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'Full in the panting heart of Rome': Roman Catholic Church Music in England: 1850-1962

Thomas Erskine Muir

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Abstract

This thesis is the first in-depth study of music regularly heard by a community that grew from 0.5 million to 3.72 million people between 1850 and 1962. The sheer quantity and variety of material is enormous; but much of it is rapidly disappearing, since the music is no longer in regular use. Regardless of its often dubious quality it is a socio-musical phenomenon that cannot be ignored. No assessment of music in England can be complete without it.

The period is bounded by two events: the restoration of the Episcopal Hierarchy, and the opening of the Second Vatican Council. It is bisected by Pius X's influential 'Motu Proprio' decree *Tra le Sollecludini* of 1903. The quotation in the title comes from Cardinal Wiseman's mid-nineteenth-century hymn *God Bless Our Pope*; highlighting the uneasy symbiotic relationship between English Catholics and Rome.

There are three sections. Part 1, after discussing perceptions of Catholic music, describes the historical, liturgical and legislative framework. Part 2 examines trends shaping the musical agenda: developments in plainchant, the revival of Renaissance polyphony, the emergence of vernacular hymnody and Benediction music, the role of the organ, and events during the 1950s. Part 3 (in a separate volume) provides a detailed analysis of repertoire, based on a representative sample of musical collections and sources organised into databases on the accompanying CD and Zip disk. This is a new technique in musicology. For the first time, instead of relying on pronouncements by individual commentators and ecclesiastical authorities, backed by selective study of particular pieces of music, people's actual experience 'on the ground' can be measured; the importance, in this context, of developments in the music publishing industry can be properly assessed; and the degree of centralised (sometimes foreign) control actually exerted within an apparently monolithic and authoritarian church can be measured.

‘Full in the panting
heart of Rome’

Roman Catholic
Church Music in
England: 1850-1962

In two volumes
Volume 1

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Thomas Erskine Muir

Ph. D Thesis for the University of
Durham [School of Music]

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Database files

Programme used: *Microsoft Access 2000*.

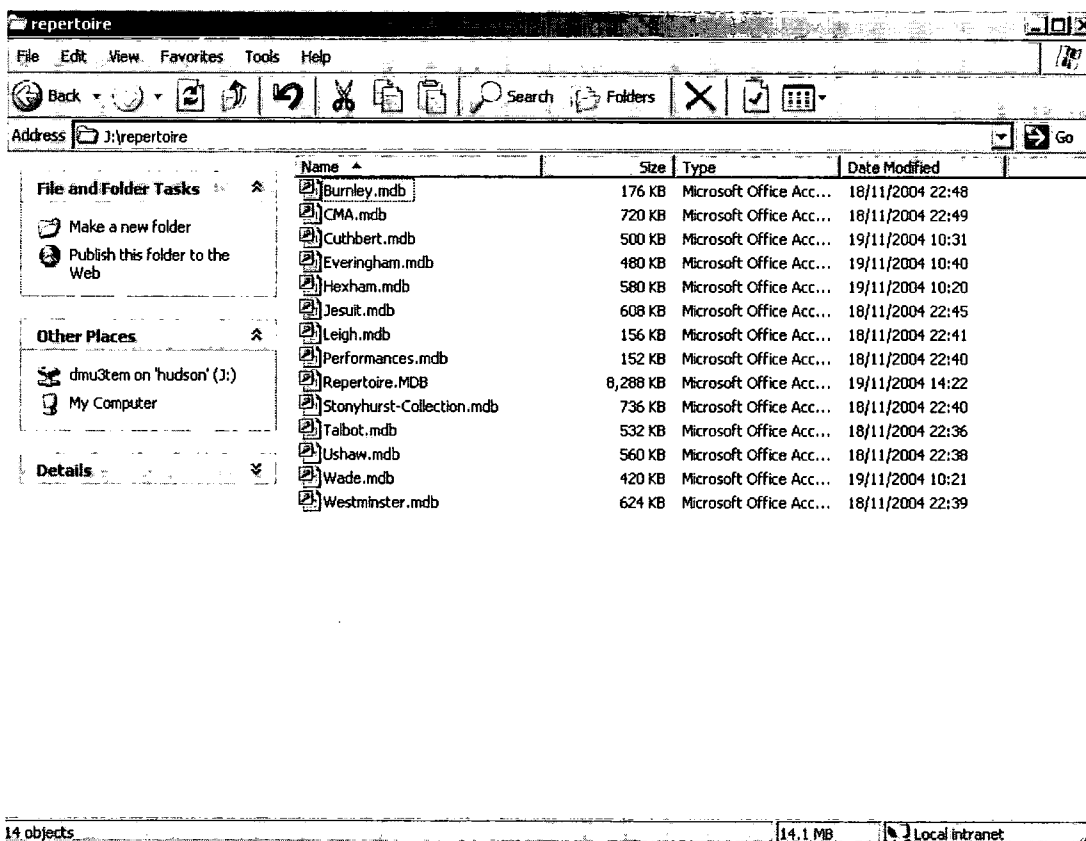
Created using standard PC computers available throughout Durham University.

This list appears on the first window of the *Repertoire* folder. Full details of each database, along with the methods used to create and operate them, are given in chapter 11.

If you open these databases on the Durham computer network a 'Security Warning' window first appears. This is because *Microsoft Office Access 2003* has been installed. You should simply ignore this and press **open**.

Note that files on the CD-R are 'read only' and cannot be modified. This means that filters can be run on the databases stored there, but not Queries. To run Queries save the file onto your computer hard drive or onto a Floppy or Zip disk. The files on the Zip disk supplied here can be modified; so, if you only wish to use filters you are advised to use this only as backup for the CD-R.

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Abbreviations and terminology

Abbreviations

<i>AJ</i>	<i>Ampleforth Journal</i> . Ampleforth Abbey, North Yorkshire.
<i>CM</i>	<i>Church Music</i> . N.p. Church Music Association.
<i>CRS</i>	<i>Catholic Record Society</i> publication. N.p.
<i>DR</i>	<i>Downside Review</i> . Stratton on the Fosse. Downside Abbey.
<i>DubR</i>	<i>Dublin Review</i> . London. Burns and Oates
<i>EM</i>	<i>Early Music</i> . London. OUP.
<i>IER</i>	<i>Irish Ecclesiastical Record</i> . Dublin. Browne and Nolan Ltd.
<i>LN</i>	<i>Letters and Notices</i> . Manresa Press, Roehampton. Society of Jesus (English Province).
<i>ML</i>	<i>Music and Liturgy</i> . N.p. Society of St Gregory. Some issues though were published under the title <i>Liturgy</i> and have been referred to as such in the bibliography and footnotes.
<i>MT</i>	<i>Musical Times</i> . London. Novello and Co. Ltd.
<i>MusL</i>	<i>Music and Letters</i> . London. OUP.
<i>NPOR</i>	<i>National Pipe Organ Register</i> . www.bios.org.uk
<i>OC</i>	<i>Organist and Choirmaster</i> . London.
<i>RH</i>	<i>Recusant History</i> . Catholic Record Society.
<i>PMM</i>	<i>Plainsong and Medieval Music</i> . Cambridge. CUP.
<i>PP</i>	<i>Past and Present</i> . Oxford. Past and Present Society.
<i>SM</i>	<i>Stonyhurst Magazine</i> . Stonyhurst College, Lancs.
<i>UM</i>	<i>Upholland Magazine</i> . Upholland College, Lancs.
<i>UshM</i>	<i>Ushaw Magazine</i> . Ushaw College, Nr Durham.
<i>WCC</i>	<i>Westminster Cathedral Chronicle</i> . Westminster Cathedral, London.

N.B. Volume numbers for *The Tablet* follow the New Series up to 1948, after which the editors discontinued this system and reverted to the 'Old Series' numbering.

<i>CMA</i>	Church Music Association
<i>SSG</i>	Society of St Gregory
<i>WH1912</i>	ed. Richard Terry et al. <i>The Westminster Hymnal</i> London. R. and T. Washbourne Ltd. 1912.

Terminology

The term 'Catholic' always refers to the Roman Catholic Church. The term 'Anglican' refers to the Anglican Church of England. The noun 'Protestant' refers to any Christian who is a member of any Protestant denomination, including the Anglican Church of England.

The Second Vatican Council is referred to as Vatican II.

Texts that are set to music are given in italics thus: *Adeste Fideles* or *O Salutaris* unless they are part of a larger piece of music when they are presented in inverted commas. For example the 'Gloria' in Palestrina's *Missa Aeterna Christi Munera*. Note though that if an originally separate piece exists in a collection it is given in italics, for example Palestrina's *Tantum Ergo* in Newsham's *A Collection of music suitable for the rite of Benediction*.

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Declaration

The text of this thesis, along with the research and supporting background reading is entirely my own work. No part of it has been submitted for another degree at the University of Durham or at any other university.

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T.E. Muir

Chapter 1: Perceptions of Catholic music in England

There is little to be said about music in the Roman Catholic Church in this country until the Second Vatican Council.

In Tune with Heaven: The Report of the Archbishops' Commission on Church Music. London. Church House Publishing/Hodder and Stoughton. 1992: 24, clause 251.

Perceptions of Catholic music in England are often ambivalent. Parts of the repertoire, for example plainchant or the music of Palestrina, excite admiration; other features, especially performance matters, produce less complimentary responses. *In Tune with Heaven*, an Anglican document, attributes such weaknesses to the fact that there had been 'no official public worship' for 'three hundred years after the Reformation...and even after the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 it was some time before the use of music was actively encouraged by the Church.'¹ In particular, the Catholic Church is often judged by the level of congregational participation. The same report praises the revival of plainchant by the Society of St Gregory (or SSG) along with work by Richard Runciman Terry and Henry Washington at Westminster Cathedral and the Brompton Oratory respectively; but notes that 'in parish churches, however, there was a long period of stagnation, although there were improvements in standards and taste, and until the time of Vatican II there had been few developments in the liturgy and its music. There was little vocal participation by the people in the Mass, and such music as they had was generally in the context of other services or 'devotions'.²

Many Catholics agreed. For instance in 1929 Terry published an essay entitled 'Why is Church Music so bad?'³ Elsewhere he declared: 'Whatever may be the case in other countries, it is a certain fact that congregational singing is not cultivated in

¹ *In Tune with Heaven*. 1992: 94. Clause 251.

² *Ibid.* 94. Clauses 252-3.

³ Published in Richard Terry: *A Forgotten Psalter and other essays*. London. OUP. 1929: 105-25.

Catholic churches in England as it deserves to be.’⁴ Elsewhere ‘Cantate Domino’, in a letter to *The Tablet*, lamented that ‘...for a long time it has been a reproach against Catholics that they lag horridly behind Protestants in congregational song.’⁵

Catholic music may also have suffered from poverty. Financial returns from a selection of parishes in the diocese of Hexham and Newcastle show, with the possible exception of Newcastle Cathedral, just how small a proportion of available budgets was spent on church music. If anything, there was a deterioration as overall finances felt the pinch of economic recession there during the 1920s and 1930s (see table 1.1). Further symptoms of malaise surface from some responses to standardised questionnaires in annual visitation returns to the same diocese over the period 1908-75 (see table 1.2a).

It is at this level though that a more complex picture becomes evident. Tables 1.2b and 1.2c show that other parishes had consistently strong or variable musical traditions. This aspect, moreover, can be supplemented by other data. For example there are no visitation or financial returns to the diocese from St Dominic’s church, Newcastle, presumably because it was run by the Dominicans, a Religious Order. However, parish magazines from the 1930s show a consistently strong and rich musical tradition. In addition Terry, who was briefly choirmaster there, dedicated his popular *Mass of St Dominic* to the prior and its choir.⁶ Comparison between tables 1.1 and 1.2 also shows that, except at St Mary’s Cathedral and possibly St Joseph’s, Gateshead, there was little correlation between how much money was spent and the

⁴ Richard Terry: *English Catholic Music*. London. Greening and Co. 1907: 121. This is reproduced in the revised version of this book: *Music of the Roman Rite*. London. Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1931: 106.

⁵ *The Tablet*. 151 (Jan-June 1928): 549.

⁶ For full details of the musical programmes see ch 13 (pp. 563, 567, 576 and 584) and the table **St Dominic** in the *Repertoire* database. In addition it might be noted that there is a Benedictine musical influence here, as the Swinburnes, who were organists there, were trained at Douai priory, in France, possibly by Dom Austin O’Neill. I owe this information to Geoffrey Scott, the present abbot of Douai.

degree of musical activity. St Wilfrid's, Bishop Auckland, for example, performed more music for less money than Our Lady of St Oswin, Tynemouth, despite the fact that the latter, for most of the period, was the seat of the bishop's residence.

Table 1.1 Expenditure on music in selected parishes from the diocese of Hexham and Newcastle between 1921-1933 compared, where available, with figures from before the First World War.⁷

Parish	Year	Total expenditure (£-s-d)	Expenditure on music (£-s-d)
St Mary's Cathedral, Newcastle	1899	1150-6-5	125-19-7
	1926	1408-0-0	67-0-0
	1933	5080-2-1	106-8-11
St Anthony of Padua, Newcastle	1922	4125-4-2	26-0-6
	1932	3398-19-11	6-17-3
St Andrew, Newcastle	1921	2441-11-0	30-18-6
	1933	1395-12-6	14-6-0
Our Lady and St Oswin, Tynemouth	1926	1101-6-5	30-0-0
	1932	908-3-8	21-0-0
St Joseph, Gateshead	1901	2201-6-2	72-0-0
	1923	5127-13-2	48-4-9
	1933	4232-18-7	85-5-0
St Wilfrid, Bishop Auckland	1921	1376-7-9	12-10-0
	1933	653-6-0	12-0-0
St Mary, Hartlepool	1921	2018-13-1	40-0-0
	1933	1211-12-1	20-0-0

Table 1.2a Parishes with weak musical traditions⁸

Parish	Year	Frequency of sung Masses
Our Lady and St Oswin, Tynemouth	1928	3 or 4 times a year
	1938	On great feasts
	1948	At Christmas and Easter
	1953	The same
	1958	The same
St Mary, Hartlepool	1908	Once a month
	1928	Four times a year
	1933	The same
	1938	2 or 3 times a year
St Anthony of Padua, Newcastle	1925	On 'chief feasts and festivals'
	1930	Christmas, Easter and 'on a few other occasions'
	1934	The same
	1939	On 'principal feasts'
	1948	The same
St Andrew, Newcastle	1959	The same
	1926	Christmas, Easter and Whitsuntide
	1936	The same

⁷ Hexham diocesan archives. For full details see the *Hexham* database.

⁸ Items selected at roughly 5-10 year intervals. In every case where a 'sung mass' was performed the Proper was sung. Full details available on the *Hexham* database.

Table 1.2b Parishes with stronger musical traditions

Parish	Period	Frequency of sung Masses
St Mary's Cathedral, Newcastle	Every year ⁹	Every Sunday
St Joseph, Gateshead	Every year ¹⁰	Every Sunday

Table 1.2c Parishes with variable musical traditions

Parish	Year	Frequency of sung Masses
St Bede, South Shields	1912	Every Sunday
	1925	On chief feasts
	1929	The same
	1933	The same
	1938 onwards ¹¹	Every Sunday
St Wilfrid, Bishop Auckland	1918-1930	Missa Solemnis twice in the whole period
	1930	Missa Cantata 6 times a year
	1935	The same
	1940 onwards ¹²	Every Sunday

The same sort of thing happens with the nineteenth century. It may well be true that in many places Catholic music was slow to respond to the opportunities provided by Emancipation.¹³ Yet there is abundant evidence of activity in London embassy chapels, some household chapels, the great College establishments at Oscott, Stonyhurst and Ushaw, as well as in some individual parishes such as St Cuthbert's, Durham. Moreover all of them bear the strong imprint of Vincent Novello's vigorous

⁹ 1926, 1936, 1941, 1946. 1951, 1956, 1961, 1966, 1971.

¹⁰ 1911, 1925, 1937, 1942, 1948, 1952, 1957, 1962, 1967.

¹¹ 1938, 1942, 1948, 1957, 1962.

¹² 1940, 1945, 1955, 1960.

¹³ For example a Protestant choir had to be hired for the opening of the church of Our Lady, Northampton (later expanded into the present Cathedral) in 1825. K. Payne: *The Cathedral of Our Lady and St Thomas: A History and Guide*. Northampton Cathedral. N.d. N.p.

editing and publication of large quantities of Catholic music.¹⁴ If this is so then the picture given by *In Tune with Heaven* may actually reflect the possibility of a decline in the early twentieth century.

A. Protestant perceptions of English Catholic music

More fundamentally it is obvious that perceptions of English Catholic music depend on the perspective from which they are made. Naturally Protestant viewpoints differ from Catholic ones. Assessments of congregational participation show this clearly. This is one of the great glories of the Protestant tradition, especially in hymnody. English Catholics *did* develop a vernacular hymn tradition; but its values, especially the devotional aspect, were not the same. Not surprisingly, it could not measure up to the Protestant standard.¹⁵

A different kind of misunderstanding, on a broader scale, emerges in writings about 'English church music'. Catholics have exerted little influence here, perhaps because they considered themselves part of an international church; so the field has been left clear for others. People describe what they know. In pre-ecumenical times the denominational divide meant that, if services took place at roughly the same times, the opportunity, let alone the inclination, for other Christians to discover what went on in Catholic churches was restricted. The Anglican Church, as the title implies, was the 'Church of England'; and its ties with other Protestant denominations

¹⁴ For evidence of activity in London Embassy Chapels see ed. E.E. Reynolds: *The Mawhood Diary 1727-97*. London. CRS. 50 (1956) esp. pp. 26-8, 33-6, 39, 41, 58, 60, 63-4, 80, 99, 111, 124, 145, 161, 164, 207-8, 266-7, 271, 279. For materials at Stonyhurst, Ushaw and St Cuthbert's, Durham, along with music from the household chapel at Everingham now stored at the Bar Convent, York, see chs. 11 and 12, based on tables under these names in the *Repertoire* database. See also Thomas Muir: 'Music for St Peter's Church 1811-1940'. *SM*. 52/498 (2002): 277-91. For occasional information about extensive musical activity in Bath see the 'Journal of Peter Augustine Baines' in ed. J. Anthony Williams: *Catholicism in Bath*. CRS. 65-6 (1975-6). Vol. 65: 200-39. Other musically important household chapels were at Lulworth, Dorset and Wardour Castle, Wilts. Novello's activities are summarised in Michael Hurd: *Vincent Novello and Company*. London. Granada. 1981. Esp. 1-2, 24-33 and can be extrapolated from the table **Publications** in the *Repertoire* database.

¹⁵ See ch. 7.

were usually closer than with Catholics. Besides, in the 1900s, Catholics constituted only about 5% of the population, mainly concentrated in Lancashire, the North East and to some extent in London. Subsequent growth up to the 1960s – in numbers, national spread and infrastructure – have passed almost unnoticed, despite the fact that they became the largest single denomination in the country.¹⁶

Inevitably then English Catholic music does not figure much in books such as Eric Routley's *A Short History of English Church Music*, with additional material added by Lionel Dakers.¹⁷ Its musical examples come from *A Treasury of English Church Music*, edited by William Read and Gerald Knight, a former President of the RSCM, giving a strong Anglican flavour.¹⁸ Nineteenth-century continental Catholic developments, for example the Cecilian movement and developments in plainchant, are in fact discussed; but, naturally enough, they are interpreted within a largely Protestant context. For example, when discussing the role of Solesmes, Routley remarks that the 'most potent interpreters of its principles to England were G.H. Palmer and J.H. Arnold', who were both Anglicans.¹⁹ Likewise, Protestant developments in hymnody are described; but equivalent Catholic activity is omitted.²⁰ The same thing happens with twentieth-century church music by Charles Wood, William H. Harris, Gustav Holst, Ralph Vaughan Williams, Edmund Rubbra and Eric

¹⁶ Adrian Hastings: *A History of English Christianity 1920-1985*. London. Collins. 1986: 134-5, 276-7, 473-6, 561 gives demographic Catholic data. For Protestant denominations see 35-40, 265, 437-8 and 444. For comparative percentages between different groups in the 1900s see 40. Denis Gwynn: 'The growth of the English Catholic Community' in ed. George Beck: *The English Catholics 1850-1950: Essays to commemorate the centenary of the restoration of the hierarchy in England and Wales*. London. Burns and Oates. 1950: 365-409. Further information, including statistics compiled from the *Catholic Directory*, is given in chapter 2.

¹⁷ Eric Routley: *A Short History of English Church Music*, with a concluding chapter added by Lionel Dakers. London. Mowbray. 1977/R1997. Routley's career, including the fact that he was the first Methodist head of the RSCM, is summarised in Georgina Clare Luck: *Choral Cathedral Music in the Church of England: An examination into the diversity and potential of contemporary choral-writing at the end of the twentieth century*. University of Durham. MA Thesis. 2000. Vol. 1: 3-8.

¹⁸ Ed. William Read and Gerald Knight: *A Treasury of English Church Music*. London. Blandford Press. 1965.

¹⁹ Routley 1997: 79.

²⁰ Ibid. 66-74, 97, 101-2.

Thiman. Routley focuses on their contributions to the Anglican Church. Apart from Vaughan Williams' *Mass In G Minor*, the Catholic dimension is, once again, omitted.

Such approaches are of long standing, as *A Manual of Church Music*, edited by George Gardner, archdeacon of Cheltenham, and Sydney H. Nicholson, organist and Master of the Chorister at Westminster Abbey, for the SPCK in 1923 shows.²¹ The preface indicates that it is intended for musicians in Protestant churches; so there are articles on 'Nonconformist Church Music', by J.D. McClure, 'Presbyterian Church Music', by G. Wanchope Stuart and even 'America: The Music of the Episcopal Church', by G. Edward Stubbs.²² There is no equivalent article on English Catholic music. Everything is discussed in a Protestant context, most obviously in essays dealing with the 'Ordering of Services', by Walter Howard Frere, director of the Anglican Community of the Resurrection, Mirfield, the 'Choice of Music (practical)', by Edgar Cook, organist at Southwark Anglican Cathedral, and in the list of composers supplied at the end.²³ The 'Choice of Music' is predominantly an Anglican list and it is not intended for use by Catholics; so Mass settings are not mentioned and much of the music by Catholic Continental Renaissance polyphonists such as Palestrina and Vittoria is recommended in editions with English texts. Similarly the list of composers mentions these and other Catholic figures such as Byrd, Gounod, Joseph Haydn, Vincent Novello, Samuel Webbe the elder and Samuel Wesley. However, once again their relevance to the English Protestant musical scene is the prime consideration. So it is stated that Novello's 'services to English Church music are the more remarkable when it is remembered that he himself was a Roman Catholic'. Likewise, under Webbe's 'auspices a real contribution was made by the

²¹ Ed. George Gardiner and Sydney H. Nicholson: *A Manual of Church Music*. London. SPCK. 1923.

²² Ibid. 127-30, 183-89 and 3-10 respectively.

²³ Ibid. v-vi, 213-8 and 221-32 respectively.

Roman Catholic Church in England to our [i.e. the Anglican] general stock of psalmody'.²⁴ Such priorities explain why there are entries for lesser Anglican luminaries such as Thomas Attwood, Maurice Green, Charles King, James Nares and Henry Smart while omitting composers widely performed in English Catholic circles such as John Crookall, John Richardson, Joseph Smith, William Sewell, Joseph Seymour, Joseph Egbert Turner and Francis M. De Zulueta. For a *manual* – not a scholarly history – intended for use by Protestant musicians these composers are irrelevant.

There is however one major exception to such approaches among Anglican writers: Arthur Hutchings *Church Music in the Nineteenth Century*. This, interestingly enough, is cited by Routley; a warning that it has a fundamentally different purpose.²⁵ The title explains everything. It is not simply a book about English Church music; it has an international dimension. So two chapters deal with continental music; while a third, covering contributions made by major composers of the day, is weighted towards 'Catholic' figures such as Beethoven, Bruckner, Cherubini, Gounod, Liszt, Rossini and Schubert.²⁶ Another feature concerns the source material, as the contents of chapter 4 make plain.²⁷ Hutchings, a member of the Durham University Music School, had access to materials – some of which no longer survive – stored at Ushaw College, the great Catholic seminary just outside the city. Indeed the book is dedicated to Laurence Hollis, Vice President and choirmaster there.²⁸ This produces a

²⁴ Ibid. 228 and 231.

²⁵ Arthur Hutchings: *Church Music in the Nineteenth Century*. London. Herbert Jenkins. 1967.

²⁶ Ibid. 21-52, 54-8, 69-94.

²⁷ Ibid. 75-7 and 85-9.

²⁸ Ibid. 8. For details of Ushaw's music collection see ch. 12 and the *Ushaw* database.

different balance in the three (out of eight) chapters devoted to English church music alone. For example they include a section on Catholic hymnody.²⁹

Hutchings demonstrates that it is perfectly possible for a non-Catholic to include the English Catholic scene in any discussion about English Church music. He is an exception that highlights a general rule; namely an understandable tendency to associate the main development of English church music after the Reformation with the Protestant tradition. English Catholic contributions are omitted because they are perceived to have little relevance to that tradition. In itself there is nothing wrong with this, provided that people are aware that this is not the whole story. Danger arises when this is forgotten. One result is that many composers who were important in the English Catholic community do not appear in the musical 'canon'. For instance, the 1980 edition of the *New Grove* includes all the Anglican composers mentioned by Gardner and Nicholson; but their omissions on the Catholic side are repeated, and the same thing happens with major twentieth-century figures such as Laurence Bévenot and Anthony Gregory Murray.³⁰

B. Catholic perceptions of English Catholic Church music

English Catholic perceptions of their music are quite different from those of Protestants. The general tendency is towards distortion, partly due to a failure to pay systematic attention to musical sources. This does not mean that nothing has been written, at the time or later, about the subject. On the contrary the materials are voluminous. However, unlike with work by English Catholic historians, which rests on decades of patient scholarly research, much of it genealogical, Catholic musical

²⁹ Ibid. chs. 5, 6, and 7. For Catholic hymnody see pp. 159-162.

³⁰ Such omissions are partially made up in the 2000 edition of *The New Grove*. Even here though there are no entries for Bévenot, Crookall, Sewell, Seymour, Smith, Turner and Zulueta.

writing is not founded on an adequate analysis of primary evidence or statistics. It is often produced by practising musicians, liturgists, theologians and officials as part of the cut and thrust of debate about the nature and implementation of musical policy. Consequently it can be impressionistic in tone, and frequently polemical or didactic in purpose. When written by contemporaries it is of great value, since it reveals what people *thought* was happening, or *ought* to be happening.³¹ However, this is not the same as showing what was *actually* happening on the ground.

In considering such literature, a clear distinction must be made between contemporary authors and those writing after Vatican II; and among the latter a further distinction must be drawn between post-Vatican II and pre-Vatican II generations. This is because the substitution of a vernacular for a Latin liturgy has made redundant much of the music that went with it.³² In addition ecumenism, coupled with an official acceptance of local diversity, has encouraged extensive borrowing from other denominations and idioms such as 'folk' music. As a result, younger Catholics are likely to have little knowledge of the pre-Vatican II repertory. John Ainslie, writing in 1979, described it as 'dead, buried and scorned.'³³ This of course is an exaggeration. For example, the 1991 edition of *Hymns Old and New* has 50 texts present in the original 1912 edition of *The Westminster Hymnal*; but the point is that they are swamped by the 762 items in the volume.³⁴ On the other hand, for

³¹ For an excellent example of what can be done using such sources see Sybille Mager: *The debate over the revival of Ancient Music in Victorian England*. Queen's College, Cambridge. Ph.D thesis. 2001. Esp. 38-41, 47-9, 51-4, 60-86, 212-343.

