹ Palmer writes that Howells saw his spirituality and realised his musicality in terms of the three As – Architecture, Acoustic, and Association.²⁰⁰ He was first moved by Gloucester to start the 'nearly-possible translation of the frozen poetry of Architecture into the living immemorial sounds of voices in consort.'²⁰¹

A building's acoustic and Howells' ability to manipulate echo is summed up in a sleeve note which he wrote for the first recording of the 'St Paul's Service'.

Of the series of canticle settings offered to people and places this is the most extended in scale. With the great spaces of St Paul's in mind . . . the nature of this setting would be acutely influenced. Prolonged 'echo', notable in St. Paul's would dictate a less rapidly-changing harmonic rhythm than would be feasible in many less reverberant buildings. So it is that in this setting harmonic and tonality changes are deployed in more leisured, more spacious ways. Climaxes are built more slowly. But with these conditions comes a heightened volume of sound, and a tonal opulence commensurate with a vast church.²⁰²

In the same sleeve note he writes of the *Collegium Regale Te Deum* and *Jubilate*:

These settings are described as being 'For the King's College, Cambridge' . . . These facts mean much to a composer. They can link for him people and places and the mood of the setting in relation to that of other works that occupied his mind at the same times.

In all my music for the church, people and places have been of dual influence. The Cathedrals at Gloucester, St Paul's and Westminster Abbey in London, Christ Church and New College in Oxford, St John's and King's College Chapels in Cambridge – these and their recent Directors of Musics have been a paramount shaping force. Men, choir, ecclesiastical buildings have become inseparably a part of that force. So too have exemplars – acoustics.²⁰³

In light of this Palmer writes that no Howells is easy to perform: 'it acquires special qualities of technique and insight, particularly in regard to pacing and timing', something Howells himself reiterated.²⁰⁴ In a letter, Graham Matthews referring to the 'West Riding's' *Te Deum* made a series of 'suggestions' for the setting, all of which Howells ignored, instead replying (with the new setting enclosed) that he hoped that Matthews would like the *Te Deum*, and appreciate that 'one must compose

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ See Palmer 1992: 146.

²⁰¹ 'Music for the Church.' *Southern Cathedrals Festival Programme Book*, Winchester, 1966: 11.

²⁰² Sleeve-note for Argo RG 507: 'Herbert Howells Church Music', repr. in Palmer 1992: 442.

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ Palmer 1992: 171.

music in a style that is his own – I have never been able to do otherwise.’²⁰⁵ Frank Howes suggests that the complexity of Howells’ church music, in particular the canticles, increases with each new service.²⁰⁶ This may suggest the popularity of the earlier settings in comparison to later works which as seen in Patton’s researches are poorly represented in cathedral service lists. Essentially Howells wrote for the Cathedral choir. He once said that one day he hoped to write for the Parish Church in mind, although in truth this never came about.²⁰⁷

In 1956, Scott Goddard of *The Times* labelled Howells ‘a distinguished composer for the Anglican liturgy.’²⁰⁸ Writing that until now the majority of composers of church music have been cathedral organists who have felt obliged to add to the choral tradition, Howells by contrast works outside the church yet is chiefly a composer of church music.²⁰⁹ Indeed by the mid-1950s it was the nature of this which continued to affirm Howells’ Englishness as a composer. He had written his most popular services and many of his best known anthems as well as his two largest choral works, *Hymnus Paradisi* and *Missa Sabrinensis*, although as Goddard points out, the latter did not enjoy the success it maybe deserved.²¹⁰ Indeed by the mid-1940s, Howells had almost completely abandoned contemporary concert music concentrating his efforts almost exclusively on organ and choral composition. This he never explained, although it is possible that he might have used the separate idiom of Anglican church and organ music as a means of setting himself apart from modernist styles. Peter Pirie writes that by the outbreak of the Second World War, the folk-song

²⁰⁵ Letter from H. Howells to G. Matthews, 30 July 1974, repr. in Andrews 1999: 525.

²⁰⁶ F. Howes: ‘Herbert Howells and the Anglican Choral Tradition.’ *English Church Music* (1969): 19-23.

²⁰⁷ Interview between E. Routley and H. Howells, repr. in Palmer 1992: 170.

²⁰⁸ S. Goddard: ‘A Distinguished Composer for the Anglican Liturgy: Church Music of Herbert Howells.’ *The Times* (Friday 25 May 1956): 3.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*

tradition was 'dead, or almost dead',²¹¹ and Englishness and the pastoral, as Pirie suggests were no longer the fashion, having been outdated by influences from abroad. Howells, whose conservative tastes as a composer were unshakable from this period on seems to have made a sudden switch from composing for a broad spectrum of genres to writing almost exclusively for the English church. His output for the concert hall dates from a period when it was fashionable to compose works that sounded 'English'.

As a concomitant, it is worth mentioning that his large output of organ music (an instrument for which he wrote throughout his life) heralded from his chorister days in Lydney Parish Church a period when he did not want to sing but rather play the organ.²¹² He was inspired by Brewer at Gloucester and Parratt at the RCM who propelled his aspirations to pursue a career as a cathedral organist. This dream was short lived at Salisbury, yet Howells continued to write for the instrument, dedicating much of his work to his 'organist friends, and they were a brilliant set . . . some of them were among the finest organists in the world.'²¹³ Indeed Howells wrote music for many eminent British organists such as Parratt, Alcock, Thalben-Ball and Sumsion. In a review of the *Six Pieces*, the *Musical Times* said: 'today there is [no one] who understands the organ so well as Herbert Howells, or has cared for our instrument so long and so much . . . For close to forty years, he has given organists some of his most intimate thoughts, long meditated and never relinquished until every detail has passed the test of mature reflection.'²¹⁴ His output for the instrument makes an impressive total and includes two sets of Three Psalm Preludes, four Rhapsodies, two Sonatas among other works. Like Vaughan Williams, he professed to being an

²¹¹ Pirie: 1979: 164.

²¹² Broadcast Talk, 2 May 1967, Repr. in Palmer 1992: 435.

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ n.a., 'New Music: Organ.' *Musical Times* 94/1325 (July 1953): 318.

indifferent organist, and there are few occasions when he appeared in recital. Those who heard him play recall that he rarely played the repertoire, but chose instead to improvise. In the opinion of John Williams, a choral scholar at St John's, Cambridge during Howells' tenure, he used these opportunities to experiment, using extended cadences which he recalls were a notable feature of his improvisations.²¹⁵

The important quality of Howells' organ music is that he wrote for the Victorian English cathedral organ. Whether he wrote with specific organs in mind is not known. He knew the original instrument in Gloucester Cathedral well, and perhaps the *Six Pieces* which are dedicated to Herbert Sumsion who was organist of the Cathedral from 1928 to 1967 were written with the organ in mind. In the opinion of Paul Derrett, the redesigned Gloucester instrument²¹⁶ would have left Howells in despair having to see 'the destruction of that which he held most dear.'²¹⁷ Yet in many respects Howells was writing as the organ was continuously developing and in some ways like his choral music the intricateness and the technical demands imposed on the player in later works such as the Second Organ Sonata reflect this. Reviewing the work Harvey Grace wrote: 'There can be no doubt that composers are becoming increasingly interested in the possibilities of the modern organ . . . To-day, after years of consistent development in flexibility and control, as well as in tonal contrasts, the organ once more demands serious consideration for concert use.'²¹⁸

²¹⁵ Interview between P. Spicer and J. Williams, repr. in Spicer 1998: 125-6.

²¹⁶ The organ was rebuilt in 1979 by Hill Norman & Beard. The tonal consultant was Ralph Downes.

²¹⁷ See 'Herbert Howells: Rhapsody No.4 with Prelude De Profundis.' *Journal of the British Institute of Organ Studies* 7 (1983): 135-6.

²¹⁸ H. Grace: 'Herbert Howells' Organ Sonata.' *Musical Times* 75/1094 (April 1934): 324-7.

Chapter Three

Herbert Howells: His Thoughts on Music and Musicians

Introductory

Howells' writings, broadcast scripts and other miscellaneous sources span a lifetime during which he knew, and in many cases outlived musicians and composers of the twentieth-century. He made many tributes to his teachers, colleagues and friends that give fascinating insights into his experiences at the RCM, and impressionable events such as his first meeting with Elgar and his first hearing of Vaughan Williams' *Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis*. In Howells' opinion, Elgar and Vaughan Williams stood as doyens of British music. They themselves were advocates of Britain's choral festival tradition which Howells believed was part of the nation's musical heritage. Howells was never officially employed by a newspaper or journal, usually submitting articles and essays voluntarily. He regularly wrote for the *RCM Magazine* as both a student and staff member of the College, and was Editor on and off from 1920 onwards.

His first major contribution to a music journal was an essay on Vaughan Williams' 'Pastoral' Symphony.²¹⁹ He did not contribute to the pages of the *Musical Times* until 1954.²²⁰ His first feature article to appear in a national daily was in 1922 on the 'Elizabethan Revival',²²¹ and in 1958 he contributed a series of tributes to Vaughan Williams which included an article in the *Sunday Times*.²²² Howells never published in book form. He did however contribute articles on Arthur Benjamin for

²¹⁹ H. Howells: 'Vaughan Williams' *Pastoral Symphony*.' *Music & Letters* 3/2 (1922): 122-32.

²²⁰ H. Howells: 'Elgar Today.' *Musical Times* 98/1372 (June 1957): 303-4.

²²¹ H. Howells: 'The Elizabethans: a Significant Revival.' *Daily Telegraph* (19 August 1922): 12.

²²² H. Howells: 'Dr Ralph Vaughan Williams.' *The Sunday Times* (Sunday 31 August): 16.

Cobbett's Cyclopaedic Survey of Chamber Music,²²³ and an entry on Herbert Brewer for the *Dictionary of National Biography*.²²⁴ He never contributed to Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. The remaining sources, which in themselves are substantial, include a series of broadcast talks on microfilm and in manuscript, and miscellaneous scripts for lectures and speeches. It is clear from the typescripts that Howells was aiming at the general listener and in an effort to simplify his discussions may at times seem short-sighted. He received advice on style and technique early on in his broadcasting career. Following his third talk in the series 'Music and the Ordinary Listener' (1937), George Barnes of the BBC wrote to Howells:

I must write to congratulate you on your six talks. I know better than anyone except yourself how much trouble it has taken you to produce them and to make them so clear to the ordinary listener. It is because I think they have been a great success that I am going to add some points of criticism for your consideration.

One or two people have complained to me that your style is occasionally rather precious; they mean, I think, that your analogies are sometimes too varied to be illuminating. In print they would be perfect because they hold up the attention and would make one re-read the passage; in a talk they require half-a-minute's pause in which the listener may think out their implications, and such a pause is too long.

The only other point of criticism does not really apply. Namely that all the talks were read, and sounded as though they were read; this is inevitable at first, but I would hope so much that you will consent to give a further series for us and that you may think it worth while to develop a more talkative way of speaking. Walford [Davies] has this to perfection, but the disadvantages of this method are apparent in his presentation which is often diffuse and sometimes off the point. I am very much concerned myself with the task of making our speakers talk, and I sometimes wonder whether the labour involved is worth while. I believe you could do it, because your mind is so well ordered that it would not be led astray...²²⁵

Ursula Howells described her father as 'an intellectual – a would-be academic', who would have been happy as an Oxbridge don.²²⁶ Such intellectual ability and judgement was apparent even in his youth. One of his earliest essays, 'Younger British Composers', written in 1916 is a critique of British music and

²²³ H. Howells: 'Arthur Benjamin. *Cobbett's Cyclopaedic Survey of Chamber Music* ed. W. Wilson Cobbett (London: Oxford University Press, 1929): i, 117.

²²⁴ H. Howells: 'Brewer, Sir Alfred Herbert.' *Dictionary of National Biography 1922-1930* (London: Oxford University Press, 1937): 109-10.

²²⁵ Letter from G. Barnes to H. Howells, 23 March 1937, BBC Written Archives Centre, Reading. Howells Box File.

²²⁶ Interview between P. Spicer and U. Howells, repr. in Spicer 1998: 83.

composers of the period.²²⁷ He writes that British music has been oddly characterised by fluctuating standards ranging between the highest and lowest levels. Following the 'glorious' restoration that culminated in Purcell, there followed a 'miserable' abandonment of independence in the Nation's music. French and Italian influences prevailed, 'save the activities of certain brave individuals in the realm of church music', until Britain 'breathed again with the coming of such men as Parry, Stanford and Elgar', who restored 'real vitality to the art', and it is 'they [who] remain watchers over British musical life which now remains 'remarkably alive', with the music of younger British composers, Vaughan Williams, Balfour Gardiner, Frank Bridge, Arnold Bax, Gustav Holst, Rutland Boughton, Cyril Rootham, Eugène Goossens, and Arthur Bliss.'²²⁸ Arguably, whilst there may be some truth in this, Howells' view is nevertheless somewhat ironic considering Purcell's indebtedness to French and Italian traditions, not to mention the Teutonic influence as seen in the music of Parry, Stanford, Elgar and early Vaughan Williams.

Howells writes that although the search for a national music has become a 'fashionable quest', he believes that younger composers in Britain, like their European counterparts have their own musical voice, no less than the Debussy-led French, the Straus-dominated Germans, and the folk-obsessed Russians. Furthermore, he writes that in Britain, apart from opera, the two principal channels of expression in Art music are orchestral and chamber composition.²²⁹ He suggests however that British composers are not eager to adopt the symphony, but instead they stand as modern Romanticists preferring to use forms which are least arbitrary and

²²⁷ H. Howells: 'Younger British Composers.' *Athenaeum* 4611 (November 1916): 560-2.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*

²²⁹ *Ibid.*

comprehensive in themselves.²³⁰ In doing so, modern British music 'teems with alertness', chiefly from a greater understanding of compositional technique and a more fertile use of imagination. He gives as his examples Bridge's *Tone Poem*, *Isabella*, Goossens' *Perseus*, and Bax's *In the Faery Hills* which he writes 'show a mastery of tonal effect which would leave Strauss in awe', and even make Stravinsky 'realise that he is not a great way ahead in this side of musical accomplishment which in British music centres around: (1) vitality of mind; (2) orchestral mastery; (3) sensibility to musical colour; (4) fertility of imagination; and (5) freedom of expression.'²³¹ In Howells' opinion these are attributes in composition that will lead British music to future greatness, but by the same token carry their own 'peculiar defects.'²³² The first is a squandering of material which he believes is caused by a fault of style, and to a lesser extent a weakness in technique. He uses Bax's *In the Faery Hills* and *A Celtic Song Cycle* to illustrate:

'In the Faery Hills' begins by promising not only charm of colour and mood, but definition of thought and construction; instead, there come early lapses into dullness through too many repetitions, through irrelevances, and the belief it engenders that it was not one big, definite conception, constructed with unity of direct thought and continuity of mood. The tendency to clothe his thoughts in unvaryingly rich garbs is also noticeable in the same composer's remarkable 'Celtic Song Cycle' where in the 'Celtic Lullaby' the slenderness of the poem is imperilled by profusion of detail in the accompaniment, in the positive fever to track every little suggestion to its very utmost – the sort of weariness which, in other spheres, is produced by some over-lengthy novels or too perfervid oratory.²³³

His second criticism concerns the British composer's lack of ability to think structurally, often as a result of a too lively and hurried mind, always in a rush to 'assimilate and reproduce momentary experiences.'²³⁴ Howells writes that this is particularly noticeable in orchestral music, but also in the purest music (meaning

²³⁰ Ibid., 561. Howells' views concerning British composers and the Symphony are questionable. For example notable composers such as Vaughan Williams, Bax and Holst had all written symphonic works pre-dating 1916.

²³¹ Ibid.

²³² Ibid.

²³³ Ibid. In 1926, Bax made revisions to *In the Faery Hills* which included a ten-bar and sixteen-bar cut. He was staying with Peter Warlock at the time who strongly objected to these changes being made. See L. Foreman: *Bax – A Composer and his Times* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1987, 2nd ed.): 62.

²³⁴ H. Howells: 'Younger British Composers.' *Athenaeum* 4611 (November 1916): 461.

music stripped of words or actions). However, the opposite is seen in chamber music, where a reluctance to 'come to the point' has been the greatest hindrance to what has proven Britain's most successful contribution to the concert repertoire.²³⁵

In Mr York Bowen's Second String Quartet, Mr Waldo Warner's Phantasy Quartet, and Mr Bax's Piano Trio in E (Op.4) promising material is used with such lack of economy that dullness quickly robs the works of their interest, and the composer's energies fritter away in accumulation of slavish details, in composite figures, in ill-restrained and too frequent climaxes.²³⁶

As a postscript to his essay, Howells discusses the state of the music publishing industry in Britain, and the responsibilities publishing houses have to composers. Taking as his example, composers such as Ivor Gurney, 'a quite unknown factor to the musical world in general', Howells questions the industry's policies for publishing new works.²³⁷ Describing the situation as a 'hopeless muddle', he proposes that music should be published prior to a performance and not after, thereby offering composers, particularly younger musicians, greater encouragement and an incentive to write.²³⁸ In event, many works are first performed in manuscript awaiting publication following performance which after 'doubtful or hazardous recognition', rarely happens.²³⁹ The problem is worsened by wary concert programmers. Howells refers to the most recent Promenade Season as 'a sorry record in respect of the lamentably infrequent chances offered for the hearing of native works.'²⁴⁰ He insists that instead of a triennial British Music Festival 'blatantly advertised, and wrongly supposed to be the institution most favourable to the cause of British music', concert organisers must consistently programme native works, a principle upheld by Dan Godfrey and the Bournemouth Municipal Orchestra.

²³⁵ Ibid.

²³⁶ Ibid.

²³⁷ Ibid.

²³⁸ Ibid.

²³⁹ Ibid., 562.

²⁴⁰ Ibid. The 1916 season included new works by Granger (*Handel in the Strand (Clog Dance)*), a new version of the *Symphonic Scherzo* by Montague F. Phillips, Alexander Mackenzie's *Ancient Scottish Tunes*, as well as music by Dvořák, Prokofiev and Wagner. See n.a. 'The Promenade Concerts.' *The Times* (Saturday 5 August 1916): 9.

Howells described nationalism as a 'gory battle arena',²⁴¹ claiming that 'Debussy was 'exalting harmony at the expense of rhythm, Stravinsky promoting rhythm at more than little cost to melody, and Schoenberg moving on as it were in a series of forced night-marches against the ancient citadels of classical tonality.'²⁴² In Howells' view tonality offered the opportunity for harmonic variation according to the 'centuries old principle of tonic and dominant', whereas atonality forces musical equality through the banishment of key-relations, modulation and consonance,' and therefore individuality in composition.²⁴³ Howells believed that atonality was merely 'sackcloth and ashes' . . . 'for which there can be no love at first hearing' and therefore one should merely '*recognise* rather than *dwell* upon it.'²⁴⁴ With this in mind, in July 1951, following Schoenberg's death, Howells along with 24 composers, musicians and critics contributed short commentaries assessing his contribution to music and composition.²⁴⁵ Opinions varied: 'Schoenberg has contributed little to the sum of my musical happiness';²⁴⁶ 'I instantly developed an ice-cold antipathy to Schoenberg and his whole musical system';²⁴⁷ 'Respect and awe are my paramount feelings for Schoenberg and his works';²⁴⁸ 'I've never really derived any real enjoyment from Schoenberg's work, but simply a craftsman's interest in trying to

²⁴¹ 'Music and Ordinary Listener: The Modern Problem.' [Part 1] *BBC World Service*, 12 February 1937: 3-4.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, 3.

²⁴³ 'Music and the Ordinary Listener: The Modern Problem.' [Part 1] *BBC World Service*, 12 February 1937: 8.

²⁴⁴ 'Music and the Ordinary Listener: The Modern Problem.' [Part 4] *BBC World Service*, 5 March 1937: 1.

²⁴⁵ 'Arnold Schönberg 1874-1951.' *Music & Letters* 32/4 (October 1951): 305-23. The other contributors include: John Amis, Felix Aprahamian, Arnold Bax, Arthur Bliss, Eric Blom, Adrian Boult, Mosco Carner, Winton Dean, George Dyson, Scott Goddard, Gordon Jacob, Ivor Keys, G.H.M. Lockhart, Edward Lockspeiser, W.S. Mann, Norman De la Mare, Wilfred Mellers, Herbert Murrill, Rollo H. Myers, Edmund Rubbra, M.M. Scott, Humphrey Searle, Ralph Vaughan Williams, and Egon Wellesz.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 305. [Aprahamian]

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 307. [Bax]

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 307. [Bliss]

interpret the printed page as faithfully as possible',²⁴⁹ 'Arnold Schoenberg's death has removed one of the most influential and distinguished personalities from the musical scene';²⁵⁰ Arnold Schoenberg's work appears to us, regarding it within a very short time of his death, as a rock upon which critical opinion will split and divide';²⁵¹ 'Inevitable, no doubt; but not interesting';²⁵² 'There is no doubt that Schoenberg is still one of the predominant influences in modern German music. Composers in a large number of different countries have adopted his methods; and many more have been influenced by him directly';²⁵³ 'Schoenberg meant nothing to me – but has apparently meant a lot to a lot of other people – I daresay it is all my own fault.'

Howells' contribution is not a direct criticism of Schoenberg or the twelve-note technique, but a confession to bafflement and failure to comprehend the Second Viennese School. This rests on: (1) his 'inability to see how theory can precede practice in musical composition'; (2) his 'lack of conviction that any creative mind can, by cold intellectual exercise, divorce itself from its common inheritance'; (3) his 'failure to see how such a mind, even if a divorce has been effected, can hope to carry more than a minute proportion of human beings with it to a lone experimental sphere wherein [many] are reduced to the state of inexperienced children, and are confronted by sounds that can have, as it were, no emotional values, and only the slenderest logic' and; (4) his inability to find 'enrichment of feeling from so much of the music that has come out of the most startling burning of boats in the whole history of music.'²⁵⁴ Ultimately Schoenberg contradicted the underlying principles which individuals such as Parry had passed to Howells, and he in turn upheld so vehemently,

²⁴⁹ Ibid., 308. [Boult]

²⁵⁰ Ibid., 314. [Jacob]

²⁵¹ Ibid., 320. [Murrill]

²⁵² Ibid., 321. [Scott]

²⁵³ Ibid., 321. [Searle]

²⁵⁴ Ibid., 312.

these being: (1) Practice must come before theory; (2) music in its origin is inherited; and (3) music is by sound recognisable to the common man. Schoenberg's music stood as 'the first brilliant attempt' to desert tonality, although his death according to Howells had 'somehow fixed his mind upon Berg.'²⁵⁵ Meanwhile in the opinion of Edward Lockspeiser, Schoenberg had achieved the greatest demand placed upon a composer; to illuminate the past as well as the present: 'Schoenberg seems to me to have contributed to a greater musical integration of the centuries He offers a glimpse of music that is not yet music and, at the same time, throws into more silent relief the music of his progenitors, Debussy and Wagner, Beethoven and Bach.'²⁵⁶

Parry and Stanford

Howells ignored the Second Viennese School in both his teaching and composing. He was the product of the RCM of an earlier age based upon the principles of creating a national music through the pastoral and the restoration of old forms, and as we have seen believed in the ideals of his teachers for whom he openly expressed immense admiration. Parry and Stanford (and Elgar) were not only in his opinion leaders of the English Musical Renaissance, but were also the most prolific composers of their generation, as was Vaughan Williams whom he saw as Elgar's successor. Howells was associated with the RCM as both a student and member of its teaching staff for a total of 67 years. Among his many memoirs of College life, and relations with fellow students, teachers and colleagues is a reprint of an address which was originally given to the Royal Musical Association on 11 December 1952, with musical illustrations by Gordon Glinton to mark Stanford's centenary. Among his anecdotes, Howells recalls that studying with Stanford was a 'blending of Paradise, Purgatory, Heaven and Hell

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

²⁵⁶ Ibid., 315.

. . . for the weak and timorous it was an early death; for the fellow who had lost his way, Ariadne's thread . . . It was guidance, penance, and defiance coming from a man who solved few of his own problems, but was passionately concerned to solve those of his pupils.'²⁵⁷ Accordingly, he was difficult to know in any other than a superficial sense. A 'remarkable man', his admiration for the mainstream of Austro-Germanic music was a 'compelling' aspect of his musical personality as was his 'staunch conservatism'.²⁵⁸ Howells arrived at the RCM shortly after Stanford's departure from the Leeds Festival, of which mention was then 'a troubled recital of a chapter in his life, then unbeknown to [Howells] in terms of earlier glories and triumphs: a limited vista therefore.'²⁵⁹ He appeared 'embittered' about the politics of Ireland yet loved his native Dublin and that part of the country which 'moved to the tune of Edward Carson and James Craig (Ulster Unionists)'.²⁶⁰ In Howells' opinion his achievements at Cambridge were by modern comparison remarkable for someone so young (he was only 21 when he was appointed Organist of Trinity College, Cambridge). Howells remarks:

²⁵⁷ H. Howells: 'Charles Villiers Stanford (1852-1924).' *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 79 (1952-3): 31.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 20.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.* Stanford conducted his first Festival in 1901 and continued to do so with distinction until his resignation in 1913. The Committee had informed him that they wished to enhance the profile of the Festival by engaging outside conductors. Stanford would not share his position and resigned accordingly. See Dibble 2002: 388.

²⁶⁰ H. Howells: 'Charles Villiers Stanford 1852-1924.' *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 7 (1952-53): 20.

One would have dearly wished to know the young fresher who took over the Trinity organistship at twenty-one; who persuaded a redoubtable Master of the College to allow him to travel on the Continent during a half of each of his undergraduate days . . . What manner of young man was it who, at twenty-one, took on C.U.M.S., gathering, organising, browbeating, galvanizing the sporadic talents? In that day one would have refused a first sight of the Pacific if bartered against the chance of a glimpse over the shoulder of the young man of Trinity who was composing this song:

[Musical illustration – *La Belle Dame sans Merci*]

Howells continues:

If to-day a young organist of a college chapel wrote a song of that quality, and very soon afterwards induced an august University authority to bestow honorary degrees upon (say) Stravinsky, Sibelius, Hindemith, Prokofiev and Honegger, we should say we lived in the age of miracles.

If a young musician of ours, still years short of thirty, went over to Germany with his first opera, and by his own advocacy, persistence, tact and cultured *savoir faire* enlisted the help of a Franz Lizst and a Von Büllow (if such existed there to-day), and after a campaign of two years or more sat down in the Opera House at Hanover to witness a performance of the work, we would still be astonished...²⁶¹

Yet despite Stanford's versatility as a composer, there were in Howells' opinion three 'profoundly musical spheres', to which he made his greatest contributions, notably music for the church, choral music, and English song. *The Revenge* (1886), *The Voyage of Maeldune* (1889), 'the enchanting', *Phaudrig Crohoore: A Choral Ballad* (1895), the Requiem (1896), and *Stabat Mater* (1906) are among the selection of choral works listed by Howells, the latter he defended with Vaughan Williams following criticism from *The Times*: 'Your critic suggests the influence of Verdi. The only influence which we can see lies in the fact that both composers write with mastery, both for voice and orchestra. Who but an Irishman could have written the beautiful tune of 'Fac ut portum?''²⁶² The songs in Howells' opinion find Stanford's most 'personal idiom'.²⁶³ He writes that they, like the Rhapsodies are an expression of identity, often taking their texts from lesser-known Irish poets such as John Stevenson, Winifred M. Letts and Moira O'Neill: 'Not only are they masterfully varied, but nothing more contributes to that variety than Stanford's ability to deal with

²⁶¹ Ibid., 22.

²⁶² H. Howells/R. Vaughan Williams: 'Letters to the Editor: *Stabat Mater*.' *The Times* (Tuesday 16 September 1952): 7.

²⁶³ H. Howells: 'Charles Villiers Stanford 1852-1924.' *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 7 (1952-53): 27.

the tempo of a poem as if he were himself poet as well as composer. His insight into this fundamentally important element in song-writing takes him with uncommon certainty to the very heart of the metrical and formal nature of a lyric.’²⁶⁴

Considering Stanford’s contribution to the church, his Service in B flat Op.10, composed in 1879, was already widely sung soon after its publication the same year, as was the Evening Service in A Op.20, these and the later services in G and C providing influential models for a number of composers including Howells. In Howells’ opinion, it is for these works as well as his anthems that Stanford is best remembered. Yet his place in British music also lies with his prolific work as a teacher. Whilst at the RCM, Stanford also taught Arthur Benjamin, Bridge, George Buterworth, Samuel Coleridge-Taylor, George Dyson, Gurney, John Ireland, Ernest J. Moeran and Vaughan Williams. Despite this, Howells writes in a separate article: ‘The concert hall doors are seldom wide open to him. Those of the opera house are seemingly locked and bolted . . . One knew that he cherished the already assured recognition of his works for the Anglican Church [and] I am certain it was to the Church, in its illustrious musical heritage, that Stanford most willingly turned, as to an inevitable predestined centre for his music. Let no shadow fall upon the sheer beauty of immemorial texts he loved and set to music of an equal beauty.’²⁶⁵

Howells first met Stanford on his arrival in London, unlike Parry (and Elgar) whom he first saw in 1905 at the Gloucester Three Choirs Festival. Howells once said ‘I could talk for ten years about Hubert Parry’,²⁶⁶ describing him as ‘a human dynamo of tireless energy’, and ‘the greatest man by far that he had ever met.’²⁶⁷ He was in Howells’ view ‘almost as near to Shelley . . . to making the universe his box of

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 28.

²⁶⁵ ‘Charles Villiers Stanford: Fifty Years After.’ *English Church Music* (1974): 5-6.

²⁶⁶ Spicer 1998: 33.

²⁶⁷ Interview between H. Howells, Richard Walker and Robert Spearing, repr in Palmer 1992: 350-65.

toys.²⁶⁸ Howells wrote that Parry possessed the gift of 'far-seeing intelligence' that extended beyond the arts to science, philosophy, theology and politics.²⁶⁹ He recalls being present at a political election held in around 1908 in the Shire Hall, Gloucester.²⁷⁰ This was the second time Howells saw Parry who that day was supporting a mild-mannered Asquithian Liberal candidate: 'There he [Parry] was . . . in the chair, controlling, subjugating, and finally rousing a packed audience to a rare state of excitement. I became – young as I was – very much aware of his kindling power – a power in no sense demagogic, but simply (as later I came to realise) a consuming force of character that could register itself in any company or cause.'²⁷¹ Howells' essay poses four questions: What did Parry represent: (1) to his contemporaries; (2) to his fellow musicians; (3) to his colleagues and students at the RCM and in Oxford; and (4) to the music profession in Britain? As already discussed, he was throughout his life open to both ecstatic praise and damning criticism, which in Howells' opinion leaves scholars with an unresolved and debatable quandary as to his exact place in British music.²⁷² In Howells' opinion *Prometheus Unbound* (1880) marked the point that British music freed itself from a 'Mendelssonian captivity: the year of renaissance in British music.'²⁷³ This opinion is also shared by Michael Trend²⁷⁴ and Eric Blom.²⁷⁵ Howells also writes that whilst Parry at his height was somewhat quasi-revolutionary', in Britain, his native platform was almost exclusively the choral festivals of Gloucester, Hereford, Worcester, Birmingham and Leeds. Indeed, according to Jeremy Dibble, Parry first enjoyed musical stardom following

²⁶⁸ 'Hubert Parry.' Lecture given at the Royal College of Music, London, 7 October 1968, repr. in Palmer 1992: 244.

²⁶⁹ Ibid., 224 and 226.

²⁷⁰ Ibid., 224; and interview between C. Palmer and H. Howells repr. in Palmer 1987: 13.

²⁷¹ 'Hubert Parry.' Lecture given at the Royal College of Music, London, 7 October 1968, repr. in Palmer 1992: 224.

²⁷² Ibid., 226.

²⁷³ Ibid.

²⁷⁴ See Trend 1985: 17.

²⁷⁵ See Blom 1942: 163.

the London premiere of *Blest Pair of Sirens* in May 1887. His national renown was consolidated a year later with the first performance of his oratorio, *Judith*, premiered at the Birmingham Festival.²⁷⁶ In Howells' opinion, whilst musically, *Judith* and *King Saul* (1894) might seem a partial surrender to the popular idiom, nowhere is musical compromise found in works such as *Job* (1892) or *Blest Pair of Sirens*. Yet critically Parry was attacked by some including George Bernard Shaw who 'scorned' the South Kensington effort for its apparent disregard for Wagner, although, according to Howells, Parry was 'a convinced Wagnerite before any other representative British composer', mainly due to his close friendship with Edward Dannreuther. He found Berlioz's orchestration 'extravagantly exciting', and although Parry's scoring received criticism by some, works such as the *Songs of Farewell* (1916-18) show a uniquely triumphant canvas, albeit in his chosen medium – choral music.²⁷⁷

The RCM and the wider educational environment

Each of Howells' teachers at the RCM made an important contribution to the English choral tradition. As already mentioned, Howells himself believed that England was historically a 'singing nation', with a tradition that dated back to when singing first became 'a natural expression of [the] people.'²⁷⁸ Charles Wood, who Howells described as 'the greatest teacher I ever knew' reputedly could 'do a setting of the Magnificat at high-speed.'²⁷⁹ Howells described him as the 'most completely-equipped teacher in his experience', and 'as gentle as any man could be in the

²⁷⁶ Dibble 1992: 268.

²⁷⁷ Ibid., 229.

²⁷⁸ 'Choral Singing in England.' *BBC Empire Programme*, 15 April 1938, BBC Written Archives Centre, Reading: 1.

²⁷⁹ H. Howells: 'Charles Wood.' *English Church Music* (Croydon: Royal School of Church Music, 1966): 59-60.

presence of his pupils – gentle alike to the bunglers and the brilliant.²⁸⁰ Wood's output includes a Piano Concerto in F (1885-6), *Symphonic Variations on an Irish Air* (1899), a modest corpus of chamber music, and a large output of anthems and services, which like Stanford's have proven 'the basis of enduring fame.'²⁸¹ Howells believed that church music formed 'the one unbroken line of achievement in the story of [British] music-making', and feared the future if younger generations succumbed to 'pepping up' or the 'popular' in composition.²⁸² He writes: For years the organ loft and choir stalls provided 'an abiding line of development . . . It's astonishing that so many British musicians (and a couple of illustrious Irishman too) have gone to school in cathedral or church.'²⁸³ Yet whilst Howells had served an early apprenticeship with Brewer, he, like many others, had also 'gone to school' at a music college. An article which Howells wrote in 1916 on musical education makes no mention of the cathedral-articled pupil, but concerns itself primarily with Britain's 'college' education system.²⁸⁴ Howells introduces two 'general classes'. The first is the self-taught musician who has received no formal musical education or artistic supervision, but instead seeks guidance from private study.²⁸⁵ The second is the individual who seeks a formal education at a college or university, a system which in Howells' opinion holds claim to the majority of the best musicians.²⁸⁶ He writes that each institution maintains its school of thought which is often victim to adverse criticism which is both 'careless' and 'unjust', since it undermines the selfless work of those who have 'devoted their best . . . to furthering what they can honestly deem to be the

²⁸⁰ Ibid., 59.

²⁸¹ Ibid.

²⁸² See 'Choral Singing in England.' *BBC Empire Programme*, 15 April 1938, BBC Written Archives Centre, Reading; and Howells 1966: 60.

²⁸³ 'Anthems for Choir and Organ: Talk broadcast from Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford.' BBC Home Service, 14 November 1943, repr. in Palmer 1992: 395-8.

²⁸⁴ H. Howells: 'Musical Education.' *Athenaeum* 4610 (October 1916): 490-1.

²⁸⁵ Ibid., 490.

²⁸⁶ Ibid.

most satisfactory form of musical education.²⁸⁷ Subsequently, during the last fifty years almost all the best musicians, composers, conductors or executants have been connected in their youth with a music college such as the RAM, the RCM, the Guildhall, the Royal Manchester College of Music or the Birmingham and Midland Institute. He names as notable examples Sir Henry Wood and Vaughan Williams who have become 'shining lights in the renaissance of British music.'²⁸⁸ In saying this, he underlines also the importance of scholarships and the issue of equal opportunities for all classes of musician, be they performers or composers, a subject close to his heart. He refers to the mid nineteenth century when students were looking towards the RAM as the only music school in Britain. He writes that music scholarships then were almost unheard of.²⁸⁹ By the late 1900s scholarships were available in almost every major music college in Britain, although their method of allocation and their availability on an equal basis to composers and scholars alike, and not just performers was, and still is an issue for concern. Whilst scholarships are essential for ensuring the intake of the most talented students, Howells believes that the lack of state funding, (unlike in Europe) denies musicians facilities, especially the provision of a national opera, which has been petitioned for, but to no avail.²⁹⁰ He highlights also the lack of conducting schools and specialist training in this area. He writes that in the majority of institutions, students often assume the role of conductor when directing their own works, which leaves little doubt as to the value of training, and in his opinion their encouragement would no doubt discover considerable aptitude among them.²⁹¹

²⁸⁷ Ibid.

²⁸⁸ Ibid.

²⁸⁹ At the time of publication the RAM offered 58 competitive scholarships, the RCM 60, the Guildhall around 60, and the Trinity College of Music almost 40.

²⁹⁰ H. Howells: 'Musical Education.' *Athenaeum* 5610 (October 1916): 490. As already discussed the establishment of a national opera had already been heavily petitioned by Stanford. See Dibble 1992: 169, 196-8, 228-9, 303-6, 415 and 463.

²⁹¹ Ibid., 491.

Howells notes Goossens as one student who has enjoyed the support of Sir Thomas Beecham.²⁹² He points out that at the RCM, the orchestra plays at least twice a week, giving students the opportunity to practise 'at the desk, facing the players and the score, fostering [their] own imaginative faculties, acquiring confidence [and] overcoming in actual practice the difficulties of rehearsal.'²⁹³ In the opinion of Howells, it is only after practical experience that the student conductor can truly benefit from watching the professional.

Gurney, Vaughan Williams and Elgar

Howells was himself a testament to Britain's developing musical education system, and had it not been for the persuasion of Gurney to join him at the RCM, his career might have had a very different outcome. Gurney and Howells were extremely close. Gurney was articled to Brewer shortly after his cathedral choristership in 1900 during which time his acquaintance with Howells developed into a firm friendship. In a touching tribute printed in *Music & Letters*, Howells described how Gurney arrived in London, 'his wallet bulging with works of many kinds. There were preludes thick with untamed chords; violin sonatas strewn with ecstatic cries; and organ works which he tried out in the midst of Gloucester's imperturbable Norman pillars.'²⁹⁴ Yet even in his youth, Gurney showed a leaning towards 'specialisation' – solo song; not since the Elizabethans had Britain seen a musician equally gifted as both a poet and composer.²⁹⁵ According to Howells some credited Stanford for having influenced this, although Stanford later said that although potentially 'he [was] the most gifted

²⁹² Beecham regularly used Goossens as his deputy if he was unable to conduct a concert himself. See A. Jefferson: *Sir Thomas Beecham: A Centenary Tribute* (London: Malcolm & Jane's, 1979): 75.

²⁹³ Ibid.

²⁹⁴ H. Howells: 'Ivor Gurney: The Musician.' *Music & Letters* 18/1 (1938): 13-17.

²⁹⁵ Draft ms, Royal College of Music, London.

man that ever came into [his] care . . . he [was] the *least teachable*.²⁹⁶ Indeed Howells writes that any half-dozen of Gurney's songs support Stanford's statement, and show that Gurney never 'reached a degree of fine finish or acquired an impeccable technique' in his writing:²⁹⁷ His songs are simply 'fruits of his genius'. With a lovely wondering tune he can give you the heart of the Severn Meadows . . . he can paint Spring as deftly as the Elizabethans could.'²⁹⁸ Howells recalls that Gurney was equally moved by the premiere of Vaughan Williams' *Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis*, and following the performance both men, unable to sleep spent the remainder of the night and early morning walking the streets of Gloucester.²⁹⁹ Recalling the experience Howells said:

Lovely first week in September came. With it came the composer from Chelsea, a magnificent figure on the rostrum, a younger but more commanding version of the then Foreign Secretary, Sir Edward Grey. He was nearly thirty-nine. I gazed at him from the sixth row of the 'stalls' in the nave. (Beside me – in a crowded audience – an empty chair). I was seeing him for the first time. But what mattered was that it was Tuesday night, an Elgar night; a dedicated Elgar audience, all devotees of the by then 'accepted' masterpiece *The Dream of Gerontius*. . . . But there, conducting a strange work for strings, RVW himself, a comparative (or complete?) stranger; and his *Fantasy* would be holding up the *Dream*, maybe for ten minutes? In fact for *twice* ten, as it happened.

He left the rostrum, in the non-applauding silence in those days, thanks be! And he came to the empty chair next to mine, carrying a copy of *Gerontius*, and presently was sharing it with me, while Elgar was conducting the first hearing I ever had of the *Dream*. For a music bewildered youth of seventeen it was an overwhelming evening, so disturbing and moving that I even asked Ralph Vaughan Williams for his autograph – and got it! I have it still! . . . And one great composer upon another – the *Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis*.³⁰⁰

Howells knew Vaughan Williams for more than 40 years. 'The composer from Chelsea,³⁰¹ was perhaps the greatest single influence on him more than any other British composer of the twentieth-century. Often in his writings and broadcasts Howells refers to the first performance of the *Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis* which he described as a 'revelatory experience of his youth.'³⁰² Indeed Vaughan Williams himself was one of Howells' greatest inspirations: 'In and about my

²⁹⁶ H. Howells: 'Ivor Gurney: The Musician.' *Music & Letters* 18/1 (1938): 14.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 15-17.

²⁹⁹ See Spicer 1998: 23.

³⁰⁰ Unknown BBC broadcast repr. in Spicer 1998: 22-3.

³⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 22.

³⁰² Palmer 1987: 11.

workroom I keep visual reminders of Ralph Vaughan Williams. There are snapshots by Tom Dick and Harry; majestic portraits by Herbert Lambert of Bath; drawings by Joy Finzi and Sir William Rothenstein. There too, are crumpled tattered, transitory bits of newspaper that have carried many reminders of a figure that for a generation enriched the eye as generously as his music filled the ear.' In Howells' opinion Vaughan Williams stood among Stanford, Parry and Elgar in a line of musical leaders. He once said: 'He is, beyond doubt, and above all others in our profession the most fitted to receive the admiration, gratitude and proud affection not only of those of us who, by calling and practice are musicians, but of countless thousands the world over have come under the spell of his genius.'³⁰³ Even abroad there were according to Howells those nations in Northern Europe and even the Latin Countries that recognised (at least by his death) that Vaughan Williams was 'a world figure', although in his opinion the Continent in general had been slow to acknowledge the 'sweep and power' of British composers.³⁰⁴

Sibelius in Finland, Stravinsky in the New World, Kodály in Hungary – these men who are his peers are in no doubt of the significance, strength and beauty of his works . . . The countries of the Commonwealth play and sing to him the limit of their means. Their musical traditions stem from ours. Their sympathies and predilections are as nearly like our own as to ensure a warm place in their hearts for the man who has enriched those traditions, for the composer who has moved to the same sympathies and has shared and confirmed their own predilections.³⁰⁵

Howells described Vaughan Williams as Britain's 'chief musician.'³⁰⁶ He revived Tudor composers [*Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis* and the Mass in G minor], re-discovered a common ground between stage and church [*The Shepherds of the Delectable Mountains*] and united the nation in worship [*The English Hymnal*].'

³⁰³ Draft ms of an after-dinner speech given to the Incorporated Society of Musicians on 6 October 1952, repr. in Palmer 1992: 297-301. The dinner was held in honour of Vaughan Williams' eightieth birthday. Guests included Sir John Barbirolli, Rutland Boughton, Arthur Bliss, Thomas Armstrong Gibbs, Edmund Rubbra, Patrick Hadley, Gerald Finzi, Racine Fricker, George Dyson, Richard Arnell, Alan Bush, Sir William Harris, Larry Alder, Hubert Foss, and Vaughan Williams.

³⁰⁴ H. Howells: 'Ralph Vaughan Williams.' *The Score* 17 (December 1952): 55-7.

³⁰⁵ Ibid.

³⁰⁶ H. Howells: 'He has Touched the Hearts of Millions: A Tribute to Ralph Vaughan Williams O.M. on the Occasion of his Seventy-Fifth Birthday.' *Radio Times* 97 (10 October 1947): 5.

Indeed in Howells' opinion, Vaughan Williams was an 'essential part of Britain's musical existence' and vision.³⁰⁷ Whilst Elgar's relationship with the people was more immediate with works such as 'Land of Hope and Glory', Vaughan Williams' was on a more 'personal, intimate' level, through his 'deeply felt hymn tunes [and] songs of quiet controlled beauty.'³⁰⁸ In so many of his works Vaughan Williams 'drew from his nation's folk music . . . and richly repaid the debt.' There were critics 'ready to say that a man who meddled with folk-song was a man who flirted with disaster',³⁰⁹ and they in turn sneered at the 'Pastoral' Symphony – 'the symphony of melodic contours, gentle and undulating as the English landscape.' Yet Howells also writes:

The critic rated it at about the level of excitement of a mothers' meeting in a remote parish. He could not foresee that a decade later, in a tortured, agonising collapse of European moral and political principles, there would come a Fourth Symphony, revealing not quiet English beauty but a crushing apocalyptic horror – a powerful mirror of a cruel repellent world.³¹⁰

In an essay on the 'Pastoral' Symphony Howells recalled that Vaughan Williams was never completely satisfied with the scoring, and asked Holst to make alterations which he refused.³¹¹ Holst confided in Howells that it would be wrong for him or anyone else to 'meddle' in a work 'so utterly original' in its orchestral thinking.³¹² In Holst's opinion, only a composer's 'individual sensibility' could rectify the imperfections and blemishes that in themselves were open to subjectivity.³¹³ The Symphony was first performed at a Royal Philharmonic Society's Concert on 26 January 1922 under Boult. Its reception was mixed and according to Howells the source of friction lay in the term 'Pastoral', and the divide between those who

³⁰⁷ Ibid.

³⁰⁸ Article by Howells dated 4 October 1957, unknown publication, Royal College of Music Library.

³⁰⁹ Ibid.

³¹⁰ Ibid.

³¹¹ H. Howells: 'Vaughan Williams's *Pastoral Symphony*.' *Music & Letters* 3/2 (1922): 122-32.

³¹² Interview between C. Palmer and H. Howells, repr. in Palmer 1987: 12.

³¹³ Ibid.

understood the meaning of the title, and those who dismissed such an association with strict compositional forms.³¹⁴

Such a work will find itself judged as much by ordinary as by extraordinary standards – by those, for instance, of the man whose ideas for that kind of Symphony would be put the elements in a devastatingly bad temper; walk under a thundery sky, pick his way by the glare of lightening, goad himself (and us) with hailstones, and finally bury himself in the ruins of a universe; or by William Blake-ish standards (if such were be in music), of an imagination burning itself into a fury of vivid colours, shouting of trees brilliant with the wings of angels, playing the tunes an Ezekiel sang in the fields at Peckham Rye.³¹⁵

Thus, in the opinion of Howells, folk-song was an important element of the pastoral in music. It was also a medium he closely associated with Vaughan Williams' compositional process writing that: 'nowhere does he make it plainer than in this work that out of folk-song his idiom – and therefore his inspiration – is chiefly derived.'³¹⁶ Just as Howells likened Gurney's 'melodic speech' in his song-writing to the 'outline of the Malverns',³¹⁷ he again uses metaphor to convey the 'shape and harmonic contours' of Vaughan Williams' Symphony. Yet despite its impact on Howells and the influence on his own 'Pastoral' Rhapsody, he writes: 'I believe that in the case of this particular work, time will do little to modify early antagonistic opinions. The mood and manner of it are such to appeal to constitutional likes or dislikes':

According as we feel individually, reticence may be the gift of the devil or of the gods, folk-song origin a limitation or an expression, 'fifths' a thorn in the flesh or a blessed relief, common chords an intolerable platitude or a newly-discovered beauty, model inflection mere mannerism, or a world of colour. Vaughan Williams believes in these; they are in the heart and mind of his 'Pastoral' Symphony. He has expressed strong beliefs without thought or fear of 'consequences.'³¹⁸

1922 was a significant year for Howells for reasons both personal and also for his career. Elgar commissioned *Sine Nomine* (1922) for the Gloucester Three Choirs Festival which marked his Festival debut. This was an act of kindness since Howells

³¹⁴ Howells 1922: 122.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 123.

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 127.

³¹⁷ H. Howells: 'Ivor Gurney: The Musician.' *Music & Letters* 19/1 (1938): 15.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 132.

had 'snubbed' Elgar, after being re-introduced to him on several occasions.³¹⁹ Elgar had since made every effort with the young Howells, introducing him as the youngest (although not yet official) member of the Savile Club: 'And when I was the baby-member of the Savile he used to spoil me to death, and make almost everybody come and bow and scrape to me – I felt quite important.'³²⁰

Elgar in Parry's words 'touched the hearts of millions.' Yet in Howells' opinion it was in Britain and not abroad that Elgar found true stardom. He took a Germanic tradition, made it his own, and composed music which became known throughout the Nation.³²¹ His 'musical currency' were works such as 'Land of Hope and Glory' and 'Nimrod', from the *Enigma Variations* (1898-9), a work which for so many 'trailed an extra musical interest, a conundrum, a side-issue . . . It has become a national hunt affair: a pseudo-intellectual pursuit – the quandary of a concealed, undeclared theme. Humble scribes and sublimely Pharisees have wasted energy in feeble detection of the possible identity of the ghost.'³²² Howells described Elgar as 'a profoundly musical genius' who was 'shy of being a professional musician.'³²³ He disliked talking 'music', and would find greater interest in other subjects such as horse racing and the 'colours of fish's eyes in the Amazon River, the mysteries of chemical elements, and the subtle forensic details of a murder trial.'³²⁴ According to Howells one therefore finds the musical Elgar or the 'real' Elgar in his music.³²⁵ In Howells' opinion he was not the typical Englishman, nor typical English musician.³²⁶ Yet he was 'bred within sight of the Malvern Hills, was familiar with two noble rivers

³¹⁹ Interview between: H. Howells, Richard Walker and Robert Spearing, repr. in Palmer 1992: 350-65.

³²⁰ *Ibid.*, 350. Howells became a member of the club on 20 February 1956.

³²¹ H. Howells and various authors: 'Elgar Today.' *Musical Times* 98 1372 (June 1957): 302-3.

³²² H. Howells: 'Elgar: Variations on an Original Theme (*Enigma*), Programme note for Royal Festival Hall-Concert, 13 May 1959', repr. in Palmer 1992: 307-9.

³²³ 'Elgar as I Knew Him – A Personal Portrait.' Typescript for Radio Broadcast, 22/23 December 1960: 1.