³² See James Crichton's remarks in 'An Interview with J.D. Crichton' (conducted by Martin Hall). *ML*. 27/2 (Summer 2001)(No. 302): 15-19. 'Most of the great classical polyphony does not fit the present rite. A seven minute Kyrie is a distraction...not a prayer.'

³³ John Ainslie: 'English Liturgical Music before Vatican II' in James D. Crichton, Harold E. Winstone, and John Ainslie: *English Catholic Worship: Liturgical Renewal in England since 1900*. London. Geoffrey Chapman. 1979: 49.

³⁴ Ibid: 49. Ed. Kevin Mayhew, Tony Barr, and Robert Kelly: *Hymns Old and New*. Rattlesden, Bury St Edmunds. Kevin Mayhew Ltd. 1977/R1991. Ed. Richard Terry: *The Westminster Hymnal*. London. R. and T. Washbourne Ltd. 1912: Nos. 5-7, 10, 33, 40, 48, 51-2, 58, 60, 74, 76, 82-4, 93, 98, 101-3, 117, 119, 138, 143, 147, 160, 165, 201, 213-6, 219, 230-1, 251, 255-6, 258 and 263.

many people, whether Christian or not, plainchant has recently acquired considerable appeal in a non-religious context and as part of an 'alternative' lifestyle, as Katherine Le Mée has demonstrated.³⁵

For older generations of Catholics the situation is different. Here yet another subdivision is required; that is between liberal reformers and traditionalists, each of whom have their own versions of liturgical-musical history. Liberal attitudes coincide with the statements quoted from *In Tune With Heaven* at the start. This may not be mere coincidence, because Philip Duffy, the first Director of Music at Liverpool Catholic Cathedral, was co-opted to the commission as an advisor. Among such liberals before Vatican II, liturgists, headed by Joseph Connelly, Clifford Howell and James Crichton, form a distinct group; and their activity can be charted in *English Catholic Worship*, edited by Harold Winstone, James Crichton and John Ainslie.³⁶ In particular they gained control of the SSG in the early 1940s, transforming it from an organisation primarily concerned with plainchant to a forum for the discussion of new liturgical ideas. Symptomatic was the renaming of the society's journal *Music and Liturgy* as *Liturgy* between 1944 and 1970. As with *In Tune with Heaven* their basic yardstick is the level of active vocal congregational participation; so the old music has little or no relevance. For example in his last published interview Crichton declared that 'Latin and plainchant are not exactly popular; they are 'foreign'.³⁷

The reverse image is presented by the traditionalists, especially adherents of the Latin Mass Society. In recent years, and especially since 2000, their cause has undergone a marked revival. Moreover, major Papal documents, such as *Liturgiam*

³⁵ Katherine Le Mée: *Chant: The Origins, Form, Practice and Healing Power of Gregorian Chant*. London. Random House Ltd. 1994. esp. 1-11 and 107-46.

³⁶ Ed. Harold E. Winstone, James D. Crichton and John Ainslie: *English Catholic Worship: Liturgical Renewal in England since 1900*. Esp. Crichton: '1920-1940: The Dawn of a liturgical movement,' pp. 17-47; and 'The Liturgical Movement from 1940 to Vatican II,' pp. 60-78.

³⁷ 'An Interview with J.D. Crichton'. *ML*. 27/2: 19. For further details about the development and thinking of this group see chapter 3.

Authenticam and Pope John Paul II's chirograph *For the Centenary of the Motu Proprio 'Tra Le Sollecludini' on sacred music* appear to support their side of the case.³⁸ As with the liberal reformers, to a substantial extent their thinking is liturgy-driven; but here, of course, the ideological cornerstone is the revival of the Latin Mass.³⁹ *Liturgiam Authenticam*, with its stress on fairly literal vernacular translations of the Latin liturgy, moves in the this direction. An emphasis on the aesthetic quality of plainchant and Renaissance polyphony then can only serve to help the traditionalist cause. Indeed, John Paul II's chirograph draws attention to the special suitability of Gregorian chant for the Roman liturgy. The power of this argument becomes fully apparent when one appreciates how much people's knowledge of these genres is derived from modern recordings by professional performers. For example, as early as 1961, Alec Robertson, an active reviewer of records and later the music editor of *The Gramophone*, noted that many non-Catholics had a greater knowledge of Catholic music than Catholics because of this.⁴⁰ Inevitably, if subconsciously, favourable comparisons will be made between them and the often amateur renditions of post-Vatican II repertoire heard every Sunday in many churches. At the same time

³⁸ *Liturgiam Authenticam*. http://www.Vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/ccdds/documents/ccom_ccdds_doc_20010507-liturgiam-authenticam_en.html (2001). *Chirograph of the Supreme Pontiff John Paul II for the Centenary of the Moto Proprio 'Tra Le Sollecludini' on sacred music*. http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/letters/2003/documents/hf_jp_let_2_en.html (2003). See also Peter Jeffrey: 'A chant historian reads *Liturgiam Authenticam*: the Latin liturgical tradition'. *Worship* 78/1 (Jan 2004): 2-29. Alan Griffiths: 'Liturgical song in the spotlight'. *ML* 28/1 (No. 305)(Spring 2002): 22-24. John Ainslie: 'Two Papal Letters – An Overview'. *ML* 30/1 (No. 313)(Spring 2004): 30-31. Anthony Boylan: 'Renewing the Renewal 1. The new General Instruction of the Roman Missal'. *ML* 31/2 (No. 318)(Summer 2005): 11-12. For a favourable discussion of the conservative *Instrumentum Laboris*, the working paper prepared for the Synod on the Eucharist to be held in October 2005, see Freddy Gray: 'Bad Church music to be outlawed. "Dumbed-down" folk Masses could disappear as Vatican tells bishops to re-introduce Gregorian Chant'. *Catholic Herald* No. 6210 (July 29th, 2005): 1. In the same issue see the editorial 'Sing to the Lord', on page 11.

³⁹ See for example Dietrich Von Hildebrand: 'The Case for the Latin Mass', reprinted from the October 1966 issue of *Triumph*, and, more recently, 'A Homily preached at the launch of CIEL UK at St James'. Spanish Place, London by a priest of the Oratory' (March 1st, 1977) on http://www.latin-mass_society.org/canon.htm

⁴⁰ Alec Robertson: *Music of the Catholic Church*. London. Burns and Oates. A Faith and Fact Book. 1961: 8. For his work at *The Gramophone* see his autobiography *More Than Music*. London. Collins. 1961: 114 and 217.

traditionalists can capitalise on the current interest shown in plainchant by non-Christians referred to earlier. Thus, as Helen Phelan states: 'On the one hand Gregorian Chant has been increasingly hijacked as the ideological repertoire of those critical of liturgical reforms and harking back to a pre-Vatican II liturgy. On the other it has experienced a wave of non-liturgical popularity associated with New Age spirituality and techno-music mixes.'⁴¹ She then proceeds to try and show how Gregorian Chant, far from being out of place, as Crichton argues, can actually be used in the modern liturgy.

Yet such traditionalist approaches are at once unfair and highly unstable. With recordings this becomes apparent as soon as you look at pre-Vatican II material. Table 1.3 shows that the period 1903-62 was the era when the recording industry really came of age. Moreover, as Mary Berry pointed out, Catholics were among the first to make and use recordings of church music.⁴²

Table 1.3 Gramophone and record sales in England

Year	No. of gramophones sold	No of records sold
1920	188,670,000	340,230,000
1929	1,238,400,000	2,052,800,000

Ed. Compton Mackenzie: *The Gramophone*. 7 (Feb. 1930): 402

Yet a sample of reviews of new recordings in *The Gramophone* shows how small a proportion consisted of religious music by Catholic composers and how, throughout the period, it has been dominated by non-Catholic, professional and foreign performers (see table 1.4). Therefore one cannot really know from this source what Catholic choirs actually sounded like at that time.

⁴¹ Helen Phelan: 'Gregorian Chant and Contemporary Liturgy': *ML*. 28/1 (No. 305)(Spring 2001): 20.

⁴² Mary Berry: 'The Restoration of the Chant and Seventy Five years of Recording'. *EM*. 7/2 (April 1979): 197-217 esp. 198.

Table 1.4 Record reviews of religious music by Catholic composers in *The Gramophone*

Year/Volume	Vol. VII (July 1929-June 1930)	Vol. XXXV-VI (Jan-Dec 1950)
Total number of reviewed recordings of Catholic music	2 ⁴³	20 ⁴⁴
Number of reviewed recordings of Catholic music performed by English musicians	1	3
Number of reviewed recordings of Catholic music performed by English Catholic musicians	1	0

Similarly traditionalist arguments that English Catholic music declined after Vatican II or liberal assertions that the reverse was happening become ambiguous against evidence of what was happening on the ground (see table 1.5). Some parishes show growth, others collapse, and many, after some adjustments, continue at their former level. Notice too how much depends on what yardstick is employed. The collapse of the choir or the abandonment of a sung Proper (an essential ingredient in a Missa Cantata) does not necessarily mean that no other music was substituted, as the case of St Anthony of Padua shows.

⁴³ July, 1929: 78. HMV: The American Choir. Lotti: *Crucifixus*; Palestrina: *Exsultate Deo*. Nov. 1929: 251. Parlophone E10920. *The National Catholic Congress 1929*. Spanish Place choir and orchestral society directed by Robert L. Hasberry. Hasberry: *Ecce Sacerdos Magnus*. S.P. Waddington: *Salve Regina*.

⁴⁴ Vol. 35: 412, 464, 526, 528, 582. Vol. 36: 20, 60-5, 99, 130-1, 182, 188, 298-9.

Table 1.5 Sung Masses in the Diocese of Hexham and Newcastle as reported in visitation returns⁴⁵

Parish	Year	Frequency of sung Masses
St Philomena (now St Paulinus) Bishop Auckland (opened in 1953)	1955	'No choir. Nothing'
	1960	Once a month
	1970	Every Sunday
St Wilfrid, Bishop Auckland	1955	Every Sunday
	1960	Every Sunday
	1965	'Given up pro tem'
St Mary, Bishop Auckland (opened in 1956)	1960	Every Sunday
	1965	3 times a year
	1970	'No choir'
St Mary, Hartlepool	1960	3 times a year
	1965	Every Sunday
	1975	Every Sunday
St Joseph, Gateshead	1962	Every Sunday
	1967	Every Sunday
St Mary's Cathedral, Newcastle	1963	Every Sunday
	1968	Every Sunday
St Antony of Padua, Newcastle	1963	Every Sunday
	1968	Every Sunday
	1972	'Hymns every Sunday'
	1977	'Hymns every Sunday'
St Bede, South Shields	1962	Every Sunday
	1967	Twice a month
	1972	Every Sunday

The net effect then is that, among English Catholics today, and regardless of factual evidence, pre-Vatican II music is in serious danger of becoming a polemical weapon in the hands of rival groups.

Turning now to contemporary English Catholic writings from the pre-Vatican II period, the same feature is apparent, but the issues are different. For instance, with plainchant a standard line was Solesmes claim to have recovered the genre from the corruption into which it had sunk from the Late Middle Ages onwards. *Plainchant and Solesmes*, by Paul Cagin and André Mocquereau, is a good example. The critical method and accounts of how it was developed at Solesmes are impressive; but the underlying purpose was to persuade English Catholics to adopt plainchant wholesale as the primary form of church music, in accordance with *Tra le Solleitudini*,

⁴⁵ For further details see the *Hexham* database.

preferably in the form advocated by Solesmes.⁴⁶ In reality, as Pierre Combe has shown, the basic aesthetic features, such as the concept that all notes are of equal length, the use of faster tempi and lower dynamics, were conceived by Prosper Guéranger, the founding abbot of Solesmes, under the influence of M. Gontier in the 1840s *before* serious manuscript research was undertaken by Joseph Pothier and Paul Jaussens. This is inductive, not deductive, thinking.⁴⁷

The same phenomenon appears with other types of music, as Terry's writings demonstrate. As far as Catholics were concerned, his article 'Why is Church Music so bad?' cited earlier is really an expression of his personal views. The blame is fixed firmly on the un-liturgical nature of the Haydn-Mozart repertory, the poor musical quality of imitative Renaissance polyphonic style masses by Cecilian composers, the ham-fisted promotion and controversial infighting characteristic of self-appointed plainchant experts, and the hymn repertoire associated with Frederick Faber and Henri Hemy.⁴⁸

Elsewhere, in *Catholic Church Music*, he argues that Renaissance polyphonic composers such as Tallis, Byrd and even Orlando Gibbons were Catholic Englishmen working in an international Catholic tradition reaching back to the days of John Dunstable. Again, the point is not whether the claim is true or not: what matters is the motivation. Terry is responding to the Anglican claim that such composers were the founding fathers of a distinctively English native tradition.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Paul Cagin and André Mocquereau, *Plainchant and Solesmes*. London. Burns and Oates. 1904.

⁴⁷ Pierre Combe: *La Réforme du Chant et des livres de chant Grégorien à l'abbaye de Solesmes. 1833-1883.* *Etudes Grégoriennes*. 7 (1963): 86-234 esp. pp. 188-91 and 195-202.

⁴⁸ Terry 1929: 106-8 (Haydn-Mozart Masses); 110-1 (Cecilian Masses); 112-3 (plainchant) and 115-6 (hymnody). The German Cecilian Society, named after St Cecilia, the patron saint of music, was founded in 1867 by Franz Xavier Witt, specifically to promote plainchant and Renaissance style polyphony. Affiliated societies were established throughout the Catholic world, including England, Ireland, Italy, Holland and the USA. See chapter 8, section D for further details.

⁴⁹ Terry 1907: 187-91.

Third, his preface to the 1912 edition of *The Westminster Hymnal* is dominated by the idea that there is but one authentic version of any given hymn tune that must be adhered to. As part of the argument, eleven case studies are given of how, in terms of performance accuracy, 'each congregation is a law unto itself.'⁵⁰ Yet if one considers how Terry could have known this, it is obvious that such statements derive from impressions he has gathered from personal experience and correspondence rather than through any systematic collation of data. His busy schedule as Director of Music at Westminster Cathedral and the haste with which the music for the hymnal was compiled preclude anything else. Moreover, these passages are lifted word for word from a circular Terry sent to all the bishops in 1910 offering his services as musical editor. Its original purpose was to appeal to their predilection for uniform musical practice across the English church, already evinced in their publication of an official list of approved hymn texts. Terry's quest for accurate performance was therefore not simply a question of objective scholarly authenticity. It was a matter of ideology.⁵¹

Similar features are also apparent at the end of the period in *Music of the Catholic Church* by Alec Robertson, a Catholic convert, former priest and monk.⁵² As the title suggests this is very different from the non-Catholic surveys mentioned earlier. In particular he identifies a distinct English musical contribution within the international Catholic Church; and this applies to twentieth century as well as Renaissance polyphonic repertoire. Yet it should be observed that with the latter he is largely following Terry.⁵³ Elsewhere Robertson, influenced by Vollaerts, but in line

⁵⁰ *WH1912*: v-viii.

⁵¹ Westminster Archdiocesan Archives. Bo/33. Bourne Papers: Church Music. 1904-1910.

⁵² See footnote 40. For his career see *More Than Music*: 1961 esp. 91-107 for his time at Ampleforth and 133-90 for his training and career as a priest.

⁵³ *Ibid.* 134 and 145.

with indications of scepticism expressed earlier, does not accept wholesale the Solesmes picture of the history of plainchant revival nor its methods of performance.⁵⁴ On the other hand he omits the substantial input by nineteenth-century English composers; and he states that plainchant was ignored between the late seventeenth and mid nineteenth centuries. In the face of research by Bennett Zon, or material provided by David Hiley in *Western Plainchant: A Handbook*, this is now unsustainable.⁵⁵

Such omissions though may not be unconnected with Robertson's polemical and doctrinally instructive approach. This is 'A Faith and Fact Book'; and the structure is designed to show a Catholic musical continuum from the earliest pre-Christian times to the present.⁵⁶ Thus it is significant, even if factually correct, that the Sarum Rite is described as a 'local manifestation of the Roman Rite in use at the Cathedral of Salisbury.'⁵⁷ The introductory chapter stresses the primary importance of plainchant and Renaissance polyphony, following the lead given by Pius X in *Tra Le Sollecutudini*. The omission of nineteenth-century English contributions to the repertoire, and the belief that no interest was paid to plainchant between the late seventeenth and mid nineteenth centuries, is thus entirely understandable. There is also strong emphasis on 'a juridical code which is intended to have a binding force but, when understood, leaves the composer with all the freedom he could justly claim

⁵⁴ Ibid. 39. For his earlier plainchant ideas see his *The Interpretation of Plainchant: A Preliminary Study*. London. OUP. 1937: 8. Note though that 'this book is designed primarily for Catholic choirmasters who wish to be faithful to the rulings of *Motu Proprio*' (i.e. *Tra Le Sollecutudini*) p. ix.

⁵⁵ Ibid. 134. Bennett Zon: *Plainchant in the Eighteenth Century Roman Catholic Church in England (1737-1834): An examination of surviving printed and manuscript sources, with particular reference to the work of John F. Wade*. Oxford. D.Phil. thesis. 1993. David Hiley: *Western Plainchant: A Handbook*. Oxford. Clarendon Press. 1993: 615-24 dealing with the Medicean Gradual, Neo-Gallican Chant and work in early nineteenth-century France.

⁵⁶ Robertson. 1961: esp. chapter 1, pp. 10-14.

⁵⁷ Ibid. 50.

if he believes music to be the handmaid of the liturgy'.⁵⁸ For instance, with regard to Pius XII's 1955 encyclical *Musica Sacrae Disciplina*, enjoining all Catholics to learn simple plainchant settings of the Ordinary of the Mass, Robertson states that 'it is defeatism of the worst kind to suggest that this direction – one might indeed say, this command – cannot be carried out.'⁵⁹ The echo back to *English Catholic Music* in 1907 is unmistakable. Here, citing *Tra le Solleitudini*, Terry declares: 'The Holy Father has spoken, and matters which are regarded as subjects for discussion have been removed from the region of controversy to the region of obedience'.⁶⁰

English Catholic perceptions then of pre-Vatican II music at the time, as well as later, are flawed. However, because it is irrelevant to Protestant denominations, non-Catholics have not felt able to fill the gap. The essential point is that evidence on the ground has never been systematically studied. Yet the task is now urgent. If the introduction of a vernacular liturgy has made the old music redundant, it is in danger of being lost. It is essential then to cut behind Catholic apologetics to establish what was the *actual* repertoire; and then, using statistical analysis of a database, delineate the balance between its principal components. If this is done, effective use can be made of contemporary writings to explain how and why Catholic music in England developed in the way it did. First, however, it is necessary to describe the historical, liturgical and legislative context in which Catholic musicians operated.

⁵⁸ Ibid. 9.

⁵⁹ Ibid. 43. See also 145 and ch. 11, summarising the contents of the Sacred Congregation of Rites 1958 *Instruction on the Liturgy*.

⁶⁰ Terry 1907: 39-40 and 1931: 2.

Chapter 2: The historical framework

Faith of our fathers! Living still

In spite of dungeon, fire and sword⁶¹

‘Faith of our fathers’, by Frederick William Faber, was one of the most popular - and notorious - hymns of the pre Vatican II era; and it bears witness to the strong sense of history pervading the character of the English Catholic community at that time. It also demonstrates how much music can reflect and promote such attitudes. Any study of English Catholic music then has to be set against an appropriate historical background, though this need not be a comprehensive survey. Rather, what is required is the isolation of factors shaping the compilation, selection and performance of music in the period. However, for this purpose it is necessary to look not just at Catholics in England but at developments on the continent, especially in Rome. This is because events there could shape what happened in England. Moreover a high proportion of the English Catholic musical repertoire was composed by foreigners. It is also necessary to reach back at least as far as the sixteenth century; and not only because that was when many of the characteristics of the Catholic Church were defined. As will be shown later, determined attempts were made in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to revive Renaissance polyphony, and in the same period reforms by the monastery of Solesmes constituted a direct attack on the forms of plainchant developed during the Renaissance.

⁶¹ *WH1912*: No. 138.

A. Aspects in the development of the Catholic Church in Early Modern and Modern Europe

With Europe it is clear that early twentieth-century Catholicism was the product of two sets of developments: the religious upheavals of the sixteenth century and the effects of the French Revolution. As far as the sixteenth century is concerned the three main features are the strengthening of the idea of Papal supremacy, a confrontational approach to the Protestant Reformation and some elements of 'Catholic Reformation' or renewal.

The notion of Papal supremacy - or Ultramontanism - is epitomised by Cardinal Nicholas Wiseman's hymn 'Full in the Panting Heart of Rome',⁶² and was perhaps one of the unexpected results of the Council of Trent, held in 1545-1547, 1551-1552 and 1562-1563. Previously, many had indulged the belief that General Councils could exert an authority above that of the Papacy; but things did not turn out that way. Crucially the decision was taken early on to vote by individuals rather than by nations, giving the Council an Italian, and therefore pro-Papal bias.⁶³ Moreover, in several instances - notably the reorganisation of the Missal and Breviary, as well as the revision of church music - especially plainchant - executive work was left to the Holy See.

On the other hand, such accessions to Papal prestige were balanced by the need to collaborate with secular Catholic powers in areas loyal to the Faith as well as in campaigns to recover territory lost to Protestantism. In return, Catholic rulers used the Church as an instrument for state security and thought-control. This is most obvious in the case of the Spanish kingdoms, where the Inquisition was a department of the crown. Rulers could also

⁶² *WH1912*: No. 139. Some Ultramontanes extended Papal authority to claim that the Pope was infallible, albeit sometimes with varying qualifications. For example Robert Bellarmine in the late sixteenth century stated that the Pope was infallible in matters pertaining to faith and morals. Cuthbert Butler: *The Vatican Council 1869-70*. London. Collins, Fontana library, 1930/1962R 39-42, citing Bellarmine's *Controversies against the heretics of our times*. 1586. It is also worth noting that Ultramontane ideas only attained their fullest development and widest currency during the nineteenth century.

strengthen their power by carefully playing off Papal pretensions against the particularist tendencies of the Catholic Church in their own territories. Louis XIV was an able exponent of such policies. Papal authority underwrote his quasi-divine status as ‘the most Christian King’ and helped justify his persecution of Huguenots and Catholic dissenters like the Jansenists; at other times though, when it suited it him, he promoted the cause of Gallicanism.⁶⁴

Gallicanism itself was not necessarily hostile to the Papacy; but, at the very least, it helped foster a sense of partial autonomy and separate French identity within many parts of the Catholic church in France. The development of new or modified Roman liturgies, often with new plainchant settings, in virtually every French diocese during the eighteenth century was one of the effects. Inevitably this affected Catholic practice in England, especially with the plainchant settings collected and copied by John Francis Wade, since many English Colleges were located on the Continent. Roman liturgical books were used by the English community after Trent, but at the time there was a development of non-liturgical English Gallicanism. It is also interesting to note that Henry Dumont’s plainchant *Messe Royale*, composed during the reign of Louis XIV, remained in regular English use right into the 1920s.⁶⁵

A confrontational approach to the Protestant Reformation was also one of the products of the Council of Trent. As A.G. Dickens noted, on all matters of dogma the Council went out of its way to reject Protestant ideas.⁶⁶ The efficacy of relics, the cult of Saints and the devotion to the Virgin Mary were sustained; all seven sacraments were endorsed, along with

⁶³ Anthony Geoffrey Dickens: *The Counter Reformation*. London. Thames and Hudson. 1968: 109, 124-7, 128-30.

⁶⁴ Gerald R. Cragg: *The Church in the Age of Reason 1648-1789*. London. Penguin Books (Pelican History of the Church vol. 4). 1960/1969R: 17-36. Heyer. 1969: 3-34.

⁶⁵ See for example the publication of it by Desclée et Cie, Tournai in a *Kyrie* of 1924 owned by Pluscarden Abbey, Elgin, Scotland. For an earlier example see the *Graduale Juxta Missale Romanum*. Lyons. J.M. Boursy. 1816: cxxxiii. A copy of this was obtained by Stonyhurst College in 1858. For a discussion of connections between English and French eighteenth-century plainchant see Bennett Zon: *Plainchant in the Eighteenth Century* 1993: 94-5

⁶⁶ Dickens 1968: loc. cit

the doctrine of transubstantiation. The Latin Mass and the special prestige it conferred on priests were thereby upheld, and this in turn fitted in with the idea of a Papal primacy handed down from St Peter. Such primacy could extend to a claim to depose the ungodly ruler, as the bull *Regnans In Excelsis* excommunicating Elizabeth I in 1569 demonstrated.

Such aggressive posturing though had a defensive side. Catholics were told what to believe, and there was a propensity to shield them from outside intellectual - and especially Protestant - contamination picked up through a free interchange of ideas. On the Continent the clearest expressions of this were the institution, following Spanish exemplars, of the Papal Inquisition, and an Index of prohibited books. At a more mundane level rote-learning of approved catechisms was promoted. As John Bossy noted, this in turn exposes a highly utilitarian streak with an emphasis on the parish.⁶⁷ It is at this point that an overlap between the need to confront the Protestant Reformation and Catholic renewal becomes manifest. Thus the Council of Trent ruled that every diocese should have a seminary; a standardised Roman Mass was introduced for use in every region or institution that did not have an independent liturgical tradition of more than two hundred years standing; while active religious orders such as the Franciscans and Dominicans were revitalised and joined by new organisations such as the Oratorians and Jesuits - all committed to working among the laity. In the process, a new social concern for the poor and with education became manifest, especially with communities such as the Society of St Vincent de Paul in seventeenth-century France; and this was to have important implications for nineteenth-century Catholic England.

A particular feature of such policies was the emphasis put on the clear presentation of liturgical texts, and inevitably this had implications for Church music. For example, on

⁶⁷ John Bossy: 'The Counter Reformation and People of Catholic Europe' in ed. Luebke: *The Counter Reformation: The Essential Readings*. London. Blackwells. 1998: 88. As shall be seen a regular parish structure was not formally established in England till 1908.

August 8th, 1562 the Council of Trent decreed that 'the type of music in the divine service, ... should be sung so that the words are more intelligible than the modulations of the music.'

Later, on September 10th, 1562, it was declared that 'all things should indeed be so ordered that Masses, whether they be celebrated with or without singing, may reach tranquilly into the ears and hearts of those who hear them, when everything is executed clearly and at the right speed.'⁶⁸

Such statements do much to explain the development of the style of polyphony associated with the later Palestrina and the drive to simplify plainchant - mainly through the cutting back of long melismas - characteristic of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. For example, prefaces to Palestrina's *Second Book of Masses* (1567), Giovanni Animuccia's *First Book of Masses* (1567) and Vincenzo Ruffo's *Missae Quatuor Concinante ad ritum Concilii Mediolani* (1567) all emphasise the careful attention paid to the presentation of the words.⁶⁹ Likewise Gregory XIII's Papal Brief of Oct. 25th 1577 commissioning Palestrina and Annibale Zoilo to revise the books of plainchant attacked the 'barbarisms, obscurities, contrarieties and superfluities' that had crept in through the negligence of copyists.⁷⁰

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⁶⁸ Robert Hayburn: *Papal Legislation on Sacred Music. 95AD to 1977AD*. Collegeville, Minnesota. The Liturgical Press. 1979: 27.