³²⁴ *Ibid.*

³²⁵ *Ibid.*

³²⁶ *Ibid.*

– the Severn and the Wye, and wrote choral music for British choral festivals, notably the ‘Three Choirs’. Elgar’s abilities made him unique as an Englishman. ‘Nimrod’, and ‘Land of Hope and Glory’ were tunes that ‘shocked the lily-livered’, but they touched the man on the street. Elgar once said to Howells: ‘I’m glad to have written any tune people can whistle or sing. And anyhow, could the offended snobs do the job better?’³²⁷ In Howells’ opinion, ‘the great thing about Elgar was his preference for a big canvas.’³²⁸ With the exception of opera (like Howells), his choice of genre was great and ‘he reached and represented the feelings of all types, all kinds.’³²⁹ Yet whilst Elgar represented many things to many people, in Howells’ mind he was a West countryman composer, and importantly a champion of the Three Choirs Festival of Gloucester, Hereford and Worcester:

The three cathedrals [of Gloucester, Hereford and Worcester] were his spiritual home. For them he wrought his outstanding choral works – within their cool, dignified sanctuaries I saw him, a hundred times, wandering, musing, listening, conducting. For forty years he was the outstanding figure of the Three Choirs Festivals – he drew thousands of music-lovers to the celebrated meetings: but he himself the first to join the pilgrimage to the lovely churches . . . year by year he went as the dominant personality to the three Cathedrals, as a man devotedly in touch with his humble beginnings and first untutored musical gropings. And there, in terms of his genius and supreme maturity, he offered his ‘Praise to the Holiest in the height.’³³⁰

Howells on Howells

Howells made notes and commentaries on much of his music.³³¹ His ability to do this came naturally, unlike some composers, many of whom he writes are unable to talk intelligently about their own works; even few care to. Generally Howells was not his own critic, preferring to discuss the genesis of works in context. He does not comment directly on the Englishness of his music, yet often he highlights many characteristics that are drawn upon in the previous chapter. A letter from Howells to Val Drewry of

³²⁷ *Ibid.*, 3.

³²⁸ *Ibid.*

³²⁹ *Ibid.*

³³⁰ *Ibid.*, 4.

³³¹ Howells’ discussions of the Latin church music and clavichord pieces are referred to in the final chapter.

the BBC explains that *In Green Ways* 'grew out of the desire to illustrate five moods concerning the countryside.'³³² He writes that 'Under the Greenwood Tree' portrays its 'rough good-humoured side'; 'The Goat Paths', 'the summer leisure of high noon'; 'The Wanderer's Night Song', 'the calm of night'; and 'quite different in kind, 'Merry Margaret' and 'On the Merry First of May' are of *people*, whose appropriate background would be that of the countryside and its scenes.'³³³

Howells' most popular chamber work, the Piano Quartet in A minor was conceived mentally whilst living in London, and the first page written during that time. It was not until a summer holiday in Gloucestershire and the sight of Chosen Hill which he and Gurney knew so well and loved dearly, that Howells found the stimulus to continue the work. He writes that the work is inspired by 'Chosen Hill, with its wonderful view [that] set my mind going again.'³³⁴ Howells recalls that he completed the first movement whilst staying in the village of Glengariff in the New Forest. The second movement 'belongs to Chosen in inspiration as does the whole work', although it was not until the following Easter whilst staying in London that the quartet was finally completed.³³⁵ The Piano Quartet is dedicated to Gurney who in a letter to Howells following receipt of the score wrote:

³³² Letter from H. Howells to V. Drewry, dated 30 December 1941, repr. in Palmer 1992: 406-7.

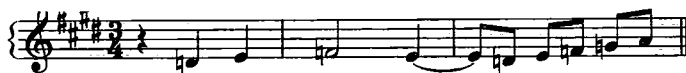
³³³ Ibid.

³³⁴ Unpublished note, Howells Estate.

³³⁵ Ibid.

...That is a princely birthday present, and thanks awfully for it. You know – I didn't mean to beg for it, but thought these interfering medical devils might have taken it into their silly heads to stop me??

At present I am digesting the slow movement, and finding clouds, hilltops, and the great Malverns in the distance. For etc is surely those giants of blue?



I hope you are getting health together, and will soon be able to pile up another set of ms volumes; or is it that for some time you must stay awake to compose things staring at the ceiling? Cheer up, there will be the great Moon of Harvest soon, and the tides of September, October, to set you going again.³³⁶

Howells left writings and commentaries on many of his major works including the Concerto for String Orchestra, the Elegy for Viola, String Quartet and String Orchestra, *Three Figures: Tryptych for Brass Band*, *Hymnus Paradisi*, *Merry Eye*, *Missa Sabrinensis*, 'Paradise' Rondel, the Second Piano Concerto, *Puck's Minuet*, and *Sine Nomine*. These include mainly concert programme notes of varying size. There also includes material relating to his less substantial output. The majority of sources on *Hymnus Paradisi* have been reproduced on various occasions, and give an illuminating, though not always accurate account of the work's genesis and events leading to its eventual performance.³³⁷ His programme note for the Worcester premiere of *Missa Sabrinensis* includes a brief analysis of each movement,³³⁸ whilst a second note for the Albert Hall performance (1956) makes the distinction between a sacred and secular mass and the merits of a concert hall hearing: '*Missa Sabrinensis* had its first hearing in a church – in the cathedral at Worcester. In such surroundings the asperity of some of its harmonies, the blaze and pungency of the choral-orchestral climaxes, the tension of the procession of 'Gloria', 'Credo' and 'Sanctus', will be in some degree understated. In the Concert Hall all these features will have fiercer

³³⁶ Letter from I. Gurney to H. Howells, undated, but written sometime between 4 July and the end of September 1918 when Gurney was staying at Napsburg War Hospital, St Alban's, repr. in Palmer 1992: 433.

³³⁷ Repr. in Palmer 1992: 414-6.

³³⁸ Programme note for the first performance at Worcester Cathedral of *Missa Sabrinensis*, 7 September 1954, repr. in Palmer 422-3.

impact.³³⁹ His short description of the Second Piano Concerto was printed as part of an interview-article and briefly discusses the work's layout and key features, in a similar way to his article on *Sine Nomine* for the *Gloucester Journal*.³⁴⁰ Among the sources relating to minor works includes mini commentaries on the First Psalm Prelude for organ (first set), the Rhapsody for Piano, the *Collegium Regale*, 'St Paul's Service', and 'Take him, Earth for Cherishing'. Also included is a note on the little known orchestral version of the Te Deum from the *Collegium Regale*. This gives the genesis of the morning service on which Howells writes: an orchestral accompaniment has been added, without making the original organ part an element-in-exile.³⁴¹ The orchestral arrangement was first performed on 22 April 1977 at the Dorking Halls, Dorking, Surrey by the Leith Hill Musical Festival Choirs conducted by William Cole.

Postscript

It is interesting as a conclusion to this chapter, to note Howells' changing views between his early and later critique. One such example is his analysis of British music. In 1916 he wrote that Britain enjoyed 'a glorious restoration that culminated in Purcell', followed by a 'miserable abandonment of independence in the Nation's music', during which foreign influences prevailed until the emergence of individuals such as Parry, Stanford and Elgar.³⁴² In a draft speech dating from around 1956 entitled 'Some Fallacies Concerning English Music',³⁴³ he argues differently that

³³⁹ Programme note for the first performance in London (Royal Albert Hall) of *Missa Sabrinensis*, 17 March 1956, repr. in Palmer 1992: 424-5. In a letter to Howells, 10 September 1954, Gerald Finzi wrote: 'It's a terrific work and although one found the complications of texture a bit exhausting to take in for the first time, the cumulative effect was extraordinary . . . congratulations.' [Howells Estate]

³⁴⁰ See Interview-Article, *Music Teacher* (December 1922-January 1923). Repr. in Palmer 1992: 430-1; and article on *Sine Nomine*, *Gloucester Journal*, 9 September 1922, repr. in Palmer 437-8.

³⁴¹ Programme note for a concert at the Royal Albert Hall, London, 14 July 1977, repr. in Palmer 1992: 401.

³⁴² H. Howells: 'Modern British Composers.' *Athenaeum* 4611 (1916): 560-2.

³⁴³ 'Some Fallacies Concerning English Music.' ms draft, Royal College of Music Library.

whilst Britain enjoyed a Golden Age led by the music of Byrd and Purcell, the nation's music nevertheless remained unbroken even following the arrival of Handel: 'Byrd stood in brilliant but wholly-unselfconscious defiance of any idea that English music admits foreign superiority.'³⁴⁴ A second draft manuscript of a speech which Howells gave to the Gloucester Literary Club in 1956 is written in much the same vein.³⁴⁵ He argues that whilst Britain has always maintained its musical independence, and has never completely succumbed to European influences, it is the Nation's choral heritage that has remained the most consistently afloat,³⁴⁶ being the one unbroken musical tradition in the history of British music.³⁴⁷ In Howells' opinion, it also represents 'the tradition of the [cathedral] organ-loft', which has influenced so many of Britain's finest musicians, even those who now work in a secular environment.³⁴⁸

He writes:

They are people who, going through the organ loft, listening to cathedral choirs, and others, have in their bones, in their minds and in their imagination what I call and like to call the immemorial sound of voices which to any Britisher and to the world in general is one of the best things to have in one's make-up.³⁴⁹

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 11.

³⁴⁵ 'Some Fallacies Concerning English Music: An Address Delivered to the Gloucester Literary Club, 8 September 1956.' Royal College of Music Library.

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁷ 'Address at the Blandford Press/EMI Press Reception in Connection with the Treasury of English Church Music', 26 October 1965, Typescript, Royal College of Music Library.

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

Chapter Four

Howells' Relation to Tudor and Jacobean Music

Introductory

Howells maintained a close affinity with old English music. He once said 'all through my life I've had a strange feeling that I belonged somehow to the Tudor period – not only musically but in every way. Ralph Vaughan Williams even had a theory that I was one of the lesser Tudor luminaries.'³⁵⁰ In 1910 he first heard Vaughan Williams' *Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis* at the Gloucester Three Choirs Festival which he described as a 'revelatory experience',³⁵¹ and it was after this that he 'really knew himself, both as a man and artist.'³⁵² The strength of his feelings towards the revival is expressed in an article printed in the *Daily Telegraph* in 1922.³⁵³ Howells talks of the appeal of old music that is spurred by the editions of madrigals by Edmund H. Fellowes,³⁵⁴ and the work of the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust. He writes that musicians have 'fallen in love' with their musical heritage and 'feel pleased about it.'³⁵⁵ In his opinion, the revival of old English music is unique to Britain, but not necessarily a source of Englishness in composition.³⁵⁶ Howells takes his place in the revival as a composer and an editor of early music manuscripts. From 1917 to 1920 he worked on the editorial board of the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust's Tudor Church Music Scheme. His compositions include notably a small corpus of early Latin Church music (1912-1918) for Richard Terry's choir at Westminster Cathedral

³⁵⁰ Interview between C. Palmer and H. Howells, repr. in Palmer 1987: 11.

³⁵¹ Ibid.

³⁵² Interview between C. Palmer and H. Howells, repr. in Palmer 1978: 17.

³⁵³ H. Howells: 'The Elizabethans: A Significant Revival.' *Daily Telegraph* (19 August 1922): 4.

³⁵⁴ Fellowes' editions included *The English Madrigal School* (1913-24); and *The English School of Lutenist Song Writers*, (1920-32). See E.J. Dent: 'Edmund Horace Fellowes.' *The Score* 6 (1952): 52-4; S.T. Warner: 'Edmund Fellowes as Editor.' *Musical Times* 93 (1952): 59-60; and W. Shaw: 'Edmund H. Fellowes, 1870-1951.' *Musical Times* 111 (1970): 1104-5.

³⁵⁵ H. Howells: 'The Elizabethans: A Significant Revival.' *Daily Telegraph* (19 August 1922): 4.

³⁵⁶ Ibid.

as well as a number of clavichord pieces (1926-7 and 1941-61). Howells was a close associate of Richard Terry,³⁵⁷ one of the leading figures in the revival of old English church music. It seems that he made his first visit to Westminster Cathedral shortly after his arrival at the RCM, at the instruction of Stanford, who insisted that all his pupils must hear Terry's renowned choir sing the revived repertoires of Tudor and Jacobean composers. Terry converted to Roman Catholicism whilst organist and choirmaster of St John's Cathedral, Antigua, in the West Indies (1892-6). During the latter part of 1896, he was appointed organist of Downside Abbey, Somerset where he was the first to perform liturgically masses by Byrd, Tallis, Tye, Mundy, and motets by Morley, Parsons and White among others. In 1901, he was appointed organist of Westminster Cathedral. His aspirations for musical excellence echoed the newly introduced *Motu Proprio: Tra le sollecitudini* set by Pope Pius X (pontificate 1903-14) which states: 'sacred music should . . . possess, in the highest degree, the qualities proper to the liturgy, and in particular sanctity and goodness of form, which will spontaneously produce the final quality of universality.'³⁵⁸

A prominent feature of Terry's work was the encouragement he gave contemporary composers to compose using fifteenth-and sixteenth-century models. Such individuals included, as well as Howells, Percy Buck, Charles Wood, Stanford, Holst, Cyril Rootham, C.H. Lloyd, Edgar Ford, Anthony Bernard, and Sylvia Townsend. Their output along with Howells' music is listed in service lists reprinted in the *Musical Standard* and the *Westminster Cathedral Chronicle*. By Howells' first visit to the Cathedral in 1912, the choir's repertoire contained more than 50 masses

³⁵⁷ For a detailed account of Terry's life and work see T. Muir: *Full in the Panting Heart of Rome: Roman Catholic Church Music in England, 1850-1962* (PhD diss., University of Durham, 2005): 229-72.

³⁵⁸ The reforms which he undertook were the result of his personal experience as a seminarian, an assistant pastor, a seminary rector, a bishop, and the cardinal-patriarch of Venice. See R.F. Hayburn: *Papal Legislation on Sacred Music 95 A.D. to 1977 A.D.* (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1979): 195-249.

and over 100 motets. Terry had yet to begin his own editions of music by Tavener, Fayrfax and earlier pre-Reformation composers, and the complete works of Byrd and Philips were as yet undiscovered. Howells' output for Westminster Cathedral reads as follows: 'Missa Sine Nomine' (1912); Two doxologies for the Compline hymn 'Te lucis ante terminum' (1913); Nunc Dimittis (1914); *Four Anthems to the Blessed Virgin Mary* Op.9 (1915); and 'Haec dies' (c.1918).

Whilst Howells proved adept as an orchestral and chamber composer, his output for Westminster Cathedral made choral music a significant branch of his output even at an early stage in his career.³⁵⁹ According to Marion Margaret Scott, Howells found that the sound of the Latin moved him in an extraordinary, uncountable way, allowing him to compose with the freedom and warmth he felt lacking when setting text in English.³⁶⁰ The autograph manuscript of *Missa Sine Nomine*, Op.2 is dated 'May-June 1912' and bears Terry's dedication. The work was first performed in the cathedral on 24 November 1912 and marks Howells' London debut. The *Westminster Cathedral Chronicle* for November 1912 noted: 'A four part Mass in the Dorian Mode by Mr H N Howells is so good that it is to be sung in the Cathedral on November 24th. Mr Howells is a composition scholar at the Royal College of Music and shows a good grip of the principals of modal counterpoint.'³⁶¹

Interestingly David Willcocks in his capacity as editor of the Oxford Church Music Series rejected its publication in 1982 writing that: 'there must be in existence many other examples of such work from pupils of Parry, Stanford and Wood.'³⁶² Yet in the opinion of Patrick Russill, the work is not a student exercise, a view clearly open to argument. He writes that it is a perfectly proportioned, functional Missa

³⁵⁹ M.M. Scott: 'Herbert Howells.' *Music Bulletin* 6 (1924): 141.

³⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 142.

³⁶¹ *The Westminster Cathedral Chronicle* (November 1912): 305.

³⁶² Letter from D. Willcocks to J. Littlejohn, 20 March 1982, Royal College of Music, London.

Brevis for the Catholic liturgy, and the thematic material displays a greater freedom than is typical of the late Renaissance.³⁶³ Indeed *Missa Sine Nomine* was the first in a line of successful works that clearly pleased Terry. He considered 'Salve Regina' and 'O Salutaris Hostia' 'quite the finest by any modern Englishman',³⁶⁴ and both the *Nunc Dimittis* and 'Haec Dies' were composed at his request. The initial suggestion for 'Haec Dies' came in a letter dated 14 July 1917 in which he enclosed a copy of the text:

Yes, a few four-part (or five-part with two trebles) motets of about three minutes duration would be invaluable for general use. I will send you the words when I return. But if in the meantime you felt constrained to set the following words (a jubilant and lively strain) for use next Easter, I should be grateful (SSATB for choice).³⁶⁵

Background to Howells' editorial work

'Haec Dies' was Howells' last work for Westminster Cathedral, but his association with Terry was by no means over. His appointment to the editorial board of the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust's Tudor Church Music Scheme, shortly after his departure from Salisbury, gave him a golden opportunity to familiarise himself with the music of a variety of composers. This included mainly the music of Taverner, the masses of whom it is likely he edited.³⁶⁶ The project was initially concerned with music manuscripts held in the British Library, although this later expanded to cathedral and collegiate archives. It was of the Trust's opinion that 'no other body [was] likely to undertake the cost of production, which would directly assist in

³⁶³ P. Russill: 'Herbert Howells and Westminster Cathedral 1912-1918.' *Organists' Review* 78/307 (1992): 203.

³⁶⁴ Andrews 1999: 103.

³⁶⁵ Letter from R.R. Terry to H. Howells dated 14 July 1917, repr. in Andrews 1999: 151.

³⁶⁶ Andrews 1999: 158.

fostering the appreciation of good music – one of the objectives Mr [Andrew] Carnegie had much at heart.’³⁶⁷

Howells was appointed to the editorial board for three years following an impassioned letter from William H. Hadow:

I am very much distressed to hear about Mr H. Howells, to whom one of the Carnegie awards was made last month (‘Piano Quartet’), is very seriously ill, and that the doctor prescribes a period of complete rest as the only hope of recovery. This would be sad enough in any case; under the present circumstances it is really a disaster. Mr Howells has, I believe, no private means; he had just obtained his first official appointment, which he is now obliged to resign, at it seems wholly impossible that he should be able to carry out the doctor’s instructions without very material assistance. Now in all my experience, I do not think I have ever come across any young English musician of such remarkable promise . . . Could the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust make a special grant, say for a short term of years, in order to tide him over this difficult time until he is sufficiently recovered to take up his career?...

Two possible objections might be brought forward: both, I think, can be met. First, that the Trust is concerned with objects of national importance, not of personal welfare. With this I agree, but I would urge that Howells’ life is a matter of national importance. I am not asking for his sake so much as for the sake of the future of British Art, to which, if I am not wholly mistaken, he is better able to contribute than any of his age now living . . . I do most sincerely hope that you will be able to do something for a man on whom so much of the future of British music seems to me to depend...³⁶⁸

Howells was subsequently awarded a grant of £150 a year beginning on 1 July 1917.

The Trust’s minutes record that: ‘it was decided to employ Mr Howells at a suitable salary in connection with the editing of Tudor and Elizabethan music, and that arrangements should be made with Dr Terry to that end.’³⁶⁹ ‘It was understood that Terry would very much welcome the suggestion.’³⁷⁰ Terry’s original editorial board was Percy Buck, Edmund H. Fellowes, Alick Ramsbotham and Sylvia Townsend Warner.³⁷¹ In approving the scheme the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust listed the composers whose music should appear in the series as Taverner, Merbecke, Sheppard,

³⁶⁷ ‘Publication of Tudor and Elizabethan Music in the British Museum.’ Minute of the Executive Committee of the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, 26 February 1916, National Archives of Scotland: 1.

³⁶⁸ Repr. in Palmer 1992: 23, and the National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh.

³⁶⁹ Repr. in Spicer 1998: 56-7, and the National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh.

³⁷⁰ Ibid.

³⁷¹ See R. Turbet: ‘An Affair of Honour: ‘Tudor Church Music’, The Ousting of Richard Terry, and a Trust Vindicated.’ *Music & Letters* 76/4 (November 1995): 593-600.

Tye, Whyte, Parson, Farrant, Tallis, and Byrd. The choice of Terry as editor seems to have been heavily influenced by William H. Hadow.³⁷²

Originally 20 volumes were to be published by Clarendon Press, but in event only ten were published by Oxford University Press, whose reputation was regarded to be more scholarly by the committee. The scandal regarding Terry's eventual resignation is discussed in a separate article by Richard Turbet.³⁷³ According to Turbet, Terry persistently neglected his duties as chief editor, in some instances going for up to a year without contacting other committee members. His editorial work was sub-standard and after repeated warnings, notably from his close friend Percy Buck he resigned in July 1922.³⁷⁴ It seems Howells was involved in editing music by Taverner along with Terry which Buck heavily criticised for its inaccuracies. In a letter to Terry, Buck wrote: 'a considerable part of the work is not even copied by you. It is someone else's transcript, full of errors, of another copy which in turn was so inaccurate as to be quite out of court as the basis of a critical edition.'³⁷⁵ It is not possible to clarify if the offending copies were edited by Howells as they are no longer extant. The Tudor Church Music Series was published between 1922 and 1929, by which time Howells had returned to London. The volumes in order are as follows: (1) John Taverner; (2) William Byrd; (3) John Taverner; (4) Orlando Gibbons; (5) Robert White; (6) Thomas Tallis; (7) Byrd – 2 Vols.; (8) Thomas Tomkins; (9) Byrd; and; (10) Hugh Aston, John Marbeck, and Osbert Parsley.³⁷⁶

³⁷² Ibid..

³⁷³ Ibid.

³⁷⁴ Ibid., 597.

³⁷⁵ Ibid.

³⁷⁶ Volumes 2 and 9 contained masses, cantiones and motets. Volume 6 contained a motet in 40 parts, 'Spem in alium numquam habui', pub. Oxford University Press, 1922-29.

Reformation influences on Howells' Latin church music

Expectantly, many of the compositional features that characterise English Reformation church music are seen in Howells' Latin church music. Significantly it should be remembered that all of Howells' works for Westminster Cathedral were written for liturgical use and that they are not intended for concert performances alone. For example *Missa Sine Nomine* is a fully functional mass for the Roman Catholic liturgy, containing a Kyrie, Gloria in Excelsis, Credo, Sanctus, Benedictus, Osanna, and Agnus Dei (Divided).³⁷⁷ Howells also set three of the four large-scale Marian Antiphons, 'Salve Regina', 'Regina Caeli', and 'Ave Regina'. These are sung after Compline at different periods of the Church calendar. The Salve Regina ('Hail Queen') is sung from Trinity Sunday to the Saturday before the first Sunday of Advent; the Ave Regina Coelorum ('Hail Queen of Heaven') from the Purification (2 February) until Wednesday in Holy Week; and the Regina Caeli Laetare ('Queen of Heaven Rejoice') from Easter Sunday to Friday after Pentecost.

Howells' music is not only liturgically apposite, but his writing shows an awareness of academic scholarship at that time, including the work of John Fuller Maitland and William Barkley Squire, as well as published editions under the auspices of organisations such as the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society (founded in 1888), and plainsong manuals and psalters compiled by individuals such as Thomas Helmore, Walter Frere, Ambrose Lisle Phillipps, William Kelly and John Lambert.³⁷⁸ Richard Terry also published a book entitled *Catholic Church Music* (1907).³⁷⁹ As Patrick Russill points out, Howells when writing for Westminster Cathedral was

³⁷⁷ See J. Harper: *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy: From the Tenth to the Fifteenth-Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991): 109-26.

³⁷⁸ B. Zon: *The English Plainchant Revival* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999): 193-211 and 280-302.

³⁷⁹ R.R. Terry: *Catholic Church Music* (London: Greening & Co., 1907).

dealing with not just a stylistic problem, but one that was aesthetically challenging.³⁸⁰ He was required to follow Tudor and Jacobean models, whilst writing music that was fresh, new and aesthetically convincing.³⁸¹

Of Howells' output, *Missa Sine Nomine* is closest stylistically to church music of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It is scored for four-part choir, with the exception of a five-part Agnus Dei which Howells gave the alternative name 'Mass in the Dorian Mode', the 'Dorian' being the first of the twelve modes.³⁸² As established Howells was not the only British composer influenced by the revival of old English music and aspects of revivalism are seen also in works by other British composers such as Vaughan Williams, Edmund Rubbra, Bernard Stevans and Kenneth Leighton. For example in her thesis, Patricia Fowler notes striking similarities between Vaughan Williams' Mass in G Minor and Howells' *Missa Sine Nomine* both structurally harmonically and texturally.³⁸³ In the opinion of Lionel Pike this stretches back further to the *Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis*:

³⁸⁰ P. Russill: 'Herbert Howells and Westminster Cathedral 1912-1918.' *Organists' Review* 78/307 (1992): 203 and 205-7.

³⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 203.

³⁸² Composers used mainly Sarum chants (customs, liturgy and chants of the Medieval cathedral of Salisbury) which were paramount in the music of Medieval England, and much of the music was performed within its context until its abolition in 1547. For further details of chant genres see R. Cocker: *An Introduction to Gregorian Chant* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000): 54-5; Zon 1998; R. Wilson: *Anglican Chant and Chanting in England, Scotland and America 1660-1820* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); D. Hiley: *Western Plainchant: An Introduction* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993): 454-77; R. Hoppin: *Medieval Music* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1978): 64-8; and F. Burgess: *The Rudiments of Plainchant* (London: Musical Opinion, 1923). See also D. Bergeron: 'Gregorian Chant: A Liturgical Art Form.' *Sacred Music* 127/1 (2000): 13-20.

³⁸³ L.P. Fowler: *The Twentieth-Century Unaccompanied Mass: A Comparative Analysis of Masses by Ralph Vaughan Williams, Herbert Howells, Bernard Stevans, and Edmund Rubbra* (PhD diss., University of Northern Colorado, 1997): 114.

The Fantasia has its successors: it is usually the same composer's *Mass in G minor* that is singled out as a choral counterpart of the string Fantasia. Here the multi choired layering of the earlier piece is recreated in a liturgical setting that owes more to the Renaissance contrapuntal forms but less to modal thought . . . It is no surprise that the style of the 'Tallis Fantasia' finds its counterparts in cathedral music. In its use of church modes, its employment of an avowedly religious tune, its treatment of that tune in a manner which evokes sixteenth-century polyphony, and in its antiphonal massing of forces, the piece is an embodiment of the English cathedral music ethos. . . Just as the composer's mind in Vaughan Williams' could – probably subconsciously – isolate the vital features of Tallis' tune, and recreate them in a work of his own, so the features of the Fantasia must have lodged in Howells' mind. The composer's mind in Howells then drew on the structural features of the 'Fantasia' and recreated them in a style which yet remains typical of Howells...³⁸⁴

However, texturally 'Missa Sine Nomine' employs a smaller canvas than the Mass in G minor, being scored for single choir and solo quartet which sings alternum during the Crucifixus. Interestingly the Kyrie of 'Missa Sine Nomine' opens in G Dorian, a possible link to Vaughan Williams' Mass (see Ex.5.1.).

Ex.5.1. Beginning of the Kyrie, *Missa Sine Nomine*, P. Russill, ed.: *Herbert Howells (1892-1983)* – Mass in the Dorian Mode (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994): 5.

Lento ma non troppo

The musical score is for a four-part choir (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) in G Dorian mode. It is marked 'Lento ma non troppo'. The score is divided into three systems. The first system shows the Soprano and Alto parts with rests, and the Tenor and Bass parts with the lyrics 'Ky ri e lei'. The second system shows the Soprano and Alto parts with rests, and the Tenor and Bass parts with the lyrics 'son, c'. The third system shows the Soprano and Alto parts with rests, and the Tenor and Bass parts with the lyrics 'lei son'.

³⁸⁴ Vaughan Williams chose the theme for the *Fantasia on the Theme by Thomas Tallis* from the 1567 Psalter of Matthew Parker to which Tallis contributed several settings. See L. Pike: 'Tallis – Vaughan Williams – Howells: Reflections on Mode Three.' *Tempo* 149 (June 1984): 10.

Another historicising feature of Howells' mass, more generally, is the relationships between word-setting and individual sections of music. For example, Hugh Benham writes that there were formal textual settings according to each section of the mass: melismatic word-setting of the Gloria in Excelsis and Credo, and syllabic word setting of the Sanctus and Agnus Dei.³⁸⁵ This can be seen to some extent in *Missa Sine Nomine* in the largely strophic 'Et in terra pax' (Ex.5.2.), and the opening of the Credo (Ex.5.3.), and the more polyphonic openings of the Sanctus (Ex.5.4.) and the Agnus Dei (Ex.5.5.).

Ex.5.2. Beginning of Et in terra pax, *Missa Sine Nomine*, P. Russill, ed.: *Herbert Howells (1892-1983) – Mass in the Dorian Mode* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994): 8.

Con moto
P

Soprano
Et in terra pax ho mi ni

Alto
Et in terra pax ho mi ni

Tenor
Et in terra pax ho mi ni

Bass
Et in terra pax ho mi ni

4
S.
bus bo nae vo lun ta

A.
bus bo nae vo lun ta

T.
bus bo nae vo lun ta

B.
bus bo nae vo lun ta

³⁸⁵ H. Benham, ed.: *John Taverner: Five Part Masses, Early English Church Music* (London: Stainer & Bell, 1990); ix.

Ex.5.3. Beginning of the Credo, *Missa Sine Nomine*, P. Russill, ed.: *Herbert Howells (1892-1983)* – Mass in the Dorian Mode (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994): 14.

Allegro maestoso

Soprano *f*
Pa trem om ni po ten tem, fac

Alto *f*
Pa trem om ni po ten ten tem, fac

Tenor *f*
Pa — trem om ni po ten tem, fac

Bass *f*
Pa — trem om ni po ten tem, fac

Ex.5.4. Beginning of the Sanctus, *Missa Sine Nomine*, P. Russill, ed.: *Herbert Howells (1892-1983)* – Mass in the Dorian Mode (Oxford University Press, 1994): 24.

pp Lento ma non troppo

Soprano *pp*
San ctus,

Alto *pp*
San

Tenor *pp*
San

Bass *pp*
San

3
S. *p*
San ctus,

A. *[p]*
ctus, San ctus, San

T. *pp*
ctus, San ctus

B. *p*
San ctus, San

Ex.5.6. Beginning of 'Salve Regine' – Polyphonic text setting, P. Russill, ed.: *Latin Church Music I – Salve Regina, O Salutaris Hostia* (London: Novello, 1986): 3.

Molto moderato - espressivo

Soprano
Salve Regina, salve, Ma

Soprano
Salve Regina, salve

Alto
Salve Regina, salve

Tenor
Salve Regina, Ma

Bass
Ma

Bass
Ma ter

An extension to this practice is Howells' use of fauxbourdon. Characteristically, the line is often sung in the tenor and is surrounded with up to four- or five-part polyphony. Most often the fauxbourdon is taken from plainchant, although in 'O Salutaris Hostia', Howells takes the fauxbourdon from *The Compline Benediction Book for Choirs*. The hymn-tune melody (sung by the soprano) which provides the line is taken from *Andernach Gesangbuch* (1608) (see Ex. 5.7a.). The second verse is the antiphon itself. The fauxbourdon is sung by the tenor (see Ex. 5.7b.).

Ex.5.5. Beginning of the Agnus Dei, *Missa Sine Nomine*, P. Russill, ed.: *Herbert Howells (1892-1983) – Mass in the Dorian Mode* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994): 34.

Espressivo e non troppo lento
pp

Soprano
Soprano
Alto
Tenor
Bass

S.
S.
A.
T.
B.

Polyphonic settings following Renaissance norms of textual setting are seen elsewhere in Howells' Latin church music, respectively in the large-scale antiphons and motets. These display elaborate part-writing, as exhibited in his setting of the Marian motet 'Salve Regina'. (see Ex.5.8.)

Ex.5.7a. Verse one – ‘O Salutaris Hostia’, melody from *Andernach Gesangbuch*, first stanza, P. Russill, ed.: *Latin Church Music I – Salve Regina, O Salutaris Hostia* (London: Novello, 1986): 10.

Musical score for Ex.5.7a. The title 'Faubourdon melody' is centered above the staff. The score consists of two staves: a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 4/4. The lyrics 'O sa lu ta ris Hos ti' are written below the treble staff. The melody is a simple, diatonic line in the treble staff, while the bass staff provides a harmonic accompaniment.

Ex.5.7b. Verse two – The beginning of verse two of ‘O Salutaris Hostia’. The fauxbourdon is sung by the tenor, P. Russill, ed.: *Latin Church Music I – Salve Regina, O Salutaris Hostia* (London: Novello, 1986): 10-11.

Musical score for Ex.5.7b. The score is for four voices: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 4/4. The lyrics are 'U ni tri' and 'no que Do mi no'. The Soprano part begins with a piano (*p*) dynamic. The Alto part begins with a piano (*p*) dynamic. The Tenor part begins with a piano (*p*) dynamic and includes a 'Faubourdon' section. The Bass part begins with a piano (*p*) dynamic and includes a mezzo-forte (*mf*) dynamic. The score is divided into two systems, with the second system starting at measure 4.

Clavichord music

Howells wrote a number of keyboard works which use compositional traits characteristic of Tudor and Jacobean models. The 32 clavichord pieces which are the subject of this discussion are sub-divided into three books comprising two anthologies entitled *Lambert's Clavichord* (1926-7) and *Howells' Clavichord* (1941-61). There is also a piece for organ entitled *Master Tallis' Testament* (1940) from the *Six Pieces* and a handful of miscellaneous piano works which are no longer published. As with the choral music, many of these works incorporate old forms into modern composition. Some of the writing is modal and imitative. Dance forms such as Saraband, Pavane and Galliard (spellings vary) are used, and compositional devices such as Ground are also employed. Howells envisaged *Lambert's Clavichord* as a garland of twelve pieces written by composers who had been photographed by the photographer and clavichord maker Herbert Lambert. In the end, it was Howells who composed the entire collection. In a review Richard Terry wrote:

Sooner or later it was bound to come that some modern English composer would set himself or herself to write music for these resuscitated instruments of the past. The danger would have been considerable, had the first attempts been more imitations of the old idiom.

Luckily the first attempt has been made by one whose creative musicianship cannot be called into question; whose sympathy with both the Tudor instruments and Tudor composers is undeniable, and above all it has been made by one who is content (out of the plenitude of his critical knowledge of Tudor music) to reproduce the spirit of the old music rather than to give us a mere reproduction of its mannerisms or a repetition of its clichés.

Mr Howells has absorbed all the wealth and variety of Tudor rhythms, but keeps his own individuality intact. His music is modern in as much as he uses chords and progressions unknown in Tudor times, but the spirit of the old composers is there all the while. In other words, he and his instrument are one.³⁸⁶

In a review the *Musical Times* remarked upon the 'neatness and freshness of his mind and hand', whilst 'for all their looking in the past, each piece is thoroughly modern in spirit.'³⁸⁷ Following a performance at the music department of the Oxford University Press, *The Times* described the pieces as 'character sketches, others dainty compliments, others little essays in the forms of the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*. The

³⁸⁶ From *The Spectator* (7 November 1928), repr. in a sleeve note for Hyperion CDA66689.

³⁸⁷ n.a., 'New Music: Pianoforte.' *Musical Times* 70/1031 (January 1929): 40.

tunes and rhythms are 'fresh and new', the series as a whole giving the impression that the 'composer's invention is set free to flow spontaneously by the clavichord's refusal of all the paraphernalia of modern music-making.'³⁸⁸

Howells' Clavichord was composed and assembled over a period of 20 years. The dedication reads: 'To Thomas Goff, in admiration'. The dates of composition are not printed on the scores, but are given in diary entries for 1941, 1952, and 1956 to 1961 which refer to work in progress.³⁸⁹ In a review the *Musical Times* describes 'music of great charm . . . always alive with the musical personality of its genial and perceptive author and warmly recommended, either as a gift for friends or as a personal investment.'³⁹⁰ Peter Williams writing for the *Organ Yearbook* described 'a fine glimpse of a past world: even the titles remind one of the kind of Fitzwilliam Virginal music every student thumped through in the 1950s after tea-and-toast in his room (or preferably his girlfriends room) in a Cambridge college.'³⁹¹ Howells gave two early performances of selected pieces during the 1940s which included a broadcast recital on 3 October 1941 for which he insisted upon 'a piano of *very light touch*.'³⁹² The second performance was given on 28 November 1941 at a Combination Room Concert held at St John's College, Cambridge during Howells' tenure as acting organist.³⁹³ Reactions of the dedicatees were notably positive. After receiving a copy of *Howells' Clavichord*, Vaughan Williams wrote to Howells:

³⁸⁸ n.a., 'Recitals of the Week: The Modern Clavichord.' *The Times* (Friday 2 March 1928): 12.

³⁸⁹ See also Palmer 1992: 413-4.

³⁹⁰ D. Stevens: 'Howells' Clavichord' *Musical Times* 103/1429 (March 1962): 167.

³⁹¹ P. Williams: 'Herbert Howells: *Howells' Clavichord*.' *Organ Yearbook* 12 (1981): 184.

³⁹² Letter from H. Howells to F. Minns, BBC Written Archives Centre, Reading, Howells Correspondence File.

³⁹³ Programme note repr. in *The Eagle* (1941): 156. This contains misprints: *Boult's Rattle* [Battle] and *My Lord Goodrich's* [Sandwich's] *Dreame*.



Now the Passion is over – though very tired I went through the clavichord pieces, or tried to: naturally I can't play them, or always understand them so you must come and play them to me. It's always nonsense to say you can't! THANK you a thousand times for the Pavane and the Galliard. I love the Pavane – I haven't got hold of the Galliard quite, yet, that is chiefly because I can't play it, and as you know I can't read music, so you simply must come and play them to me...³⁹⁴

The compositional traits of Tudor and Jacobean Keyboard music are categorised by John Caldwell as follows: (1) liturgical pieces based on plainchant; (2) freely composed pieces in compositional style; (3) dances and grounds; (4) settings of secular tunes; (5) intabulations from vocal models; (6) fragmentary works; and (7) pieces using a cantus firmus.³⁹⁵ Some are relevant to Howells' clavichord music and these are examined below.

The keyboard works discussed in this chapter are secular. It should also be added that the clavichord pieces are character sketches, a compositional novelty fashionable during the Renaissance. Also, the music dates from a later period than the Latin church music, and displays more liberal use of chromaticism and rhythm in comparison to earlier models. However, despite any modernist qualities which stand out in Howells' music, there still remain stylistic features that show influences of Renaissance keyboard music. His use of dance forms such as Pavane, Galliard, Siciliano, and Saraband are all characteristic of the Renaissance keyboard repertoire.³⁹⁶ The conventional suite order is retained, as seen for example in *Lambert's Clavichord*, *Sir Hugh's Galliard* follows *De La Mare's Pavane*, and in *Howells' Clavichord*, *Ralph's Galliard* is followed by *Ralph's Pavane*. Interestingly, Howells also keeps to metre formulae. The Galliard is commonly in 3/2 or 2/2, and the Pavane in 2/2 or 4/2.³⁹⁷ Howells stays within these boundaries. *De La Mare's*

³⁹⁴ Letter from R. Vaughan Williams to H. Howells, 8 March 1958, Howells Estate.

³⁹⁵ J. Caldwell: *Tudor Keyboard Music c.1520-1580* (London: Stainer & Bell, 1995).

³⁹⁶ B. Allen: *Elizabethan Keyboard Music* (London: Stainer & Bell, 1980). See also G. Reese: *Music in the Renaissance* (London: J.M. Dent, 1977): 845.

³⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 177.

Pavane and *Ralph's Pavane* are in 4/2, and *Sir Hugh's Galliard* and *Ralph's Galliard* are in 3/2.

As well as dance forms, a favoured compositional technique characterising Elizabethan keyboard music was the Ground.³⁹⁸ This appears in *Wortham's Ground* from *Lambert's Clavichord*, employing a continuously repeated bass line over which an ever changing superstructure in the right hand is played (see Ex.5.8.).

Ex.5.8. Bars 1-5 of *Wortham's Ground*, *Lambert's Clavichord – Twelve Pieces for Clavichord* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1929): 7.

The musical score for Ex.5.8 is presented in three systems, each with a treble and bass staff. The key signature is G major (one sharp) and the time signature is 3/2. The first system (bars 1-2) shows a repeating bass line in the left hand and a melodic line in the right hand. The second system (bars 3-4) continues the bass line and adds a new melodic line in the right hand. The third system (bar 5) shows the final bar of the excerpt, with the bass line still repeating. The word "Ground" is written above the second system.

However, Howells also wrote in a less constrained style, employing *cadenza*, another characteristic of Renaissance keyboard writing. This is seen in works such as *Walton's Toy* from *Howells' Clavichord* (see Ex.5.9.) and *Hughes Ballet* from *Lambert's Clavichord* (see Ex.5.10.).

³⁹⁸ H. Ferguson ed.: *Early English Keyboard Music; An Anthology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989): 9.

Ex.5.9. Bars 28-30 of *Walton's Toy, Howells' Clavichord* (London: Novello, 1961): 82.

Ex.5.10. Beginning of *Hughes' Ballet, Lambert's Clavichord – Twelve Pieces for Clavichord* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1929): 5.

Also, in the opinion of Bruce Glenny, Howells regarded rhythmic flexibility a characteristic of old English keyboard music.³⁹⁹ Indeed in his own compositions, one sees works such as *Arnold's Antic* from *Howells' Clavichord* (see Ex.5.11.) alternate metre between 5/8, 2/4, and 3/4, creating constantly shifting accents, unequal phrase lengths and no sense of a rhythmic pulse. Another example is *Foss' Dump* from

³⁹⁹ B. Glenny: 'Herbert Howells: Aspects of Twentieth-Century English Revivalism as seen in *Lambert's Clavichord*.' *Musica Antica* 1 (1995): 225-31.

Lambert's Clavichord (see Ex.5.12.) which has no time signature, but instead the stave is marked 'variable time'.

Ex.5.11. Final two stanzas of *Arnold's Antic*, *Howells' Clavichord* (London: Novello, 1961): 20.

♩ = 126

Piano

f subito, marato

3

Pno.

f sf

Ex.5.12. Beginning of *Foss' Dump*, *Lambert's Clavichord – Twelve Pieces for Clavichord* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1929): 10

Fairly Quick

Variable time *mf*

A final aspect of Howells' neo-Elizabethan style is the subtle combination of modality and chromaticism. Howells' writing is often diatonic, yet there are many instances of modality in works such as *Samuel's Air* from *Lambert's Clavichord*. Contrary to a key signature of one F sharp, a tonal centre of A minor is established at the beginning through a root position chord over which an ascending, then descending scale plays

(see Ex.5.13.). The cadence at bar 4 is modal caused by a flattened seventh (G circled).

Ex.5.13. Beginning of *Samuel's Air*, *Lambert's Clavichord – Twelve Pieces for Clavichord* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1929): 14.

The image displays two systems of musical notation for piano accompaniment. The first system is marked 'Piano' and 'Rather slow'. It features a treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 4/4 time signature. The melody begins with a quarter rest, followed by a series of eighth and quarter notes. A dynamic marking 'p' is present. The bass line consists of quarter notes. A slur covers the first four measures, with a circled G in the bass line at the end of the fourth measure. The second system is marked 'Pno.' and begins with a triplet of eighth notes in the treble clef. It continues with a similar melodic line in the treble and a bass line of quarter notes. A final cadence is shown at the end of the system.

Even without a key signature this same subtlety occurs, and a tonal centre is established. For example, in *Ralph's Pavane* from *Howells' Clavichord*, a repeated G major chord in root position establishes the key of G major, whilst a sense of modality is created by a repeated F natural (flattened seventh). (see Ex.5.14.)

Ex.5.14. Beginning of *Ralph's Pavane*, Howells' Clavichord (London: Novello, 1961): 44

The image shows two systems of musical notation for a piano piece. The first system is labeled "Piano" and the second "Pno.". Both systems are in 4/4 time and feature a treble and bass clef. The first system includes dynamic markings *p* and *mp*. The second system includes a triplet marking *3* over a group of notes in the treble clef.

The first system consists of two staves. The treble staff begins with a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, Bb4, and C5. The bass staff begins with a half note G3, followed by quarter notes A3, Bb3, and C4. The first system ends with a measure containing a half note G4 in the treble and a half note G3 in the bass.

The second system also consists of two staves. The treble staff begins with a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, Bb4, and C5. The bass staff begins with a half note G3, followed by quarter notes A3, Bb3, and C4. The second system ends with a measure containing a half note G4 in the treble and a half note G3 in the bass.

Conclusion: assessing Howells' career and reputation

The aim of this thesis has been to present the first detailed account of Howells' career and reputation. He was a product of the English Musical Renaissance. He studied under its leaders, Parry and Stanford, and later came to know other central figures such as Elgar, Vaughan Williams, Terry, Finzi and Holst amongst others. He upheld Parry's teachings,⁴⁰⁰ whilst Stanford's legacy was notably his contribution to the Anglican choral repertoire. Howells first met Vaughan Williams in 1910 at the Gloucester Three Choirs Festival, at the first performance of the *Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis*. Unlike other English Musical Renaissance composers such as Vaughan Williams, Grainger, Holst and others, Howells rarely used actual folk-song in his music, preferring to compose folk-song type tunes. Yet he was dubbed by many as a pastoralist for the English atmosphere that adorns his music. Metaphoric titles such as 'In Gloucestershire' and the 'Pastoral' Rhapsody exhibit both rural influences and associations within his music, whilst in his writings, the many references to the Gloucestershire countryside, the River Severn and the Wye, and the Malvern Hills all reflect his love of the picturesque, and the English landscape. As discussed in the second chapter, Howells was not a nationalist but proud of his Englishness. In his opinion, he was an Englishman born and bred, despite his Celtic roots which he vehemently rebuked, and this may explain his refusal of Walford Davies' offer of a lectureship at Aberystwyth. He was an intellect, 'a would-be scholar'.⁴⁰¹ He loved literature, especially that of his own countryman, in particular his close friend Walter De la Mare. He also believed that England was a singing nation, and so gave to his country settings of the canticles, anthems, and through choral festivals large-scale

⁴⁰⁰ See interview between Sir J. Margetson and P. Spicer, repr. in Spicer 1998: 123.

⁴⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 83.

works such as *Sine Nomine*, *Hymnus Paradisi*, and *Missa Sabrinensis*. He loved cathedral and church architecture, the music, choirs and organs. In his youth, he envisaged a career as a cathedral organist, a dream cruelly shattered by life-threatening illness which left him bitterly disappointed. An organist's position would have left him more time for composition, whilst allowing him to live in an environment more suited to his character. He was not so much interested in the publicity and gaiety that London and the provincial centres offered composers, but wrote music more for self-pleasure and the want of making nice sounds. Yet other than his appointment as Acting Organist at St John's College, Cambridge during the Second World War, he never returned to the organ loft, remaining in London where he taught until the early 1970s.

The fact that Howells chose not to experiment with atonality does not necessarily label him a conservative. As discussed in the third chapter, he was unable to understand the principals of the Second Viennese School, and therefore chose to compose either tonally or modally in forms to which he related musically. He was, however, in many respects an experimentalist on his own, creating his individualist sound world as a choral composer in particular. For example in *Sine Nomine*, whilst he did not take what was an entirely new concept in England, scoring for two wordless soloists (tenor and soprano), a wordless choir and large orchestra, hence the title 'Sine Nomine', meaning 'without name', Spicer writes that the performers at the Gloucester premiere were 'baffled' by the scoring, and the singer Harry Pluncket Greene, just before the performance persuaded Howells to fit the soloists' parts with words from the Vulgate.⁴⁰² *The Times* described *Sine Nomine* as 'modern-

⁴⁰² Spicer 1998: 75. Delius had used wordless choruses in *Appalachia: Variations on an Old Slave Song* (1902-3) and *The Song of the High Hills* (1911-12). The same can be seen in Warlock's 'Corpus Christi Carol' (1919).

impressionistic music with voices used instrumentally.⁴⁰³ Palmer too makes the connection between the French impressionistic style.⁴⁰⁴ Similarly, as Stanford had, Howells developed a new idiom of service-writing. Rhapsodic in design, the rhythms are flexible, and all employ a wide range of vocal colour. Even the Dutch music critic Alex van Amerongen was deceived on hearing a radio broadcast of the 'St Paul's Service', and not knowing the composer wrote to David Willcocks: 'I would like to have details about the beautiful work for choir and organ you performed and broadcast on May 10 (1972). I put on the radio while it was going on, so I did not hear the announcement, and afterwards the speaker did not mention the name of the composer. I think it must have been a French composer, like Duruflé, or Litaize, or Langlais.'⁴⁰⁵

Much has been said about Howells' personality and sensitivity to criticism. As chapter one reveals, he lived a difficult childhood in impoverished and often humiliating circumstances, which left him constantly worried about money and social status in later life. He appeared confident in public, yet he struggled to cope with creative criticism. Stanford once said to Howells that he had never experienced the 'rough edge of his tongue', something which had he experienced may have prepared him for media criticism.⁴⁰⁶ Not only did Howells withdraw the two piano concertos and the 'Pastoral' Rhapsody, but also song settings of verse by Alfred E. Houseman, the scores of which he destroyed.⁴⁰⁷ Underneath, Howells was a very private man. He was a devoted and devastated father, and a loving but unfaithful husband. Initially, Michael's death had a devastating effect on him, but through *Hymnus Paradisi* he was

⁴⁰³ n.a., 'Three Choirs Festival – The Popularity of *Elijah*.' *The Times* (Wednesday 6 September 1922): 7.

⁴⁰⁴ Palmer 1987: 45-60.

⁴⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 211.

⁴⁰⁶ Interview between C. Palmer and H. Howells repr. in Palmer 1987: 12.

⁴⁰⁷ Spicer 1998: 58.

able to find release and comfort. The first performance of *Hymnus Paradisi* in 1950 marked what might be described as a 'Howells revival' in terms of his reputation as a composer. As revealed in the first chapter, he was becoming widely recognised for his church music, and so followed numerous choral commissions both at home and abroad. The remainder of his output with the exception of the organ music which remains popular has only more recently been reintroduced to the consumer public on recording, but remains unperformed in the concert and recital hall as is shown from concert listings in Appendix Two. It is therefore in cathedral and church that Howells' music is most regularly heard.

As established, the impression that Howells was not active as a composer of church music before the composition of the *Collegium Regale* settings of the Te Deum and Jubilate (1944) has been misconstrued by a number of writers. In fact, Howells was active as a composer of Anglican Church music throughout his life. Equally, the idea of a 'post-Michael watershed', meaning 1935 onwards, and the notion that it was in the years that followed Michael's death that Howells concentrated on writing church music has confused matters further. It is also important to realise that he was not religious, and did not seek or find solace in the church. Considering the above, use of the term 'post-Michael' has been avoided by the present author to ensure that Howells' output is not divided in this way as has happened in past studies. As discussed throughout this thesis, there were indeed various factors that contributed to Howells's fluctuating output at different times during his life, these being an increasing work load, depressions, the reception of the Second Piano Concerto and his son's death. His output steadily increased after the première of *Hymnus Paradisi*, and although not forgetting the Violin Sonatas and

Rhapsodic Quintet Op.31, the majority of these works as already discussed were mainly small-scale choral.