⁶⁹ Quoted in Piero Weiss and Richard Taruskin: *Music in the Western World: A History in Documents*. New York. Schirmer Books. 1984: 135-136. For further discussion of the care taken by Palestrina, Victoria, Lasso and Byrd over the setting of words see Howard Mayer Brown: *Music in the Renaissance*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey. Prentice-Hall Inc. 1976: 292-3, 301-4, 315 and 327.

⁷⁰ Hayburn 1979: 37-8. A subsequent unnamed report on the work, quoted on page 42, discusses the elimination of melismas to make the text clearer. See also Hiley 1993: 616-18 for discussion and a detailed example (No. X.5.1) comparing Medieval and Medicean versions of the Gradual *Omnes De Saba*.

The decisions made at Trent formed a blueprint for the next two centuries of Catholic development in Europe. However, in the late eighteenth century they were significantly modified by the impact of the French Revolution.⁷¹ This had two long-term effects. First, it gave the Catholic church a suspicion of liberalism and nationalism; second, partly as a consequence of this, it destroyed its alliance with secular Catholic states, although concordats were signed with many foreign governments throughout the nineteenth century, including France, Bavaria, Prussia and the Austrian Empire. Nevertheless the weakening of such ties between church and state gave full rein to the Ultramontane Papal supremacist elements inherent in the decisions made at Trent.

The French Revolution was marked by savage persecution and temporary despoliation of the French Church; and this had been preceded by steps taken by Enlightenment rulers such as Joseph II of Austria to cut back the powers and privileges of the Catholic church in their territories.⁷² The conclusion drawn was that Liberalism and Enlightenment ideas were dangerous because they were seen as the harbingers of violent change. Conservatives then sought a backward-looking reconnection with the past; and this, as Abbot Prosper Guéranger demonstrated at Solesmes, could involve a revival of monasticism and a reform of the plainchant with which it was associated.⁷³ During and after the Revolutionary Wars though these implications were not entirely clear. On the one hand, the Catholic Church emerged as an ally for ancien regime-type monarchies against Revolutionary forces. The composition of

⁷¹ For a full modern account see Owen Chadwick: *The Popes and the European Revolution*. Oxford. Clarendon Press (Oxford History of the Christian Church series). 1981.

⁷² Friederich Heyer, trans. D. Shaw: *The Catholic Church from 1648 to 1870*. London. A. and C. Black. 1969: 94-104. J. Derek Holmes: *The Triumph of the Holy See: A Short History of the Papacy in the Nineteenth Century*. London. Burns and Oates. 1978: 23-42. Frank J. Coppa: *The Modern Papacy since 1789*. London and New York. Longman. 1998: 17-32 deals with this from the Papal perspective. For details of the effects of the Enlightenment and French Revolution on European monasticism see Derek Beales: *Prosperity and Plunder, European Catholic monasteries in the Age of Revolution, 1650-1815*. Cambridge. CUP. 2003: 179-228 (Enlightenment), 231-69 (French Revolution in France), 270-90 (French Revolution outside France).

Haydn's masses and their popularity in Catholic England in the early nineteenth century is thus symptomatic. Such works had been discouraged under the Enlightenment regime of Joseph II in the 1780s. Indeed Haydn wrote no Masses between 1782 and 1796. Now however they could be regarded as an expression of the Anglo-Austrian alliance against Revolutionary France. The association of the *Missa In Angustiis* with Nelson, who actually heard it on his return to England via Austria after the Battle of the Nile, shows the connection particularly clearly.⁷⁴ It is therefore interesting to note that British pressure, fomented by Cardinal Consalvi through the good offices of Bishop William Poynter, Vicar Apostolic of the London District, helped restore the Papal States at the Congress of Vienna in 1814-1815.⁷⁵ Meanwhile in France many Catholics, especially exiled clergy returning from Britain, became strong supporters of the restored Bourbon monarchy in what was known as the 'throne and altar' movement.⁷⁶

On the other hand, Revolutionary events encouraged Catholics to look to the Pope for protection from state encroachments. For example, as early as 1799 the future pope Gregory XVI published his book *Il Trionfo Della Sancta Sede*; which was reprinted in Germany in 1833.⁷⁷ Here then lie the origins of nineteenth-century Ultramontanism. The question was whether it would move in a liberal or a conservative direction. Félicité de Lammenais and his followers, through the journal *L'Avenir*, advocated the former. The state was not simply a

⁷³ Katherine Bergeron: *Decadent Enchantments: The Revival of Gregorian Chant at Solesmes*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London. University of California Press. 1998: 2-15. In Guéranger's case such attitudes were also fuelled by his interest in the early church.

⁷⁴ Howard Robbins Landon: *Haydn: Chronicle and Works. The Years of The Creation. 1796-1800*. London. Thames and Hudson. 1977: 328. Howard Robbins Landon and David Wyn Jones: *Haydn: His Life and Music*. London. Thames and Hudson. 1988: 339-340. See also the Catalogue of works giving the dates when Haydn's Masses were composed by Georg Feder in Ed. Stanley Sadie: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. London. Macmillan. 2001 (2nd edition). Vol. 11: 205-6. As shall be seen Haydn's Masses remained popular with English Catholics throughout the century. See chapter 8, section A.

⁷⁵ Coppa 1998: 51.

⁷⁶ Heyer 1969: 131-2. Holmes 1978: 66-7.

potential threat for Catholics, but for all individuals. Therefore Catholics and liberals should unite in a common cause. The Church should not be tied to the State; instead there should be an alliance between Papacy and people.⁷⁸

Conservatives though considered such ideas to be self-contradictory. You could not be a liberal free-thinking individualist and accept the notion of hierarchical obedience to an infallible Papacy. It was also difficult to accept the notion of toleration for heretics. Liberalism had associations with nationalism; it could therefore be an ally of the secular state. Moreover, as noted earlier, its Enlightenment antecedents were regarded as being among the causes of the French Revolution.

Such dilemmas were resolved by the Revolutions of 1830 and 1848. After 1830 the French Church ceased to be recognised as the official Church. The nation-state then became an enemy for Catholics; so there was no need for Gallicanism and the way was left open for the Ultramontane cause. In any case, throughout the early nineteenth century, the Papacy remained hostile to the survival of Gallicanism in France. At the same time though Lammenais's vision of a liberal-Papal alliance was rejected, both by French Gallican bishops and by Rome in 1831.⁷⁹ Henceforth Ultramontanism would be conservative. These decisions were confirmed by the revolutions of 1848. In Italy they demonstrated that nationalism, in the form of the reunification of Italy, was a threat to the Papal States, hitherto always regarded as a *sine qua non* for the political freedom of the Pope. As a result, Pius IX was transformed from a liberal into an arch conservative.⁸⁰ Any doubts on this score were removed by the events of 1870-1. Italian unification was completed with the liquidation of the Papal States,

⁷⁷ Heyer 1969: 132-5. Holmes 1978: 62-5. Alan R. Vidler: *The Church in an Age of Revolution*. London. Penguin Books (The Pelican History of the Church No. 5). 1961/R1971: 16-20. Another important presenter of such views was Joseph Du Maistre.

⁷⁸ Heyer 1969: 136-7. Holmes 1978: 95-6.

⁷⁹ Heyer 1969: 138. Holmes 1978: 90-92. Vidler R1971: 68-76.

⁸⁰ Coppa 1998: 98-106, 112-3. Heyer 1969: 155-6. Holmes 1978: 132-33.

while the promulgation of the Second German Empire was followed by the *Kulturkampf* movement against the Catholic Church there.⁸¹ Meanwhile in France the defeat in the Franco-Prussian War led to the creation of a hostile Third Republic. In the 1880s and 1900s French governments broke the Church's domination of the education system, drove numerous religious orders into exile and finally, in 1904, formally severed all remaining ties between the Church and State.⁸² Among the exiled communities were the monks of Solesmes, who settled at Appuldurcombe and Quarr on the Isle of Wight. This explains why, at precisely the time when the future of plainchant was being thrashed out in the controversy over the Vatican editions, many of its leading protagonists were based in England.

The implications of such political developments were stark. Catholicism was to be a purely spiritual power; and the Catholic faith was merely to be one of many tolerated within a plural secular state. It is significant that even so fervent an Ultramontane as Cardinal Manning, Archbishop of Westminster, recognised this.⁸³ In this sense the English Catholic scene, hitherto regarded as atypical in a Europe dominated by countries where Catholicism had formerly been the official state religion, was to be the model for other countries with large Catholic populations to follow in the twentieth century. On the other hand, at the same time, with the possible exception of Tsarist Russia, it remained unusual in that English Catholics continued to face an established state church.

Yet Papal responses, especially those of Pius IX and Pius X, show that this new situation was either not understood or rejected. In 1870 the First Vatican Council declared the Pope to be infallible, making it difficult for the Vatican subsequently to admit mistakes.⁸⁴ Secondly the defensive siege mentality noted earlier was reinforced, especially in the face of

⁸¹ Coppa 1998: 74, 78-95. Heyer 1969: 151-52.

⁸² Holmes 1978: 224-57.

⁸³ Jeffrey van Arx: 'Archbishop Manning and the *Kulturkampf*.' *Henry Edward Manning (1808-1892): RH*. 21/2 (Oct. 1992): 254-66.

challenges from atheism, scientific methods of investigation, and perceptions of growing materialism. A new Syllabus of Errors was issued in 1864, the Modernist movement of the 1890s was suffocated, and a greater degree of standardised control exerted across the system.⁸⁵ For example, a sustained campaign was launched to eliminate secular elements in music; and a Papal monopoly was granted to Friederich Pustet's series of plainchant books in 1871. However, it is important to recognise that the impetus came as much from pressure groups below as well as from above, as the musical activities of the Cecilian Societies and the abbey of Solesmes demonstrate.⁸⁶ On a broader front this can be seen with the rising tide of popular adulation for the Pope; which was consciously linked with the further development of devotions to the Immaculate Conception and other Marian cults.⁸⁷

The overall effect was paradoxical. In most countries Catholicism may have lost its privileged status vis-à-vis the state; but this enabled the Papacy to assert greater authority over the clergy, especially with episcopal appointments, and untrammelled by political interference in a manner rarely seen before. Global expansion, necessitating the creation of new hierarchies, furthered the process, as did the communications revolution. Railways enabled far more Catholics to visit or be summoned to Rome.⁸⁸ For instance, about 700 bishops, 120 of them from English speaking countries, attended the First Vatican Council.

⁸⁴ Heyer 1969: 186-93. Holmes 1978: 150-158.

⁸⁵ Holmes 1978: 145-50 and 263-71. Vidler R1971: 147-156. Modernism, closely associated in England with George Tyrell, involved the application of objective critical scholarly methods of research to the study of Theology. For brief accounts of its development and suppression see Coppa 1998: 141-42, Holmes 1978: 263-65 and Vidler R1971: 179-89.

⁸⁶ Hayburn 1979: 148-67 (Ratisbon books); 172-74 (Congress of Arezzo's support of Solesmes plainchant; 175-83 and 189-91 (Solesmes' campaign in Rome), 205-46 (Pius X's thinking, esp. his attacks on secular elements in music. Hayburn though denies that Pius was in the hands of pressure groups). For further details on these topics see chs. 4 and 7.

⁸⁷ Holmes 1978: 138-41. The linkage between Papal adulation and Mariology is discussed on page 134 as well as in Coppa. 1998: 98.

⁸⁸ Coppa 1998: 97-98. Holmes 1978: 183-186, 190.

The telegraph, and in the twentieth century the wireless, strengthened connections still further. Wiseman's hymn 'Full in the Panting Heart of Rome' expresses the idea exactly.⁸⁹

Verse 1 describes how:

Full in the panting heart of Rome,
Beneath the Apostle's crowning dome [a reference to St Peter's basilica]
From pilgrim's lips that kiss the ground,
Breathes in all tongues only one sound:
"God bless our Pope, the great, the good.

Next, having described the scene within 'the Vatican's majestic halls', Verse 3 states:

Then surging through each hallowed gate,
Where martyrs glory, in peace await,
It sweeps beyond the solemn plain,
Peals over the Alps, across the main.
"God bless our Pope, the great, the good.

Finally, in verse 5:

For like the sparks of unseen fire
That speak along the magic wire [a reference to the telegraph]
From home to home, from heart to heart,
These words of countless children dart:
"God bless our Pope, the great, the good."

Thus, as Gregory XVI had foreseen, the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries witnessed a 'triumph of the Holy See'; but it was a triumph in a religious, not a political sense.⁹⁰ The Papacy had no real impact on events surrounding the two world wars or the peace settlements that followed,⁹¹ but it was slow to accept the implications of such shifts in political power. The question of the Papal States was not resolved till 1929, when the Vatican

⁸⁹ *WH1912: No. 139.*

⁹⁰ Holmes 1978: 290.

⁹¹ Coppa 1998: 154-69, 177-97.

City was created under the Lateran Treaty. Likewise a final accommodation with the French government over the restitution of property secularised in 1906 was not reached till 1941.⁹² Yet, if it found that it could not do business with secular governments that opposed it, the Papacy often discouraged the formation of Catholic political parties that might have been able to extract better concessions earlier on. After all, lay Catholic politicians might turn out to be too independent. Clerical authoritarianism combined with an adversarial attitude towards those with different points of view remained the hallmarks of the Papacy up to Vatican II.

B. Aspects in the development of the Catholic Church in England 1559-1962

English Catholic history can be divided into three eras: a Recusant period between the establishment of the Elizabethan church settlement in 1559 and the first Catholic Relief Act of 1778; a period of transition from that time till the more or less full granting of Catholic Emancipation in 1829; and a period of expansion that followed up to the Second Vatican Council in 1962. The latter can be subdivided into three parts by the restoration of a full episcopal hierarchy in 1850 and by the papal constitution *Sapienti Consilio* of 1908 declaring that England was no longer a mission territory and would henceforth have a normal parish organisation.⁹³

The Recusant period takes its name from those Catholics who refused ('recusare') to conform to the Anglican Church. It is an era of disinheritance and disconnection. Catholics were driven out of the medieval English church and forced to set up their own organisation. In one sense then they occupied the same position as other Nonconformist denominations.

⁹² Coppa 1998: 172-3, 175-6. Holmes 1978: 183-91.

⁹³ Sheridan Gilley: 'The Years of Equipoise: 1892-1943' in ed. Vivian A. McClelland and Michael Hodgetts: *From without the Flaminian Gate: 150 Years of Catholicism in England and Wales. 1850-2000*. London. Darton, Longman and Todd. 1999: 344-5. Edward Norman: *The English Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century*. London. Clarendon Press. 1984: 69-75 and 106-8.

The difference of course lay in their ties with the Papacy; and, unlike with Catholics on the Continent, such a relationship was untrammelled by association with a Church officially recognised by the State.

Connections with the Papacy immediately raised the question of loyalty, and there was also the persistent fear that a revived Catholicism would enforce the restitution of dissolved monastic lands.⁹⁴ The Papal excommunication of Elizabeth I in 1569 thus acted as the trigger for a spate of punitive legislation forcing waverers to choose between the Anglican and Catholic communions; and, if they chose the latter, if nothing else to keep a low profile. It was unlawful for a priest to enter the country or say Mass; it was illegal for Catholics to shelter them or keep Catholic objects and literature; and a refusal to attend Anglican church services could be penalised by swingeing fines. Catholics were also excluded from entering the professions, running schools, or, after 1673, from holding government office. Later obstacles were placed in the way of them bequeathing or inheriting property.⁹⁵

Had the law been consistently enforced it is unlikely that Catholicism could have survived in England. Instead, in normal times, local magistrates were often reluctant to prosecute their Catholic neighbours; and statute was often seen as a weapon only to be used in times of national emergency.⁹⁶ As it was, the efficiency of the Anglican Church and the Tudor

⁹⁴ This remained an issue as late as 1688. John Miller: *Popery and Politics in England 1660-1688*. Cambridge. CUP. 1973: 71.

⁹⁵ See for example the following anti-Catholic statutes, in addition to the ones mentioned so far: The Act of Treason 5 Eliz. Cap 1 (1570), the Act to retain the Queen's subjects in obedience 23 Eliz. Cap 23 (1581), the Act against Seditious Acts and Rumours 23 Eliz. Cap 2 (1581), the Act for the surety of the Queen's person 27 Eliz. Cap 1 (1585), the Act against Popish Recusants 35 Eliz. Cap 2 (1593), the Act for the discovery and repressing of Popish Recusants. 3 and 4 James. Cap 4 (1606), the Act to prevent dangers from Popish Recusants 3 and 4 James I. Cap 5 (1606), the first Test Act. 25 Car II Cap 2, the second Test Act 30 Car. II. Cap 1 (1678), and the Act against Popery. 11 William III. Cap 4 (1700).

⁹⁶ For an account of the operations of the law see Miller 1973: 51-66.

regime in different regions determined the Catholic geographical and social balance.⁹⁷ In the South and East it was reduced to pockets around the households of the Recusant gentry; in the North and West, Catholics were more numerous, especially in Lancashire.

At the same time, to cope with persecution, a new decentralised system with dual control was developed, initially by the Society of Jesus, then by other religious orders and secular priests. Under this administration priests were trained in seminaries - most of them English - on the Continent and then distributed - mainly through gentry households - in provinces across the country.⁹⁸ Since the gentry provided most of the money and protection through these households it was they who exerted effective control, and under their influence some places became centres of musical excellence. William Byrd's activity for the Petre family is a notable example.⁹⁹

In addition, for much of the seventeenth century the Stuart court, especially the entourage of Henrietta Maria and Catherine de Braganza, Charles I's and Charles II's Catholic queens, provided a focus for religious activity. This had a musical expression, since works performed in the Queen's chapel and that of the Catholic James II used the latest *Secunda Pratica* styles from Italy, providing models for English Catholic composers such as Richard Dering (c. 1580-1630) to follow. It was through these channels that such music was

⁹⁷ For a discussion of the issue see John Bossy: *The English Catholic Community 1570-1850*. London. Darton, Longman and Todd. 1975: 78-107, 182-194, 405-13 and 423-7. For the period 1570-1688 Bossy starts from the theoretical premise that since the English Catholic Church was a 'new' foundation, therefore numbers start at zero leading to a picture of continuous expansion. If though you accept Christopher Haigh's view that there is continuity with the Medieval past, then you start with the vast majority of English people being Catholics in 1559 and the numbers are steadily whittled down in succeeding decades. Haigh also suggests that Priests' dependence on protection from Catholic gentry meant that disproportionate numbers were sent to the South and East while the North and West were relatively neglected, leading to unnecessary Catholic 'wastage' in these areas - especially Wales and the Lake District. Christopher Haigh: 'The Continuity of Catholicism in the English Reformation'. *PP*. 93 (November 1981): 37-69.

⁹⁸ The most important seminaries for Secular Priests were at Douai (founded 1567), the English College in Rome (1577), Valladolid (1589), Lisbon and Seville. Jesuit establishments were at Liege, Louvain, Watten, and Ghent. Male Benedictine houses were founded at Dieulouard (1606), Douai (1605), Chelles (1611), Paris (1615), St Malo (1611) Lambspring (in Germany) (1644).

⁹⁹ John Harlay: *William Byrd: Gentleman of the Chapel Royal*. Aldeshot: Scolar Press. 1997: 141-4. For a discussion of the influence of the gentry see Bossy. 1975: 149-81.

introduced to England and survived the Civil War and Interregnum, thanks to the efforts of Christopher Hatton III (1605-70), George Jeffreys (c. 1610-85), Henry Lawes (1596-1662) and Matthew Locke (1622-77). Ultimately, after the Restoration, it had an important influence on music by Henry Purcell (1659-1695).¹⁰⁰ When James II was driven into exile by the Revolution of 1688 his court, and that of his son, James III (the 'Old Pretender') at Saint-Germain-en laye and Urbino remained an important centre of Catholic activity. Once again the latest Italian music and, for that matter, French styles, which had gained a foothold at the court of Charles II, was an important aspect of this. Francois Couperin (1668-1733) was regularly employed there between 1692 and 1712. It has also been argued by Bennett Zon that the hymn *Adeste Fideles* may be a coded expression of Jacobite propaganda.¹⁰¹

On the other hand, in contrast to such symptoms of positive achievement, the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were marred by a series of vicious disputes between secular and regular clergy - notably the Wisbech Stirs and the Archpriest Controversy - which had damaging effects that lasted right into the late nineteenth century.¹⁰² Such disputes

¹⁰⁰ Richard Dering was Henrietta Maria's chapel organist. Matthew Locke also worked at her household in the 1650s during her exile in the Netherlands. Dering's compositions were revived by Richard Terry in performances at Westminster Cathedral between 1917 and 1922. Andrews 1948: 124-5 and 130. For full details of the introduction and survival of Italian seventeenth-century music see Jonathan P. Wainwright: *Musical patronage in seventeenth-century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton 1605-1670*. Aldershot. Scolar Press 1997. See also the CDs *Queen of Heavenly Virtue: Sacred Music for Henrietta Maria's Chapel in Oxford*. Concertare. Dir. Jonathan P. Wainwright. Isis Records CD023 1997 and *A Music Strange: Anthems and Devotional Songs by George Jeffreys*. Yvonne Seymour et al, dir. P. Aston. Merlin Records 1980/R1995. For details about Matthew Locke see Anthony Lewis: 'English Church Music' in Ian Spink: *The Blackwell History of Music in Britain: The Seventeenth Century*. Oxford. Blackwells. 1992: 506-12. For Italian Catholic influences on Purcell see Graham Dixon: 'Purcell's Italianate Circle' and Jonathan P. Wainwright: 'Purcell and the English Baroque' in ed. Richard Burden: *The Purcell Companion*. London. Faber and Faber. 1995: 38-51 and 21-37.

¹⁰¹ Music at James II's and James III's courts is discussed by Edward Corp: 'The Court as a centre of Italian music' in Edward Corp et al: *A Court in exile: the Stuarts in France 1689-1718*. Cambridge. CUP 2004: 234-56. See also his 'Music at the Stuart Court at Urbino 1717-1718'. *MusL* 81/3 (August 2000): 351-63. For Jacobite readings of *Adeste Fideles* see Bennett Zon: 'Plainchant in the eighteenth-century English Catholic Church'. *RH* 21/3 (May 1993): 373.

¹⁰² Ed. P. Renold: *The Wisbech Stirs 1595-1598*. CRS. 51 (1958). Comp. Raymond Stanfield: 'The Archpriest Controversy' in *Miscellanea XII*. CRS 22 (1921): 132-87. John Warner, ed. T.A. Birrell, trans. John Bligh: *The History of the English Persecution of Catholics and the Presbyterian Plot* CRS. 47 & 48 (1953 & 1955) is a contemporary Jesuit account of the effects such jealousies had during the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis of 1678-1682.

concerned not just matters of internal ecclesiastical organisation; they extended to the relationship between Catholics and the English government. Some secular priests thought it might be possible to negotiate an oath of allegiance to the state while allowing Catholics freedom of worship. In turn this meant that limitations on what the government regarded as foreign Papal control had to be imposed through the selection of an English bishop by a semi-autonomous Chapter or committee representing the interests of the secular clergy. Naturally, such a scheme was unacceptable to the Papacy and religious orders, especially the Society of Jesus, who prided themselves on their loyalty to the Holy See. It also conflicted with gentry interests, since it involved relinquishing to any such bishop their de facto control over clerical appointments to their households. The result was that, up till the appointment of four Vicars Apostolic in 1688, there was no effective form of episcopal control; and even after that date the influence they could exert over religious orders was very limited.

Nevertheless, the system of dual control and training ensured that an otherwise highly circumscribed clergy kept in touch with the international Catholic scene on the Continent. In addition, the foundation overseas of nunneries and schools such as the Jesuit-run St Omers College (which in the early seventeenth century had a formidable musical tradition) coupled with the social effects of the Grand Tour, produced the same effects for the Catholic gentry and some women.¹⁰³

The effects of disconnection and disinheritance were long-lasting. For example, in the nineteenth century they surface in the text of Bishop Ambrose Burton's hymn 'Lover of Christ's Immortal Bride'. This is a summary of events from the conversion of Anglo-Saxon

¹⁰³ Thomas Muir: *Stonyhurst College 1593-1993*. London. James and James. 1992. Chs. 1, 2 and 3. For musical details see page 32. For examples of the activities of English Catholic nunneries on the Continent see *In a great tradition: The life of Dame Laurentia McLachlan by the Benedictines of Stanbrook*. New York/London: Harper and Bros./John Murray. 1956: 3-33.

England up to his own lifetime.¹⁰⁴ The desire to reconnect with the medieval past is also exemplified by the 'Downside Movement' for the reform of the English Benedictine Congregation in the 1880s and 1890s.¹⁰⁵ Meanwhile, disinheritance fuelled a determination to recover losses and dethrone the Anglican Church as the dominant denomination through conversions, as verses from the hymn 'Faith of Our Fathers' illustrate.

Faith of Our Fathers! Mary's prayers
Shall win our country back to thee;
And through the truth that comes from God
England shall then indeed be free.

Note though that the hymn, especially the opening lines quoted at the start of this chapter, also contains reminders of past persecutions. The didactic purpose then is defensive as well as offensive. Memories of persecution were a tool for confirming Catholics in their faith and in reinforcing their sense as a separate beleaguered community.

* * * * *

In 1778, however, a new phase opened with the first Catholic Relief Act (18 George III Cap. 60), allowing Catholics a limited freedom of worship, the ability to establish schools and the right to convey property. In addition, by requiring Catholics to pray for the monarch at Mass, it signalled the end of their ties with the Jacobite cause. Musically, this resulted in the composition of several settings of the *Domine Salvum Fac* text during the course of the next century.¹⁰⁶ In 1791 a second Relief Act (31 George III Cap. 33) allowed Catholics to build chapels (provided they did not have a steeple) and admitted them to the professions. Restrictions on the size of chapels, however, placed limitations on the scope available for

¹⁰⁴ *WH1912*: No. 249.

¹⁰⁵ Aidan Bellenger: 'The English Benedictines: the search for a monastic identity' in ed. Judith Loades: *Monastic Studies: The continuity of tradition*. Bangor. Headstart History. 1990: 299-321.