Howells overcame life-threatening illness on two occasions; 1920 and in April 1940, just before taking up his position at St John's College, Cambridge when he was diagnosed with pleurisy. Yet he lived for over 90 years making him one of the longest serving British musicians of his generation. He saw friends come and go, and the musical world change around him, yet although his style matured, he remained relatively unchanged as a composer. His services to British music were widely acknowledged during his lifetime and immediately following his death. Palmer's *Centenary Celebration* published in 1992 was one of the many tributes during Howells' centenary year, and through his many pupils and the Howells Society (founded in 1987) his memory continues to be kept alive. 22 years after his death, Howells' place in British music is clear. He is remembered primarily for his choral (particularly his church) and organ music, both which have somewhat overshadowed the remainder of his output. He is not remembered by the majority as a scholar or his academic work, despite his contribution in this area. Had he written as a scholar, this might be different. Yet Howells represented so much more as Palmer wrote using a quote from Ernest Newman that 'for me when Howells'⁴⁰⁸ . . . joins the company with certain compositions of his, I know that I am in the presence of a citizen of no mean musical city, and that, when the full history of the 'English Musical Renaissance' comes eventually to be seen in its true perspective and the varying merits of its participants assessed, he will be found to have earned the right way to say, along with the best of them, 'civis caelestis sum.'⁴⁰⁹

⁴⁰⁸ Palmer 1987: 29.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid.

Howells' scholarship and future work

In assessing Howells' reputation and career, scholarship has tended to be mostly documentary with some analytical studies of his music. As this is a biographical and documentary study, analytical work has not been consulted in detail. Early research suffered from factual error, such as chronology - for example the misconception that works such as the hymn tune 'Michael' (1930) and the Requiem (1932) were written following Michael's death and dedicated in his memory. Some authors such as Peter Hodgson were able to interview Howells who in later years could not always accurately recount events as they happened. Spicer's biography gives the most accurate, published biographical account of Howells' life through interviews with Howells' daughter Ursula. Whilst she holds the diaries, letters and other material, a separate archive at the RCM, and the BBC Written Archives Centre, Reading encompasses the bulk of primary material. Christopher Palmer also quotes from correspondence with Howells' ex-pupil Joan Littlejohn. Littlejohn claims to hold her own archive, although despite repeated requests from scholars including the present author access has never been granted, and so there is no proof that an archive exists. From the eccentric correspondence from Littlejohn to the present author, it was decided to pursue the matter no further.

Howells wrote mostly tribute articles and reminiscences. Understandably these are not critical pieces, and so it has therefore been necessary to rely heavily on his broadcast talks and lecture notes to draw upon his critical thoughts on music and musicians. Each of the broadcast talks were edited by their respective producer prior to transmission, although in all cases no significant changes were made, and certainly not without Howells' permission. Arguably these talks cater for the home audience and may in some places seem somewhat narrow-minded which was in no way

characteristic of Howells, and such an assumption would be misconstrued. Nethertheless, Howells was a highly respected writer, lecturer, broadcaster, and popular after dinner speaker, and what does exist shows a consistent advocacy of British music, musical education, and in particular the English choral tradition, the latter an underlying theme in so many of his writings.

Research I was unable to undertake, and therefore had to rely on John Patton's studies on English cathedral music, was a complete survey of the performances of Howells' music in ecclesiastical foundations across Britain. The majority of cathedral and collegiate archives keep service lists dating back to as early as the 1800s. I was able to consult service lists at Durham, Lichfield and St Paul's Cathedrals, Westminster Abbey and York Minster which confirmed Patton's survey of Howells' music. A more detailed study would need a complete survey of service lists in Britain's choral foundations. Having contacted more than 20 cathedral organists, archivists and librarians, the majority of whom are eager to co-operate this would be possible. As already mentioned only a small proportion out of a large number of Howells' services and anthems are performed. These tend to be the earlier works, the majority of which are easier to perform in comparison with later compositions. Howells himself admitted that none of his music is easy to perform and hoped that one day he might write for the Parish church choir. Perhaps it is the level of difficulty of the later works combined with the lack of rehearsal time available to church musicians that has resulted in their exclusion from service lists.

Appendix One – Work List

The following list of works is compiled with the aid of Paul Andrews' catalogue (Andrews 1999). Each entry includes where relevant/possible: title of composition, opus number, dedication, date of composition, first performance, and publisher(s).

i. Orchestral Music

- Overture for Orchestra, comp. 1910/11, unpublished.
- Concerto in C minor for Piano and Orchestra Op.8, ded. A. Benjamin, comp. 1913; 10 July 1914, Queen's Hall, London, A. Benjamin (piano), cond. C.V. Stanford; unpublished.
- The B's*, Suite for Orchestra Op.13, ded. H. Howells, I. Gurney, A. Bliss, F.P. Warren, A. Benjamin, comp. 1914; 15 June 1915, RCM, London, cond. Howells; 13 February 1919, Bournemouth, cond. D. Godfrey; unpublished.
- Three Dances for Violin and Orchestra Op.7, ded. G. Whittaker, comp. 1915; 1915, RCM, G. Whittaker (violin); pub. Novello, 1990.
- Elegy for Viola, String Quartet and String Orchestra Op.15, ded. to the memory of F.P. Warren, comp. 1917; 15 December 1917, Royal Albert Hall, London, cond. H. Allen; pub. Boosey & Hawkes, 1938.
- Puck's Minuet* Op.20 No.1, ded. E. Brewer, comp. 1917; 4 March 1919, Queen's Hall, London, cond. H. Harty; pub. Goodwin & Tabb, 1918.
- Suite for String Orchestra Op.16 (27), comp. 1917; 13 July 1917, RCM, London (2nd and 3rd movements only), cond. C.V. Stanford; unpublished.
- Symphony in D (incomplete), mss sketches dated 17 October 1918.
- Thé Dansant* – movement from *A Dance for Toy Orchestra* composed by Howells, W.H. Harris, R.H. Walthew, H. Darke, T. Dunhill, and H. Walford Davies, comp. 1919, unpublished.
- Merry Eye* for Small Orchestra Op.20 No.3, ded. Sir Henry Wood's Queen's Hall Promenade Concerts, comp. 1920; 30 September 1920, Queen's Hall, London, cond. Howells; pub. Goodwin & Tabb.
- Procession* Op.36, ded. A. Benjamin, comp. 1922; 29 August 1922, Queen's Hall, London (Henry Wood Promenade Concert) cond. Howells; pub. Ascherberg, Hopwood & Crew, 1924.
- 'Pastoral' Rhapsody Op.38, comp. 1923; 10 November 1923, Eastbourne Festival, cond. Howells; unpublished.
- Concerto [No.2] for Piano and Orchestra Op.39 No.2, ded. H. Samuel, comp. 1925; 27 April 1925, Queen's Hall, London, H. Samuel (piano), cond. M. Sargent; unpublished.
- 'Paradise' Rondel: a Piece for Orchestra, comp. 1925; 9 September 1925, Shire Hall, Gloucester, Three Choirs Festival, cond. Howells; unpublished.
- Mother's Here* – Incidental music to a play by Claude Aveling, composed by Howells with G. Jacob, comp. 1929; 27 June 1929, RCM, RCM Ensemble; unpublished.
- Tanz's Music* – Howells' contribution to 'A Grand Private Full Dress Concert Rehearsal Performance', given as part of a RCM Union 'at Home' concert, comp. 1931; 15 June 1931, RCM, ?RCM Ensemble; unpublished.
- Penguinski*: Ballet Music for Orchestra, comp. ?1933; 10 May 1933, RCM, cond. C. Lambert; unpublished.

- Pageantry*: Suite for Brass Band, ded. J. Henry Iles (Director and Founder of the National Brass Band Festival) and the Worshipful Company of Musicians, comp. 1934; 3 September 1934, Belle Vue, Manchester, test piece, Belle Vue National Brass Band Contest; pub. R. Smith, 1934.
- King's Herald*, ded. E. Bullock, comp. 1937; 12 May 1937 (Coronation of King George VI), Westminster Abbey, London; unpublished.
- Fantasia for Cello and Full Orchestra, comp. c.1937-?, incomplete.
- Threnody for Cello and Orchestra – This is the slow movement of the incomplete Fantasia for Cello and Orchestra, comp. ?late 1930s; 17 November 1992, Westminster Abbey, Raphael Walfisch (cello), English Chamber Orchestra, cond. Martin Neary; pub. Novello, 1992.
- Concerto for String Orchestra – derived from the first movement of the Suite for String Orchestra, ded. A. Boult, E. Elgar, M. Howells, comp. 1938; 16 December 1938, BBC Studio Broadcast, BBC Symphony Orchestra, cond. A. Boult; pub. Hawkes & Son, 1939, Novello, 1952, 1985.
- Folk Tune Set* for Small Orchestra, comp. 1940, unpublished.
- Suite for String Orchestra ('St Paul's Suite'), comp. 1940, ms missing, unpublished.
- First Suite for String Orchestra, ded. R. Jacques, comp. 1942; 24 October 1942, Wigmore Hall, London, Jacques Orchestra, cond. R. Jacques; pub. Novello.
- Second Suite for String Orchestra, comp. 1942, ms missing, unpublished.
- Concerto for Organ and Strings (incomplete work – the opening two movements are extant), ded. ?G. Thalben Ball, comp. 1942/45, unpublished.
- Fanfare for Schools*, comp. 1943; 18 January 1943 (BBC Schools' Broadcast); unpublished.
- Music for a Prince*, ded. His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales, comp. 1948; 23 January 1949, Royal Albert Hall, London, BBC Symphony Orchestra, cond. M. Sargent; unpublished.
- Three Figures: Tryptych for Brass Band*, ded. Frank Wright, comp. 1960; 15 October 1960, Royal Albert Hall, London (National Finals of the *Daily Herald* National Brass Band Championships of Great Britain); pub. Josef Weinberger, 1960.
- Fanfare to Lead into the National Anthem*, comp. 1977; 21 October 1977, Gloucester Cathedral, Festival Chorus and Orchestra, cond. J. Sanders (Three Choirs Festival); unpublished.

ii. Chamber Music

- Sonata in B minor for Violin and Piano, comp. 1911, unpublished.
- Comedy Suite* Op.8, comp. 1913, ms missing, unpublished.
- Variations for Eleven Solo Instruments Op.3, comp. 1913, ms missing, unpublished.
- Lady Audrey's Suite* for String Quartet Op.19, comp. 1915; 27 June 1917, RCM, D. Garland and S. Pattenden (violins), S. Maturin (viola), S. Dorothy Thuell (cello); pub. Novello, 1917, Curwen, 1924.
- No.1 of *Preludes for Harp*, comp. 1915; 16 October 1998, Purcell Room, London, D. Perrett (Harp); unpublished.
- String Quartet 'In Gloucestershire' Op.34 No.3, comp. 1916/?1930s. Howells made numerous alterations and four versions can be identified; ms RCM 4646 pub. Novello 1992.

- Quartet in A minor for Piano, Violin, Viola and Cello Op.21, ded. Chosen Hill and Ivor Gurney, comp. 1916; (private) 13 July 1916, 92 Westbourne Terrace, London, RCM Ensemble, N. Phillips, S. Maturin, D. Thuell, G. Thalben-Ball; (public) 6 November 1917, Holywell Room, Oxford, H. Kinsey, F. Bridge, W. Evans, G. Thalben-Ball; pub. Stainer & Bell, 1918/1937 (Carnegie Collection of British Music).
- Dansons* for Violin and Piano, comp. ?1917, unpublished.
- Fantasy String Quartet Op.25, ded. P.R. Buck, comp. ?1916/1917; 25 October 1917, Steinway Hall, London, London String Quartet; pub. Curwen, 1925.
- Three Pieces for Violin and Piano Op.28, 1. *Pastorale* 2. *Chosen Tune* 3. *Luchinushka* (lament founded on a Russian folk tune), comp. 1917; 19 January 1919, South Place Institute, London, S. Eaton (violin) and Howells (piano); pub. Stainer & Bell, 1923.
- Sonata No.1 in E major for Violin and Piano Op.18, ded. S. Eaton, comp. 1917 (as Phantasy Sonata), rev. 1919 as Sonata No.1; November 1917, Wigmore Hall, London, S. Eaton (violin), O. Morris (piano); 19 January 1919, South Place Institute, London, S. Eaton (violin), Howells (piano); pub. Winthrop Rogers, 1924, Boosey & Hawkes, 1986.
- Sonata No.2 in E flat major for Violin and Piano Op.26, comp. 1917; 17 February 1919, Wigmore Hall, London, S. Eaton (violin), H. Samuel (piano); unpublished.
- Cradle Song* for Violin and Piano Op.9 No.1, comp. 1918, unpublished.
- Poem* for Violin and Piano Op.32, comp. ?1919, ms missing, unpublished.
- Rhapsodic Quintet for Clarinet, two Violins, Viola and Cello Op.31, ded. O.W. Street, comp. 1919, pub. Stainer & Bell, 1921 (Carnegie Collection of British Music), reissued 1998.
- Sonata No.3 for Violin and Piano Op.38, ded. A. Sammons, comp. 1923; 13 December 1923, Birmingham Town Hall, S. Eaton (violin), A. Benjamin (piano); pub. Oxford University Press, 1925.
- A Country Tune* for Violin and Piano, comp. ?1925, ms missing, pub. Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music, 1925.
- A Croon* for Violin and Piano, comp. ?1925, ms missing, pub. Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music, 1925.
- Lento, assai espressivo* for Violin and Piano, comp. ?1927, unpublished. (The piece was arranged for organ by R. Wells in 1987 and published by Novello as No.2 of *Two Slow Airs*.)
- Slow Air* for Violin and Piano, ?1927, pub. Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music, 1927.
- Lambert's Clavichord* – Three Transcriptions for Cello and Piano, 1. *My Lord Sandwich's Dreame*, 2. *De la Mare's Pavane*, 3. *Sir Hugh's Galliard*, trans. ?1929; 25 January 1930, BBC radio broadcast, Marie Wilson Quartet, Howells (piano); 17 March 1931, Grotrian Hall, S. Russell (Cello); pub. Oxford University Press, 1931.
- Hunsdon House* for Piano Quintet, comp. ?1937, unpublished.
- The Old Mole* for Piano and Strings, comp. 1937, unpublished.
- Sonata for Oboe and Piano, ded. L. Goosens, comp. 1942; 9 July 1984, Cheltenham Festival, S. Francis (oboe), P. Dickinson (piano); pub. Novello, 1987.
- Minuet (*Grace for a Fresh Egg*) for Bassoon and Piano, ded. H. Crossthwaite, comp. 1945; 2 February 1945, Howells' private quarters, First Court, St John's College, Cambridge, H. Crossthwaite (bassoon), Howells (piano); pub. Novello, 1984.

- A Near-Minuet* for Clarinet and Piano, ded. A. Carew Robinson, comp. 1946, pub. Novello, 1992.
- Sonata for Clarinet and Piano, ded. F. Thurston, comp. 1946; 27 January 1948, BBC radio broadcast, F. Thurston (clarinet), E. Harrison (piano); pub. Boosey & Hawkes, 1954.
- Suite for Pipes, comp. ?1951, written for the Piper's Guild of Great Britain, unpublished.
- Two Pieces for Flute and Piano, comp. ?late 1950s, unpublished.
- Sonata for Flute and Piano (incomplete), comp. ?1975.

iii. Organ Music

- Prelude in E flat, ?1911, ms missing, unpublished.
- Postlude in C, ?1911, ms missing, unpublished.
- Sonata in C minor Op.1, ded. A. Porter, comp.1911; 1912 St Mathias Church, Richmond-upon-Thames, A. Porter (organ), pub. Novello 1992.
- Two Pieces, comp.1913, unpublished.
- Psalm Prelude, comp 1913, ms missing, unpublished.
- Phantasy Ground Bass*, comp. ?1915; November 1915, St James' Church, Paddington, London, H. Darke (organ); unpublished.
- Rhapsody No.1 Op.17, ded. H. Darke, comp. 1915; November 1915, St James' Church, Paddington, London, H. Darke (organ); pub. Augener, 1919.
- Three Psalm Preludes* Op.32 (first set) 1. Ps.34 v.6, 2. Ps.37 v.11, 3.Ps.23 v.4, ded. W. Parratt (No.1), H. Stevens-Davis, (2), S. Shimmin (3), comp.1914/1916, pub. Novello, 1921.
- Two Short Pieces, ded. H. Stevens-Davis, comp.1916, unpublished.
- Rhapsody No.2 Op.17, ded. W. Alcock, comp. 1918, Augener, 1919.
- Rhapsody No.3 Op.17, ded. E.C. Bairstow, comp. 1918, Augener, 1919.
- Sonata No.2, ded. G. Thalben Ball, comp. 1932; 20 March 1934, Royal Albert Hall, London, G. Thalben Ball (organ); pub, Novello, 1934.
- Three Psalm Preludes* (second set) 1. Ps.130 v.1, 2. Ps.139 v.11, 3. Ps 33 v.3, ded. J. Dykes Bower (1), W. H. Harris (2), P.C. Hull (3), comp. 1938/1939, pub. Novello, 1940.
- Fugue, Chorale, Epilogue – No.4 of Six Pieces for Organ, ded. H. Sumsion, comp. 1939, pub. Novello, 1953.
- Master Tallis' Testament* – No.3 of Six Pieces for Organ, ded. H. Sumsion, comp. 1940, pub. Novello, 1953.
- Paeon – No. 6 of *Six Pieces* for Organ, ded. H. Sumsion, comp. 1940, pub. Novello, 1949.
- Preludio Sine Nomine – No 1 of Six Pieces for Organ, ded. H. Sumsion, comp. 1940, pub. Novello, 1953.
- Intrata (No.2), ded. W. Alcock, comp.1941, pub. Novello, 1987 (No.1 of Three Pieces for Organ ed. R. Wells).
- Saraband (For the Morning of Easter) – No.2 of Six Pieces for Organ, ded. H. Sumsion, comp. 1945, pub. Novello, 1953.
- Saraband (*In modo elegiaco*) – No.5 of Six Pieces for Organ, ded. H. Sumsion, comp. 1945, pub. Novello, 1953.
- Six Short Pieces for Organ, incomplete sketches and drafts dated 1945, Nos 1 and 4 pub. Novello,1987 (Six Short Pieces for Organ ed. R. Wells), No.6 pub. Banks, 1982 (entitled 'Epilogue' – *The Hovingham Sketches*).

- Siciliano for a High Ceremony*, ded. the Countess of Dalkeith. St Giles Cathedral, Edinburgh, comp. 1952; 10 January 1953, marriage of the Earl of Dalkeith and J. McNeil (dedicatee), St Giles Cathedral, Edinburgh, H. Bunney (organ); pub. Novello, 1957.
- Prelude 'De profundis', comp. 1958; 25 September 1968, Westminster Abbey, London, J. Birch (organ); pub. Novello, 1983 (with Rhapsody No.4).
- Rhapsody No.4 'bene psallite in vociferatione', comp. 1958; 25 September 1968, Westminster Abbey, London, J. Birch; (organ), pub. Novello, 1983 (with Prelude 'De profundis').
- Dalby's Fancy* and *Dalby's Toccata*, both ded. J. Dalby, comp. 1959, pub. Novello, 1982 (Two Pieces for Organ).
- Flourish for A Bidding*, comp. 1969; 28 September 1968, Royal College of Organists, London, G. Thalben Ball (organ); pub. Novello, 1987 (No.2 of Three Pieces for Organ ed. R. Wells).
- Partita, ded. Rt. Hon. E. Heath MP, comp. 1971-2; 23 February 1972, Royal Festival Hall, London, J. Birch (organ); pub. Novello, 1972.
- Epilogue, ded. Her Royal Highness, the Duchess of Kent, comp. 1974, pub. Banks, 1982.
- St Louis Comes to Clifton*, ded. D. Fox, comp. 1977, pub. Novello, 1987 (No.3 of Three Pieces for Organ ed. R. Wells).
- Rhapsody No.5, date unknown, unpublished.
- Scherzo for Michael Smythe, date unknown, unpublished.
- Miniatures – thirty short pieces arr. by A. Ridout, date unknown, pub. Kevin Mayhew, 1993.
- Six Short Pieces from unpublished manuscripts, ed. R. Wells, pub. Novello, 1987.
- Two Slow Airs arr. by Robin Wells, date unknown, pub. Novello, 1987.

iv. Piano and Clavichord

- Four Romantic Pieces, 1. *Norwegian Tune*, 2. *The Arab's Song*, 3. [Unknown], 4. *Peasant's March*, comp. 1908, unpublished.
- Marching Song*, comp. 1909, unpublished.
- Saga*, comp. ?1909, ms missing, unpublished.
- Prelude in E major, comp. ?1910s, ms missing, unpublished.
- Gavotte in F major, comp. ? 1910s, ms missing, unpublished.
- Summer Idyls*, 1911, unpublished.
- Minuet in A minor, ded. H. Macnamara, comp. ?1915, unpublished.
- Snapshots* Op.30, 1. *The Street Dancer*, 2. *The Polar Bear*, 3. *Wee Willie Winkee*, ded. S. Shimmin (1), B. Stevens Davis (2), L. Hays Heward (3), comp. 1916/18, pub. Swan, 1921.
- Phantasy Op.29 No.1, ded. S.G. Shimmin, comp. 1917, unpublished.
- Sarum Sketches* – Suite for Piano Op.6, 1. *The Ooce March*, 2. *The Drudge Talks to Himself*, 3. *The Drudge Forgotten*, 4. *Ooce Reads Arabian Nights*, 5. *Ooce at Leisure* 6. *Charades*, ded. J. Stewart (Ooce), comp. 1917, pub. Augener, 1921, Thames Publishing, 1987.
- Two Fragments (incomplete), comp. 1918, unpublished.
- Harlequin Dreaming*, comp. 1918, unpublished.
- Procession* Op.14 No.3, ded. A. Benjamin, comp. ?1918, pub. Ascherberg Hopwood & Crew, 1920.

- Jackanapes* Op.14 No.2, ded. E. Goossens, comp. 1919, pub. Ascherberg Hopwood & Crew, 1920.
- Rhapsody No.1 Op.14, ded. Lady O. Montagu, comp. 1919, pub. Ascherberg Hopwood & Crew, 1920.
- The Chosen Tune*, comp. 1920; 3 August, 1920, marriage of Herbert and Dorothy Howells, Twigworth Parish Church, G. Thalben-Ball (organ); pub. Thames Publishing, 1997.
- Once Upon a Time: A Piano Suite*, 1. *Once Upon a Time*, 2. *Shepherd Boy*, 3. *An Angry King*, 4. *The Dark Forest*, 5. *Good Fairy*, 6. *And They Lived Happily Ever After*, ded. B. Huzzey, comp. 1920, pub. Stainer & Bell, 1920.
- Gadabout*, ded. G. Bryan, comp. 1922/?28, pub. Oxford University Press, 1929.
- A Mersey Tune*, comp. 1924, pub. *Liverpool Post and Mercury*, Thursday 25 September 1924, Thames Publishing, 1997.
- Two Pieces, 1. *Slow Dance*, 2. *Cobler's Hornpipe*, ded. D. Howells (1), H. Samuel (2), comp. 1926, pub. Oxford University Press, 1927, Thames Publishing, 1997.
- Lambert's Clavichord* Op.41 – Twelve pieces for clavichord: 1. *Lambert's Fireside*; 2. *Fellowes' Delight*; 3. *Hughes' Ballet*; 4. *Worthams Ground*; 5. *Sargent's Fantastic Sprite*; 6. *Foss' Dump*; 7. *My Lord Sandwich's Dreame*; 8. *Samuel's Air*; 9. *De la Mare's Pavane*; 10. *Sir Hugh's Galliard*; 11. *HH: His Fancy*, 12. *Sir Richard's Toye*. H. Lambert (1), E.H. Fellowes (2), H. Hughes (3), H.E. Wortham (4), M. Sargent (5), H. Foss (6), G. Montagu (7). H. Samuel (8), W. De la Mare (9), H.P. Allen (10), Howells (11), R.R. Terry (12), ded. (entire volume) H. Lambert, comp. 1927, pub. Oxford University Press, 1928, 1929.
- Country Pageant* – Four Short Pieces for Piano, 1. *Merry Andrew's Procession*, 2. *Kings and Queens*, 3. *There Was a Most Beautiful Lady*, 4. *The Mummers' Dance*, ded. L. Dossor (1), A. Craxton (2), A. Gibbs (3), U. Howells (4), comp. 1928, pub. Oxford University Press, 1928, Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music, 1949.
- A Little Book of Dances*, 1. Minuet, 2. Gavotte, 3. Pavane, 4. Galliard, 5. Rigadoon, 6. Jig, comp. ?1928, pub. Oxford University Press, 1928, Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music, 1955.
- A Sailor Tune*, ?1930, pub. J.B. Cramer, 1930.
- O Mensch bewein dein Sünde gross* (Chorale prelude by J.S. Bach, transcribed for piano), ded.H. Cohn, ?1932, pub. Oxford University Press, 1932.
- Triumph Tune*, ded. U. Howells, M. Howells, comp. 1934, pub. Curwen, 1938, Thames Publishing, 1997.
- Minuet for Ursula*, ded. U. Howells, comp. 1935, unpublished.
- Toccata, ded. S. Fraser, comp. 1935/?21, unpublished.
- Promenade for Boys*, ded. written for the 21st Enfield Festival, comp. ?1938, pub. Curwen, 1938.
- Promenade for Girls*, ded. written for the 21st Enfield Festival, comp. ?1938, pub. Curwen, 1938.
- Minuet, comp. 1939, unpublished.
- Polka for Two Pianos, ded. J. Trimble and V. Trimble, ?1939, Novello, 1952.
- Puck's Minuet* (arr. for two pianos), comp. ?1940; May 1940, RCM, London, J. Trimble, V. Trimble (piano); unpublished.
- Triumph Tune* (arr. for two pianos), comp. 1941, unpublished.