¹⁰⁶ B.C.Foley: *Some other people of the penal times: Aspects of a unique social and religious phenomenon*. Lancaster, Cathedral Bookshop, 1991, Appendix 16 ('Directions from the Vicars Apostolic following the First Catholic Relief Act'): 185.

liturgical music. Finally, after much negotiation, complete freedom of worship was granted by the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 (10 George IV Cap. 7).¹⁰⁷ During this period there were three major developments. (1) Between 1773 and 1815 the Society of Jesus was suppressed, resulting in a temporary weakening of their administrative system. However, despite this, in the guise of 'The Gentlemen of Liège' and 'The Gentlemen of Stonyhurst' the English Province continued to operate in disguised form, enabling them to engage in substantial musical activity at Stonyhurst from 1811 onwards.¹⁰⁸ (2) The French Revolutionary Wars, temporarily at least, curtailed the international dimension of English Catholicism. Yet, at the same time, the arrival of thousands of exiled French Catholic clergy gave a temporary boost to English Catholicism, especially since it underlined the point that Catholics and other Englishmen had a common cause against the French Revolutionary government.¹⁰⁹ As far as the Catholic aristocracy were concerned, wartime restrictions did not prevent them from maintaining close connections with the colleges and seminaries where so many were educated. This was because, in most cases, they were driven to take permanent refuge in England.¹¹⁰ Moreover, if it proved harder to travel abroad, they could continue to pay periodic visits to London. As a result, in terms of music, the wars enhanced the effects of cross-fertilisation between embassy chapels in London, gentry household centres, and the big seminaries and colleges, especially Stonyhurst and Ushaw. For instance publications by

¹⁰⁷ Norman 1984: 35, 63-6. The 1829 Catholic Emancipation Act though prohibited religious orders from taking new recruits. However this prohibition was never enforced.

¹⁰⁸ The Society was formally restored by the Papacy in 1815; but this was not formally recognised in England by the Vicars Apostolic till 1829. A full description and discussion of English Jesuit vicissitudes at this time is given in Muir 1992: 60-72, 83-7. For their early musical activities at Stonyhurst see Muir 2002: 279-82.

¹⁰⁹ Aidan Bellenger: *The French Exiled Clergy in the British Isles after 1789: A Historical Introduction and Working List*. Bath. Downside Abbey. 1986.

¹¹⁰ For instance members of the seminary at Douai settled at Ushaw, Nr Durham and St Edmund's, Ware; the Jesuit school and seminary from Liege (before that the school had been at St Omer and Bruges) came to Stonyhurst; Benedictines from Dieulouard and Douai settled at Ampleforth and Downside; while those from Paris moved to the old Benedictine premises at Douai. This community finally left for Woolhampton, nr. Reading - but retained the name of Douai - in 1903.

Samuel Webbe the Elder and Vincent Novello, who worked at the Sardinian and Portuguese embassy chapels respectively, can be found at Ushaw, Stonyhurst and the Constable-Maxwell household chapel at Everingham, in East Yorkshire.¹¹¹ The male members of the Constable-Maxwell family all went to Stonyhurst. Novello's collection of *Twelve Easy Masses calculated for small choirs*, copies of which survive at Stonyhurst and Ushaw, is dedicated to James Everard, Lord Arundell of Wardour Castle; and he, an ex-pupil of Stonyhurst, left his entire library to the College in 1837.¹¹² Similarly the sole surviving manuscript of one of Thomas Arne's two masses, which we know from the Mawhood Diary were performed at the Sardinian and Bavarian Embassy chapels, surfaced at Thomas Weld's chapel at Lulworth in Dorset; and it was Thomas Weld who was responsible for bringing the Jesuits to Stonyhurst.¹¹³

(3) The negotiations for emancipation exposed divisions between the Cisalpine and Ultramontane wings of the English Catholic community. The Cisalpine Club, formed in 1792, while including some clergy amongst its supporters, by and large represented the interests of the Catholic aristocracy. Like some secular priests in the seventeenth century they believed that the best way to achieve freedom of worship was to negotiate an oath of allegiance to the state coupled with limitations on Papal authority over English Catholics. Moreover, as shall be seen in chapter 3, in their concern to show the compatibility between

¹¹¹ See the contents of the *Bar Convent (Everingham table)*, *Stonyhurst* and *Ushaw* databases. For a late example, a copy of *Plainchant for the chief Masses and Vespers...compiled for the use of W-D-R Chapel* published by J.P. Coghlan in 1787 now held out Douai is signed 'J.Crookall, Wardour Castle, April 9th, 1856'. Given that Crookall directed all the music at the seminary of St Edmunds, Ware, this shows a direct connection between that institution, a gentleman's household and the London ex-embassy chapel scene with which Coghlan, who was a subscriber to Samuel Webbe the elder's *A Collections of Motets and Antiphons* (London, J. Jones, 1785), had been intimately connected.

¹¹² *Twelve Easy Masses calculated for small choirs*. London. Vincent Novello. 1816.

¹¹³ John P. Rowntree. 'Lulworth Chapel and a missing Arne Mass' *MT*. 128. 1987: 347-9. Ed. Reynolds, *The Mawhood Diary 1724-1797*. 1956: pp. 34, 36, 46 for performances of Arne's Mass in 1770, 1771, and 1773. Muir 1992: 71-72, 74 and 84 for gifts and sales to the College by the Weld family. For further details of the musical connections see Muir 2002: 280-1.

Catholicism and English society, some were prepared to experiment with vernacular elements in the liturgy. Ultramontanes, due to their emphasis on Papal supremacy and the way it underwrote clerical authority, would have none of this. The passage of the Catholic Emancipation Act without such limitations (other than the denial of any Papal power to depose the government or claim any form of temporal or civil jurisdiction) therefore marked a shift in the balance of power away from the gentry to the clergy. Partly this was due to an alliance between John Milner, Vicar Apostolic of the Midland District, and the Irish Catholic leadership; but it was also because during the eighteenth century, and especially after the passage of the Catholic Relief Acts, the Catholic population in towns steadily grew. By definition, the new urban missions that were being established in the towns were less likely to be amenable to control by a rural Catholic aristocracy. Moreover, as John Bossy has shown, the senior clergy were successful in defeating any nascent attempts by prominent laity, in the manner of Nonconformist churches, to exert effective control over priestly appointments and religious policy in these new congregations.¹¹⁴

The full effects of these developments though only became apparent after Emancipation. The basic theme is one of expansion; not just of numbers, but in bread-and-butter operations to create a national infrastructure of churches, schools, guilds and other supporting confraternities, reinforced by a massive influx of aid from foreign religious orders, many of which had been founded in France during the seventeenth century.

Table 2.1 Catholic numbers

1851: 252,783 (source: National Religious Census)¹¹⁵
 1913: 1,793,038 (source: *Catholic Directory*)

¹¹⁴ These issues are fully discussed in Bossy. 1975: 282-6 (Catholic population in the eighteenth century), 322-30 (the decline of the Catholic gentry), 330-37 (the role of the Catholic gentry and clergy in the emancipation negotiations). See also Norman 1984: 45-64. In his discussion of the oath in the Catholic Emancipation Act Norman notes that Catholics were also required to 'abjure any intention to subvert the present church establishment settled by law'.

¹¹⁵ Norman (1984: 203-6) reckons though that this is a gross underestimate, based as it is on Mass attendances on a single day in March that year. According to him 700,000 would be nearer the mark.

Table 2.2 Numbers of Catholic clergy and churches: 1850-1900¹¹⁶

Date	No. of Priests	No. of Churches
1850	788	587
1870	1528	1152
1900	2812	1529

Of particular significance was the arrival of the Irish. For example at the mission of St Cuthbert, Durham they caused a tripling of the Catholic congregation in under twenty years:

Table 2.3. The Catholic congregation at St Cuthbert, Durham.¹¹⁷

Year	Easter Communions	Estimated Population
1848	411	1220
1852	526	1307
1855	675	1460
1861	1100	2425

The result was that the existing shift in the centre of gravity towards the towns was reinforced; and the musical evidence reflects this. In effect, major urban churches gradually superseded rural aristocratic chapels as centres of music’ whilst in London itself the former embassy chapels were increasingly challenged by centres such as the Church of the Immaculate Conception, Farm Street or the Brompton Oratory.¹¹⁸ In addition, as shall be shown in chapter 12, the whole scene came to be dominated by large publishing companies, especially Novellos. However, this did not mean that the embassy chapel traditions were neglected. On the contrary some of its repertoire was retained and adapted during the nineteenth century. For example the collection of music from St Cuthbert’s church, Durham

¹¹⁶ Norman, citing data from issues of the *Catholic Directory*. 1984: 205-6. For data of the financial costs see pp. 78-81; for education see pp. 181-3.

¹¹⁷ J.M.Tweedy: *Popish Elvet: The History of St Cuthbert’s, Durham*. Durham. Private publication. N.d. Part 1: 132-35. See also the graphs on page 126 and 128.

¹¹⁸ The passage of Catholic relief acts reduced the need for chapels attached to the embassies of Catholic powers, and they were gradually replaced by regular missions. Thus in 1788 the site of the Bavarian embassy was purchased for the erection of the chapel of Our Lady of the Assumption and St Gregory; the Sardinian chapel ceased to be part of the Sardinian embassy in 1788, and was re-opened the following year supported by public subscription and contributions from the King of Sardinia. However in both cases they retained their former names. The Portuguese chapel closed in 1829. Philip Olleson: ‘The London Roman Catholic Embassy Chapels and their Music in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries’ in ed. David Wyn Jones: *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. Aldershot, Ashgate, 2000: 103-4.

contains works by Samuel Webbe the elder, Joachim De Natividad, Peter Von Winter, John Danby, Stephen Paxton, Henry Nixon, Joseph Haydn, Wolfgang Mozart and many other composers associated with the London embassy chapel tradition.¹¹⁹ The presence of works by Luigi Cherubini and Carl Maria von Weber shows how extensions from this Classical style were being picked up here too. Natividad's *Mass in F* also appears in a manuscript alto part book from St Mary and St Michael's church, Garstang (near Preston), along with an anonymous 'Portuguese' *Ave Maria* (associated, naturally enough, with the Portuguese Embassy Chapel) and a *Magnificat in C* by Charles Barbandt, an earlier embassy chapel musician.¹²⁰ Similarly the collection of music owned by a 'Miss Oldfield', an organist in Bradford and at St Ignatius' church, Preston in the 1870s contains seven works by Webbe the elder (including four Masses), Danby, Winter, Haydn and Novello.¹²¹ In a different fashion, the fortunes of Novello's own editions confirm the changing picture. His first publication, *A Collection of Sacred Music* (1811), states directly that this was music performed at the Portuguese Embassy Chapel, where Novello worked; and the subscription list includes names from the Catholic aristocratic families as well as Jesuits working at Stonyhurst.¹²² This then was the market he was aiming at in these and subsequent publications. However, under the management of his son, Joseph Alfred Novello, many appeared as new editions, notably in the *Cheap Musical Classics* series inaugurated in 1849. Examples include *The Celebrated Arrangement of Haydn's Masses*; *The Celebrated Arrangement of Mozart's Masses*; as well

¹¹⁹ Source: Database: *Cuthbert*. Table **Cuthbert (w)**. Many of these composers are listed in the catalogue of manuscript music held at the Church of Our Lady of the Assumption and St Gregory, Warwick St, London (the lineal descendent of the Bavarian Embassy Chapel) given at the back of Rosemary Darby: *The Music of the Roman Catholic Embassy Chapels in London. 1765-1825*. Manchester University (stored in the John Rylands Library) Mus. M. Oct. 1984: 142-6. These were copied into, as well as from publications prepared by Vincent Novello and Samuel Webbe. I have been told by Fiona Palmer (Queens University, Belfast) that the list is incomplete.

¹²⁰ Source: Database: *Talbot*. Table **Garstang(w)**. Barbandt worked at the Bavarian and Portuguese embassy chapels. His compositions were originally published in *Hymni Sacri, Antiphonae, et Versiculi* in 1766. Darby. 1984: 9.

¹²¹ Source: Database: *Talbot*. Table **Oldfield(w)**.

as Vincent Novello's editions (with full keyboard realisations) of Webbe's *A Collection of Sacred Music* and *A Collection of Motets and Antiphons* which originally had been published in 1785 and 1791 respectively. As the series title suggests, the emphasis was on cheap mass production. That meant that urban Catholic choirs and the Choral Society movement were the principal commercial targets.

At the same time music from the major Seminaries also came to exert a major influence on the new urban churches. The classic example is Charles Newsham's edition of *A Collection of Music suitable for the rite of Benediction*, published in the mid nineteenth-century by Burns, Lambert and Oates. Newsham was President at Ushaw College; so not only does his collection contain works by himself, but also by other Ushaw luminaries such as Charles Youens, Richard and Robert Gillow. In addition there are compositions by John Crookall, who worked at St Edmund's College, Ware. Copies of Newsham's *Collection of Music* survive, not only at Everingham, but also for example at St Cuthbert's Durham and in the Oldfield collection. In all three cases, though, the copies are in the version revised by John Richardson, many of whose compositions also appear here. This in itself is significant. Richardson was organist at Liverpool Pro-Cathedral; so the revised edition demonstrates how works from this seminary tradition were penetrating the new urban churches. The same point surfaces in the important publication series of Masses, Motets and Antiphons known as *The Choir: A Collection of Sacred Music for Churches, Church Societies and Families*. This was edited by John Richardson and includes works by Crookall, as well as by Richardson himself. Significantly, like Newsham's *Collection of Music*, it was published by Burns, Oates and Lambert.¹²³

¹²² Ed. Vincent Novello: *A Collection of Sacred Music*. London. Phipps and Co. 1811.

¹²³ This firm was established by James Burns, a Catholic convert from Presbyterianism, and Sir John Lambert.

Meanwhile the arrival of the Irish accentuated the need to 'rescue' Catholics in the towns from the perils of Protestantism and secular indifference. For example, the 1851 census showed that there were 519,919 people of Irish birth in England and Wales as against 252,783 Catholics;¹²⁴ hence the drive to establish new missions, schools, confraternities and guilds. The need to 'rescue' Catholics also helps account for the prevailing siege mentality of the time, as exemplified by a hardening of attitudes towards mixed marriages between Catholics and non-Catholics, as well as through the writing of such hymns as 'I am a faithful Catholic'.¹²⁵ Such attitudes were further reinforced by continued, though diminishing, outbursts of 'No Popery' throughout the century. For instance, Catholic concern to declare their English loyalty is shown by the survival of 12 and 21 *Domine Salvum Fac* settings at St Cuthbert's, Durham and Everingham respectively.¹²⁶

Alongside the defensive mentality though there were also signs of increasing confidence, which are clearly apparent in both music and architecture. In Recusant times Catholics could not afford to draw attention to themselves; so, musically speaking, they were relatively silent, except on the Continent. One of the most remarkable features of the early nineteenth-century though is the burgeoning of musical activity, as the list of publications

¹²⁴ Norman 1984: 205.

¹²⁵ Peter Doyle: 'Family and Marriage' and Sheridan Gilley: 'The Years of Equipoise 1892-1953' in ed. McClelland and Hodgetts. 1999: 39-40 and 195-6. The hymn 'I am a faithful Catholic', set to the melody of 'Ein mächchen oder weibchen wünocht Papageno sich' (Papageno's theme) in Mozart's opera *The Magic Flute*, appears in ed. Henri Hemy: *Crown of Jesus Music. Parts I, II and III*. London. Thomas Richardson and son. 1864. No. 62. Verses 1 and 2 reads:

'I am a faithful Catholic, I love my holy Faith,
I will be true to Holy Church, and steadfast unto death'
'I shun the haunts of those who seek to ensnare poor Catholic youth:
No Church I own, no schools I know but those that teach the truth'.

¹²⁶ Particular outbursts of 'No Popery' occurred with the restoration of the episcopal hierarchy in 1850 in reaction against the proclamation of Papal Infallibility at the First Vatican Council and during the 1908 Eucharistic Congress held at Westminster. Paul Van Arx: 'Ultramontaniam and the Catholic Church in British politics'. *RH*. 19/3 (May 1989): 322-47. Thomas Harwood: 'Public Opinion and the 1908 Eucharistic Congress'. *RH*. 25/1 (May 2000): 120-33. The *Domine Salvum Fac* text is a prayer for the well-being of the monarch used at Mass and instituted after the First Catholic Relief Act. 'Directions from the Vicars Apostolic following the Catholic Relief Act' in B.C. Foley. *Some other people of Penal times. Aspects of a unique social and religious phenomenon*. Lancaster. Catholic Bookshop. 1991, appendix 16: 175.

printed on the back of J. Alfred Novello's edition of Samuel Webbe the elder's Mass in D exemplifies (see illustration 2.1). Catholics were being heard.

Illustration 2.1

Select list of works advertised on the back of J. Alfred Novello's publication of Samuel Webbe the elder's *Mass in D* arranged and edited by Vincent Novello¹²⁷

AT THE REDUCED PRICES.

Selections from the Catalogue of SACRED MUSIC with LATIN WORDS, Published by J. ALFRED NOVELLO.

The Orchestral and Vocal Parts are published in these Works marked with an *, and the Vocal Parts only in those marked with a †. A Catalogue of the prices may be had separately.

LARGE HYMNS, PSALMS, MOTETS, ORATORIOS WITH FOREIGN WORDS, &c.

*BACH, Jesu Dulcis memoria, a Motett in full score for four voices, violins, flutes, clarinets, horns, double bass, with accompaniment for organ or pianoforte by V. Novello 2 0

†BACH, The Music (in full score) performed at Beethoven's Funeral 2 0

†BACH, Quod quod in urbe, four voices 1 6

*HAYDN, Inimicus et vobis, four voices 1 6

— Passions, or seven last words, arranged with an accompaniment for organ or pianoforte by V. Novello 8 0

Each movement may be had separately.

No. 1. Four chorists, S. solo 1 6

2. Antiphona, S. solo 1 6

3. Antiphona, S. solo 1 6

4. Kyrie, P. and Perceps, S. solo 1 6

5. Gloria, S. solo 1 6

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Table 2.4 Classification by architectural style of Catholic churches in London¹²⁸

Style	Number of Churches
Genuine Medieval	1 ¹²⁹
Gothic	39 ¹³⁰
'Romanesque' ¹³¹	8
'Transition style' ¹³²	1
'Italian or Roman style'	6
'Oriental type on Roman lines'	4 ¹³³
'Byzantine'	1 ¹³⁴
'Classical'	14
No category given	12

The choice of style in fact says much about the prevailing religious ideology. A Renaissance building set up associations with the Counter-Reformation and was a proclamation of attachment to the Papal cause. Gothic reminded people of past medieval glories (see illustration 2.2¹³⁵). In both cases architecture gave a musical nudge: the Renaissance style prompted the use of sixteenth-century style polyphony; Gothic encouraged plainchant, as A.W. Pugin's pamphlet *An Earnest Plea for the Revival of the Ancient Plain Song* demonstrates.¹³⁶ Such architectural changes reinforced the campaign against the Classical Viennese style of Masses associated with Haydn and Mozart. However, compromises between authenticity and practical requirements often had to be made. A Pugin-style building complete with rood screens and a long chancel such as St Giles, Cheadle, opened in 1846, did not meet the needs of teeming Irish congregations. What was required

¹²⁷ London. J.A. Novello. *Cheap Musical Classics* series. Vol. 50. N.d. Published c. 1850. This particular list is curious because of the paucity of liturgical, especially Mass, settings.

¹²⁸ Material taken from Alexander Rottman: *London Catholic Churches: A Historical and Artistic Record*. London. Sands and Co. 1928.

¹²⁹ This is St Etheldreda, Ely Place, a medieval church restored to Roman Catholic worship in 1879. pp. 142-52.

¹³⁰ This does not include the church of the Sacred Heart, Wimbledon, which is left out of the description.

¹³¹ This includes St Joseph, Highgate. However the photograph suggests that Florence Cathedral may have been the inspiration pp. 216-17.

¹³² i.e. between the Romanesque and Early Gothic styles. The one example is St Francis of Assisi, Notting Hill pp. 118-23.

¹³³ Described on p. xii.

¹³⁴ i.e. Westminster Cathedral p. xii.

¹³⁵ In this instance it is worth noting that *The Orthodox Journal* was an Ultramontane publication.

¹³⁶ London. Charles Dolman. 1850.

was big central spaces, such as at St Walburga's, Preston (opened in 1854), with its double hammer-beam roof, no side aisles and an apse instead of a proper chancel. In churches like this the choir remained in a 'West Gallery' at the back of the nave; and this partly explains why throughout the nineteenth-century in most churches a Classical Viennese repertory of Masses remained the norm.¹³⁷

Illustration 2.2

Print of the interior of St Chad's cathedral, Birmingham at the time of its consecration

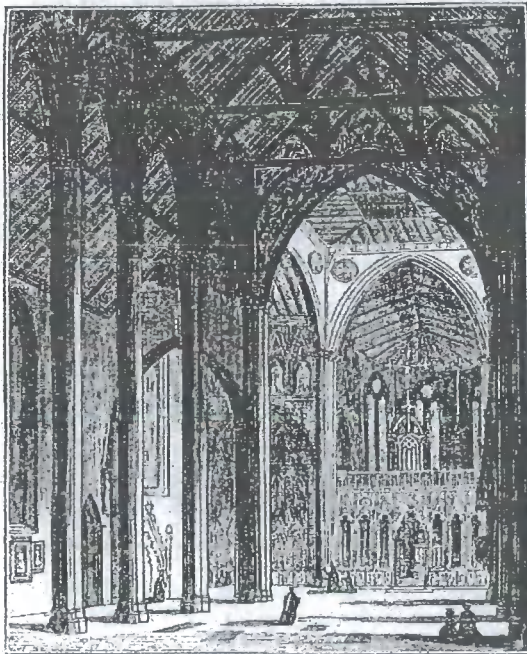
THE LONDON AND DUBLIN
ORTHODOX JOURNAL
OF USEFUL KNOWLEDGE;
AND
CATHOLIC INTELLIGENCER.

Careful to preserve the Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace.—Eph. iv. 3.

Vol. XII.

SATURDAY, JUNE 26, 1841.

No. 313.—2d.



ST. CHAD'S CATHOLIC CATHEDRAL, BIRMINGHAM.

P. & M. Andrews, Catholic Printers, 3, Duke-street, Little Britain, London.

Pugin illustrates the contribution made by many converts, especially ex-members of the Oxford Movement, to the English Catholic cause.¹³⁸ In hymnody, for instance, John Henry Newman, Frederick Faber and Edward Caswall provided a high proportion of the

¹³⁷ See the analysis in ch.12, 525-29.

standard Catholic hymn texts available in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹³⁹

Often they were among the most enthusiastic for the Ultramontane cause. This had two dimensions. There was a Romantic Medieval appeal; but alongside there was a practical aspect, as Cardinal Manning's activities show. The humiliating past experience of lay gentry control, the debilitating effects of squabbles between Secular Priests and independent-minded Regulars – especially the Jesuits - and the need to direct resources to help the Catholic poor in the towns fuelled a determination among bishops to assert their authority after the restoration of the hierarchy in 1850.¹⁴⁰ An appeal to their position in a chain of command descending from an Ultramontane Papacy was therefore an important weapon in their campaign.¹⁴¹ This extended to music. For instance, the Fourth Synod of Westminster, convened by Manning in 1873, asserted the primacy of plainchant and Renaissance polyphony. Later, in accordance with *Tra le Solleitudini*, official lists of approved church music were published; and these were followed up by an official list of authorised hymns in 1910.¹⁴²

These trends continued to operate in the early twentieth-century, albeit in modified form. In 1908, as noted earlier, the papal constitution *Sapienti Consilio* declared that the British Isles were no longer mission territory and should have normal ecclesiastical government rather than lie under the immediate jurisdiction of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda. At a local level this recognised the transformation of mission stations into fully-

¹³⁸ See Norman 1984: 208-13.

¹³⁹ See ch. 7: 278-9 for details.

¹⁴⁰ However it should be noted that bishops with full ordinary powers had a greater degree of independence from the Papacy than the Vicars Apostolic. For detailed discussion of the work of leading Ultramontanes see Norman 1984: 110-57 (Cardinal Nicholas Wiseman); 244-86 (Manning); 345-63 (Cardinal Herbert Vaughan). The papal brief *Romanos Pontifices* finally settled disputes with the Religious orders in 1883. For a discussion of Manning's theological position see James Pereiro: 'Truth before Peace': Manning and Infallibility'. *RH: Henry Edward Manning (1808-1892)*. 21/2 (Oct. 1992): 218-53.

¹⁴¹ Vivian A. McClelland: 'The Formative Years' in ed. McClelland and Hodgetts. 1999: 4-12. Norman 1984: 75-8, 81-101.

¹⁴² For full details of the legislation see ch. 4; for details of the campaign to draft Diocesan lists and impose Renaissance polyphony see ch. 6; for hymnody see ch. 7; for the contents of the Salford Diocesan list see **Salford** table on the *Repertoire* database.

fledged parishes that had already in effect taken place during the previous century.¹⁴³ In 1890 and 1899 the Apostolic letter *Religiosus Ordo* and the bull *Diu Quidem* dismantled the centralised system of control hitherto pertaining in the EBC. This was a triumph for the long campaign waged by what is known as the Downside Movement. Henceforth the principal houses - initially Downside, Ampleforth and Douai - were to have a virtually autonomous status as abbeys. The decision therefore signalled a shift of emphasis from work on the mission to a fully communal life along medieval Benedictine lines. Thus greater attention would be paid to the Office and therefore to the singing of plainchant.¹⁴⁴ Meanwhile, across the country numbers, and the supporting infrastructure, continued to grow (see Table 2.5). For the first time since the Reformation, Catholicism achieved a national geographical and social spread. Catholics were no longer only concentrated in the industrial centres of Lancashire, the rest of the North, parts of the Midlands and London; nor were they largely confined to the proletarian Irish with a small elite of aristocratic families at the top. They were to be found in the South and East, in the suburbs, and among the middle classes.¹⁴⁵ This meant that they were better educated, especially since the supply of talented converts - including musicians such as Richard Terry (1865-1938) and Edmund Rubbra (1901-86) - continued to flow.¹⁴⁶ In the long run, despite the defeat of Modernism in the 1890s and the hostility towards Communism or Socialism evinced by the hierarchy in the 1920s and 1930s, this meant that a questioning attitude among the laity was bound, sooner or later, to appear. It is also interesting to observe that many of the new churches constructed in the 1950s and early 1960s were smaller, and built in a modern, more open, style that stripped away some of the mystery

¹⁴³ Gilley, in ed. McClelland and Hodgetts. 1999: 34

¹⁴⁴ Aidan Bellenger: 'Religious life for men' in McClelland and Hodgetts 1999: 148. Geoffrey Scott: 'Bishop Austin O'Neill OSB: 1841-1911'. *Douai Magazine* No. 163 (2000): 4-5. For further discussion about the implications of these decisions for developments in plainchant see chapter 5, pp. 152-5.

¹⁴⁵ Hastings 1986: 134-5, 275-8, 473-6, 561.

¹⁴⁶ For discussion of conversions see Gilley, in ed. McClelland and Hodgetts. 1999: 40.

surrounding the performance of the liturgy and encouraged a greater measure of congregational participation.¹⁴⁷ These two factors then helped prepare the way for the great changes that took place as a result of the Second Vatican Council after 1962.

Table 2.5 The growth of the English Catholic community: 1903-1963¹⁴⁸

Year	No. of dioceses ¹⁴⁹	No. of churches	No. of priests		No. of Catholics.
1913	16	1,797	Total	3,838	1,793,038
			Seculars	2,824	
			Regulars	1,577	
1933	18	4,718	Total	4,718	2,244,500
			Seculars	3,069	
			Regulars	1,649	
1963	18	7,591	Total	7,591	3,726,500
			Seculars	4,841	
			Regulars	2,750	

¹⁴⁷ Bryan Little: *Catholic Churches since 1623*. London. Robert Hale. 1966: 195-222. For a cluster of such examples in Buckinghamshire see St Anne's, Wendover, opened in 1961, The Immaculate Heart of Mary, Great Missenden, opened in 1964, The Holy Family, Halton, opened in 1962. For the beginnings of such developments in the 1920s and 1930s see p.188. For examples see St Gregory the Great, Preston, opened in 1934 or St Theresa and the child Jesus, Princes Risborough, Bucks, opened in 1938. St Gregory's is interesting because, in order to create a big rectangular open space without side aisles the roof is supported by steel girders encased in concrete. Despite Gothic features like the arch over the High Altar, the effect is bare, austere and modern.

¹⁴⁸ Sources: *Catholic Directory*. London. Burns and Oates. 1913: 56, 100. 1933: 580. 1963: 763. The figures do not include Wales.

¹⁴⁹ These include the archdioceses of Liverpool, Birmingham and Westminster.

Chapter 3: The liturgical structure

A. Music and the liturgy

Music is merely a part of the liturgy and its humble handmaid.

[*Tra le Solleitudini*. Clause 23 (in Terry, Richard: *English Catholic Music*. 1907: 19)]

Liturgy is a central part of Catholic belief. It is not seen simply as a means of presenting dogma or instruction.¹⁵⁰ In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries especially the Mass has been regarded as an instrument of salvation, because through transubstantiation Catholics believe that they receive the body and blood of Christ given for the remission of their sins.¹⁵¹ Transubstantiation also forms the foundation of priestly power, which in turn Catholics hold to have been granted through a chain of authority consisting of bishops, Popes and St Peter, which ultimately derives from Christ himself. It is therefore intimately connected with claims of Papal primacy.¹⁵² Similarly, behind the Office lies the concept of a cycle of prayer as articulated by, among others, Prosper Guéranger, who founded the monastery of Solesmes in 1833. In this scenario, God through Christ gives his word to Christ's bride - the Church - which returns it to him in an endless stream of praise. Moreover the Mass was regarded as the centrepiece of the Office; hence the notion that both were forms

¹⁵⁰ M.S. MacMahon: *Liturgical Catechism*. Dublin. M.S. Gill and Son Ltd. 4th impression 1926/R1935: 7. The copy I used, which belongs to my supervisor Dr Bennett Zon, formerly belonged to the Divines Library at Ushaw College. William O'Shea: *The Worship of the Church: A companion to liturgical studies*. London. Darton, Longman and Todd. 1957/R1960: 44-6. Quintessential examples of dogma in the Mass are the Creed and Pater Noster.

¹⁵¹ The emphasis on the Mass as a sacrifice, whereby Christ offers himself again for the remission of sins, is set out, for example in Adrian Fortescue's introduction 'The Holy Sacrifice, the Mass and the Missal' to his edition of the Missal. London. Burns Oates and Washbourne Ltd. 1912/R1928: v-vi. Elsewhere Fernand Cabrol, the Benedictine Abbot of Farnborough, states that 'The Mass is the centre of Christian worship' and 'it might indeed be said that all Catholic worship has been developed from the Mass'. Fernand Cabrol, trans. C.M. Anthony, : *The Holy Sacrifice: A simple explanation of the Mass*. London, Burns and Oates. 1937: 1.

¹⁵² A clear enunciation of such arguments can be found in Pope Pius XII's encyclical *Mediator Dei* prepared in 1947. Boston (Mass.) St Paul Books and Media. (No date or name of translator given): Clauses 2, (pp. 3-4) and 38-43 (pp. 20-22). Later a careful differentiation is made between the encouragement given for congregational participation and the denial that the laity have a priestly power in clauses 82-3 (p. 36).

of ‘Sacrifice’.¹⁵³ Liturgy, then, according to M. MacMahon, is ‘an act accomplished by a duly accredited minister’; it is both public and official.¹⁵⁴ By contrast, extra-liturgical devotions, even when, as with Benediction, they are extensions of the Mass, are private and personal in character; or, in the case of processions, such as Corpus Christi (which, technically speaking, is also an extension of the Mass) they can be used to promote Catholic faith and solidarity, as well as advertise the church to the outside world.

Whatever the form it is indisputable that liturgy was likely to shape the music that clothed it. This had a number of facets. First, it lies behind the recognition that there are different sorts of sacred music. For example, according to M. Dempsey there is liturgical music, where the text is taken from the Missal or the Breviary; there is extra-liturgical music, such as would be used in processions and devotions; and then there is music that is merely religious in character, such as a Handel’s *The Messiah*, which is not associated with any service. Here, although the text may have a sacred character, it is primarily a work of art. Similar distinctions can be found in *The Instruction by the Sacred Congregation of Rites on Sacred Music and Liturgy* of 1958.¹⁵⁵

Secondly, liturgy, in the narrowest sense, was almost entirely in Latin.¹⁵⁶ It therefore opened the way for an international Catholic musical scene; and this helps explain why so

¹⁵³ Prosper Guéranger, trans. Laurence Shepherd: *The Liturgical Year*. Worcester. Stanbrook Abbey. 1867/R1895: 1-11. Dom Baudot: Trans. The Benedictines of Stanbrook: *The Breviary: Its History and Contents*. London and Edinburgh/St Louis (USA). Sands and Co./ B. Herder Book Co. 1907/1929R: 17, 76-7, 99-102 (here there is the idea that the Chanter is Christ’s mouthpiece), 110 and 153 (where he states that ‘The Holy Mass is the centre of the Daily Office’). Vilma Little: *The Sacrifice of Praise: An introduction to the meaning and use of the Divine Office*. London. Longmans. 1957: 23-6. *Mediator Dei* also enunciates such views: clauses 17-9, 71 and 142-4. Pp. 8-10, 31-3, and 57 in the St Paul Books and Media translation cited earlier. In clause 71 such ideas of a cycle of prayer in relation to the Mass are linked to the doctrine of atonement.

¹⁵⁴ MacMahon 1935R: 2. O’Shea. 1960R: 5.

¹⁵⁵ M. Dempsey in MacMahon 1935: 189. *An Instruction by the Sacred Congregation of Rites on Sacred Music and Liturgy in the spirit of the Encyclical Letters “Musicae Sacrae Disciplina” and “Mediator Dei” of Pope Pius XII* of 1958, trans. Clifford Howell. London. Herder Publications Ltd. 1959: 14, clause 10. However, while still designating hymnody as suitable primarily for extra-liturgical devotions, this document does admit its use in liturgical services thereby blurring what had hitherto been a clear distinction. See clause 9 (pp. 13-14).

¹⁵⁶ *Tra le Sollecitudini*, clause 15 (in Terry, 1907: 15) bans the use of the vernacular at ‘Solemn liturgical functions’.

much music performed in English Catholic churches was composed by foreigners. Conversely, tightening restrictions on the use of the vernacular in Mass or the Office excluded most of the English Protestant repertoire and, until the inauguration of a programme of liturgical renewal in the late 1950s, confined English hymns to extra-liturgical functions. For instance, the ban on the singing of vernacular psalms by the Vicars Apostolic in 1838 eventually led to the abandonment of Anglican psalm chants in the nineteenth-century repertoires of Everingham and St Cuthbert's, Durham.¹⁵⁷ This may help explain why extra-liturgical devotions became so popular at the expense of the Office at parish level.

Thirdly, there has always been a good deal of cross-fertilisation between liturgists and musicians. For instance Guéranger's liturgical programme at Solesmes led to the systematic researches into plainchant conducted by Joseph Pothier and Paul Jaussons. Abbess Laurentia McLachlan of Stanbrook abbey is an example of the process in reverse. As will be shown in chapter 5, she played a key role promoting the Solesmes style of plainchant in England; but later in life she concentrated on the editing of medieval liturgical books that threw light on the way a Benedictine monastic life for nuns should be recreated. She also, in 1933, became the first woman Vice President of the Henry Bradshaw society, founded in 1890 to edit rare liturgical texts.¹⁵⁸ A similar two-way phenomenon can be observed with Vilma Little (1880-1968), author of *The Sacrifice of Praise*, a book describing the nature and character of the Office; but she also prepared *Cantate Domino*, a collection of mainly vernacular hymns set to

¹⁵⁷ Tweedy. Part 2: 14-15 describes the vigorous rearguard action fought by the local parish priest Edward Consitt in defence of psalm singing in English there in the 1860s and 1870s.

¹⁵⁸ Ed. Laurentia McLachlan and J.B.L. Tolhurst: *The Ordinale and Customary of the Benedictine Nuns at Barking Abbey*. Henry Bradshaw Society. 65 and 66 (1927-1928). See also, by the same editors: *Ordinale and Customary of the Abbey of St Mary, York*. Henry Bradshaw Society. 73, 75 and 84 (1936-51) cited in John Harper: *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: A historical introduction and guide for students and musicians*. London. OUP. 1991: 227, 231-3. For further information about her scholarly activity see The Benedictines of Stanbrook [Felicitas Corrigan]: *In A Great Tradition*. London/New York. John Murray/Harper and Brothers. 1956: 152-77. Her role in the Henry Bradshaw society is mentioned on page 176.

a variety of melodies dating from medieval to Victorian times in modern notation, and *Laudate Dominum*, a collection of plainchant music for Benediction culled from English medieval manuscript sources.¹⁵⁹

The most fundamental aspect of liturgical thinking concerns the sacredness of the text. People therefore thought that it ought to be fixed; not least because this would ensure historical continuity with the earliest days of Christianity. Such emphasis on the sanctity of the text explains the insistence by some liturgists that it should not be corrupted, for musical or other reasons, by excessive repetition or alterations to the wording.¹⁶⁰ It also underpinned the ban on the use of the vernacular mentioned earlier. Above all, the music had to present a plain and intelligible text, not so much for the benefit of the people - as it was in Latin - but for God. After all, it was his prayer that was being recycled. Thus, whereas a twentieth-century Missal with text only might well have an English translation alongside the Latin; a liturgical-musical book from the same period, such as a Gradual or an Antiphoner, almost never had any form of vernacular underlay.¹⁶¹ It was natural then for Guéranger, Pothier and others to argue that plainchant was a development from oratorical inflexions of the spoken word.¹⁶² In that sense, it was not music at all. Even Franz Xavier Haberl, the editor of the

¹⁵⁹ V.G.L. (Vilma Little): *Cantate Domino: A collection of supplementary hymns*. Liverpool. Rushworth and Dreaper. New and revised edition. 1932/R1941. *Laudate Dominum: A Benediction Manual*, with accompaniments by H.P. Allen. Liverpool. Rushworth and Dreaper. 1947.

¹⁶⁰ *Tra le Solleitudini*, clause 15 (in Terry 1907: 15).

¹⁶¹ An exception is the advertisement of Henri Dumont's Masses in French as well as Latin versions by Desclée in the back of [Laurentia McLachlan] *The Grammar of Plainsong in two parts by the Benedictines of Stanbrook*. Worcester, Stanbrook Abbey/ London, Burns and Oates and Art and Book Co. Ltd/ New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Bros. 1905. N.p. The Desclée reference codes are 2285, 2285B, 2286, 2286B, 2281 and 2282.

¹⁶² Joseph Pothier: *Les Mélodies Grégoriennes d'après la tradition*. Rome, Tournai. Desclée, Lefebvre et Cie. 1881 esp. ch. 4.

Ratisbon editions so vigorously attacked by Solesmes scholars, subscribed to this 'sing as you speak' doctrine.¹⁶³

Music then had to be subordinate to the liturgy, as *Tra le Solleitudini* stated. For example, clause 27 remarks that the priest should not be kept waiting at the altar by the music.¹⁶⁴ Yet the presence of such regulations indicates that at times music was apt to assume a preponderance over liturgy. The underlying philosophy for this could be quite respectable. It was argued that music, by generating 'atmosphere', could heighten devotion;¹⁶⁵ it was a way of advertising the faith to the non-believer; and there was also the argument, attributed to St Augustine, that the person who sings prays twice.¹⁶⁶ Music then had the potential to acquire a life of its own, even with plainchant. André Mocquereau (1849-1930), Pothier's successor at Solesmes, tried to show through his researches that its musical rhythms could be different from those of the text. Thus, the tension between the musical and textual rhythm is the leading characteristic of the Solesmes style that he and, to a lesser extent, Laurentia McLachlan promoted. As shall be shown in chapter 5, the clash between the Pothier and Mocquereau principles lies at the heart of the controversy surrounding the publication of the Vatican editions of plainchant in the early twentieth century.

Even more fundamentally, the development of music as an independent force lies behind a division between liturgical musical books and scores of religious music from the late medieval period onwards. Such a division can even affect the way music is stored. For example, many Catholic institutions place liturgical books with music in the liturgical, as

¹⁶³ Franz Xavier Haberl: *Magister Choralis: Guide théoretique et pratique pour l'étude et l'exécution du Plain-Chant Roman official*. Ratisbon. F. Pustet. 1896. A copy of this is in the Talbot Library, Preston. An Italian edition of 1888 revised by Angelo de Santi is owned by Stanbrook Abbey.

¹⁶⁴ *Tra le Solleitudini* (In Terry, 1907: 18). See also clause 23 (Terry 1907: 19): 'In general it must be considered a very grave abuse when the liturgy in ecclesiastical functions is made to appear secondary to and in a manner at the service of the music'.

¹⁶⁵ O'Shea 1960R: 92-3.

¹⁶⁶ This view, for instance is cited in Pius XII's encyclical *Mediator Dei*. Boston (Mass.) St Paul Books and Media. Nd. Translation (name not supplied). Clause 192 (p. 73).

distinct from the musical, section of their libraries. Moreover, the latter often have relatively little sheet music. Sheet music, in fact, is mainly to be found in choir lofts or music rooms; and here liturgical books with music, although often present, usually do not constitute a majority of the publications.¹⁶⁷ Liturgical books for use, as opposed to those reserved for study in a library, are held in the sanctuary and sacristy of a church; or, in the case of a monastery, in monks' or nuns' choir stalls. What is startling too is the sheer scale of the divide. For example, the Desclée 1950 English rubrical edition of the *Liber Usualis* contains 1487 titles of texts with music in the alphabetical table at the back. If the 175 variants on these titles are allowed for, the total rises to 1662 items. If one works through all the chants in the main portion of the book, adding on the Masses, standard Psalm tones, responses (each set has been counted as a single item) and other categories not covered by the alphabetical index, one arrives at 2599 pieces on 1892 pages. This is as large, or larger, than any collection of scores listed in the database (see table 3.1). It is also several times the size of any Catholic hymnal.¹⁶⁸

Table 3.1 Analysis of the alphabetical table of titles at the back of the *Liber Usualis*, Tournai: Desclée and Co. 1950. No. 801 ed. by the 'Benedictines of Solesmes' with an introduction and rubrics in English

Genre	[A] No. of titles	[B] Titles with extra page references	Total of [A] and [B]
Mass Proper music	811	20	160
Other Antiphons	1144	48	1192
Responsories	64	1	65
Hymns	133	1	134
Psalms	136	94	230
Canticles	9 ¹⁶⁹	11	20
Athanasian Creed	1	0	1
Grand Total	1487	175	1662

¹⁶⁷ This is the case in the monastic libraries of Downside, Ampleforth and Douai, as well as in the Talbot Library in Preston. The Arundell Library at Stonyhurst has virtually no sheet music at all; as this is mainly located in the music basement. The same, broadly speaking, is true at Ushaw. Here the sheet music is stored in the Music Room or up in the old dormitories. At Downside, there is some sheet music in the monastic library; but much larger quantities are to be found in the Tower Music Room.

¹⁶⁸ These figures do not include items in a 'Supplement for certain Religious Congregations' at the back. For the sizes of Catholic hymnals see ch. 7. pp. 278, 289-91 and 308-9.

Such a divide is not just physical, but psychological. For instance, little attention has been paid in this very typical *Liber Usualis* to music for extra-liturgical devotions; and it should be noted that such a volume is a combination of the *Antiphoner*, *Kyriale* and *Gradual*.¹⁷⁰ The focus then is almost entirely on the Mass and the Office, the basic staples of the Catholic liturgy. Such a focus helps explain why so much Benediction music survives in collections of musical scores. It is not simply a case of Benediction being popular; no significant place was found for it in the principal liturgical-music books.

Second, all the items in this volume are plainchant, and, as was usually the case, with one exception they are set in neumes on four line staves.¹⁷¹ The contrast with the 'modern' notation prevalent in other musical scores is striking. It underlines the divide between the celebrating clergy and the choir, though the latter of course could sing plainchant from liturgical musical books too. Often the choir was placed, not in the chancel, but in a 'West Gallery'. As a result there then emerged the concept of a separate 'liturgical choir' consisting of canons and other religious deployed near the altar, who might not even be expected to sing.¹⁷² Practical factors do much to explain the situation. Music could only be one of the activities performed by the celebrating clergy; the vast number of liturgical texts specific to particular services and days of the liturgical calendar meant that they were daily confronted with music that had to be sight read; moreover not all the clergy could be expected to be musically expert. There was also a limit to the size of volumes containing huge amounts of musical text and music. The music in them therefore had to be relatively simple and monodic. By contrast the choir was a specialist body whose sole function was to deliver music. It could be rehearsed extensively; and it could be equipped with books that only contained music.

¹⁶⁹ One item here refers to all 16 settings (8 simple and 8 solemn tones) of the *Magnificat*.

¹⁷⁰ There are 34 Benediction chants and 2 more relating to the Forty Hours Devotion.

¹⁷¹ However, as shall be noted later on, Descleé did publish plainchant books edited by Solesmes monks using modern notation, mainly for the benefit of organists who had to improvise accompaniments or for use in schools.

Choirs then had the capacity to tackle more elaborate pieces. The music could be polyphonic; and to ensure congruence of parts, it was best to lay it out in a score using ‘modern’ notation.¹⁷³ Furthermore, since the criteria for selection were musical rather than liturgical competence, the way was open to recruit laity.

The result was that in the nineteenth century there was a tendency to create a ‘holy concert’ which the custom of hiring pews to individuals reinforced. Not for nothing was the Bavarian Embassy chapel known as the ‘Shilling Opera’.¹⁷⁴ This explains the attacks by many on secular profane elements in church music, including the use of instruments other than the organ, which were later banned by *Tra le Solleitudini*.¹⁷⁵ It also explains the campaign to exclude women from choirs and all the arguments about the position occupied by choirs in church buildings. Some even argued that because women were often more proficient at singing than boys they would want to show off in an individualistic and therefore un-liturgical manner.¹⁷⁶ If the choir was moved to the chancel it was felt that a closer tie between music and liturgy would result, hence Adrian Fortescue’s idealised layouts of the Choir and Sanctuary in parish and Cathedral churches; although he admits that in most churches choirs were placed in a West Gallery (see illustration 3.1). Women, moreover could then be excluded because they were not supposed to be in the sanctuary area, particularly as they

¹⁷² Adrian Fortescue. *The Ceremonies of the Roman Rite described*. London. Burns and Oates. 1918: 28.

¹⁷³ The history of the emergence of the modern type of score is briefly summarised by Charlton, David in ed. Stanley Sadie: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. 2001 (2nd edition). 22: 894-7. Charlton argues that the first attempts to score polyphonically began as early as the eleventh century; between the thirteenth and mid-seventeenth century it was usual to write out each part separately rather than in ‘full score’.

¹⁷⁴ Anon. ‘Sketch of the State of Music in London. *The Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review*. 2 (April 1820) cited by Rosemarie Darby: *The Music of the Roman Catholic Embassy Chapels in London. 1765 to 1825*. Manchester University/John Rylands Library. M.Mus. 1984: 126.

¹⁷⁵ *Tra Le Solleitudini*. Clauses 15-20 (in Terry 1907: 17-18). Further examples of Papal legislation on the subject are given in clause 4.

¹⁷⁶ See for example the anonymous article ‘Music as a part of education’. *The Rambler*. 3/13 (Jan 1849): 311-17. See also F. Clement Egerton: *A handbook of Church Music*. London. R. and T. Washbourne. 1909: 72 and J.B. O’Connell. *The celebration of Mass: A study of the rubrics of the Roman Missal*. London. Burns Oates and Washburne Ltd. 1940: 52.

could not be celebrating clergy. Such arguments surface officially as late as 1958 in the *Instruction... on Sacred Music and Liturgy*.¹⁷⁷

A central issue concerned the status of the choir. Official documents, including *Tra le Solleitudini*, defined its members as liturgical ministers, thereby differentiating them from the congregation.¹⁷⁸ The latter, by definition, would be largely excluded from active vocal participation. After all, if the text was sacred and was being offered to God, it had to be expertly performed. There could thus be a separation between the performance of rites and understanding; and as a result congregations often engaged in private prayer *during* the Mass and the Office.¹⁷⁹ Such attitudes were not new. As John Harper and others have shown, they also existed in the Middle Ages.¹⁸⁰ They were strengthened moreover by the tendency of organists at High Mass to play in every gap when there was no singing, including the silent Canon and even, in some cases, during the consecration.¹⁸¹ One of the great developments in the twentieth century was the way such practices came under attack. This will be treated towards the end of this chapter.

¹⁷⁷ Trans. Howell: *An Instruction... on music and the liturgy* 1959:54, clause 100.

¹⁷⁸ *Tra le Solleitudini*, clause 12 (in Terry 1907: 17).

¹⁷⁹ Cabrol, for instance states: 'The Mass as it is now celebrated is, for those who are strangers to the Faith, an incomprehensible ceremony. They understand it as little as we should a ceremony of the Buddhist religion, or a rite of some Chinese sect'. 1937: 1. The distinction is also noted by Annibale Bugnini, trans. Matthew J. O'Connell: *The Reform of the Liturgy 1948-1975*. Collegeville (Minnesota). The Liturgical Press 1983/1990R: 6, O'Shea. 1960R: 6-7 and even Guéranger. 1895R: 4, albeit with an emphasis on attendance. Thus he argues that, due to the Reformation and 'Rationalism,' there had been 'a curtailment of the solemnity of the Divine services'; that although people participated on Sundays and at festivals 'during the rest of the year the solemn and imposing grandeur of the liturgy was gone through, and the people took no share in it'. 'Social prayer was made to give way to individual devotion'.

¹⁸⁰ Harper 1991: 162.

¹⁸¹ Gervase Holdaway: 'Organists - what the Church teaches'. *ML* 26/ 3 (No. 299) (Autumn 2000): 8-9.

Illustration 3.1 Adrian Fortescue's idealised layouts for the Choir and Sanctuary in Parish and Cathedral churches¹⁸²

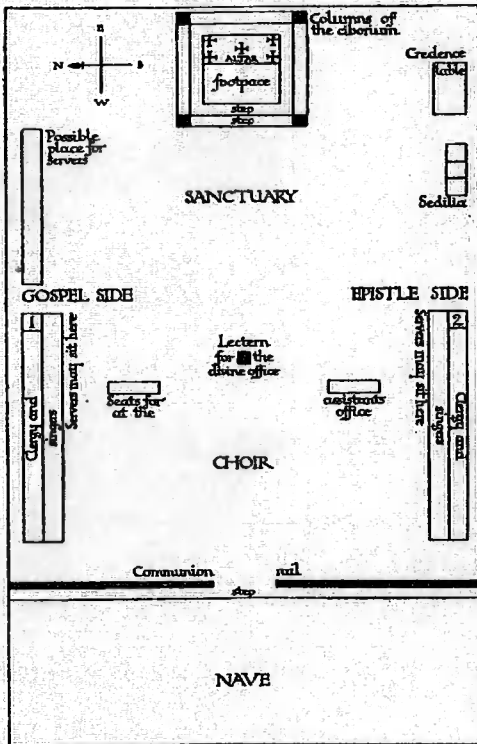


FIG. 1. PLAN OF A PARISH CHURCH: CHOIR AND SANCTUARY
4

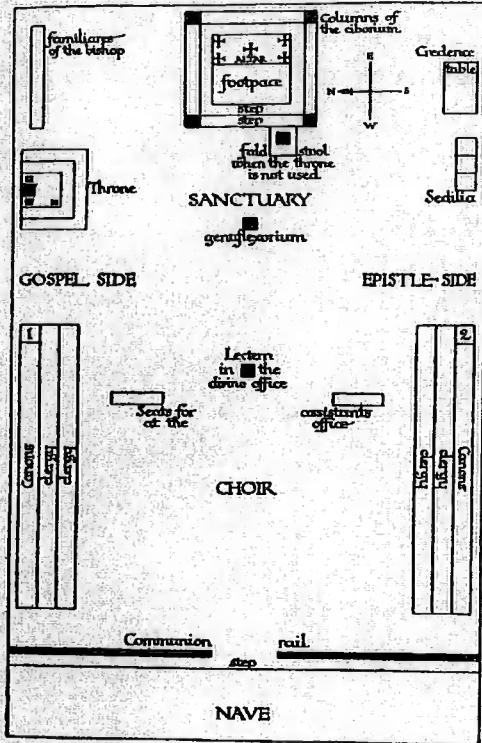


FIG. 2. PLAN OF A CATHEDRAL CHURCH: CHOIR AND SANCTUARY
5

¹⁸² Adrian Fortescue: *The Ceremonies of the Roman Rite Described*. London. 1918: 4-5.

B. Music in liturgical and extra-liturgical services

As suggested earlier music, for the liturgy, in the narrow sense, is mainly concentrated in the Mass and the Office, though other services, such as the ceremonies accompanying the burial of the dead, consecration, confirmation, ordination and marriage services should not be forgotten. The Mass came in various forms. These are listed below.

Table 3.2 Forms of the Mass¹⁸³

Basic type (with variations)	Distinguishing features	
Pontifical High Mass	At the throne At the footstool For the dead	A sung Mass offered by a bishop, assisted by Deacon and Subdeacon reading the lessons.
Solemn High	Standard form In the presence of a prelate For the dead	This has the same features as a Pontifical High Mass but is offered by a Priest.
Low Mass	Standard form In the presence of a prelate By a bishop For the dead	This is a Mass whose text is spoken by the celebrant without the assistance of a Deacon or Subdeacon.
Missa Cantata	Solemn form Simple form	This is a Low Mass offered without the assistance of a Deacon or Subdeacon with a sung Proper and Ordinary (defined below)
Missa Cum Cantu		This is a Low Mass spoken by the priest but with the choir singing the Ordinary while the priest uttered the text. It does not appear in the rubrics for the Roman Missal. ¹⁸⁴
Conventual Mass	High Mass Low Mass	This is a Mass sung in the House of a Religious Order. Its form can vary according to the particular order (e.g. Benedictine, Dominican, Cistercian). The distinction between High and Low Mass is basically the same as for that given above.
Private Mass		This is usually a Low Mass sung in a private chapel or household.

¹⁸³ This is based on Fortescue. 1918: 69-75, 82-148, 163-98. See also trans. Clifford Howell: *An Instruction... on sacred music and liturgy* 1959, clause 3 (pp. 11-12). Here though a Missa Cantata is regarded as a simplified form of Solemn Mass rather than, as Howell noted was usual in England, a Low Mass with singing.