Howells' Clavichord – Book One: 1. *Goff's Fireside*; 2. *Patrick's Siciliano*; 3. *Jacob's Brawl*; 4. *Dart's Saraband*; 5. *Arnold's Antic*; 6. *Andrews' Air*; 7. *Boult's Brangill*; 8. *Rubbra's Soliloquy*; 9. *Newman's Flight*; 10. *Dyson's Delight*. Book Two: 1. *E.B.'s Fanfarando*; 2. *Ralph's Pavane*; 3. *Ralph's Galliard*; 4. *Finzi's Rest*; 5. *Berkeley's Hunt*; 6. *Malcolm's Vision*; 7. *Bliss' Ballet*; 8. *Julian's Dream*; 9. *Jacques' Mask*; 10. *Walton's Toy*. (Book One dedicatees): T. Goff (1); P. Hadley (2); G. Jacob (3); T. Dart (4); M. Arnold (5); H.K. Andrews (6); Sir. A. Boult (7); E. Rubbra (8); M. Newman (9); Sir G. Dyson (10). Book Two: E. Bullock (1); R. Vaughan Williams (2 and 3); G. Finzi (4); L. Berkeley (5); G. Malcolm (6); Sir A. Bliss (7); J. Bream (8); R. Jacques (9); Sir W. Walton (10), ded. (both volumes) T. Goff, comp. between 1941-?, pub. Novello, 1961, 1978.

My Lady Harewood's Pavane for Clavichord, comp. 1949, unpublished.

My Lord Harewood's Pavane for Clavichord, comp. 1949, unpublished.

Alla Minuetto for Piano, comp. 1952, unpublished.

Finzi: his rest, ded. G. Finzi, comp. 1956, unpublished.

Siciliana for Saint's Dom, ded. D. Scholefield, comp. 1958, unpublished.

Musica Sine Nomine, ded. J. Ireland, comp. 1959, pub. Thames Publishing, 1997.

French Chanson-Du Temps Perdu, comp. 1963, unpublished.

Pavane and Galliard, ded. M. Phillips, comp. 1964; 6 January 1965, RCM, London, M. Phillips [Bruce] (piano); unpublished.

Et Nunc et Semper (quasi menuetto), ded. 'for H from H', comp. 1967, unpublished.

Petrus Suite, 1. *Wandering Flute*, 2. *Bassoonic's Dance*, 3. *Minuet Sine Nomine*, 4. *Slow Music*, 5. *Finnicle's Scherzo*, ded. P. Macnamara, comp. 1967/73, unpublished.

H-plus-H-gavotte, ded. 'Et N et S', comp. 1970, unpublished.

Sonatina for Piano, ded. H. Macnamara, comp. 1971; 24 January 1972, Wigmore Hall, London, H. Macnamara (piano); pub. Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music.

Runge Minuet, comp. 1972; 22 November 1972, ?Howells (piano), meeting of the Incorporated Society of Musicians; unpublished.

v. *Pianola*

Phantasy Minuet Op.27, comp.1919, ms missing, manufactured by Aeolian Company Ltd.

vi. *Chorus and Orchestral Music*

The Lord Shall Be My Help: Fugue for Five Voices (SSATB) and Strings, comp. 1914, unpublished.

Sir Patrick Spens Op.23, ded. Sir W.S. McCormick, comp.1917; 1 February 1930, King's Hall, Armstrong College, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, W. Hendry (baritone), student choir and orchestra cond. W. Giles Whitaker; pub. Stainer & Bell, 1928.

Sine Nomine: A Phantasy Op.37, comp. 1922; 5 September 1922, Gloucester Cathedral (Three Choirs Festival), C. Tabb (soprano), J.Coates (tenor), London Symphony Orchestra, cond, Howells; pub. Goodwin & Tabb 1922, Novello, 1992.

- The Trial of Jesus*, comp. 1926; Palm Sunday, 28 March 1926, RADA Theatre, London, RCM Choir and Ensemble cond. G. Warrack.
- In Green Ways* Op.43 – Five Songs for High Voice and Small Orchestra, (or High Voice and Piano), 1. 'Under the Greenwood Tree', 2. 'The Goat Paths', 3. 'Merry Margaret', 4. 'Wanderer's Night Song', 5. 'On the Merry First of May', ded. J. Elwes, comp. 1928; 7 September 1928 (orchestral version), Gloucester Cathedral (Three Choirs Festival), J. Elwes (soprano), cond. Howells; pub. Oxford University Press, 1928, Thames Publishing, 1992.
- A Maid Peerless*, ded. British Federation of Music Festivals' National Competitive Festival, comp. 1931/51; 22 June 1951, Royal Festival Hall, London, Ladies' Choirs Class of the National Competitive Music Festival; pub. Edward Arnold, 1951, Novello, 1959.
- A Kent Yeoman's Wooing Song*, ded. C. Falkner and K. Falkner, comp. 1933; 10 September 1953, Royal Albert Hall, London (Henry Wood Promenade Concert), E. Morrison (soprano), O. Brannigan (baritone), BBC Choral Society and Symphony Orchestra, cond. M. Sargent; pub. Novello, 1953.
- Hymnus Paradisi*, ded. M.K. Howells, comp. 1938-50; 7 September 1950, Gloucester Cathedral (Three Choirs Festival), I. Baillie (soprano), W. Herbert (tenor), Festival Chorus and Orchestra, cond. Howells; pub. Novello, 1950, 1952, 1954.
- God is Gone Up*, comp. ?1950; 14 June 1950, St Michael's Church, Cornhill, London, St Michael's Singers, cond. H. Darke; pub. Novello, 1958.
- Behold O God our Defender*, comp. 1952; 2 June 1953, the Coronation of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Westminster Abbey, London; pub. Novello, 1953.
- Cantata for the Waking of Lazarus*, comp. ?1953, ms missing, unpublished.
- The House of the Mind*, comp. 1954; Sunday 2 January 1955, St Sepulchre's Church, Holborn Viaduct, London, BBC Singers, Members of the Incorporated Society of Musicians, cond. M. Sargent; Pub. Novello, 1957.
- Missa Sabrinensis*, comp. 1954; 7 September 1954, Worcester Cathedral (Three Choirs Festival), J. Alexander (soprano), G. Ripley (mezzo-soprano), W. Herbert (tenor), G. Clinton (bass), Festival Orchestra and Chorus, cond. Howells; pub. Novello. 1954.
- An English Mass*, ded. H. Darke, St Michael Singers, comp. 1955; 4 June 1956, St Michael's Church, Cornhill, London, St Michael's Singers and Orchestra, cond. H. Darke; pub. Novello, 1956.
- Stabat Mater*, ded. The Bach Choir and to the memory of R. Vaughan Williams, comp. 1965; 22 November 1965, Royal Festival Hall, London, R. Tear (tenor), The Bach Choir, London Symphony Orchestra, cond. D. Willcocks; pub. Novello, 1964.
- Michael: A Fanfare Setting*, comp. 1977; 17 November 1992, Westminster Abbey, London, Choir of Westminster Abbey, Collegiate Singers, M. Baker (organ), English Chamber Orchestra, cond. M. Neary; Novello, 1992.
- Te Deum – Collegium Regale*, comp. 1977; 22 April 1977, Dorking Halls, Dorking, Surrey (Leith Hill Musical Festival) Festival Choir, cond. W. Cole; Novello, 1950.

vii. Church Music

- Missa Sine Nomine* (Mass in the Dorian Mode) Op.2, ded. R.R. Terry, comp. 1912; 24 November 1912, Westminster Cathedral, London, Westminster Cathedral Choir, dir. R.R. Terry; pub. Church Music Society, 1990.
- Two Doxologies for the Compline hymn: 'Te lucis ante terminum', 1. 'Praesta pater Piissime', 2. 'Jesu tibi sit gloria, comp'. 1913, ms missing, unpublished.
- 'O salutaris hostia', comp. ?1913, ms missing, pub. Burns & Oats, 1933, Novello, 1987 (with *Salve Regina*).
- 'Even Such is Time', comp. 1913, unpublished.
- Nunc Dimittis*, comp. 1914; Easter Day, 1914, Westminster Cathedral, London Westminster Cathedral Choir, dir. R.R. Terry; pub. Novello, 1989.
- Four Anthems to the Blessed Virgin Mary Op.9, 1. 'Alma Redemptoris Mater', 2. 'Ave Regina', 3. 'Regina Coeli', 4. 'Salve Regina'; Easter Day 1916, Westminster Cathedral, London, Westminster Cathedral Choir, dir. R.R. Terry; pub. Nos. 1 & 2 unpublished, No. 3, Novello, 1988, No. 4, Novello, 1987.
- 'Haec Dies', comp. ?1918; Easter Day, 1918, Westminster Cathedral, London, Westminster Cathedral Choir, dir. R.R. Terry; pub. Church Music Society, 1992.
- 'Here is the Little Door', ded. G.K. Chersterton, comp. 1918, pub. Stainer & Bell, 1918.
- Evening Service in G, ded. W.S. Goold, comp. ?1918, pub. Stainer & Bell, 1920.
- 'A Spotless Rose', ded. E. Howells, comp. 1919, pub. Stainer & Bell, 1919.
- 'Blessed are the Dead', comp. ?1920s; 14 October 1995, Westminster Abbey, London, the Collegiate Singers, cond. A. Millinger; pub. Novello, 1995.
- 'Sing Lullaby', ded. H. Stevens Davis, comp. ?1920, pub. Stainer & Bell, 1920.
- 'Lord, Who Createdst Man', ded. M. Wittaker, comp. 1923, pub. Oxford University Press, 1924.
- 'My Master Hath a Garden', ded. R. Brougham, B. Brougham, comp. 1923, pub. Oxford University Press, 1923.
- Benedictus and Jubilate Deo* in E flat (unison voices), ded. A.H. Brewer, comp. 1924, pub. Oxford University Press, 1925.
- Communion Service* in E flat (unison voices), ded. A.H. Brewer, comp. 1924, pub. Oxford University Press, 1925.
- Evening Service* in E flat (unison voices), ded. A.H. Brewer, comp. 1924, pub. Oxford University Press, 1925.
- Te Deum*, ded. A.H. Brewer, comp. ?1924, pub. Oxford University Press, 1925.
- 'My Eyes for Beauty Pine', comp. 1925, pub. Oxford University Press, 1928.
- 'When First Thine Eyes Unveil', ded. W.G. Wittaker, comp. 1925, pub. Oxford University Press, 1927.
- 'Hymnus Circa Exsequias Defuncti', incomplete, unpublished.
- Requiem for unaccompanied voices, ded. ?B. Ord, and King's College, Cambridge, comp. 1932; 11 December 1980, St John's Smith Square, London, BBC Singers, dir. John Poole; Novello, 1981.
- Evening Service for male voices (TTBB), ded. E. Bullock, comp. 1935; ?1935, Westminster Abbey, London, Westminster Abbey Choir, dir. E. Bullock; pub. Oxford University Press, 1939.
- Evening Service for men's voices, [written for the wartime resources of Westminster Abbey's choir], comp. 1941, pub. Church Music Society, 1995.

- Four Anthems for Chorus and Organ, 1. 'O Pray for the peace of Jerusalem', 2. 'We have heard with our ears', 3. 'Like as the hart desireth the waterbrooks', 4. 'Let God arise', ded. T. Armstrong, comp. 1941; 20 February 1944, Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford, Christ Church Cathedral Choir, dir. T. Armstrong (first performance of the complete set); pub. Oxford University Press, 1943, 1976.
- 'Ponder my words, O Lord', comp. 1941, unpublished.
- 'Great is the Lord', comp. 1941, unpublished.
- 'Remember O thou man', ?1940/45, unpublished.
- 'O Mortal Man Remember Well' (Sussex Mummers' Carol, arranged by Howells), comp. ?1942, unpublished.
- 'God is Gone Up With a Merry Noise', comp. 1944; 20 November 1946, BBC broadcast, St Gorge's Chapel, Windsor, Choir of St George's Chapel. First pub. perf. 14 June 1950, St Michael's Church, Cornhill, London, St Michael's Singers, dir. H. Darke; Novello, 1958.
- Te Deum and Jubilate (*Collegium Regale*), ded. King's College, Cambridge, comp. 1944; 20 May [?1944], King's College Chapel, Cambridge, Choir of King's College, dir B. Ord; Novello, 1950.
- Evening Service (*Collegium Regale*), ded. King's College, Cambridge, comp. 1945; 29 July 1947, King's College Chapel, Cambridge, Choir of King's College, Cambridge, dir. B. Ord; pub. Novello, 1947.
- Evening Service, ded. Gloucester Cathedral, comp. 1946, pub. Novello, 1947.
- Te Deum and Benedictus, ded. Canterbury Cathedral, comp. 1946, pub. Novello, 1951.
- Evening Service, ded. New College, Oxford, comp. ?1947/49, pub. Novello, 1953.
- 'Where Wast Thou?' ded. World Harvest Festival, Canterbury Cathedral, comp. 1948; 19 June 1948, Canterbury Cathedral, Canterbury Cathedral Choir, dir G. Knight; pub. Novello, 1983.
- 'King of Glory', comp. 1949; 22 November, St Sepulchre's Church, Holborn, London (St Cecilia's Day Festival Service), combined choirs of the Chapel Royal, Westminster Abbey, London, St Paul's Cathedral, London, Canterbury Cathedral, dir. J. Dykes Bower, pub. Novello, 1949.
- Te Deum, Benedictus and Jubilate in G, comp. ?1950s, unpublished.
- Communion Service in G, incomplete, unpublished.
- 'Long, Long Ago', ded. The Lady Margaret Singers, Cambridge, comp. ?1950, pub. Novello, 1951.
- Evening Service, ded. Worcester Cathedral, comp. 1951, pub. Novello, 1953.
- Evening Service, ded. St Paul's Cathedral, comp. 1951, pub. Novello. 1954.
- Te Deum and Benedictus, ded. St George's Chapel, Windsor, comp. 1952, pub. Novello, 1952.
- Evening Service in B minor, ded. Church Music Society, comp. ?1955; 17 May 1956, Westminster Abbey, London (Church Music Society Jubilee Festival Service), 17 May 1956; Novello, 1956.
- Communion Service (*Collegium Regale*), ded. King's College, Cambridge, comp. 1956; ?21 July 1957, King's College Chapel, Cambridge, Choir of King's College, Cambridge, dir. B. Ord; pub. Novello, 1957.
- Evening Service, ded. St Peter's, Collegiate Church, Westminster, comp. 1957; 27 July 1957, Westminster Abbey, London, Westminster Abbey Choir, dir. W. McKie; pub. Novello, 1957.
- Evening Service (*Collegium Sancti Johannis Cantabrigiense*), ded. St John's College, Cambridge, comp. 1957, pub. Novello. 1957.

- 'Missa Aedis Christi', ded. Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford, comp. 1958; ? 11 February 1962, Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford, Christ Church Cathedral Choir, dir S. Watson; pub. S. Watson.
- 'Aubade for a Wedding' (*Levavi oculos meos*), ded. R.F., F.S., comp. 1959; ? 1 August 1959; unpublished.
- 'A Hymn for St Cecilia', ded. Livery Club of the Worshipful Company of Musicians, comp. 1960; 22 November 1961, St Paul's Cathedral, London, St Paul's Cathedral Choir, dir. J. Dykes Bower; Novello, 1961.
- 'A Sequence for St Michael', ded. St John's College, Cambridge, comp. 1961; 13 March 1962, St John's College Chapel (recital to mark the 450th anniversary of the foundation of the College), Choir of St John's College, Cambridge, dir. G Guest; pub. Novello, 1961.
- 'Take Him, Earth for Cherishing', ded. in memory of J.F. Kennedy, comp. 1964; 22 November 1964, National Gallery of Art, Washington DC, USA, Choir of St George's Cathedral, Kingston, Oratorio, Canada, dir. G.N. Maybee; pub. H.W. Gray (New York), 1964.
- 'God Be in My Head', comp. 1965, pub. pending.
- 'Coventry Antiphon', ded. Coventry Cathedral, comp. 1961; 25 May 1962, Coventry Cathedral, Coventry Cathedral Choir, dir. D. Lepine; pub. Novello, 1962.
- Te Deum Laudamus, ded. St Mary's Church, Redcliffe, comp. 1965, pub. Novello, 1965.
- Evening Service, ded. Salisbury [Sarum] Cathedral, comp. 1966, pub. Novello, 1968.
- Te Deum Laudamus, ded. Searle Wright, St Paul's Chapel, Columbia University, USA, comp. 1966, pub. Novello, 1992.
- Benedictus es, Domine, ded. Alec Wyton, St John the Divine Cathedral, New York, comp. 1967, pub. Novello, 1968.
- Jubilate Deo, ded. Chapel Royal (Saint Peter ad Vincula) HM Tower of London, comp. 1967, pub. Novello, 1967.
- Evening Service, ded. Chichester Cathedral, comp. 1967; 27 July 1968, Chichester Cathedral, Chichester Cathedral Choir, dir. J. Birch; pub. Novello, 1968.
- Preces and Responses, ded. Canterbury Cathedral, comp. 1967, pub. Novello, 1970.
- Evening Service, ded. Winchester Cathedral, comp. 1967, pub. Novello, 1968.
- Evening Service, ded. St Augustine's Church, Edgbaston, comp. 1967/68; Autumn 1980, St Augustine's Church, Edgbaston, St Augustine's Church Choir, dir N. Dyson; pub. Novello, 1983.
- The Coventry Mass, ded. Coventry Cathedral, comp. 1968; 5 October 1969, Coventry Cathedral, Coventry Cathedral Choir, dir. D. Lepine; pub. Novello, 1969.
- 'One Thing Have I Desired', ded. St Matthew's Church, Northampton, comp. 1968; 21 September 1968, St Mathew's Church, Northampton, Choir of St Matthew's Church, dir. M. Nicholas; pub. Novello, 1968.
- Evening Service, ded. Hereford Cathedral, comp. 1968; May 1970, Hereford Cathedral, Hereford Cathedral Choir, dir. R. Lloyd; pub. Novello, 1972.
- Evening Service, ded. Magdalen College, Oxford, comp. 1970; pub. Novello, 1972.
- 'Thee Will I Love', ded. commemorating the massacre of the monks of Medehamstede, Peterborough Cathedral, comp. 1970; 9 November 1970, Peterborough Cathedral, Peterborough Cathedral Choir, dir S. Vann; pub. Novello, 1970.
- 'Come, My Soul', ded. R. O. Latham, comp. 1972, pub. Oxford University Press, 1978.

- 'A Grace for William Walton' ['A Grace for 10 Downing Street'], ded. Rt Hon Sir E. Heath MP, comp. 1972; 29 March 1972, 10 Downing Street, London, Martin Neary Singers, dir. M. Neary; pub. Novello, 1992.
- 'Now Abideth Faith, Hope and Charity', comp. 1972; 21 May 1972, St Mary Abbots Church, Kensington, London, St Mary Abbots Church Choir, dir. W. Smith; pub. Novello, 1989.
- Evening Service, ded. York Minster, comp. 1973; 22 October 1973, York Minster, York Minster Choir, dir. F. Jackson; pub. Novello, 1980.
- 'Exulte Deo', ded. Lincoln Cathedral, comp. 1974; 18 January 1975, Lincoln Cathedral, Lincoln Cathedral Choir, dir P. Marshall; pub. Oxford University Press, 1974.
- Te Deum, ded. the Cathedrals of Bradford, Wakefield and Sheffield, comp. 1974; 2 November 1974, Sheffield Cathedral, West Riding Cathedrals Festival, Cathedral Choirs of Bradford, Wakefield and Sheffield, dir. G. Matthews; pub. Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Evening Service, ded. St Luke's Episcopal Church, Dallas, Texas, USA, comp. 1975; 19 October 1975, St Luke's Episcopal Church, Dallas, Choir of St Luke's Episcopal Church, dir. L. Palmer; pub. Calvary Press, 1993.
- Antiphon, ded. D. Willcocks, comp. ?1975/6; 1 October 1977, St Asaph Cathedral, North Wales, The Bach Choir, dir D. Willcocks; pub. Oxford University Press, 1978.
- 'Sweetest of Sweets', ded. D. Willcocks, comp. ?1975/6; 1 October 1977, St Asaph Cathedral, North Wales, The Bach Choir, dir. D. Willcocks; pub. Oxford University Press, 1978.
- 'The Fear of the Lord', ded. J. Rutter, Clare College, Cambridge, comp. 1976; 30 October 1976, Clare College Chapel Cambridge, Clare College Chapel Choir, dir. J. Rutter; pub. Oxford University Press, 1977.
- 'Hills of the North', ded. Sheila Forster, Clifton High School, comp. 1977; 16 July 1977, Bristol Cathedral, Choir of Clifton High School, C. Harker (organ), dir. S. Forster; unpublished.
- 'I Love All Beautious Things', comp. 1977; 10 July 1977, St Alban's Abbey, St Alban's Abbey Choir, dir. J. Clough; pub. Novello, 1984.
- Te Deum Laudamus, ded. Washington National Cathedral, comp. ?1977; 30 September 1990, Washington National Cathedral, Washington, USA, Washington National Cathedral Choir, dir. D. Major; pub. Novello, 1991.
- 'Tryste Noel', ded. D. Willcocks, J. Rutter; comp. 1978, pub. Oxford University Press, 1978.
- 'I Would be True', ded. R. Dakers, N. Daker, comp. 1976/8; August 1979, Winchester Cathedral, ?Winchester Cathedral Choir; Addington Press, 1978.

viii. Hymn Tunes

- Hymn for 'Coronation God of our England', comp. 1911, unpublished.
- 'St Briavel's' – 'My God, I thank Thee who hast made the earth so bright', comp. 1925, ms. missing, Oxford University Press, 1925.
- 'Father of Man' – A Hymn for Charterhouse, comp. 1936, unpublished.
- 'Michael' – 'All my hope on God is founded', comp, ?1930, pub. Oxford University Press, 1936, Novello, 1968 (with descant), Oxford University Press, 1975.
- 'Severn' – 'My God I thank Thee who hast made the earth so bright', comp. ?1931, ms missing, pub. Oxford University Press, 1931.

- 'David' – 'Hills of the north, rejoice', comp. 1937, unpublished.
- 'Twigworth' – 'God is love, let Heav'n adore him', comp. ?1937, pub. *Hymns for Church and School*, 1962, Novello, 1968.
- 'Newnham' – 'Lord Christ when first Thou cam'st to men', comp. 1962, pub. *Hymns for Church and School*, 1962, Novello, 1968.
- 'Salisbury' – 'Holy spirit, ever dwelling', comp. ?1962, pub. *Hymns for Church and School*, 1962, Novello, 1968.
- 'Sancta civitas' – 'O holy city seen of John', comp. 1962, pub. *Hymns for Church and School*, 1962, Novello, 1968.
- 'Erwin' – 'Lord by whose breath all souls and seeds are living', comp. 1966, pub. Oxford University Press, 1967.
- 'In Manus Tuas' – 'This world, my God, is held within your hand', comp. ?1968, ms missing, pub. Faber Music, 1971.
- 'Norfolk' – 'With wonder, Lord, we see your works', comp. ?1968, ms missing, pub. Faber, 1971.
- 'Kensington' – 'To the name of our salvation', comp. ?1970, ms missing, pub. Novello, 1970.
- 'Jesu Dulcis Memoria' – 'Jesu, the very thought is sweet', undated, unpublished.
- [untitled] – 'Jesu, guide our way', undated, unpublished.
- 'Urbs Beata' – 'Blessed City, Heavenly Salem', undated, unpublished.

ix. Anglican Chants

- Three Double Chants, comp. ?1912/17, pub. Nos. 1, 2, RSCM Chant Book, 1978, Nos. 1, 3, *New St Paul's Cathedral Psalter*, 1997.
- Three Double Chants, comp. 1972, unpublished.
- Four Double Chants, comp. 1974, unpublished.

x. Secular Choral Music (without orchestra)

- 'To the Owl' – Two, Two Part Songs for Treble Voices and Piano, 1. 'When Cats Run Home', 2. 'Thy Tu-whits are Lulled', comp. ?1907/9, pub. Novello, 1911.
- Five Part-songs for Male Voices Op.5, 1. 'Love's Secret', 2. 'Is the Moon Tired', 3. 'Weep You no More', 4. 'The Winds Whistle Cold', 5. 'A Dirge', ded. C.B. Smale, Lydney Male Voice Choir (nos. 3, 4), T.M. Bourne, Barrow-in-Furness Madrigal Society (No.5), comp. ?1914, pub. Stainer & Bell (Nos. 3, 4, 5).
- 'The Tinker's Song', ded. H. Lambert, comp. 1914, ?1916, pub. Oxford University Press, 1923.
- 'In Youth is Pleasure', ded. Sir Frederick Bridge, comp. 1915, pub. Novello, 1916.
- Five Part-songs for Female Voices Op.11, 1. 'The Shepherd', 2. 'The Pilgrim', 3. 'A Croon', 4. 'A Sad Story', 5. 'Come All Ye Pretty Fair Maids', comp. ?1915/17, pub. Curwen, 1919.
- 'The Skylark', comp. 1916, unpublished.
- 'An Old Man's Lullaby', comp. 1917, pub. Edward Arnold, 1948 as Two-Part Songs for Treble Voices and Piano.
- Three Songs for Female Voices Op.24, 1. 'Under the Greenwood Tree', 2. 'A North Country Song', 3. 'A True Story', comp. ?1918, pub. Edward Arnold, 1918.