The sung parts of a High Mass or a Missa Cantata are as follows:

Table 3.3 Sung parts of the Mass¹⁸⁵

Principal elements	Notes
The Ordinary <i>Kyrie</i> <i>Gloria</i> <i>Credo</i> <i>Sanctus-Benedictus</i> <i>Agnus Dei</i>	The sung parts of the Mass whose text remains unchanged from week to week. From the fifteenth century onwards musically speaking these were often composed as a single group to form a 'Mass'. Following this precedent similar groupings took place to form Plainchant Masses.
Other parts of the Ordinary that might be sung: Responses at the start and conclusion. Responses at the Preface. Responses at the Epistle and Gospel. The <i>Asperges</i> (or <i>Vidi Aquam</i> in Lent) The 'Great Amen' after the Canon. The <i>Pater Noster</i> .	The priest might also chant other sections of the text, including the Canon. The priest, Deacon or Subdeacon might also chant the Readings.
The Proper Introit Gradual after the epistle Alleluia and verse after the Gradual. Offertory antiphon Communion antiphon	The sung parts of the Mass whose texts vary according to the day in the liturgical calendar. This comes in two forms: The Calendar of the Year (Temporale) and the Calendar of the Saints (Sanctorale). In addition a motet could be sung after the Offertory antiphon and/or the <i>Benedictus</i> . ¹⁸⁷
In addition on certain feast days a Tract (or extract from a Psalm) might be substituted for a Gradual. On certain occasions a Sequence would follow the Alleluia and verse thus: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Victimae Paschali</i> (Easter) <i>Veni Sancte Spiritus</i> (Whitsun) <i>Lauda Sion</i> (Corpus Christi) <i>Dies Irae</i> (Requiem Masses) <i>Stabat Mater</i> (Feast of the Seven Douleurs)¹⁸⁶ 	

¹⁸⁴ James D. Crichton: *As It Was: Reminiscences and Prophecies*. Mildenhall. Decani Press. 1999: 31.

¹⁸⁵ For very detailed accounts of the musical elements of all the major service types see Richard Terry: *The Music of the Roman Rite*. London. Burns Oates and Washbourne Ltd. 1931: 127-45 (Offices and Mass), 145-56 (Holy Week), occasional services - Terry describes them as Offices -requiring a bishop pp. 157-86.

¹⁸⁶ The vast number of sequences known in the Middle Ages was reduced to four in the 1570 revision of the Missal. The *Stabat Mater* was added by Benedict XIV in the eighteenth century. O'Shea 1960R: 357.

¹⁸⁷ *Tra le Sollecutudini*, clause 8 (in Terry 1907: 15).

The sung parts of a Requiem Mass were a compound of elements from the Ordinary and Proper:

Table 3.4 Principal sung elements of a Requiem Mass¹⁸⁸

Item	Text
Introit	<i>Requiem Aeternam</i>
Kyrie	
Gradual	<i>Requiem Aeternam</i>
Sequence	<i>Dies Irae</i>
Tract	<i>Absolve Domine</i>
Offertory	<i>Domine Jesu Christe</i>
<i>Sanctus- Benedictus</i>	
<i>Agnus Dei</i>	
Communion	<i>Lux Aeterna</i>
Conclusion	<i>Libera Me Domine</i> followed by <i>Kyrie</i>

It is important to recognise that Low Mass was the most popular form of Mass attended by English Catholics. Usually, however, this had no music; and this meant that only the minority who attended some form of sung Mass had any real experience of Catholic music. Yet the regulations pertaining to music at Low Mass were a good deal more flexible than for High Mass, since they were dependent on rulings by the local bishop, rather than directives from Rome. Music here could even include vernacular texts. It is curious then to observe how little use was made of such opportunities. Establishments like Farm Street Church, in London, where the choir regularly sang three motets at the midday Low Mass, were the exception rather than the norm.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁸ See Alec Robertson: *Requiem: Music of Mourning and Consolation*. London. Cassell. 1967: 8-24 for an account of the origins and development of the liturgical framework of this service.

¹⁸⁹ For a contemporary discussion of music permitted at Low Mass see P. Morrisroe: 'The character of music at Low Mass'. *IER*. 21(4th series) (1907): 201-2. The key point was that 'there is no general law of the Church that regulates the character of the music, or singing, that may be rendered during a Low Mass'. See also O'Connell 1940: 63. For details of the practice at Farm Street Church see the table 'Farm Street Church' in the main database. This is based on monthly programmes published in the Farm Street Church Magazine. For instance on the First Sunday after Epiphany in 1928 the choir sang Byrd: *Sacerdotes Domini*, Parker: *Gens Duce Splendida* and Fauré: *Ave Maria*.

Traditionally Office services occurred at three-hour intervals. However, the times were frequently adjusted to suit local convenience.

Table 3.5 Office services
[Greater Hours are given in bold type, Lesser Hours in normal type]

Matins	Sext (Midday Office)
Lauds	None
Prime	Vespers
Terce	Compline

The key ingredients were readings from the scripture, a monastic rule or a martyrology, the singing of psalms, a canticle (the *Benedictus*, *Magnificat* and *Nunc Dimittis* at Lauds, Vespers and Compline respectively), a hymn, and prayers or petitions. Traditionally most Psalm texts came from the Itala, rather than the Vulgate Bible.¹⁹⁰ Compline was usually concluded with Marian antiphons fixed according to the time in the liturgical calendar:

Table 3.6 Marian antiphons

<u>Period</u>	<u>Title of Antiphon</u>
First Sunday of Advent to the Feast of the Purification	<i>Alma Redemptoris Mater</i>
Feast of the Purification to Wednesday of Holy Week	<i>Ave Regina Coelorum</i>
Holy Saturday to Pentecost	<i>Regina Coeli Laetare</i>
Trinity Sunday to the First Sunday of Advent	<i>Salve Regina</i>

The celebration of Holy Week, especially the Triduum (Maundy Thursday, Good Friday and Holy Saturday) constitutes the oldest part of the liturgy and was a major showcase, musically as well as liturgically, for the Catholic faith. These are a compound of Masses and Office services (see table 3.7). Musically speaking its centrepiece were the three services of Tenebrae, a combination of Matins and Lauds, held on the eve of their assigned day. Similar services were held on the eve of Christmas and Pentecost.

¹⁹⁰ Little 1957: 23. The complex issue of psalm texts, their different Latin translations and their transformation is discussed in ch 5, pp. 145-7 and, in connection with Gelineau psalmody, in ch. 10, pp. 390-4.

Table 3.7 The Celebration of Holy Week

Day	Principal events
Palm Sunday	Procession of Palms Mass : including the <i>St Matthew Passion</i>
Monday of Holy Week	Usual Mass and Offices
Tuesday of Holy Week	Mass : including the <i>St Mark Passion</i> Usual Offices
Wednesday of Holy Week	Mass : including the <i>St Luke Passion</i> Usual Offices Maundy Thursday Tenebrae: : Three Nocturnes each containing a reading from the Lamentations of Jeremiah and three Responsories : <i>Miserere Mei Deus</i> : <i>Christus Factus Est</i>
Maundy Thursday	Ceremony of the Washing of the Feet (Mandatum) Mass Good Friday Tenebrae on the same lines as Tenebrae for Maundy Thursday
Good Friday	Mass of the Presanctified : including the <i>St John Passion</i> , <i>Improperia</i> (Reproaches), and the Procession to the Cross (accompanied by the hymns <i>Pange Lingua</i> and <i>Crux Fidelis</i>)
Holy Saturday	Twelve Prophecies read interspersed with Tracts in the morning Tenebrae (on the same lines as above)

Non-liturgical services can be divided into outdoor processions such as Corpus Christi and indoor devotions, such as Stations of the Cross, the Forty Hours Devotion, Rosaries and, above all, Benediction. Musically speaking this consisted of the *O Salutaris*, a Litany (of the Saints, Loreto or the Virgin Mary), and the *Tantum Ergo*. Music for these texts was sometimes composed as a single 'Benediction Service'. In addition the *Adoremus in Aeternum* might be sung. The whole was often introduced and concluded with a vernacular hymn. The *O Salutaris* and *Tantum Ergo* texts, it should be noted, derive from the Office of Corpus Christi.

The *Instruction... on Sacred Music and Liturgy* draws a sharp distinction between liturgical and non-liturgical services. Indeed, it forbade their admixture. However, it did

permit the latter to precede or follow liturgical services.¹⁹¹ Thus, and for long before, in most parishes on Sunday afternoons and evenings, there was a tendency to string together a sequence of extra-liturgical services sometimes interlarded with Vespers and Compline. In such circumstances vernacular hymns, which were meant to be chosen according to themes in the liturgical calendar, were used to link the different services together.¹⁹²

A curious survival from days when the vernacular could be used in the Office was the devotion known as 'Psalms'. Following the authorised version of the *Manual of Prayer* this consisted of two psalms in English, the canticle *Benedicite*, the *Benedictus* from St Luke's Gospel and prayers.¹⁹³

C. Liturgical books

Superficially during and after the late nineteenth century, the liturgical book scene is one of complexity and confusion. For example, the alphabetical index in Desclée's *Cantu Gregoriano* catalogue for March 1931 lists 151 separate items; though, if references to periodicals, textbooks, academic studies, books of organ accompaniments, non liturgical books and scores without Gregorian chant are excluded, the number falls to 123.¹⁹⁴ There are various reasons for this. One concerns the differences between medieval and contemporary liturgical books. Thus, books that in medieval times were essentially composite compilations, such as the Missal or the Breviary, had become recognised as distinct volumes in their own right.¹⁹⁵ Moreover, due to the development of printing, the supply of books had been transformed. As Harper notes, there were few copies of books in the Middle Ages, so a good

¹⁹¹ Trans. Howell: *An instruction... on sacred music and liturgy*. 1959: clause 12 (pp 15-16).

¹⁹² Crichton 1999: 46.

¹⁹³ Ibid. 43-4.

¹⁹⁴ *Cantu Gregoriano*. Rome. Desclée et Cie. March 1931: 50-2.

deal of reliance was placed on memory and rote learning. In such circumstances it was also sensible to issue each clerical official with a relevant specialist book. For instance, a Deacon would have a Lectionary, the principal cantor a Gradual (at Mass) or an Antiphoner (for the Office). The development of Private, and then Low Masses in the later Middle Ages where the celebrant combined the functions of Priest, Deacon and Subdeacon then led to the introduction of the Missal without music. Likewise, the need to recite the Office in private, encouraged by the emergence of mendicant Orders, resulted in the introduction of the Breviary, again without music¹⁹⁶ The printing press then facilitated the supply of multiple copies of all liturgical books not solely to the clergy, but to the choir and eventually many members of the congregation.¹⁹⁷ This became especially true from the mid nineteenth century onwards when firms like Dessain at Mechlin, Pustet at Ratisbon and later Desclée at Tournai set about providing complete sets of all the volumes that might be required. Even so the sheer size of some books made it convenient to produce smaller volumes containing excerpts from the main collections. In addition with most liturgical books there were least three other sets of variables:

[1] The Roman rite, as opposed to the Ambrosian, Mozarabic and Gallican Rites, to say nothing of variations pertaining to separate religious orders (such as Benedictines, Cistercians, Dominicans, and Franciscans). Within a rite there could be variations known as Uses, of which the Sarum Rite is the most famous in medieval England.¹⁹⁸ In addition,

¹⁹⁵ The Missal is a combination of the texts from the Sacramentary and Lectionary. O'Connell 1940: 6. The Breviary combines the Antiphoner with the other texts of the Office. Its twelfth-century origins are discussed in Little 1957: 20-2.

¹⁹⁶ Harper 1991: 58-9. O'Shea 1960R: 469

¹⁹⁷ Harper 1991: 64

¹⁹⁸ For a simple account of the emergence in the Middle Ages of different monastic liturgies see Lancelot C. Sheppard: *The Mass In The West*. London. Burns and Oates Ltd. A Faith and Fact Book. No. 114. 1962: 61-7 (Carthusians), 67-81 (Cistercians), 81-85 (Premonstratensians), 85-90 (Carmelites) and 90-4 (Dominicans). Sarum Rite is covered on pages 100-102. Hiley 1993: 608-15 gives a similar description.

supplements with texts and music appropriate for feast days of saints and martyrs especially associated with particular religious congregations, regions or nations might be added. For example the 1950, Desclée *Liber Usualis* with English rubrics described earlier has appendices for religious congregations and England in general with music for the feasts of St Magdalene Sophie, St Joan of Arc, St John Fisher and St Thomas More.¹⁹⁹

[2] Differences in the language of rubrics: Latin, English, French or other vernacular languages. This led to the publication of numerous sub-editions from the same basic publication.

[3] Differences in musical notation. For instance, in the early twentieth century some plainchant books added the Solesmes Rhythmical Signs developed by Mocquereau; others, following the Vatican Typical editions, did not. In addition, mainly for the benefit of organists expected to improvise accompaniments at sight, as well as for schools, there were books with the plainchant in modern notation.

Beneath the complexity the scene was much simpler. The printing press, when combined with the dominance of Latin, led to a considerable degree of standardisation across the whole Catholic Church. For instance a liturgical book produced by Desclée in Belgium could be used in England, as the presence of numerous copies with French or Latin rubrics in different English collections attests. Second, as has been noted, there was a tendency for leading publishers to produce complete sets of liturgical books. Third, the capital costs of editing and type setting such mammoth undertakings drove the Papacy to compensate manufacturers by offering publishing monopolies. Papal support for the Medicean *Gradual* of 1614-15 and Pustet editions produced between 1868-1901 are classic examples of this.

¹⁹⁹ The music for the Feasts of St Magdaleine Sophie and St Joan of Arc was originally typeset for the 1934 edition of the *Liber Usualis*; that for the Feasts of St John Fisher and St Thomas More was originally typeset for the 1937 edition.

With the Vatican Typical editions of the early twentieth century the Papacy allowed other companies to publish equivalent volumes provided that they kept exclusively to the Vatican text.²⁰⁰ Fourth, there were the effects of Papal reforms in the late sixteenth century. The Roman Breviary and Missal of 1568 and 1570 did not only reform the medieval liturgy and prune the liturgical calendar; they were intended to be used uniformly across the whole Church. However, the full effects of this were undermined by the permission given at that time for Dioceses and Religious Orders to retain their own liturgies provided that they were more than 200 years old.

In effect then there were basically four types of liturgical book:

- [1] Principal volumes, such as the Missal or Breviary, with texts only (see table 3.8).
- [2] Principal volumes, such as Graduals or Antiphoners, with text and music (see table 3.9).
- [3] Books, such as the Liber Usualis, that are composites of other basic volumes.
- [4] Smaller books consisting of excerpts from the larger basic compilation (see table 3.10).

Table 3.8 Principal liturgical books with texts only²⁰¹

Title	Purpose	Date of publication for the official version available in 1940 ²⁰²	Date of publication for the official version available in 1960 ²⁰³
Missal	The Mass	1920	1920
Breviary	The Office	1914	1914
Ritual	Administration of other sacraments ²⁰⁴	1925	1957
Pontifical	For services conducted by bishops	1888	1888
Martyrology	This is a calendar of saints and martyrs with short biographies intended to be read at the Office ²⁰⁵	1913	1923
Ceremonial	Intended as a reference work for bishops	1886	1886

²⁰⁰ For a sympathetic account of the situations leading to the granting of Papal monopolies for Medicean and Pustet editions of the early seventeenth and late nineteenth centuries see ‘Sacerdos’: ‘Article IX - Plainchant’. *DubR.* 1874 (2): 172-204. See also Hayburn 1979: 151-67 (for the Pustet monopoly) and 251-71 (for the story behind the Vatican Typical editions).

²⁰¹ Reference can also be made to a number of other less well known books from the Middle Ages e.g. The Ordo: giving directions for liturgical Offices, the Ordinal giving a liturgical directory for each Diocese, Collegiate church or monastery, and the Sacramentary giving the text of Propers used by the celebrant at Mass. Joseph Dyer in ed. Stanley Sadie: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. London. Macmillan Publishing Co. 2001 (2nd edition). 15: 4-6.

²⁰² O’Connell 1940: 4

²⁰³ O’Shea 1960R: 47

²⁰⁴ This replaced Bishop Challoner’s *Ordo Administrandi Sacramenta*. Crichton, James D. ‘1920-1940: The Dawn of a Liturgical Movement’ in ed. Crichton, Winstone and Ainslie: *English Catholic Worship* 1979: 361.

²⁰⁵ Based on the substantial work conducted under Benedict XIV in the eighteenth century. O’Shea. 1960R: 56. In the Middle Ages a Martyrology, dealing with martyrs only, could be distinguished from a Legendary, dealing with Saints. Dyer, in *New Grove* (2001) 15: 4-6.

Table 3.9 Principal liturgical books with texts and music²⁰⁶

Volume	Purpose	Publication date of the official version in 1940 and 1960
Gradual	Proper of the Mass	1907
Antiphoner	Antiphons for the Office	1913
Kyriale (often incorporated in the Gradual)	Ordinary of the Mass	1905

The most important example of a composite volume is the Liber Usualis, combining the Kyriale, Antiphoner and Gradual. This was a standard issue for every seminarian at Ushaw College in the twentieth century.²⁰⁷

Table 3.10 Examples of books with materials extracted from larger collections²⁰⁸
[Italicised items contain substantial amounts of music as well as text]

Title	Purpose
Lectionary: (1) for the Mass (2) for the Office	Lessons
<i>Officium Majoris Hebdomadae</i>	Holy Week services. The basic official version was published in 1922
Memoriale Ritualium	Holy Week services adapted for smaller churches, developed in 1920 ²⁰⁹
<i>Hymnale</i>	A collection of Latin hymns in plainchant usually organised according to the liturgical calendar for the Office
<i>Responsory</i>	A collection of Responsories organised according to the Liturgical calendar

In addition, reference should be made to *Plainsong for Schools* (Parts 1 and 2).²¹⁰ Although, strictly speaking, these are not liturgical books, they could be used like them since they were a compendium of music in neumes for many plainchant Ordinaries and Propers of

²⁰⁶ Reference might also be made to the *Directorum Chori*, defined by Laurentia McLachlan as a ‘standard textbook for all the tones of the Mass and Office, such as Collects, Epistles, Gospels’. *Grammar of Plainsong*. 1905: 79.

²⁰⁷ I owe this information to Hugh Lindsay, retired bishop of Hexham and Newcastle, an ex seminarian from Ushaw now living with the Canonesses of St Augustine at Boarbank, Grange-over-sands, Cumbria.

²⁰⁸ Other examples are the Homiliary, containing excerpts from Church Fathers to be read at Matins; and the Benedictional, a collection of Blessings pronounced at Mass. Dyer, in *New Grove* (2001). 15: 4-6.

²⁰⁹ O’Shea 1960R: 47 and 56.

²¹⁰ [Ed. Dominic Willson]: *Plainsong for Schools* (in two parts). Liverpool: Rushworth and Dreaper. 1930 and 1934 respectively.

the Mass along with other useful items. For extra-liturgical services the principal official volume in England was the *Ritus Servandus*.

D. Patterns of liturgical change

Earlier it was suggested that the liturgy was supposed to be unchanging. In reality, this was never really so.²¹¹ From the sixteenth century onwards, there was a series of official revisions, supplemented by numerous *ad hoc* accretions, mainly in the form of new feast days. It is important to recognise that the rate of change varied for different parts of the liturgy at different times; and even if apparently no alterations were being made to the formal texts or structures patterns of usage, the balance, for example, between the Mass and the Office, or between the liturgy proper and extra-liturgical devotions, could vary considerably. Above all, during the twentieth century there was a fundamental change in liturgical philosophy.

Basically there have been five major phases of liturgical change since the sixteenth century: The period of Tridentine reform; an era of experimentation with the use of the vernacular in liturgies by some English Catholics in Recusant times, the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; a change in the balance between liturgical services proper (such as the Mass and the Office) and extra-liturgical devotions in nineteenth-century England; the reforms of the early twentieth century; and some developments in the 1950s.

Tridentine reform, as noted earlier, was dominated by the revision of the Roman Missal and Breviary. In addition a new body, the Sacred Congregation of Rites, was established in 1588 to supervise all future developments.²¹² The new Roman Missal was first

²¹¹ For an extended discussion of the nature of legitimate and illegitimate liturgical change see Alcuin Reid: *The organic development of the liturgy: The principles of liturgical reform and their relation to the Twentieth Century liturgical movement prior to the Second Vatican Council*. Farnborough, St Michael's Abbey Press. 2004. Reid argues that liturgy ought to develop organically according to traditions laid down between the First and Fourth Centuries AD.

²¹² O'Shea 1960R: 133.

issued by Pius V in 1570 under the bull *Quo Primum Tempore*; followed by revisions in 1604 and 1634 under Clement VIII and Urban VIII respectively. It was intended to supersede all other versions that had not been in use for over two hundred years. Under this ruling Sarum and other English medieval Uses could, theoretically, have been retained.²¹³ In general this option was not taken; but it did allow English medieval chants using such texts to be performed. This, as shall be seen in chapter 5, was something that happened within the EBC. The new Roman Breviary, meanwhile, was first issued in 1568 and revised in 1602. Its most noteworthy feature was the revision of the liturgical calendar and reclassification of feast days.

Table 3.11 Feast days in the Roman Breviary of 1568 and 1602²¹⁴

Type of Feast	1568	1602
1st Class Double	19	19
2nd Class Double	17	18
Greater Double	0	16
Double	53	43
Semi-Double	60	68
Simple	All the others	All the others

* * *

In Recusant times, the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the formal elements in the liturgy were not just received directly by English lay people through sight and sound. They were mediated through a variety of devotional books, manuals, guides and other forms of printed instruction. J.D. Crichton has shown that this tradition had medieval origins, the initial catalyst being the gradual emergence of an educated laity who could read English.²¹⁵ However, a decisive step was the publication in 1593 of the *Manual of Prayer*, initially drafted by Richard Verstegan. By 1614 this had run through 15 editions, and a further

²¹³ Joseph Jungmann: *The Mass of the Roman Rite*. New York, Cincinnati. Benziger Bros. 1950. Vol. 1: 130-40. O'Connell 1940: 7-8. Harper 1991: 156-64.

²¹⁴ Based on Harper 1991: 157

83 came out between 1614 and 1800, albeit with many modifications. These, along with *Primers*, were therefore standard items for use by the laity throughout this period.²¹⁶ Early editions were semi-medieval in character, incorporating elements from the Sarum rite and other English medieval customs.²¹⁷ The emphasis was strongly devotional, and the prayers were recited or meditated upon *while* the formal service was going on. Such practices therefore militated against active vocal lay participation in services, and perhaps this may be one of the origins for why many English Catholic congregations, even now, are reluctant to sing. For example, the 1614 *Manual* consists of prayers for every day of the week, prayers before, during and after Mass, hymns and prayers for chief feasts of the year, and an appendix of miscellaneous items such as the Jesus Psalter, the Golden Litany, the Litany of the Saints and the seven Penitential Psalms.²¹⁸ However, English translations of the Gloria, Sanctus and the Common Preface are supplied and many of the other prayers are paraphrases of the relevant Latin liturgical texts used during the Mass. This meant that a congregation could at least follow what was going on. In addition both *Primers* and *Manuals* incorporated English translations of several hymns.²¹⁹

During the seventeenth century numerous other books of a similar nature were produced. In most cases the principal purpose was to enable the laity to understand as well as follow the services. Sometimes there was also a tendency to make direct translations of a higher proportion of liturgical texts. For example *A devout exposition of the holy Mass* (Douai, 1614) gives a complete translation of the ordinary. Later, James Dymock, in *The Great Sacrifice of the New Law*, translated the whole canon as well as the ordinary, despite

²¹⁵ James D. Crichton: *Worship in a hidden Church*. Blackrock. The Columba Press. 1988: 7-24. See especially his discussion of *The Lay Folks Mass Book*, produced sometime in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries.

²¹⁶ Ibid. 30. The standard work on Primers is Joannes Maria Blom: *The Post-Tridentine English Primer*. Krips Reprp B.V. Meppel. 1979.

²¹⁷ Crichton 1988: 37-9.

²¹⁸ Ibid. 34-5.

²¹⁹ Ibid. 46-8. Blom 1979: 78-103, 138-161 and 197-238.

Pope Alexander VII's 1661 decree prohibiting translations of the Missal. Dymock, in effect, wanted more active congregational participation.²²⁰

Dymock prepared the way for the work of John Gother (d. 1704) and his followers in the eighteenth century. Gother's ideas about congregational participation are set out in his *Instructions and Devotions for hearing Mass* (1699). His liturgical translations were incorporated into William Crathorne's *The Holy Mass in Latin and English* (1718), which remained in use till the end of the century. Much more elaborate was Charles Cardell's (d. 1791) *The Divine Office for the use of the laity*, published in 1763. In effect this was a Missal for every day of the year. However, as it appeared in no less than four expensively bound volumes, its circulation must have been limited.²²¹

Parallel to this were several publications by Bishop Richard Challoner, notably *The Catholic Christian* (1737) and *The Garden of the Soul* (1740). The latter remained in use, with numerous additions and modifications, up till Vatican II. Although a follower of Gother, in practice Challoner proved more conservative. In particular he had reservations about the laity reading the canon. Thus *The Catholic Christian* gave translations of the ordinary of the Mass but, except for the dialogues at the Preface, it substituted paraphrases for the canon.²²²

Vernacular traditions continued to develop in the early nineteenth century. For example *A Missal or Roman Catholic devotions for the use of the laity*, printed by Thomas Billing of Liverpool in 1809, was almost entirely in English.²²³ More significant, perhaps, was F.C. Husenbeth's *The Missal for the use of the laity*, characterised by highly Latinised

²²⁰ Crichton 1998: 55-58 (Dymock, using the 8th edition of 1687). For a discussion of other seventeenth-century volumes see 52-55 and 60-2. Dymock's attitudes may also reflect the situation in France, where after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, the Catholic church faced the need to incorporate thousands of reluctant Huguenots into its community. For further discussion of Continental developments in liturgical piety combined with congregational participation in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries see Reid 2004: 52-3.

²²¹ Ibid. 66-79.

²²² Ibid. 76-77.

²²³ Ibid. 73.

English translations. This was published in 1837, and reprinted in 1840, 1845, 1849, 1850 and 1853. As such, it remained in use till the 1890s. In 1842 Husenbeth also produced a *Vesper Book for the use of the laity*, with English translations of the text. The 1844 edition incorporated Gregorian tones for the Psalms and, like *The Missal for the use of the laity*, it probably remained in use till the end of the century.²²⁴ Another prominent author was John Lingard. Today, his reputation mainly rests on his work as a historian, but in 1833 he produced a *Manual of Common Prayer*. It is divided into four parts: (1) Prayers before Mass (2) The ordinary of the Mass, together with a complete translation of the canon (3) Prayers after Mass, and (4) the *Te Deum*. In addition some translations of the epistle and gospel readings are provided.²²⁵

Lingard's *Manual*, in the first instance, was produced for his congregation at Hornby, near Lancaster; in other words, it was intended to meet a specific local need. This was by no means untypical. The Catholic Relief and Emancipation Acts allowed Catholics to worship more openly, and consequently this impelled many clergy to produce publications that would make the liturgy more accessible to their congregations.²²⁶ On the other hand such activity fell foul of the centralising Ultramontane tendencies promoted by Wiseman. Worse, by this stage, vernacular liturgies of this type were associated with the Cisalpine movement.²²⁷ Lingard himself was sympathetic towards such viewpoints. He argued that, not only would a vernacular liturgy make Catholicism seem more acceptable to the Protestant establishment, it

²²⁴ Ibid. 74-5, 83-4.

²²⁵ Ibid. 98-100. For a more detailed discussion see Emma Riley: 'John Lingard and the liturgy' in ed. Peter Phillips: *Lingard Remembered: Essays to mark the Sesquicentenary of John Lingard's death*. CRS 2004: 151-169.

²²⁶ Riley 2004: 146-151, citing *Prayers to be said before and after Mass and in the afternoon* by Nicholas Morgan, Joseph and William Dunn (all of whom were ex-Jesuits) for churches in Blackburn and Preston. Manchester, 1805. See also the anonymous publication *Instructions and Prayers before, at and after Mass for Sundays and Holy days, as used in the Northern District*. Manchester, 1830. Similar publications, relating to Wardour Castle (1820) and the chapel at Worcester (1822) are cited by Crichton 1988: 97-116. These too are Jesuit publications.

²²⁷ Crichton 1988: 98. Riley 2004: 160-2. Scott 1992: 140-1 supplies details of work by Michael Benedict Pembroke and Gregory Gregson. The latter was chaplain to John Throckmorton, a leading Cisalpine.

would also promote conversions.²²⁸ Vernacular liturgies also conjured up Gallican associations which, as has been seen, in the wake of the French Revolution, were viewed with great suspicion by many Catholics. Lingard himself had been trained at Douai, where he had imbibed Gallican ideas from Claude Fleury.²²⁹ It is tempting then to see the reversal of such tendencies in the late nineteenth century as the inevitable consequence of Ultramontane dominance in the episcopal hierarchy. Certainly there seems to be a parallel with what was happening in France where, under the influence of Guéranger, local Gallican varieties of the liturgy, many of which had been developed in the eighteenth century, were abandoned by every diocese in favour of the Roman usage.²³⁰ Yet such divisions between Cisalpines and Ultramontanes over the liturgy must not be over-emphasised. For example, modified versions of Thomas Billing's *Missal* were published in 1815 and 1833 by Brown and Keating, who were Ultramontanes. The same firm also published *Vespers or Evening Service in Latin and English according to the Roman Breviary* in 1822 and *Tenebrae or the Evening Service of Holy Week according to the Roman Breviary in Latin and English* in 1837. As late as 1850 Burns and Lambert, another Ultramontane firm, produced a *Vesper Book* of their own, which was also in Latin and English. This was reprinted in 1859. Copies of these, and other similar volumes, can still be found in the Everingham collection stored in the Bar Convent at York. Yet the Constable-Maxwells of Everingham were committed Ultramontanes and personal friends of Robert Cornthwaite, the Ultramontane bishop of Beverley.²³¹ Thus old practices dating back to the eighteenth century did not die out quickly, and in some cases, most notably

²²⁸ Riley 2004: 151-2.

²²⁹ Ibid. 160-2. Crichton 1988: 98.

²³⁰ Baudot 1929R: 66. For a simple description of these Neo-Gallican liturgies - all permitted because French dioceses had liturgical traditions more than 200 years old in 1570 - see Sheppard 1962: 86-99. See also Reid 2004: 40-44 and 46-50.

²³¹ Other early nineteenth-century volumes of the same type from Everingham are: *Morning Prayers: The Litanies and other Evening Prayers which are usually said in Catholic families with the daily examination of conscience*. Sold by C. Crowshaw of the Stonegate, York. N.d. *The Vesper Book for the use of the laity*. London, Dublin and Derby. Thomas Richardson and son. 1848 and 1863 (copies of both editions are survive here); and the *Missal of the Laity*, incorporating English scripture readings. London. Burns and Oates Ltd. N.d.

with Challoner’s *Garden of the Soul*, they survived into the twentieth century. Moreover, as shall be seen, they exerted some influence on liturgical developments during that period.

The other great development during the nineteenth century concerned the changing balance between Office services and extra-liturgical devotions. In monasteries, thanks to the efforts of Guéranger, there was a greater emphasis on the Office, with inevitable effects on the promotion of plainchant and eventually the production of separate monastic Antiphoners, Graduals and other liturgical books.²³² On the other hand the rise of devotions such as public Rosaries and Benediction accelerated its decline elsewhere; a decline, it should be noticed, that had already begun in the late sixteenth century. In the late nineteenth century figures for the rise of these two particular devotions are quite startling (see tables 3.13 and 3.14). Growth though was somewhat uneven. For example, while with Stations of the Cross there was a similar expansion, Expositions of the Blessed Sacrament and the Forty Hours Devotion proved to be less popular.²³³

Table 3.12 Churches offering Benediction services in the dioceses of Westminster and Hexham²³⁴

Year	Westminster	Hexham and Newcastle
1851	15 out of 47 churches	None
1875	69 out of 101 churches	15 out of 94 churches
1900	100 out of 153 churches	112 out of 148 churches

Table 3.13 Churches offering public Rosary services in the dioceses of Westminster and Hexham²³⁵

Year	Westminster	Hexham and Newcastle
1851	3 out of 47 churches	None
1875	28 out of 101 churches	4 out of 94 churches
1900	41 out of 153 churches	24 out of 123 churches
1914	54 out of 192 churches	29 out of 148 churches

²³² See ch. 5 pp. 126-8.
²³³ Mary Heimann. *Catholic Devotion in Victorian England*. Oxford. Clarendon Press. 1995: 42.
²³⁴ Adapted from Heimann, 1995: 178-82 which themselves are culled from data in annual issues of the *Catholic Directory*. For a contemporary discussion of the importance of Benediction see Herbert Thurston: ‘Our Benediction Service’ in *The Month*. 1905: 45-9.
²³⁵ Heimann 1995 loc. cit

Turning to the early twentieth century, some of the changes advocated by *Tra le Solleitudini* have already been noted. Other principal features were first, the admonition under the bull *Sacra Tridentina Synodus* in 1905 for more frequent holy communion. This can be read as an attempt to encourage people to take more interest in the public aspect of the Mass as a rite instead of treating it as an occasion for private prayer and personal devotions. Second, there was the publication in 1917 of a new code of Canon Law which was progressively updated by the Sacred Congregation of Rites in *Decreta Authentica* between 1898-1926 and thereafter in the *Acta Apostolicae Sedae*. The effect was to produce a highly legalistic approach to all liturgical questions.²³⁶

The third development, under the decree *Divini Afflatu* of 1911, was the revision of the Roman Breviary. This, as Harper noted, was occasioned by the proliferation of Double and Semi-Double Feasts that had taken place since the early seventeenth century.

Table 3.14 The number of Double and Semi-Double Feasts: 1568-1882²³⁷

1568: 149	1631: 176
1602: 164	1882: 275

The response was twofold. First, the Breviary was reorganised to enable the entire Psalter to be chanted during the Office in one week. Second, there was a determined bid to restore the Temporale by combining the Ferial Psalter with the Office of Saints and by ensuring that the usual Sunday Office generally took precedence over the Office of a Saint.²³⁸ These changes coincided with the work of the Pontifical Biblical Commission. A new Latin translation of the Vulgate was issued in 1907, followed by a new translation of the Psalter in

²³⁶ O'Shea 1960R: 58.

²³⁷ Harper 1991: 157.

²³⁸ See the introduction to *Daily Prayer from the Divine Office: The Liturgy of the Hours according to the Roman Rite as renewed by decrees of the Second Vatican Council and promulgated by authority of Pope Paul VI*. London and Glasgow. Collins. 1974: x-xiii.

1913.²³⁹ At the same time Missals with English translations alongside the Latin text were published by, among others, Adrian Fortescue and Fernand Cabrol in 1912 and 1920 respectively. However, it should be noted that Fortescue's Missal was really a revision of Husenbeth's *The Missal for the use of the laity*, which had been reprinted in 1898. Thus, in one sense, a tradition stretching back to Recusant times was being revived.²⁴⁰ Clearly the intention was to encourage lay people to take more of an interest in the public aspect of the Mass.

* * * *

Such developments prepared the way for further changes during the 1950s. The education and training of Joseph Connolly (1904-78), Clifford Howell (1902-81), and James D. Crichton (1907-2001), who were leading English liturgists at this time, shows this.²⁴¹ All were educated at Cotton College, Staffordshire. Here they were influenced by the liturgical practices introduced by Thomas Williams, who had been appointed headmaster there in 1922 and later went on to become Archbishop of Birmingham. Williams encouraged active liturgical participation by the whole school, including the massed singing of plainchant. In this respect he anticipated the musical practices of the Society of St Gregory in the 1930s, which was originally founded to promote the singing of plainchant, and in which Connolly, Howells and Crichton became leading members. Similar practices were promoted the Rector at Oscott College, James Day, where Connolly and Crichton studied for the priesthood. Jesuit

²³⁹ See, for example, Edwin Barton and Edward Myers: *The New Psalter and its use*. London, New York, Bombay. Longman, Green and Co. 1913: 2-49. For work on the Vulgate see Gasquet, Aidan (the chairman of the commission): 'The Revision of the Vulgate' in the *DubR*. 143 (July-Oct. 1908): 64-73.

²⁴⁰ Crichton 1988: 74, 88-9. Heimann 1995: 71. Reid, 2004: 68-99. Crichton states that Fortescue's Missal was first published in 1915; but a 1928 edition possessed by my aunt (Mrs Pauline Godber) states that the first edition was produced in 1912. Reid regards Lambert Beaudouin of Liege as the principal founder of the twentieth-century liturgical movement and places Fortescue and Cabrol in that context.

²⁴¹ See their obituaries for outlines of their careers viz. James D. Crichton: 'Joseph Connolly: An Appreciation' *ML* 4/3 (Summer 1978): 114-115; Anon: 'Clifford Howell SJ. *LN* (No. 381) (Easter 1981) 349-56. See also Crichton's appreciation, taken from *Liturgy*, on pp. 356-6, as well as a postscript by Fr Brinkworth on pp. 430-2 in the next issue (No. 381). For Crichton's career see Paul Moynihan: 'Mgr. J.D. Crichton RIP' *ML* 27/3 (No. 303) (Autumn 2001): 34-5.

influence was also significant. Howell completed his school education at Stonyhurst where, influenced by the introduction of John Driscoll's *Cantionale* in the 1920s, a full-blooded liturgical regime was in force, albeit balanced by a substantial repertoire performed by the choir. Howell and Crichton were also affected by the ideas of Cyril Martindale SJ, who had also been educated at Stonyhurst. As late as 2001 Crichton cited Martindale's books *The Mind of the Missal* (1929) and *The Word of the Missal* (1931) with approval. In the late 1940s they were also all affected by the writings of Joseph Jungmann SJ. A further factor was the Classical education imbibed by Howells at Stonyhurst (although he went on to read Chemistry at Imperial College, London) and Connolly while reading 'Greats' at Oxford. This was also a feature underlying Martindale's work, as Crichton appreciated. The effect was to instil a concern to convey the clear meaning of a given text.²⁴²

Despite all this, it is clear that Connolly, Howells and Crichton were in large measure self-taught, although it is true that Crichton had connections with St Anselmino in Rome. The decisive catalyst was the experience of war, and the resulting encounter with the Dialogue Mass on the continent. As the title implies, this was a Low Mass in which the congregation were expected to utter 'their' responses out aloud, instead of leaving the job to the server. This was therefore a more thoroughgoing approach to direct lay participation than virtually anything produced by English Catholic liturgists in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Yet, although the concept had been accepted as early as 1922 by the Sacred Congregation of Rites, and additional endorsement granted in 1935, English bishops at that time were generally opposed to it. However, it was used quite widely in parts of Western Europe; and during the Second World War many British Catholic servicemen, including Connolly and Howell in their capacity as military chaplains, used it. In particular they were

²⁴² James D. Crichton: 'Sixty Years On: A Retrospect'. *ML* 27/4 (no. 304)(Winter 2001): 36-7. See also Crichton, 1978: 114-115. Reid, 2004: 92-3.



helped by the introduction of a special edition of the *Simple Prayer Book*, which was widely distributed to the forces. From these beginnings it spread to the rest of the country during the 1950s and was accepted as the normal form of Low Mass in the *Instruction... on Music and the Liturgy* issued in 1958.²⁴³ Associated with its rise was the permission, also given in the 1950s, to have Low Mass in the evenings. This of course contributed to a decline in Sunday afternoon and evening devotions and Offices, despite a call to reverse this in the same document.²⁴⁴

Another set of developments in the 1950s concerned the revision of the Holy Week liturgy, starting with the Easter Vigil in 1951 and continuing with Tenebrae in 1955.²⁴⁵ Henceforth each Tenebrae was performed on the morning of the actual day rather than the night before, thereby altering the whole atmosphere and leading to a curtailment in some of its contents. As a result, *The New Office of Holy Week with Gregorian Chant*, edited by Solesmes was published in modern and neum notation versions by Desclée in 1957. In 1955 a revision of the rubrics also readjusted the balance between the Temporale and Sanctorale - as usual in favour of the former.²⁴⁶

Many of these twentieth century changes signalled a shift in philosophy. In the 1900s the prime concern had been with rubrics, as volumes like Daniel Rock's *Hierugia* and Fortescue's *The Ceremonies of the Roman Rite described* demonstrate.²⁴⁷ Following Guéranger, people argued that the liturgy was specially divine, and therefore it should possess a static timeless quality. It was thus essential to get the ceremonies right; and the resulting

²⁴³ Ibid. 114-115; also Crichton 1979: 23, 35, 60. Jungmann 1950.Vol. 1: 162-5 (for its development on the Continent). O'Shea 1960R: 422.

²⁴⁴ Crichton 1999: 15. See trans. Howell: *An Instruction... on Sacred music and the Liturgy*. 1959: clause 45 (pp. 33-4).

²⁴⁵ O'Shea 1960R: 272-3. One effect was the removal of the *Miserere*. These, and other Papal changes, are also discussed by Reid, 2004: 159-69, 196-200, 204-19 and 237-9.

²⁴⁶ Jungmann 1950 loc cit.

²⁴⁷ Daniel Rock, revised W.H.James Weale: *Hierugia or the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass with notes and dissertations elucidating its doctrines and ceremonies*. London. John Hodges. 1892: 2 vols.

concern with rules and regulations was reinforced by the revision of the Canon Law in 1917. Yet such concerns could also justify a historical scholarly approach to the study of ancient documentation.²⁴⁸ Similar developments were already taking place in other related disciplines: notably straight historical research as advocated by Lord Acton, in theology by fellow Modernists like George Tyrrell and Anatole Von Hugel, with the revision of the Vulgate in 1907 by Gasquet and in plainchant by Pothier and Mocquereau. Indeed, Gasquet was well aware of the similarity between his methods and those used for plainchant by Solesmes.²⁴⁹ The effect of such scholarship was rather different from what many bargained for. First, it revealed some rather unpalatable truths. Edmund Bishop, in his *The Genius of the Roman Rite* of 1899, argued that the early Christian liturgy had many non-Roman elements in it. He also demonstrated that the Office and the Mass were partly the result of Frankish modifications in the eighth and ninth centuries. Moreover, further significant changes - notably the development of the Curial Office and Mass - were shown to have taken place at Rome in the thirteenth century and then exported to the rest of Catholic Europe by the Franciscans. Contrary to fond Ultramontane imaginings then the liturgy was not entirely Roman at all.²⁵⁰ Worse still, it was the product of accretions, as revelations of the widely differing periods for the introduction and subsequent modifications to different parts of the Mass showed.²⁵¹ These, for instance, are the periods when, according to Cabrol, different parts of the Ordinary were introduced to the Mass:

²⁴⁸ Reid 2004: 59.

²⁴⁹ Gasquet 1908: 267, 270-2. Like Solesmes with plainchant he also knew about the effects of Papal revisions of the Vulgate in 1590 and 1592. For further details, especially the relevant Papal bulls *Cum Sanctissima* and *Si Quid Es*, see O'Connell 1940: 8.

²⁵⁰ Dom Baudot 1907/1929R: 21-35. Sheppard 1962: *The Mass in the West*. 1962: 20. Hiley 1993: 302-3.

²⁵¹ O'Shea 1960R: 311-15 (Introit), 352-5 (Gradual), Offertory (365), Communion (416-17), Kyrie (323-5), Gloria (326), Sanctus (385-386), Agnus Dei (413). For the Frankish contribution see p. 469. See also Fortescue's discussion of developments to the Proper 1918: 215-18, 267, 269, 271-2, 303-4, 385-7.

Table 3.15 Periods when selected parts of the Ordinary of the Mass were introduced, according to Cabrol

Item	Period of introduction to the Mass	Page reference in Cabrol ²⁵²
<i>Kyrie</i>	4 th century as Litanies. Later it was cut back to its present form.	53
<i>Confiteor</i>	10th century.	49
<i>Gloria</i>	5th century.	54
<i>Credo</i>	11th century (but introduced earlier in Spain, Gaul and Germany).	55
<i>Sanctus</i>	3rd century	66
<i>Agnus Dei</i>	Late 7th century.	70

Various consequences followed. A tension between the claims of historical authenticity and legitimate change - or at any rate a value put on more recent developments - emerged; and it is significant that exactly the same discussion occurred over the introduction of the Vatican Plainchant editions at that time.²⁵³ The Church would also have to admit that it had made errors; again something that no Ultramontane could willingly contemplate. Worst of all, the nature of historical research, far from achieving absolute certainty, produced exactly the opposite - a state of permanent revolution as scholars made further discoveries or argued about what had already been found.²⁵⁴ Once again, there is a parallel with Solesmes plainchant, as Katherine Bergeron's discussion of the implications of Mocquereau's work reveals.²⁵⁵ In short, a shift in authority was taking place. Liturgy was no longer simply what prelates in high authority declared it to be; willy-nilly they were dependent on advice given by scholars who were usually their clerical inferiors and might even be laymen. Reid, in particular, stresses the importance of international conferences in shaping liturgical

²⁵² Fernand Cabrol, trans. C.M. Anthony: *The Holy Sacrifice: A simple explanation of the Mass*. London. Burns, Oates and Washbourne Ltd. 1937.

²⁵³ Henry Bewerunge: 'The Vatican Edition of Plainchant, Parts I and II' attacks the Vatican *Kyriale* and *Graduale* of 1905 and 1907 on the grounds that many of the melodies used were not in the most 'authentic' form as established by Mocquereau's research team at Solesmes and Appuldurcombe. *IER*. 19 (4th series) (1906): 44-63 and 20 (4th series) (1906): 414-28.

²⁵⁴ For example Fortescue in his *The Mass: A Study of the Roman Liturgy*. London. Burns and Oates. 1912: vii-viii and 138-41 felt compelled to list the numerous different theses advocated by various scholars about the origins of the Mass without coming to any firm overall conclusion.

²⁵⁵ Bergeron 1998: 151-161. See also ch. 5, pp. 193-6.

developments during the 1950s.²⁵⁶ In turn, this may have helped produce a genealogical 'canon' of recognised liturgical scholars. For example, O'Shea, in his *The Worship of Church: A Companion to Liturgical Studies* lists Edmund Bishop, the Anglican Walter Frere, Herbert Thurston SJ, Gregory Dix, Adrian Fortescue and Joseph Jungmann SJ among his liturgical mentors or colleagues. The same concept also appears in the writings of Michael Richards and James Crichton. Crichton in particular, as editor in the 1940s and 1950s of the SSG periodical *Music and Liturgy* - renamed *Liturgy* - did much to entrench this, adding J.B. O'Connell, Clifford Howell and, by inference, himself to the list.²⁵⁷

The encyclical *Mediator Dei* shows that by 1947 such issues were clear to the highest authority. In clauses 4-5 Pius XII praised the revival of liturgical studies since the late nineteenth century; but then went on in clauses 61 and 65 to attack 'the restoration of all the ancient rites and ceremonies indiscriminately', and to point out that 'more recent liturgical rites likewise deserve reverence and respect.' In clause 58, developing arguments set out in clauses 44-8, the document states 'that the Sovereign Pontiff alone enjoys the right to recognise and establish any practice touching the worship of God, to introduce and approve new rites, as also to modify those he judges to require modification'. Clearly this is a response to the challenge posed by liturgical specialists. As early as clause 8, Pius XII states that 'We (sic) observe with considerable anxiety and some misgiving, that...certain enthusiasts, over eager in their search for novelty, are straying beyond the path of sound doctrine and

²⁵⁶ Reid 2004: 172-191, 222-39, 247-52.

²⁵⁷ O'Shea 1960R: 4. Michael Richards: 'Prelude: The 1890s to 1920' and James Crichton: '1920-1940: The dawn of a liturgical movement' and 'The Liturgical movement from 1940 to Vatican II' in ed. Crichton, Winstone and Ainslie. 1979: 8-9, 10-14, 21-2, 37-9, 65-6, 74-5.

prudence'.²⁵⁸

It was at this point that liturgical study became driven by an ideology of its own - namely the espousal of congregational participation. Such an espousal had an intellectual as well as a historical basis. Historically it was argued that the laity in the earliest Christian period at Rome had enjoyed a full vocal part in the liturgy. The implication was that congregational participation should be restored.²⁵⁹ Such a restoration had effects on plainchant as it had come to be understood at Solesmes. If the 'Roman' character of the Catholic liturgy had to some extent been 'compromised' by Frankish alterations in the eighth and ninth centuries, then the ninth- and tenth-century documents on which they had based much of their research, and which came in most cases from North European rather than straight Roman sources, were equally suspect. Such Frankish alterations to both liturgy and plainchant had made services more ceremonial in character and the plainchant more difficult to perform. In short, they militated against direct vocal congregational participation. Therefore Solesmes plainchant, contrary to what many still argued in the 1950s, was incompatible with such participation because of the historical circumstances in which its source material, and that of the liturgy on which it depended, had been produced.

Intellectually, the key concept was the uniting of 'understanding' with ritual, a point grasped even by *Mediator Dei*.²⁶⁰ Intellectual understanding required the elimination of private devotional distractions;²⁶¹ it demanded active participation; and it made the introduction of a vernacular liturgy highly desirable. This was why the re-introduction, early

²⁵⁸ *Mediator Dei*. trans. St Paul Books and Media. N.d. pp. 4, 28-9, 22-7, and 6 respectively. Despite such strictures Reid argues that the document signalled a new phase of accelerated liturgical development in the 1950s with an emphasis on its pastoral side associated, for example, with the ideas of Amabile Bugnini. Reid, 2004: 126-9 and 134-7.

²⁵⁹ Reid 2004: 152-3 and 158 discussing Jungmann's ideas. As has been seen, Crichton went further. In his *Worship In A Hidden Church* he argued that Catholics in Recusant times, the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries had also enjoyed many aspects of a vernacular liturgy. 1988: 7-103. However, MacMahon 1935R: 3-4 notes the same historical phenomena but does not draw the same full conclusion.

²⁶⁰ Bugnini 1983/1990R: 6. O'Shea 1960R: 6-7. *Mediator Dei* Trans. St Paul Books and Media. N.d: clause 25 (p. 14).

in the twentieth century, of English translations alongside the Latin in the Missal noted earlier was so significant. It was followed in 1944 by the foundation of the Vernacular Society.²⁶² From about the same time the Papacy made a number of concessions in certain parts of the world in favour of vernacular liturgies.²⁶³

The key issue was what was meant by ‘congregational participation’. Liturgists such as Jungmann, Crichton, and O’Connell read key Papal pronouncements dealing with liturgy and music - *Tra le Solleitudini, Divini Cultus* (1928), *Mediator Dei* (1947) and the *Instruction on Liturgy and Music* (1958) - as endorsements of active *vocal* participation by the laity.²⁶⁴ In fact such pronouncements did not necessarily mean this. Participation could be confined to ‘gesture’ (such as kneeling, standing, making the sign of the cross); or it could be purely internal. MacMahon is typically opaque and contradictory about this. On the one hand, he argued that the liturgy is a public act of worship offered to God. On the other, he described ‘it is an act performed in the name of and on behalf of the whole Christian people’ - implying no lay participation at all, especially as ‘it is an act accomplished by a duly accredited minister!’ He then goes on to state that ‘it implies that we should unite with the whole Church in offering up the Holy Sacrifice, unite with the Church in the other forms of liturgical worship and prayer at which we may assist, and unite with the Church in its celebration of the mysteries of Our Lord’s life in the round of the liturgical season.’ At no point then does he come out and explicitly state that the congregation should participate by uttering or singing words out aloud.²⁶⁵ In the 1950s, however, there seemed to be a possible compromise.

²⁶¹ MacMahon 1935R: 5.

²⁶² Crichton 1999: 78.

²⁶³ For instance vernacular versions of the Ritual were permitted in Germany (1943 and 1950), France (1946 and 1947), and the USA (1954). Similar permission for England and Wales was delayed till 1959. Similar concessions had already been granted for Croatia, Czechoslovakia and Dalmatia in the 1920s. Reid, 2004: 121-2 and 253.

²⁶⁴ See, for example, James Crichton: ‘A Papal encyclical: past events casting their shadows before’ (discussing the significance of *Mediator Dei*) in *ML*. 24/1 (No. 289) (Spring 1988): 4-7.

²⁶⁵ MacMahon 1926/R1935: 2.

Following *Mediator Dei* and *Musica Sacra Disciplina* (1955), *The Instruction... on Sacred Music and the Liturgy*, translated by Clifford Howell, another liturgist who advocated vocal congregational participation, stated that the celebrant, choir and congregation had assigned to them particular parts of the Mass where they were expected to participate vocally. Under this ruling, the congregation were allocated the principal responses and the Ordinary. They were even ‘permitted’ to take part in the Proper. On the other hand, ‘this participation must, above all, be *internal* (italics in the original) but the participation is more complete if, to this internal participation is added an external participation’ which was defined as bodily posture, ritual gesture and ‘answering praying and singing’. Thus, although elsewhere at High Mass it was specified that all congregations should learn to sing the Ordinary in plainchant, there was still a degree of ambiguity.²⁶⁶

In the long run however, such attempts to fudge the issue were unsustainable. There was a clear conflict between the claims of ritual and rubrics as ends in themselves in the manner propounded by Guéranger versus the argument for understanding the liturgy by means of participation. The former was ‘God-centred’. If liturgical prayer is of divine origin it has to be returned to God in the most perfect authentic form - hence the requirement, as has already been noted, for trained specialist singers and celebrants. The latter is orientated towards the needs of the people. If they are to understand they have to vocally participate. By implication an imperfect performance has to be accepted, an elaborate plainchant abandoned, and vernacular texts adopted.

A clear choice then had to be made; and it should now be obvious that the development of liturgy as a subject in the twentieth century helped ensure that the decision

²⁶⁶ Trans. Howell: *An Instructionon Sacred Music and Liturgy* 1959: 24.

made at Vatican II would be in favour of the vernacular. Even so, *Sacrosanctum Consilium* - the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy (1963) - continued to insist on separate musical and liturgical roles for the celebrating clergy, the choir and the congregation.²⁶⁷ However, in effect the introduction of the vernacular opened the floodgates to far more widespread congregational participation. In turn that required new music, which, as the composer Anthony Milner recognised in 1954, 'must be simple and memorable' and in which the text is 'easily intelligible, unambiguous, contemporary in idiom and rhythm.'²⁶⁸ The musical presentation of clearly intelligible text of course echoes sentiments enunciated by the Council of Trent; but there are crucial differences. The music of Palestrina and the revised plainchant of his day were not intended to be sung by congregations; even if the musical vocabulary had been clarified and simplified. Nor was it meant to be sung in any other language but Latin. Milner's ideal is much closer to that espoused by the Elizabethan and Jacobean Anglican church; so it is no accident that in the 1960s English Catholic musicians showed great interest in that repertoire.²⁶⁹ Above all a liturgy that is vernacular cannot be international and therefore in England cannot be clothed with music by foreign composers. The general abandonment of the Latin Mass after Vatican II therefore resulted in a profound change to English Catholic musical culture.