- 'Before Me, Careless Lying', ded. R.R. Terry, comp. 1918, pub. Novello, 1919.
- 'The Duel', comp. 1919, ms missing, pub. Edwin Ashdown, 1922.
- 'The Poet's Song', comp. ?1920s, unpublished.
- 'Gogy-O'-Gay', comp. ?1920, ms. missing, pub. Ascherberg Hopwood & Crew, 1920.
- 'A Golden Lullaby', ms missing, pub. Edward Arnold, 1920.
- 'The Wonderful Derby Ram', ded. A. Buck, comp. 1922, pub. Edward Arnold, 1926.
- 'All In This Pleasant Evening', comp. ?1923, ms. missing, pub. H.F.W. Deane, 1923.
- 'Creep Afore Ye Gang', ded. W.G. Whittaker, Newcastle Bach Choir, pub. Boosey & Co., 1924.
- 'The Shadows', ded. W.G. Whittaker, Newcastle Bach Choir, comp. 1923, pub. Boosey & Co., 1923.
- 'Spanish Lullaby', comp. ?1923, ms missing, pub. H.F. Deane & Sons, 1923.
- 'Bells', A. Bernard's young daughter's, comp. ?1924, pub. Augener, 1924.
- 'First in the Garden', comp. 1924, unpublished.
- 'Holly Song', ded. H. Stevens-Davis, comp. 1924, pub. Oxford University Press, 1924.
- 'Irish Wren Song', comp. 1924, pub. Boosey & Co., 1924.
- 'Mother Mother', ded. A. Bernard's young daughters, comp. ?1924, pub. Augener, 1924.
- 'Robin Hood's Song', comp. 1924, ms missing, pub. Cramer, 1924.
- 'Sing Ivy', ded. S. Foss, comp. 1924, pub. Oxford University Press, 1924.
- 'Sing Lully By, Lully', comp. ?1924, pub. Augener, 1924.
- 'Swedish May Song', ded. E. Foss, comp. 1924, pub. Oxford University Press, 1924.
- 'The Days Are Clear', comp. ?1925, ms missing, pub. A & C Black, 1925.
- 'Eight O' Clock the Postman's Knock,' comp. ?1925, ms missing, pub. A & C Black, 1925.
- 'Mother Shake the Cherry Tree', comp. ?1925, ms missing, pub A & C Black, 1925.
- 'The Saylor's Song', comp. 1927, pub. Edward Arnold, 1928.
- 'Tune Thy Music', comp. 1927, ms missing, pub. Edward Arnold, 1928.
- 'Good Counsel', ded. Gloucestershire Federation of Women's Institutes, comp. 1928, pub. Winthrop Rogers, 1929.
- 'Delicates So Dainty', ded. J. Garrod, comp. 1931, pub. Edward Arnold, 1932.
- 'Sweet Content', comp. 1931, comp, Edwin Arnold, 1932.
- 'Bunches of Grapes', ded. ?Sheila, U. Howells, M. Howells, comp. 1933, pub. Edward Arnold, 1933.
- 'To Music Bent', comp. ?1933, pub. Edward Arnold, 1933.
- Sea Urchins* – A Song Set for Children's Voices and Piano, 1. Overture (piano), 2. 'Happy Street', 3. 'Many Rainbows', 4. 'The Sea-Side Landlady', 5. 'Granny Sits Beside the Sea', 6. 'The Barrel-Organ', 7. 'A Seaside Lullaby', 8. 'The Lair on the Cliff', 9. 'Lindy's Ballet Shoes', 10. 'The Musical Train', 11. 'The Open Air', comp. ?1935, ms missing; 1936, Reigate and Redhill Music Festival. Children's Choir, dir. W. Stanton, pub. Stainer & Bell, 1935.
- 'A Song of Welcome', ded. Lord and Lady Blesdisloe, comp. 1935, pub. Stainer & Bell, 1935.
- 'Piping Down the Valleys Wild', comp. 1938, pub. Boosey & Hawkes, 1939.
- 'A New Year Carol', comp. 1939, pub. Boosey & Hawkes, 1939.
- 'Shadow March', ded. S. Chesterfield and her choirs, comp. 1939, pub. H.F.W. Deane, 1939.
- 'The Key of the Kingdom', comp. ?1948, ms missing, pub. Edward Arnold, 1948.

- 'Walking in the Snow', ded. the Lady Margaret Singers, Cambridge, comp. 1950, pub. Novello, 1951.
- 'Inheritance', ded. Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, comp. 1953; 1 June 1953, Royal Festival Hall, London, The Golden Age Singers, Cambridge University Madrigal Society, cond. B. Ord; pub. Novello, 1953, Stainer & Bell, 1953.
- 'Four Horses', comp. ?1954, ms missing, pub. Edward Arnold, 1954.
- 'I Mun Be Married a Sunday', comp. 1957, unpublished.

xi. Solo Songs (includes with orchestra)

- 'My Shadow', comp. 1909, unpublished.
- 'Betty's Ballads', comp. ?1910/11, ms miss, unpublished.
- 'Longing', comp. ?1911, unpublished.
- Five Songs for Low Voice and Piano, 1. 'The Twilight People', 2. 'The Devotee', 3. 'The Waves of Breffny', 4. 'The Sorrow of Love', 5. 'The Call', ded. D. Dawe, comp. 1911, unpublished.
- Six Songs for Low Voice and Piano Op.7, 1. 'The Valley of Silence', 2. 'When the Dew is Falling', 3. 'By the Grey Stone', 4. 'St Bride's Song', 5. 'When there is Peace', 6. 'The Call', comp. 1913, pub. Thames Publishing, 1999.
- Two Songs for Voice and Piano, 1. 'The Valley of Silence', 2. 'The Evening Darkens Over', comp. 1913, pub. Thames Publishing, 1999.
- [Two songs for voice and piano] 1. 'The Street Sounds to the Soldiers' Tread' 2. [unidentified], comp. 1913, unpublished.
- 'The Primrose', comp. 1914, unpublished.
- Four Songs, 1. 'Roses About the Arbour Twined', 2. 'O Mistress Mine', 3. 'A Rondel of Rest', 4. 'His Poisoned Shafts', comp. ?1915; 18 November 1915, Royal College of Music, London, Gertrude Higgs (soprano), Howells (piano); unpublished.
- Three Rondeaux Op.12, 1. 'Roses', 2. 'A Rondel of Rest', 3. 'Her Scuttle Hat', ded. H. Plunket Greene, comp. (?)1915/17, pub. Stainer & Bell, 1918.
- 'There Was a Maiden' Op.22 No.1, ded. D. Dawe, comp. 1915, pub. Winthrop Rogers, 1919.
- 'The Widow Bird' Op.22 No.3, ded. D. Dawe, comp. 1915, pub. Winthrop Rogers, 1919.
- 'Girl's Song' Op.22 No.4, ded. D. Dawe, comp. 1916; 20 February 1920, Aeolian Hall, London, V. Usher (soprano), ?Howells (piano); pub. Winthrop Rogers, 1919.
- 'A Madrigal' Op.22 No.2, ded. D. Dawe, comp. 1916, pub. Winthrop Rogers, 1919.
- 'By the Waters of Babylon', comp. 1917; 26 November 1917; pub. Novello, 1992.
- 'Here She Lies a Pretty Bud', comp. 1917, unpublished.
- 'An Old Man's Lullaby', comp. 1917, pub. Edward Arnold, 1948.
- 'Upon a Summer's Day', ded. D. Dawe, comp. 1917, unpublished.
- 'Up on Their Brooms the Witches Ride', comp. 1917, unpublished.
- 'Maly O!', ded. H. Plunket Greene, comp. ?1918, pub. Stainer & Bell, ?1918.
- 'Old Skinflint', comp. 1918, pub. Curwen, 1920.
- 'The Restful Branches', comp. ?1918/19, pub. Stainer & Bell, 1920.
- Four French Chansons Op.29 (arr. Howells), 1. 'Sainte Catherine', 2. 'Le Marquis de Maine', 3. 'Le Petit Coutourier', 4. 'Angèle au couvent', comp. 1918/19, pub. J & W Chester, 1920.

- Song Set, 1. 'Old Skinflint', 2. 'Merry-Eye', 3. 'Fallowfield Fell', 4. 'Stow-on-the-Wold', 5. 'Blawearly', comp. 1918/21, unpublished as a set.
- Five Songs for Low Voice and Piano, 1. 'Among the Tombs', 2. 'Long Ago to Thee', 3. 'Gavotte', 4. 'Though I Wonder', 5. 'By the Heath Stone', ded. U. Howells ('Gavotte'), comp. 1919, 'Gavotte' pub. Oxford University Press, 1927.
- 'King David', ded. J. Coats, comp. 1919, pub. Winthrop Rogers, 1919.
- 'The Mugger's Song', ded. T. Green, comp. 1919, pub. Boosey & Co., 1919.
- Peacock Pie*, Set One, Op.33, 1. 'Tired Tim', 2. 'Alas Alack', 3. 'Mrs MacQueen' (or 'The Lollie-Shop'), 4. 'The Dunce', 5. 'Full Moon', 6. 'Miss T', ded. U. Howells, comp. 1919, pub. F & B Goodwin, 1923, Robertson, 1996.
- A Garland for De la Mare*, 1. 'Wanderers', 2. 'The Lady Caroline', 3. 'Before Dawn', [two versions] 4. 'The Old House', 5. 'The Three Cherry Trees', 6. 'The Old Soldier', 7. 'The Song of the Secret', 8. 'Some one' [Came Knocking], 9. 'A Queer Story', 10. 'Andy Battle', 11. The Old Stone House, ded. W. De la Mare, comp. 1919/?1973, pub. Thames Publishing, 1996.
- 'Sweet Content', comp. ?1920s, unpublished.
- 'Goddess of Night', ded. G. Moger, comp. 1920, pub. Boosey & Co., 1921.
- 'John Helps', comp. 1920, ms missing, unpublished.
- 'O Garlands, Hanging by the Door', ded. G. Elwes, comp. 1920, unpublished.
- 'The Little Boy Lost', comp. ?1920, ms missing, unpublished.
- 'O My Dear Hert', ded. U. Howells, comp. 1920, pub. Winthrop Rogers, 1920.
- 'Old Meg', comp. 1923, pub. Oxford University Press, 1928.
- 'Come Sing and Dance', ded. D. Silk, comp. 1927, comp. Oxford University Press, 1927, 1928.
- Two Afrikans Songs*, 1. 'Vrijheidsgees' [Freedom], 2. 'Eensaaheid' [Lonliness], ded. B. de la Porte, comp. 1929, unpublished.
- Three Folk-Songs, 1. 'I Will Give My Love an Apple', 2. 'The Brisk Young Widow', 3. 'Cendrillon', comp. 1931, Nos 1 & 2 pub. Thames Publishing, 1996, No. 3, unpublished.
- 'Flood', comp. ?1933, pub. Sylvan Press and Humphrey Milford (Oxford University Press), 1933.
- 'Lost Love', ded. D. Webb, comp. ?1934; 18 October 1934, Grotrian Hall, London, D. ebb (Soprano), ?Howells (piano); pub. Winthrop Rogers, 1934.
- 'Lethe', comp. 1936, unpublished.

Appendix Two – A Chronological List of Performances

The following table lists more than 200 performances of Howells' secular and sacred music across Britain over almost a century. It was compiled primarily through concert listings in the *Musical Times* and the Howells archive at the Royal College of Music, London. The majority of those performances listed are secular, or are concert performances. The dates are given as follows: dd.mm.yyyy

Date	Work	Venue	Performer(s)	Notes
24.11.1912	<i>Missa Sine Nomine</i> (Mass in the Dorian Mode) Op.2	Westminster Cathedral, London	Westminster Cathedral Choir dir. Richard R. Terry	First Performance
--.--.1912	Sonata for Organ in C minor Op.1	St Mathias Church, Richmond-upon-Thames, London	Ambrose Porter (organ)	First Performance
10.07.1914	Concerto in C minor for Piano and Orchestra Op.8	Queen's Hall, London	Queen's Hall Orchestra, Arthur Benjamin (piano), cond. Charles Villiers Stanford	First Performance, Howells' London debut, Patrons Fund Concert
Easter Day 1914	Nunc Dimittis (Latin)	Westminster Cathedral, London	Westminster Cathedral Choir, dir. R.R. Terry	First Performance
--.--.1915	Three Dances for Violin and Orchestra Op.7	RCM	RCM Orchestra, George Whittaker (violin), cond. ?Howells	First Performance
15.06.1915	<i>The B's</i> : Suite for Orchestra Op.13	RCM	RCM Orchestra, cond. Howells	First Performance

22.09.1915	?Sonata for Organ in C minor Op.1	All Hallows-in-the-Wells, Exeter	Harold C. Organ (Organ)	Re-opening recital following restoration of the organ
--.11.1915	<i>Phantasy Ground Bass</i>	St James' Church, Paddington, London	Harold Darke (organ)	First Performance
--.11.1915	Rhapsody No.1 Op.17	St James' Church, Paddington	Harold Darke (organ)	First Performance
08.11.1915	Four Songs for Voice and Piano	RCM	Gertrude Higgs (soprano), Howells (piano)	First Performance
25.02.1916	Five Songs for High Voice and Orchestra	RCM	RCM Orchestra, Ethel McLelland, cond Howells	First Performance
13.07.1916	Quartet in A minor for Piano, Violin, Viola and Cello Op.21	92 Westbourne Terrace, London	RCM Ensemble – N. Phillips, S. Maturin, D. Thuell, G. Thalben-Ball	Private performance
Easter Day 1916	Four Anthems to the Blessed Virgin Mary Op.9	Westminster Cathedral, London	Westminster Cathedral Choir, dir. R.R. Terry	First Performance
27.06.1917	<i>Lady Audrey's Suite</i> for String Quartet Op.19	RCM	Dora Garland (violin), Stella Pattenden (violin), Sybil Maturin (viola), S. Dorothy Thuell (cello)	First Performance
13.07.1917	Suite for String Orchestra Op.16	RCM	RCM Orchestra cond. Stanford	2 nd and 3 rd movements only

29.07.1917	<i>By the Waters of Babylon</i>	St Michael's Church, Cornhill, London	Not known. Presumably Darke (organ) and possibly his wife (violin)	First Performance
25.10.1917	<i>Fantasy String Quartet Op.25</i>	Steinway Hall, London	London String Quartet	First Performance
--.11.1917	Sonata No.1 in E major for Violin and Piano Op.18	Wigmore Hall, London	Sybil Eaton (violin), O. Morris (piano)	First performance
06.11.1917	Quartet in A minor for Piano, Violin, Viola and Cello Op.21	Holywell Room, Oxford	Herbert Kinsey, Frank Bridge, Warwick Evans, George Thalben-Ball	First (public) Performance
15.12.1917	Elegy for Viola, String Quartet and String Orchestra Op.15	Royal Albert Hall, London	London Symphony Orchestra, cond. Hugh Allen	First Performance, Mons Memorial Concert
Easter Day 1918	'Haec Dies'	Westminster Cathedral, London	Westminster Cathedral Choir, dir. R.R terry	First Performance
19.01.1919	Three Pieces for Violin and Piano Op.28	South Place Institute, London	Sybil Eaton (violin)	First Performance
19.01.1919	Sonata No.1 in E major for Violin and Piano Op.18	South Place Institute, London	Sybil Eaton (violin)	
13.02.1919	<i>The B's: Suite for String Orchestra Op.13</i>	The Winter Gardens	Bournemouth Symphony Orchestra, cond. Dan Godfrey	First (public) Performance
17.02.1919	Sonata No.2 in E flat major for Violin and Piano Op.26	Wigmore Hall, London	Sybil Eaton (violin), Harold Samuel (piano)	First Performance

04.03.1919	<i>Puck's Minuet</i> Op.20 No.1	Queen's Hall, London	London Symphony Orchestra, cond. Hamilton Harty	First Performance
07.03.1919	Violin Sonata No.?		Herbert Johnson (violin), Lloyd Hutley (piano)	
28.06.1919	Quartet in A minor for Piano, Violin, Viola, and Cello Op.21	Lecture Theatre, Midland Institute, School of Music, Birmingham	Not known	The Chamber Class
03.07.1919	<i>Ladrey's Audrey's Suite</i> for String Quartet Op.19	RCM	Not known	
22.01.1920	<i>Lady Audrey's Suite</i> for String Quartet Op.19	?Birmingham Town Hall	Percival Hodgson, Charles Bly, Paul Beard, Joan Willis	First Performance
20.02.1920	'Girl's Song' Op.22, No.4	Aeolian Hall, London	Violet Usher (soprano), ?Howells (piano)	
04.05.1920	Rhapsody No.3 Op.17	Southwark Cathedral, London	?E.T. Cook (organ)	
03.08.1920	<i>The Chosen Tune</i>	Twigworth Parish Church	George Thalben-Ball (organ)	First Performance, Wedding of Herbert and Dorothy Howells
30.09.1920	<i>Merry Eye</i> for Small Orchestra Op.20, No.3	Queen's Hall, London	Queen's Hall Orchestra, cond. Howells	First Performance, Promenade debut
--.11.1920	Rhapsody No.3 Op.17	Bolton Parish Church	W.J. Lancaster (organ)	

11.12.1920	Rhapsody No.2 Op.17	Exeter Cathedral	Earnest Bullock (organ)	Exeter and District Organists Association Meeting
22.12.1920	<i>Puck's Minuet</i> Op.20, No.1	Manchester School of Music	Cond. Albert Coats	
22.01.1921	<i>Lady Audrey's Suite</i> for String Quartet Op.19	YMCA Hall, Cardiff	Birmingham String Quartet	
02.02.1921	<i>Puck's Minuet</i> Op.20, No.1		Tonbridge Orchestral Society, cond. Prof. Van Hulst	
12.12.1921	<i>Lady Audrey's Suite</i> for String Quartet Op.19	Liverpool	Catterall Quartet	
11.06.1922	'Here is the little door'	Queen's College Chapel, Oxford	Queen's College Chapel Choir	Concert of unaccompanied choral music
29.08.1922	<i>Procession</i> Op.36	Queen's Hall, London	Queen's Hall Orchestra, cond. Howells	First Performance
05.09.1922	<i>Sine Nomine: A Phantasy</i> Op.37	Gloucester Cathedral	Festival Chorus and Orchestra, Carrie Tubb (soprano), John Coates (tenor), cond. Howells	First Performance, Howells Three Choirs Festival debut
16.12.1922	'Here is the little door'	Southwark Cathedral, London	Southwark Cathedral Choir, dir. E.T. Cook	
28.06.1923	'Goggy o'Gay'		Bristol Cathedral Choir, Bristol Cathedral School Music Scholars, dir. H.W. Hunt	Open air concert

10.11.1923	'Pastoral' Rhapsody Op.38			Eastbourne Municipal Orchestra, joined by local amateurs, cond. Henry G. Amers	First Performance, Eastbourne Music Festival
13.12.1923	Sonata No.3 for Violin and Piano Op.38	Birmingham Town Hall		Sybil Eaton (violin), Arthur Benjamin (piano)	First Performance
-12.1923	<i>Procession</i> Op.36			Leicester Symphony Orchestra, cond. Sargent	
26.06.1924	<i>Puck's Minuet</i> Op.20, No.1	Liverpool		Cond. Gordon Stutely	British Music Society Conference
01.11.1924	'The Shadows' & 'Creep Afore Ye Gang'			The Bach Choir, dir. Dr Whittaker	
22.01.1925	'Pastoral' Rhapsody Op.38	Free Trade Hall, Manchester		The Hallé Orchestra cond. Hamilton Harty	
12.03.1925	Quartet in A minor for Piano, Violin, Viola and Cello Op.21	Bangor College, (now University of Wales)			
20.03.1925	Sonata No.3 for Violin and Piano Op.38	Wigmore Hall, London		Albert Sammons (violin), William Murdock (piano)	
18.04.1925	<i>Lady Audrey's Suite</i> for String Quartet Op.19	Newcastle			

27.04.1925	Concerto No.2 for Piano and Orchestra Op.39	Queen's Hall, London	Royal Philharmonic Orchestra, Harold Samuel (piano), cond. Sir Malcolm Sargent	First Performance
--.08.1925	<i>Puck's Minuet</i> Op.20, No.1	Gloucester Cathedral	Festival Orchestra	Three Choirs Festival
09.09.1925	<i>Paradise Rondel: A Piece for Orchestra</i>	Gloucester Cathedral	Festival Orchestra, cond. Howells	First Performance, Three Choirs Festival
28.03.1926	Incidental music to <i>The Trial of Jesus</i>	RADA Theatre, London	RCM Choir and Ensemble cond. Guy Warrack	First Performance
14.10.1927	<i>Jackanapes</i> Op.14, No.2	Aeolian Hall, London	Norman Greenwood (piano)	
?02.1928	Rhapsodic Quintet for Clarinet and Strings Op.31	?London	International String Quartet, F. Thurston, A. Brain, R. Newton, A. Morrison	Gerald Cooper Chamber Concert
25.02.1928	Five Songs for High Voice and Orchestra Op.10	RCM	RCM Orchestra, Ethel McLelland (soprano), cond. Howells	First Performance
28.02.1928	Quartet in A minor for Piano, Violin, Viola, and Cello Op.21	Bangor College, (now University of Wales)		
07.09.1928	<i>In Green Ways</i> Op.43	Gloucester Cathedral	Festival Orchestra, Joan Elwes (soprano), cond. Howells	First Performance (orchestral version), Three Choirs Festival

18.01.1929	<i>Puck's Minuet</i> Op.20, No.1	Cardiff		Concert in aid of the minor's relief fund
28.02.1929	<i>Puck's Minuet</i> Op.20, No.1	Sheffield	Sheffield University Music Society Orchestra	
27.06.1929	'Mother's Here'	RCM	RCM Ensemble	
03.10.1929	<i>In Green Ways</i> Op.43	?Queen's Hall	Dorothy Silk (soloist), cond Henry Wood	?Promenade Concert
18.10.1929	<i>In Green Ways</i> Op.43	RCM		
--.---.1930	Included music by Howells	St Michael's Church, Cornhill, London	Herbert Sumsion (organ)	A week long Festival of lunchtime organ recitals
01.02.1930	<i>Sir Patrick Spens</i> Op.23	King's Hall, Armstrong College, Newcastle-upon-tyne	College orchestra and choir, W. Hendry (baritone), cond. W. Giles Whitaker	First Performance
25.01.1930	<i>Lambert's Clavichord: Three</i> Transcriptions for Cello and Piano		Marie Wilson Quartet, Howells (piano)	First Performance, BBC Radio broadcast
19.05.1931	Rhapsody No.3 Op.17	Alexandra Palace, London	Eric Brough (organ)	Organ Music Society Concert
15.06.1931	<i>Tanz's Music</i>	RCM	?RCM Ensemble	
14.11.1931	?Psalm Prelude	St James' Church, Muswell Hill, London	O.H. Peasgood (organ)	
28.01.1932	Rhapsody No.1 Op.17	St Michael's Church, Cornhill, London	Harold Darke (organ)	Organ Music Society concert
30.01.1932	<i>Procession</i> Op.36	Bath	Pump Room Orchestra, cond. Edward Dunn	

--.---.1933	?Psalm Prelude	Truro Cathedral	G.H. Knight	
10.05.1933	<i>Penguinski</i>	RCM	RCM Orchestra, cond. Constant Lambert	First Performance
20.03.1934	Sonata No.2 for Organ	Royal Albert Hall, London	George Thalben-Ball (organ)	First Performance
03.09.1934	<i>Pageantry</i> : Suite for Brass Band	Manchester	Performed by all entrants-the competition was won by the Brighthouse and Rastrick Brass Band	First Performance, commissioned for the Belle Vue National Brass Band Contest
18.10.1934	'Lost Love'	Grotrian Hall, London	Dorothea Webb (soprano), ?Howells (piano)	First Performance
23.11.1934	<i>Puck's Minuet</i> Op.20, No.1	Ulster Hall, Belfast	Belfast Philharmonic Society Orchestra, cond Geoffrey Brown	
--.---.1936	'Sea Urchins'		Festival Children's Choir, dir. W. Stanton	First Performance
12.05.1937	'King's Herald'	Westminster Abbey, London	Coronation Orchestra cond. Ernest Bullock	First Performance, Coronation of King George VI

25.08.1937	<i>Pageantry: Suite for Brass Band</i>	Alexandra Palace, London	Performed by all entrants as the test piece	National Brass Band Championships
26.12.1937	'A Spotless Rose'	Exhibition Buildings, York	Chorus formed by various local choirs, dir. Owen Le P. Franklin	
21.02.1938	Rhapsody No.2 Op.17	St Michael's Cornhill	Harold Darke (organ)	
16.12.1938	Concerto for String Orchestra	BBC Maida Vale Studios	BBC Symphony Orchestra, cond Boult	First Performance, BBC broadcast
21.05.1939	'A Spotless Rose'	St George's Chapel, Windsor	St George's Chapel Choir, dir. William H. Harris	Choral concert held as part of the London Music Festival
09.06.1939	Rhapsody No.1 Op.17	St George's Chapel, Windsor	Alwyn Surplice (organ)	Recital given as part of the Windsor Festival of Church Music
30.01.1940	Concerto for String Orchestra	Aeolian Hall, London		
--.05.1940	<i>Puck's Minuet</i> (arr. for two pianos)	RCM	Joan and Valerie Trimble (pianos)	First Performance

10.12.1940	Quartet in A minor for Piano, Violin, Viola and Cello Op.21	Swarthmore Hall, Plymouth		
13.05.1941	Quartet in A minor for Piano, Violin, Viola and Cello Op.21	National Gallery, London		
28.05.1941	<i>King David</i>	RCM	Keturah Sorrell (soprano), Jean Baker (piano)	
--.08.1941	Quartet in A minor for Piano, Violin, Viola and Cello Op.21	Darlington		
18.09.1941	'King David'	St George's Church, Bloomsbury Way, London	Margaret Bissett (soprano), Harry Stubbs (piano)	
04.02.1942	Gavotte	RCM		
20.02.1943	Four Anthems for Chorus and Organ	Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford	Christ Church Cathedral Choir	
24.10.1942	First Suite for String Orchestra Op.16	Wigmore Hall, London	Jacques Orchestra, cond. Reginald Jacques	First Performance
01.06.1943	Quartet in A minor for Piano, Violin, Viola and Cello Op.21	National Gallery, London		
13.07.1943	Fantasy String Quartet Op.25	The Royal Exchange, London	The Hirsch String Quartet	
10.10.1943	Rhapsodic Quintet for Clarinet and Strings Op.31	?Theatre Royal, Bath		?Bath Camber Music Club
--.01.1944	Suite for Strings	Glasgow	Glasgow String Orchestra	Does not state which version
02.02.1945	Minuet (<i>Grace for a Fresh Egg</i>)	Howells' private rooms, St John's College, Cambridge	H. Crossthwaite (bassoon), Howells (piano)	First Performance
20.11.1946	'God is Gone Up'	St George's Chapel, Windsor	Choir of St George's Chapel	First Performance, BBC Broadcast

29.07.1947	Evening Service (<i>Collegium Regale</i>)	King's College Chapel, Cambridge	King's College Chapel Choir, cond. Boris Ord	First Performance
27.01.1948	Sonata for Clarinet and Piano		Frederick Thurston (clarinet), Eric Harrison (piano)	First Performance, BBC Broadcast
10.03.1948	<i>Puck's Minuet</i> Op.20, No.1	The Mount School, York	York Symphony Orchestra, cond. Francis Jackson	York Symphony Orchestra Jubilee Concert
19.06.1948	'Where Wast Thou?'	Canterbury Cathedral	Canterbury Cathedral Choir, dir G. Knight	First Performance, World Harvest Festival
23.01.1949	<i>Music for a Prince</i>	Royal Albert Hall, London	BBC Symphony Orchestra, cond. Malcolm Sargent.	First Performance, concert to celebrate the birth of His Royal Highness, Charles the Prince of Wales
--.06.1949	'Like as the Hart'	St George's Chapel, Windsor	St George's Chapel Choir	London Festival of Church Music

22.11.1949	'King of Glory'	St Sepulchre's Church, London	Combined choirs of Westminster Abbey, St Paul's Cathedral, the Chapel Royal, dir. John Dykes Bower	First Performance, St Cecilia Day Festival Service
14.06.1950	'God is Gone Up With a Merry Noise'	St Michael's Church, Cornhill, London	St. Michael's Singers dir. Harold Darke	First (public) Performance
07.09.1950	<i>Hymnus Paradisi</i>	Gloucester Cathedral	Festival Chorus and Orchestra, Isobel Baillie (soprano), William Herbert (tenor), cond. Howells	First Performance
--.--.1951	'Walking in the Snow'	Cambridge	Lady Margaret Singers	First Performance
08.04.1951	<i>Puck's Minuet</i> Op.20, No.1	Joseph Roundtree Theatre, York	York Symphony Orchestra, cond. Francis Jackson	
18.04.1951	<i>Hymnus Paradisi</i>	Royal Albert Hall, London	Royal Philharmonic Orchestra and Chorus, Isobel Baillie (soprano), William Herbert (tenor), cond. Malcolm Sargent	London premiere
22.06.1951	<i>A Maid Peerless</i>	Royal Festival Hall, London		British Federation of Music Festivals National Festival Ladies' Choir Finals (test piece)
29.07.1951	<i>Te Deum (Collegium Regale)</i>	St Michael's Church, Cornhill, London	Church choir, Harold Darke (organ)	

10.08.1951	<i>Hymnus Paradisi</i>				Cambridge Festival
06.09.1951	<i>Hymnus Paradisi</i>	Worcester Cathedral		Festival Chorus and Orchestra, cond. ?Howells	Three Choirs Festival
14.11.1951	<i>Hymnus Paradisi</i>	Leeds Town Hall			
01.01.1952	Quartet in A minor for Piano, Violin, Viola and Cello Op.21	Winter Gardens, Malvern			ISM's annual Conference
12.01.1952	<i>Hymnus Paradisi</i>	Royal Albert Hall, London		The Back Choir, dir. Reginald Jacques	
12.02.1952	<i>Hymnus Paradisi</i>	Royal Albert Hall, London		Bach Choir, Isobel Baillie (soprano), William Herbert (tenor), cond Reginald Jacques	Tribute concert to the late King George IV
--.09.1952	<i>Hymnus Paradisi</i>	Hereford Cathedral		Hereford Festival Chorus and Orchestra, cond. Howells	Hereford Three Choirs Festival
01.11.1952	<i>Hymnus Paradisi</i>			Cond. Paul Schwob	125 th anniversary of the Leiderkranz (choral society) at Esslingen
09.11.1952	<i>Hymnus Paradisi</i>	Southwark Cathedral, London		Southwark Cathedral Choir, Elsie Morrison (soprano), David Galliver (tenor), cond. E.T. Cook	Remembrance Sunday Concert
26.11.1952	<i>Procession Op.36</i>	RCM		Margaret Douglas (piano)	

04.01.1953	<i>Hymnus Paradisi</i>	Free Trade Hall, Manchester	Hallé Orchestra and Choir, Jennifer Vyvyan (soprano), William Herbert (Tenor), cond. Herbert Bardgett	
10.01.1953	<i>Siciliano for a High Ceremony</i>	St Giles Cathedral, Edinburgh	Herrick Bunney (organ)	First Performance, played on then the original organ built by Willis & Sons
24.01.1953	Psalm Prelude No.3, (first set)	RCO	John Dykes Bower (organ)	Distribution of Diplomas
28.04.1953	<i>Hymnus Paradisi</i>	Birmingham Town Hall	City of Birmingham Symphony Orchestra and Choir, Joan Alexander (soprano), William Herbert (tenor), cond. Willcocks	
01.06.1953	'Inheritance'	Royal Festival Hall, London	The Golden Age Singers, Cambridge Madrigal Society, dir. Boris Ord	First Performance
02.06.1953	'Behold, O God Our Defender'	Westminster Abbey, London	Choirs of St Paul's Cathedral, Westminster Abbey, the Chapel Royal, Coronation Orchestra, cond. Sir William Mckie	First Performance, Coronation of Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth II

10.09.1953	<i>A Kent Yeoman's Wooing Song</i>	Royal Albert Hall, London	BBC Symphony Orchestra and Choral Society, Elsie Morrison (soprano), Owen Branigan (baritone), cond. Malcolm Sargent.	First Performance
07.09.1954	<i>Missa Sabrinensis</i>	Worcester Cathedral	Worcester Festival Chorus and Orchestra cond. Howells	First Performance, Three Choirs Festival
02.02.1955	<i>The House of the Mind</i>	St Sepulchre's Church, London	BBC Singers, members of the Incorporated Society of Musicians, cond. Malcolm Sargent	First Performance
17.03.1956	<i>Missa Sabrinensis</i>	Royal Albert Hall, London		London Premiere
17.05.1956	Evening Service in B minor	Westminster Abbey, London		First Performance, Church Music Society Jubilee Festival Service
23.05.1956	Sonata for Clarinet and Piano	RCM	Gerald Bodmer (clarinet), Malcolm Binns (piano)	

04.06.1956	<i>An English Mass</i>	St Michael's Church, Cornhill, London	St Michael's Singers, Harvey Phillip's Orchestra, cond. Harold Darke	First Performance, Commissioned to celebrate Darke's 40 years as organist
08.06.1956	<i>An English Mass</i>	St Michael's Church, Cornhill, London	St Michael's Singers, Harvey Phillip's Orchestra, cond. Harold Darke	Broadcast performance attended by Her Royal Highness the Princess Royal
12.06.1957	Rhapsodic Quintet for Clarinet and Strings Op.31	RCM	Rachel Harper (clarinet), Julie Brett (violin), Jullian Eliff (violin), David Godsell (viola), Michael Haywood (cello)	
27.07.1957	Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis (St Peter's Westminster)	Westminster Abbey, London	Westminster Abbey Choir, dir William McKie	First Performance
23.10.1957	<i>A Garland for De la Mare</i>	Wigmore Hall, London	Francis Loring	
20.11.1957	Fantasy String Quartet Op.25	RCM	Brigid Ranger (violin), Fances Mason (violin), Peter Kingswood (viola), Barry Wright (cello)	

15.10.1960	<i>Three Figures: Tryptich for Brass Band</i>	Royal Albert Hall, London	Crookhall Colliery Band, cond. J.J. Stubbs (first band to play in the competition)	National Finals of the <i>Daily Herald</i> Brass Band Championships of Great Britain. 'Three Figures' was the Test piece.
04.07.1961	<i>Hymnus Paradisi</i>	Royal Festival Hall, London	The Bach Choir, Elsi Morrison (soprano), cond. Wilcocks	
22.11.1961	'A Hymn for St Cecilia'	St Paul's Cathedral, London	St Paul's Cathedral Choir, dir. John Dykes Bower	First Performance
10.01.1962	'Mally O!'	RCM	Keith Falkner (voice), Cristabel Falkner (piano)	Professor's Concert

13.03.1962	'A Sequence for St Michael'	St John's College Chapel, Cambridge	St John's Chapel Choir, dir George Guest	First Performance, special BBC radio broadcast recital marking the 450 th anniversary of the foundation of the College. In event only part of the recital was broadcast, and <i>A Sequence for St Michael</i> (much to Howells' disgust) was not included.
25.05.1962	'Coventry Antiphon'	Coventry Cathedral	Coventry Cathedral Choir, dir. D. Lepine	First Performance
11.07.1962	<i>A Kent Yeoman's Wooing Song</i>	RCM	Valerie Masterson (soprano), Malcolm Rivers (Baritone), cond. John Russell	
01.10.1962	'The Little Boy Lost' & 'Cobler's Hornpipe'	RCM	Mary Lambert (piano)	
13.05.1963	'Come Sing and Dance'	RCM	Sally Walker (soprano), Jane Meerapfel (piano)	

13.05.1963	Fantasy String Quartet Op.25	RCM	Mariam Morley (violin), Ann Cartwright (violin), Lee Robert (viola), Christine Cartwright (cello)	
13.11.1964	<i>Procession</i> Op.36	RCM	RCM First Orchestra cond. Adrian Boult	
22.11.1964	'Take Him, Earth for Cherishing'	National Gallery of Art, Washington DC, USA	Choir of St George's Cathedral, Kingston, Oratorio, Canada, dir G.N. Maybee	First Performance
06.12.1964	<i>Procession</i> Op.36	RCM	Cond. Adrian Boult	President's Concert attended by Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth, the Queen Mother
06.01.1965	Pavane and Galliard	RCM	Magaret Philllips [later Bruce] (piano)	
21.05.1965	'The Summer is Coming'	University College, Cork, S. Ireland	Choir of St John the Evangelist, Cork, dir. Edward de Rivera	First Performance
09.11.1965	'Inheritance'	RCM	RCM Special Choir	Re-opening of the new building by Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth, the Queen Mother
22.11.1965	Stabat Mater	Royal Festival Hall, London	The Bach Choir, Robert Tear (tenor), dir. Willcocks	First Performance

18.09.1967.	'King David'	RCM	RCM	Anne Collins (contralto)	
03.10.1967	'King David'	RCM	RCM	Anne Cillins (contralto)	
30.07.1966	<i>An English Mass</i>	Winchester Cathedral	Winchester Cathedral	Festival Chorus dir. Alwyn Surplice	Southern Cathedrals Festival
27.07.1968	Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis (Chichester)	Chichester Cathedral	Chichester Cathedral	Chichester Cathedral Choir dir. John Birch	First Performance
21.09.1968	'One Thing Have I Desired'	St Matthew's Church, Northampton	St Matthew's Church, Northampton	Choir of St Matthew's Church, dir. Michael Nicholas	First Performance
25.09.1968	Prelude 'De Profundis'/Rhapsody No.4 Op.17	Westminster Abbey	Westminster Abbey	John Birch (organ)	First Performance
28.10.1968	'Flourish for a Bidding'	RCO	RCO	George Thalban-Ball (organ)	First Performance
05.12.1968	<i>In Green Ways</i> Op.43	RCM	RCM	The RCM First Orchestra, Angela Beale (soprano), cond. Howells	
11.06.1969	<i>Sir Hughes Galliard, Lambert's Fireside, Hughes' Ballet & Goff's Fireside</i>	RCM	RCM	Vallerie Donnelly (Hapsichord)	
01.10.1969	'King David' & 'Come Sing and Dance'	RCM	RCM	Caroline Fried (soprano), Howard Shelley (piano)	
05.10.1969	The Coventry Mass	Coventry Cathedral	Coventry Cathedral	Coventry Cathedral Choir, dir D. Lepine	First Performance
--.05.1970	Evening Service (Hereford Cathedral)	Hereford Cathedral	Hereford Cathedral	Hereford Cathedral Choir, dir Richard Lloyd	First Performance
07.09.1970	Sonatina	St John's Smith Square, London	St John's Smith Square, London	Hilary Macnamara (piano)	Howells' 80 th Birthday celebrations

07.09.1970	<i>A Maid Peerless</i>	St John's Smith Square, London		Howells' 80 th Birthday celebrations
07.09.1970	Concerto for String Orchestra & Elegy for String Quartet and String Orchestra	St John's Smith Square, London		Howells' 80 th birthday celebrations
09.11.1970	'Thee Will I Love'	Peterborough Cathedral	Peterborough Cathedral Choir, dir. Stanley Vann	First Performance, Service of Commemoration the massacre of the Monks of Medehamestede (now Peterborough Cathedral)
24.01.1972	Sonatina	Wigmore Hall, London	Hilary MacNamara (piano)	First Performance
23.02.1972	<i>Partita</i>	Royal Festival Hall, London	John Birch (organ)	First Performance
29.03.1972	'A Grace for William Walton'	No.10 Downing Street, London	The Martin Neary Singers, dir. Martin Neary	First Performance
10.05.1972	Evening Service (St Paul's)	King's College Chapel, Cambridge	King's College Chapel Choir, dir David Willcocks	First Performance
21.05.1972	'Now Abideth Faith, Hope and Charity'	St Mary Abbots Church, Kensington, London	St Mary Abbots Church Choir, dir. W. Smith	First Performance

22.11.1972	<i>Runge</i> : Minuet for Piano		?Howells (piano)	First Performance, Meeting of the ISCM
06.03.1973	Piano Quartet in A minor	RCM	Henry Roche (piano), Geoffrey Lynn (violin), Roger Chase (viola), Sally Talbot (cello)	
22.06.1973	Evening Service (York Minster)	York Minster	Choir of York Minster dir. Francis Jackson	First Performance
02.11.1974	Te Deum (West Riding Cathedrals)	Sheffield Cathedral	The Cathedral choirs of Bradford, Wakefield and Sheffield, dir Graham Matthews	First Performance
18.01.1975	'Exalte Deo'	Lincoln Cathedral	Lincoln Cathedral Choir, dir. Phillip Marshall	First Performance
19.10.1975	Evening Service (St Luke's, Dallas)	St Luke's Episcopal Church, Dallas, USA	Choir of St Luke's dir. L. Palmer	First Performance
17.06.1976	<i>Hymnus Paradisi</i>	RCM	RCM First Orchestra and Chorus, Lynday Russell (soprano), Richard Brabrook (tenor), cond David Willcocks	
30.10.1976	'The Fear of the Lord'	Clare College Chapel, Cambridge	Clare College Chapel Choir, dir John Rutter	First Performance

26.11.1976	<i>Hymnus Paradisi</i>	Royal Festival Hall, London	New Philharmonic Orchestra, Royal Choral Society, Felicity Palmer (soprano), Gerald English (tenor), cond. Meredith Davies	
--.09.1977	<i>Hymnus Paradisi</i>	Gloucester Cathedral	Royal Philharmonic Society Orchestra, Festival Chorus, cond. Donald Hunt	Three Choirs Festival
22.04.1977	Te Deum (<i>Collegium Regale</i>)	Dorking Halls, Dorking, Surrey	Leith Hill Musical Festival Choirs, cond. W. Cole	First Performance (orchestral version)
10.07.1977	'I Love all Beautiful Things'	St Alban's Abbey	St Alban's Abbey Choir, dir. J. Clough	First Performance
16.07.1977	'Hills of the North'	Bristol Cathedral	Choir of Clifton High School, C. Harker (organ), dir. Sheila Forster	First Performance
01.10.1977	'Antiphon' & 'Sweetest of Sweets'	St Asaph Cathedral, N. Wales	Bach Choir, dir. David Willcocks	First Performance
21.10.1977	Fanfare to lead into the 'National Anthem'	Gloucester Cathedral	Festival orchestra and chorus, cond. John Sanders	First Performance, opening service, Three Choirs Festival
27.01.1978	<i>Goff's Fireside, Dyson's Delight & Walton's Tote</i>	RCM	Ruth Dyson (clavichord)	
02.11.1978	Psalm Prelude No.2, Set 2	RCM	Rosemary Field (organ)	

17.11.1978	<i>A Kent Yeoman's Wooing Song</i>	Royal Festival Hall	Nemano Orchestra, Choirs of Harlow, Hatfield and East London Polytechnics, cond. Michael Kibblewhite	
20.11.1978	<i>Te Deum (Collegium Regale)</i>	RCM	RCM First Orchestra and Chorus, cond. David Willcocks	Orchestral version
--.08.1979	'I Would be True'	Winchester Cathedral	?Winchester Cathedral Choir	First Performance
11.12.1980	Requiem	St John's Smith Square, London	BBC Singers dir. John Poole	First Performance
16.01.1982	Fantasia for Cello and Orchestra	St John's Smith Square, London	Kensington Symphony Orchestra, Gillian Matthews (cello), cond. Leslie Head.	First Performance
05.07.1982	'Come Sing and Dance'	RCM	Jane Marriott (soprano), Sian Edwards (piano)	
18.10.1982	'A Spotless Rose'	RCM	RCM Chamber Choir, Noel Mann (baritone), dir. Graeme Jenkins	Concert to celebrate Howells' 90 th birthday
18.10.1982	'Paen', from the <i>Six Pieces</i>	RCM	John Birch (organ)	Concert to celebrate Howells' 90 th birthday
01.02.1983	Fantasy String Quartet	Edinburgh Public Library	Fairfield Quartet	

05.11.1983	<i>Hymnus Paradisi</i>	Royal Festival Hall	London Philharmonic Orchestra, Bach Choir, Helen Field (soprano), Philip Longridge (tenor), cond. David Willcocks	
09.07.1984	Sonata for Oboe and Piano		Sarah Francis (oboe), Peter Dickinson (piano)	First Performance, Cheltenham Festival
20.12.1984	'O Mortal Man Remember Well'	St Paul's Cathedral, London	St Paul's Cathedral choir, City of London Sinfonia, cond. John Scott.	Thought to be the first performance
12.03.1987	Requiem	RCM	RCM Chamber Choir, dir. Peter Phillips	
16.03.1989	'Girl's Song'	RCM	Amanda Jenkins (soprano), Angela White (piano)	
20.05.1989	Requiem	St Mary's, Broxford, Suffolk	English Baroque Choir	
30.06.1990	Magnificat (St Paul's)	St Michael the Archangel, North Cadbury, Somerset	English Baroque Choir	
30.09.1990	Te Deum Laudamus (Washington)	Washington National Cathedral, USA	Washington National Cathedral choir dir. D. Major	First Performance

19.03.1992	Rhapsodic Quintet	RCM	Joanna Nicholson (clarinet), Marion McGowan (violin), Suzanne Esdell (violin), David Aspin (viola)	
14.10.1992	Rhapsody No.3	RCM	George Bevan (organ)	Concert to mark Howells' centenary
14.10.1992	Requiem & 'A Spotless Rose'	RCM	RCM Chamber Choir, dir John Birch	Concert to mark Howells' centenary
14.10.1992	'Fugue Chorale and Epilogue' from the <i>Six Pieces</i>	RCM	George Bevan (organ)	Concert to mark Howells' centenary
14.10.1992	<i>De la Mare's Pavane & Sir Hugh's Galliard</i> arr. for cello and piano	RCM	Martin Radford (cello), Fiona Daizell (piano)	Concert to mark Howells' centenary
14.10.1992	Movements from the Sonata for Oboe and Piano	RCM	Alun Darbyshire (oboe), Katherine Rockhill (piano)	Concert to mark Howells' centenary
14.10.1992	'King David'	RCM	Margaret Cable (mezzo- soprano), John Blakely (piano)	Concert to mark Howells' centenary
14.10.1992	Rhapsodic Quintet	RCM	Joanna Nicholson (clarinet), Marie-Anne Mairesse (violin), Suzanne Esdell (violin), David Aspin (viola), Martin Radford (cello)	

17.11.1992	<i>Michael: A Fanfare Setting</i>	Westminster Abbey, London	Westminster Abbey Choir, the Collegiate Singers, English Chamber Orchestra, Martin Baker (organ), cond. Martin Neary	First Performance
17.11.1992	<i>Threnody for Cello and Orchestra</i>	Westminster Abbey, London	English Chamber Orchestra, cond. Martin Neary.	First Performance
12.03.1993	'Gavotte' (King David)	RCM	Margaret Cable (mezzo-soprano), John Blakely (piano)	
02.12.1993	'A Spotless Rose'	RCM	Westminster Cathedral Choir, dir James O' Donnell	
07.02.1994	Sonata for Oboe and Piano	RCM	Jesica Mogridge (oboe), Muriel Phillips (piano)	
14.05.1994	Requiem	St Martin's-in-the-Fields, London	English Baroque Choir	
04.03.1995	'Salvator Mundi' (Requiem)	St James' Piccadilly, London	English Baroque Choir	
14.10.1995	'Blessed are the Dead'	Westminster Abbey, London	Collegiate Singers, dir. Andrew Millinger	First Performance
15.03.1997	'Take him, Earth for Cherishing'	St Martin's Church, Epsom	Epsom Chamber Choir	
04.06.1997	'Paen' from the <i>Six Pieces</i>	Durham Cathedral	Graham Barber (organ)	
30.07.1997	Psalm Prelude No.1, Set 3	Durham Cathedral	Suzanne Bradie (organ)	
22.11.1997	'A Hymn for St Cecilia'	St James' Piccadilly, London	English Baroque Orchestra	
24.05.1998	'A Hymn for St Cecilia'	Grinton Church, Swaledale, Yorkshire	English Baroque Choir	
28.06.1998	'Regina Caeli'	Ely Cathedral	English Baroque Choir	
26.08.1998	Rhapsody No.3	Durham Cathedral	Andrew Lucas (organ)	

Date	Prelude	Venue	Conductor	First Performance
16.10.1998	Prelude	Purcell Room, London	Danielle Perrett (harp)	
12.11.1998	<i>Hymnus Paradisi</i>	Royal Festival Hall	BBC Symphony Orchestra and Chorus cond. Richard Hickox	
17.07.1999	'Take Him, Earth For Cherishing', 'Salve Regina' & 'O salutaris Hostia'	St Mary's Church, Bryanston Square, London	The Elysian Singers, dir. Sam Laughton	
25.08.1999	Psalm Prelude No.1, Set 1	Durham Cathedral	Colin Andrews (organ)	
09.10.1999	'A Hymn for St Cecilia'	Harlton Parish Church, Nr Cambridge	English Baroque Choir	
13.05.2000	Requiem	St Martin's Church, Epsom, Surrey	Epsom Chamber Choir	
02.12.2000	'Sing Lullaby'	St Martin's Church, Epsom, Surrey	Epsom Chamber Choir	
09.12.2000	Nunc Dimittis (St Paul's)	St Cyprian's Church. London	English Baroque Choir, dir. Jeremy Jackman	
16.12.2000	'Here is the Little Door'	Raynes Park Methodist Church	Wimbledon Chamber Choir dir. Peter Smith	
20.03.2001	Requiem	Royal Holloway University College Chapel	Royal Holloway Chapel Choir dir. Lionel Pike	
07.12.2001	'Come Sing and Dance'	Exeter College Chapel, Oxford	Catherine Young (voice)	
08.12.2001	'A Spotless Rose'	All Saints Church, East Ham, London	The Barnes Choir, dir. Andrew Charity	
15.12.2002	'Sing Lullaby'	Victoria & Albert Museum, London	English Baroque Choir, dir. Jeremy Jackson	
13.03.2003	Requiem	Southwark Cathedral, London	City University Chamber Choir, dir. Robin Walker	

21.06.2003	<i>Master Tallis' Testament</i> from the Six Pieces	Greatly Whitley Church, Worcester	Unknown	
21.06.2003	'A Hymn for St Cecilia' and the Requiem	Great Whitley Church, Worcester	The Beaumaris Singers, Shropshire, dir. Keith Orell	
12.07.2003	'Take Him Earth for Cherishing'	Sherborne Abbey, Dorset	St David's Singers	
21.09.2003	Sonata for Oboe and Piano	Chiswick Catholic Centre	Isobella Crook (oboe), Christopher Glynn (piano)	
11.10.2003	Magnificat (St Paul's)	St Cyprian's Church, London	English Baroque Choir, dir. Jeremy Jackson	
03.12.2003	Requiem	Victoria Rooms, Bristol	Bristol University Singers, dir. Glyn Jenks	
25.06.2005	<i>Pageantry: Suite for Brass Band</i>	Gala Theatre, Durham	Brighouse and Rastrick Band, cond Ray Farr	

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