²⁶⁷ 'Sacrosanctum Consilium: Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy' trans. Joseph Gallagher, Joseph in ed. Walter M. Abbott: *The Message and meaning of the Ecumenical Council: The Documents of Vatican II with notes and comments by Catholic, Protestant and Orthodox authorities*. London and Dublin: Geoffrey Chapman. 1966: clauses 26-32 (pp. 147-8). The introduction by C.J. McNaspy emphasises how much it was the product of earlier liturgical developments citing in particular the work of Jungmann and Bugnini cited in references above: 133-6.

²⁶⁸ Anthony Milner: 'Music in a vernacular liturgy' in ed. C.R.A. Cunliffe: *English in the Liturgy: A Symposium*. London. Burns and Oates. 1956: 123-34.

²⁶⁹ See for example the extensive holdings of music published for the Anglican Church market in the Church Music Association collections listed in the *Repertoire* database (Use a Query on the following fields: **CID** (criteria 'LC'), **Editor**, **Publication Title**, and **Standard Publisher** from the **PID/CID** and **Publications** tables. For instructions on how to execute such a query see ch. 11, pp. 448-50 and 456-7.

Chapter 4: The legislative framework

The Catholic Church, especially the Curia in Rome, is notoriously legalistic.²⁷⁰ No account then of the background to Catholic music in Britain can be complete without some discussion of the relevant corpus of official legislation. Hayburn has calculated that 463 decrees, edicts and letters of various have emanated from Rome between 95 and 1977AD;²⁷¹ and to these must be added the numerous other decrees, rulings and documentation generated by Provincial and Diocesan Councils, by bishops and archbishops, and by the Councils, Chapters and other ruling bodies of various Religious Orders. The effects are compounded by the sense of historical continuity with the earliest Christian past noted earlier; so the tendency is for such legislation to be cumulative.

Papal intervention has been particularly important from the beginning of the twentieth century. These are the principal documents:

Table 4.1 Principal documents about music produced by the Catholic Church: 1903-1963²⁷²

Abbreviation	Title	Date	Type
[TLS]	<i>Tra le Solleitudini</i> [Often referred to as 'Motu Proprio']	1903	Motu Proprio
[DC]	<i>Divini Cultus</i>	1928	Apostolic Constitution
[MD]	<i>Mediator Dei</i>	1947	Encyclical Letter
[MSD]	<i>Musicae Sacrae Disciplina</i>	1955	Encyclical Letter
[ISML]	<i>De Musica Sacra et Sacra Disciplina ad mentem litterarum Pio XII 'Musicae Sacrae Disciplina' et 'Mediator Dei'</i>	1958	Instruction issued by the Sacred Congregation of Rites
[SC]	<i>Sacrosanctum Consilium</i>	1963	Constitution jointly issued by Vatican II and Pope Paul VI

²⁷⁰ Crichton 1999: 89-90.

²⁷¹ These are categorised as follows: 4 Motu Proprio, 2 Edicts, 4 Encyclical Letters, 10 Apostolic Letters, 78 Papal Letters, 4 decrees by the Council of Trent, 254 decrees by the Sacred Congregation of Rites, 3 decrees by the Congregation of the Holy Office, 4 decrees each by the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, the Congregation of Ceremonies for the Cardinal of Rome, the Congregation of the Apostolic Succession and the Congregation of the Second Vatican Council. Hayburn 1979: 387.

²⁷² Pronouncements dealing with plainchant are summarised in ch. 5. ISML and SC are usually referred to as the 'Instruction on Music and the Liturgy' and the 'Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy'.

The first feature to note is the liturgical character of all these documents. Sometimes this is even reflected in their titles (viz. ISML or SC). Indeed liturgists often view them as liturgical rather than musical documents. Nor is this surprising, given the liturgical background outlined in the previous chapter. Nonetheless the musical-liturgical balance varies a good deal from document to document. For instance ISML is a very practical document, and consequently has a fairly even division between musical and liturgical elements. MD, on the other hand, is much more theoretical. Here only 4 out of its 211 clauses deal specifically with music. TLS, with just 3 out of 29 clauses on liturgy alone, appears to show the reverse. In fact, as the quotation given at the start of chapter 3 shows, music is regarded as subservient to the liturgy. Consequently, considerations of musical style are determined by liturgical parameters. Extracts from clauses 1 and 2 make this plain:

Sacred music, being a complementary part of the solemn liturgy, participates in the general scope of the liturgy, which is the glory of God and the sanctification of the faithful... [Terry. 1931: 255. Clause 1]

Sacred music should consequently possess, in the highest degree, the qualities proper to the liturgy, and precisely *sanctity* and *goodness of form*, from which its other character of *universality* spontaneously springs.

It must be *holy*, and must, therefore, exclude all profanity not only in itself, but in the manner in which it is presented by those who execute it.

It must be true art... [Terry. 1931: 256. Clause 2]

A second point is that the force of such documentation depends on its type, as Jan Joncas has noted.²⁷³ In this context, the surprising fact is that this aspect was relatively slow to develop. Although Hayburn dates the first 'Papal' document on music to 95AD he notes that the first 'official' documentation only appeared under Leo IV (847-855) and the standardisation of type was not achieved till the pontificate of Leo XIII (1878-1903)! Indeed

²⁷³ Jan Michael Joncas: *From Sacred Song to Ritual Music: Twentieth Century understandings of Roman Catholic worship music*. Collegeville (Minnesota). The Liturgical Press. 1997: 1-12.

the belatedness of this development may not be unconnected with the fact that the systematic study of papal legislation only began in the late nineteenth century.²⁷⁴

Highest in status are SC and TLS. Both are addressed to the whole church; SC was issued by an ecumenical council and by the Pope; while TLS was created on the Pope's personal initiative. This gives the two documents the full force of canon law.²⁷⁵ Next in line is the Apostolic Constitution DC, followed by the encyclical letters MD and MSD. None of these documents change the law as laid down by TLS; instead they elaborate and comment upon it.²⁷⁶

The same is true, but in a different sense, with IMSL. This was issued by the Sacred Congregation of Rites, a department of the Papal Curia rather than the Pope himself; so a document of this sort can be either a doctrinal explanation or a set of directives and recommendations. It elaborates on general prescriptions for the purpose of implementing them.²⁷⁷

In addition there are a number of other categories. First there are general papal rulings made before 1903. The most important of these are as follows:

[1] *Docta Sanctorum Patrum*, issued in 1324-1325 by Pope John XXII. This attacked the clutter of sound and text produced by polyphony, hocketing, the confusion of modes and the use of measured time values. Accordingly clarity of text was emphasised and polyphony only permitted that used consonant intervals of the octave, fourth and fifth. At the same time the intrusion of secular music by 'Golliards' into the service was attacked.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁴ Hayburn 1979: 1 and 12.

²⁷⁵ Joncas 1997: 1-2, 4-5. For discussion of the nature of infallibility in Vatican I documents see Butler, Cuthbert: *The First Vatican Council 1869-1870*. London. Fontana Library 1930/R1962: 330-347. esp. 345 and 385.

²⁷⁶ Joncas 1997: 2-3.

²⁷⁷ Ibid: 3.

²⁷⁸ Hayburn 1979: 17-22. The term 'Golliards' used in this document is a reference to medieval troubadours. 'Hocketing' is the technical term for a highly syncopated form of vocal writing used by medieval composers such as Perotin.

[2] The decrees on music by the Council of Trent (1562-3). As with John XXII, clarity of text was emphasised and all profane secular elements were to be eliminated (Canon 8, issued on Oct. 9th, 1562). Later, on July 6th, 1563 it was decreed that all seminarians should be taught plainchant. On Nov. 20th, 1563 Nuns were forbidden to sing figured chant at the Office or to hire substitutes to do their work there. On Dec. 3rd, 1563 the idea of having music at all in Church was accepted; but once again with the proviso that it should not be profane. Under the Motu Proprio *Alias Nullas Constitutiones* of July 2nd, 1564, Pius IV set up a congregation of cardinals to implement these decrees.²⁷⁹

[3] The encyclical *Annus Qui*, issued by Benedict XIV in 1749. This ruled that the canonical hours should be sung in unison, and forbade the modification of the text or its performance in a profane, theatrical or worldly way. Once again it was ruled that plainchant should be taught in seminaries; and general approval was given for it being sung unaccompanied. The spread of harmonised and figured chant was noted, but theatrical elements or chant that obscured the text were attacked. The employment of musical instruments at Mass was also noted. Indeed, orchestras were tolerated; and the organ could be used in conjunction with the Flute, Lyre, Lute and Violins 'provided they serve to strengthen and support the voices'. Percussion, Horns, Trumpets, Harps, Guitars 'and in general all instruments that give a theatrical swing to music' were forbidden.²⁸⁰

[4] *Apostolicum Ministerium*, also issued by Benedict XIV, dates from 1753. This ruled that missionary priests should be trained in music and encourage its use when at work.

²⁷⁹ Ibid. 27-9.

²⁸⁰ Ibid. 94-104.

This decree was specifically composed with English missionary conditions in mind.²⁸¹ As shall be seen all these themes were picked up in Papal legislation of the twentieth century.²⁸²

The second category of other documents consists of Papal rulings for Rome itself. Although, technically speaking, these did not have legal force outside the city, they were often cited by English authorities and commentators. Richard Terry, in his *Music of the Roman Rite*, prints three such documents.²⁸³

[1] Letter by Pius X to Cardinal Respighi, Vicar General of Rome (1903). Here the Pope expressed his concern that the city needed to set a good example; in particular he urged the removal of theatrical musical works, the restoration of plainchant and Renaissance style polyphony, and the teaching of the chant in seminaries and colleges.

[2] Cardinal Respighi's own decree of Feb. 2nd, 1912. This set out to enforce the decisions decreed in TLS using powers vested in his department by Pius X. Once again it was demanded that seminarians be taught plainchant, and the revival of Schola Cantorum (to sing plainchant) and Cappelle Musicali (i.e. regular choirs) urged. Approval for the formation of such choirs was vested in Respighi's vicariate. At the same time rules were laid down for choirmasters, who could not be appointed without the approval of the Roman Commission on Music set up by the decree. In particular this commission was to lay down the qualifications that were required and vet all musical compositions intended for performance in church. No instrument other than the organ could be used in services without special permission from the vicariate.

²⁸¹ Mager 2000: 269-70.

²⁸² For a brief survey of such documentation made at the time see the anonymous article 'Legislation on Church Music' *DR*. 20 (1901): 47-58. This is a summary of the book by P. Von Ambrosius Kieule: *Mass Und Milde In Kirchemusikalischen Dingen*. Freiburg in Breisgen. Herder. 1901.

²⁸³ Terry 1931: 270-84. See also Mager's remarks on the subject. 2000: 314-5. Terry also gives brief references to a considerable number of petty rulings by the Sacred Congregation of Rites to particular organisations in various parts of the Catholic Church before 1931: 197-211.

[3] A letter by Benedict XV, dated Sept.19th, 1921, to Cardinal Vannutelli on the honours to be paid at the fourth centenary of Palestrina’s birth. This endorsed the rulings in favour of Renaissance polyphony made by TLS.

The third category of documentation concerns decrees by Provincial and Diocesan Councils along with the contents of certain bishops pastoral letters. Tables 4.2 and 4.3 summarise the contents of a selection of such documents produced during the mid to late nineteenth century in England. As shall become apparent, these anticipated and prepared the way for the reception of major Papal rulings in the twentieth century. They were also in line with similar councils held in other parts of the Catholic world, notably the Provincial Councils of Cologne (1860), Utrecht (1865) and the plenary Council at Baltimore (USA) (1866).²⁸⁴

Table 4.2 Musical decisions made at Diocesan and Provincial Synods in England: 1852-1880

Date	Synod	Musical decisions
1852	First Synod of Westminster ²⁸⁵	[1] General promotion of plainchant as the ideal of church music. [2] All seminarians to be taught plainchant. [3] Boy singers to be trained to replace women in choirs.
1873	Fourth Synod of Westminster ²⁸⁶	[1] The primacy of plainchant for church music was again upheld (clause 4). [2] Congregations were to be encouraged to sing plainchant (clause 4). [3] The plainchant editions published by Pustet were recommended (clause 3). [4] Seminarians should be taught chant and music (clause 1). [5] Boys would replace women in choirs (clause 2). [6] The musical content of church services should not be advertised in advance (clause 4). [7] In all music the text should come across clearly and the harmonisation should be simple (clause 4).
1880	Salford Diocesan Synod ²⁸⁷	[1] The Pustet editions of plainchant were made compulsory [2] The employment of women in choirs should cease

²⁸⁴ Mager 2000: 28, 30-31, 189-190. ‘Sacerdos’: ‘Article IX - Plainchant’. *DubR.* 1874 (2): 186-87,
²⁸⁵ Mager 2000: 276-78.
²⁸⁶ Arranged by Robert Guy (OSB) under the supervision of Bishop Cuthbert Hedley: *The Synods in English being the text of the Four Synods in English translated into English*. Stratford on Avon. St Gregory’s Press. 1886.

Table 4.3 The musical contents of a selection of Bishops' pastorals in England: 1852-1896

Date	Bishop issuing the Pastoral	Musical provisions
1852	Cardinal Henry Wiseman (Westminster) ²⁸⁸	Clergy in the archdiocese to use the Roman Chant books.
1869	Cardinal Henry Manning (Westminster) ²⁸⁹	[1] Music performed in services should not be advertised. [2] Light theatrical music was to be excluded. [3] There should be no solos at Benediction. [4] The Clergy should make the musical decisions.
1875	Robert Cornthwaite (Beverley) ²⁹⁰	[1] Plainchant held up as the best form of church music. [2] The Pustet editions of plainchant were made compulsory. [3] A list of approved music based on the German St Cecilia Society's <i>Vereinscatalog</i> was published. This was the first list of its kind in England.
1876	Cardinal Henry Manning (Westminster) ²⁹¹	[1] The Pustet editions of plainchant were made compulsory. [2] There should be no organ playing at Requiems or during the seasons of Advent and Lent. [3] There should be no secular music in organ voluntaries.
1896	Cuthbert Hedley (Newport and Minevia) ²⁹²	[1] Plainchant promoted as the highest form of church music. [2] The Priest should approve all music performed in his church.

The next step is to summarise the content of the principal Papal documents of the twentieth century. This has been laid out in tabular form and grouped under seven headings: Viz. attitudes to [1] Plainchant [2] Renaissance polyphony [3] Modern music and [4] Secularism; [5] The use of musical instruments; [6] Organisational details and [7] Congregational participation.

²⁸⁷ Mager 2000: 313. This itself was a repetition of the Synod held in 1878 which in turn cited the Fourth Synod of Westminster in support. Salford Diocesan Archives. Synod. Salford I XXVIII Vols. 1-4. Synod VI: 92. See also the allocution dating from April 27th, 1882 clauses 7 and 8 on the same page stating the same thing.

²⁸⁸ Ibid: 279.

²⁸⁹ Ibid: 293-4.

²⁹⁰ Ibid: 309.

²⁹¹ Ibid: 300.

²⁹² Ibid: 313.

Table 4.4 The main musical provisions of *Tra le Solleitudini* [TLS] and *Divini Cultus* [DC]

Subject	<i>TLS</i> (1903) ²⁹³	<i>DC</i> (1928) ²⁹⁴
[1] Plainchant	‘...Gregorian chant has always been regarded as the supreme model for sacred music... the more closely a composition for church approaches in its movement, inspiration, and the savour the Gregorian form, the more sacred and liturgical it becomes’ (clause 3).	Generally upholds all aspects of TLS including the supremacy of plainchant as the highest form of church music.
[2] Renaissance polyphony	‘The classic polyphony agrees admirably with Gregorian Chant, the supreme model of all sacred music, and hence it has been found worthy of a place side by side with the Gregorian Chant in the more solemn functions of the Church, such as those of the Pontifical Chapel’. A specific reference is then made to the music of Palestrina (clause 4).	
[3] Modern music	‘The Church has always recognised and favoured progress in the arts... Consequently modern music is also admitted in the Church’. However, great care should be taken because primarily it was developed for profane purposes. It ‘...may contain nothing profane, be free from reminiscences of motifs adopted in the theatres’ (clause 5).	
[4] Secular elements in music	This was strenuously condemned, especially ‘the theatrical style, which was greatest in vogue, especially in Italy, during the last century’ (clause 6).	
[5] The use of instruments in Church	Ideally music should be unaccompanied. However, the organ is admitted provided it is subordinate to the singing of the chant (clause 15). Other instruments are only allowed with special permission from the local bishop. Pianos, bands and ‘noisy or frivolous instruments such as drums, cymbals, bells and the like’ are forbidden. Bands are permitted in religious processions provided they do not perform secular pieces (clauses 19-21).	The ideal of unaccompanied singing is upheld. Orchestral accompaniment is discouraged (clause 7). The most suitable instrument for Church is the Organ, which should be encouraged provided profane elements in the organ repertoire and methods of performance are excluded (clause 8).

²⁹³ The text used is that in Terry 1931: 253-63.

²⁹⁴ Ibid. 285-93.

<u>Subject</u>	<u>TLS</u>	<u>DC</u>
[6] Organisational details	<p>(a) Diocesan music commissions are to be created to supervise music in churches (clause 22).</p> <p>(b) Diocesan seminaries are to promote Gregorian Chant and create Scholae Cantorum for that purpose. All seminarians are to be taught the 'principles of sacred music' (clauses 25-6).</p> <p>(c) Cathedrals should restore their Schola Cantorum. Scholae Cantorum should be encouraged in parish churches too.(clause 27).</p>	<p>(a) Nothing.</p> <p>(b) 'Almost daily' lectures should be given to all Seminarians on Gregorian Chant and sacred music (clauses 1 and 2).</p> <p>(c) Cathedrals should maintain the daily chanting of the Office. Choirs are to be set up to sing 'sacred polyphony' alongside the Scholae Cantorum in these and other churches.</p> <p>(d) All Chapters and Religious Congregations should appoint a cantor or choir director to ensure that 'the rules of Chant are observed' (clause 10).</p>
[7] Congregational participation	<p>'Special efforts are to be made to restore the use of Gregorian Chant by the people, so that the faithful may again take a more active part in the ecclesiastical offices, as was the case in ancient times' (clause 3).</p>	<p>The 'faithful...' Should 'be made once more to sing the Gregorian Chant, so far as it belongs to them to take part in it'. 'They should not be detached and silent spectators but... they should sing alternately with the clergy or the choir, as is prescribed' (clause 9).</p>

Table 4.5 The main musical provisions in *Mediator Dei* [MD] and *Musicae Sacrae Disciplina* [MSD]

Subject	<i>MD</i> (1947) ²⁹⁵	<i>MSD</i> (1955) ²⁹⁶
[1] Plainchant		General support is given to TLS in Clause 3. The supremacy of plainchant in liturgical music is upheld (clause 43).
[2] Renaissance polyphony		Recognition is given to the changes brought about to this form of music by the Society of St Cecilia; however, it is also noted that profane elements crept into this style during the seventeenth century (clauses 53 and 54). Polyphony should not be bombastic (clause 57).

²⁹⁵ Based on the translation entitled *Encyclical Letter of Pope Pius XII: The Sacred Liturgy: Mediator Dei* published by St Paul Books and Media. N.d.

²⁹⁶ The text and commentary given in Hayburn 1979: 345-47 has been used, along with the commentary and quoted extracts supplied by Joncas 1997: 15-17, 76. 101-2.

<u>Subject</u>	<u>MD</u>	<u>MSD</u>
[3] Modern music	This should not be excluded so long as it has no profane elements (clause 73).	Suspicion of its potential for profanity is retained from TLS (clause 16).
[4] Secular elements		These are attacked in clauses 18-20. The value of hymnody is recognised at Low Mass (Clauses 62 and 64) in extra-liturgical services (Clause 65), and for the teaching of schoolchildren (Clause 37). The use of vernacular hymns at High Mass is forbidden (clause 64).
[5] Use of instruments		The organ should be the principal instrument in Church. Other instruments are permitted, especially members of the violin family but any secular or profane tendencies in their performance should be excluded (clauses 58 and 59).
[6] Organisational details		(a) Every diocesan commission for the Arts is to have a music representative (clause 78). (b) All seminarians are to be taught Gregorian Chant. Talented musicians to be sent to the Pontifical Seminary in Rome (clause 75). (c) Every Cathedral and, as far as possible, every major church should have a Schola Cantorum (clause 73). If this is not available a mixed choir of amateurs can perform outside the sanctuary with the men separated from the women (clause 74). (d) Religious Congregations should obey their Constitutions with regard to the liturgy (clause 110).
[7] Congregational participation.	<p>‘All the faithful should be aware that to participate in the Eucharistic sacrifice is their chief duty and supreme dignity, and that it is not in an inert and negligent fashion, giving way to distraction and day dreaming’ (clause 80). The faithful ‘....are to be commended who strive to make the liturgy even in an external way a sacred act in which all who are present may share’. They can do this by answering responses, by singing ‘hymns suitable to different parts of the Mass’ and in ‘High Masses...also sing the liturgical chant’. (clause 105).</p>	

Table 4.6. The main musical provisions of the *Instruction on Sacred Music and the Liturgy* [ISML] and *Sacrosanctum Consilium* [SC]

Subject	ISML. (1958) ²⁹⁷	SC (1963) ²⁹⁸
[1] Plainchant	This is upheld as the supreme form of Church music. Only the liturgical books following the Vatican Typical edition were to be used, although volumes with the Solesmes Rhythmical Signs were permitted.	'Gregorian chant,...other things being equal,...should be given pride of place in liturgical services.' The Typical Editions of liturgical books commenced under Pius X should be completed and a new critical edition of the whole produced. (clauses 116 and 117).
[2] Renaissance polyphony	This must conform to the requirements of MSD. When in doubt the rulings by diocesan music commissions should be followed. (clause 48). Archives should be searched to discover, preserve and publish more music of this type (clause 49).	Other kinds of music, 'especially polyphony are by no means excluded, so long as they accord with the spirit of liturgical action' (clause 116). Elsewhere this is specified to include the fact that people must be allowed to participate.
[3] Modern music	This must conform to the requirements of MSD following rulings by the Diocesan Music Commission (clause 50).	Composers are to be encouraged to compose for the Church writing not just for large choirs, but also smaller ones and for the congregation (clause 121).
[4] Secular elements	The proper place for 'Religious music' (see the definition in Chapter III) is the concert hall. However, a church can be used for such concerts if the bishop gives special permission (clause 55).	
[5] Instruments	Ideally music should be unaccompanied. The Organ is better suited than most other instruments for sacred music. It should be placed near the High Altar 'unless [there is] long standing custom, or some other peculiar reason, with the approval of the Ordinary'. The Harmonium is permitted. The Electric Organ 'can be tolerated as a temporary measure' (clauses 63 and 64). Instruments of the Violin family 'are easily adapted for liturgical use' and other instruments are permitted 'but there are yet other instruments generally agreed to be linked so closely with profane music that it is impossible to adopt them to sacred use'(clause 120). All instruments should be played by musicians. There should be no 'mechanical' or 'automatic' instruments (clause 70). Tape recorders or recordings can be used outside	'The pipe organ is to be held in high esteem...but other instruments also may be admitted for use with the consent of the bishop...but only on condition that the instruments are suitable for sacred use, or can be made so'. (clause 120).

²⁹⁷ The text used is Clifford Howell's translation: *An Instruction by the Sacred Congregation of Rites on Sacred Music and Liturgy in the spirit of the Encyclical Letters 'Musicae Sacrae Disciplina' and 'Mediator Dei' of Pope Pius XII*. London. Herder Publications Ltd. 1959.

²⁹⁸ The text used is Joseph Gallagher's translation in ed. Abbott, Walter M. *The Message and Meaning of the Ecumenical Council 1966*: 137-8.

[5] Instruments
(continued)

ISML

the service for speeches by the bishop, Pope 'or some other preacher'. Loudspeakers are permitted (clause 72). AV projectors are forbidden (clause 73). Broadcasts from Church require express permission from the bishop (clause 74).

SC

[6] Organisational
details

(a) Every diocese should have a music commission (clause 118).
(b) Following DC seminarians should be trained 'in every aspect of sacred liturgy and music' (clause 109).
(c) Every diocese should have an institute for training organists, choirmasters, singers and instrumentalists. Bishops should send musically talented clergy to the Pontifical Institute of Sacred Music (founded in 1910) (clause 116).
All Cathedrals should have a Schola Cantorum. It is 'highly desirable' that other major churches should do the same. (Clause 99) Every church should have its own choir of boys (clause 114). A mixed choir or a women's choir is permitted if placed separately in the building outside the sanctuary (clause 100). Ideally musicians should give their services gratis, but if necessary it is right they should be paid (clauses 101-102).
(d) Members of Religious houses should be taught sacred music and liturgy like the Seminarians (clause 110).

(a) Every diocese should have a music commission. Every diocese and territory should also have a liturgical commission with subcommittees for liturgy, music, art and the pastoral sciences (clause 153).
(b) Seminarians should be taught music (clause 115).
(c) Choirs are to be promoted in Cathedral churches (clause 114). Composers and singers should receive liturgical training (clause 115).

[7] Congregational
participation.

Active participation is encouraged but it must start from inner motivation (clause 22). 'All those who are present should take part in the manner that pertains to them' (clause 22).

Latin only should be used at High Mass. It is 'desirable' that the Gospel and Epistle can be read in the vernacular at Low Mass (clause 14).

The congregation should be encouraged to say or sing first the responses, then the Ordinary and finally the Proper. They should be taught easy plainchant from Masses XV and XVI along with Credo I or III (clauses 25 and 29).

Vernacular hymns can be sung by the congregation at Low Mass (clause 33).

All should actively participate; but there are separate roles for the clergy, choir or musicians and the congregation (clauses 26-32).

Latin is reserved for Latin Rites but the vernacular can be used at Mass starting with the Readings. Bishops are to decide how much of the Mass should be used in the vernacular (clause 36). Latin is to be retained for the Office but bishops can permitted the vernacular to be used here also (clause 101).

The faithful should be able to say or sing the parts of the Ordinary that belong to them and should not be obstructed from doing so by the choir (clauses 156 and 114). The people are to participate 'by means of acclamations, responses, psalmody, antiphons and song, as well as by actions, gestures and bodily actions' (clause 30).

Local customs and variations in the liturgy should be respected. There should be no 'rigid uniformity' (clauses 37-40).

When cast in tabular form analysis reveals a number of common themes. First, from start to finish there is consistent support for plainchant as the ideal form of liturgical music, even in SC. Up until the Second World War there is equally consistent support for Renaissance polyphony as music second only in suitability to plainchant. Thereafter the distinction separating it from modern compositions becomes somewhat blurred, especially in the ISML. Modern music is permitted; but until 1963 it was viewed with considerable suspicion because of its allegedly profane tendencies. Up until 1963 there was consistent hostility to the presence of all such secular elements, especially theatrical ones. As far as instruments were concerned, again up until 1963 unaccompanied singing was upheld as the ideal. Among instruments the organ was always thought to be the most suitable; but there was an increasing relaxation of earlier hostility towards other instruments in the 1950s, especially for members of the violin family. The greatest distrust was shown towards percussion; but in 1963 this completely disappeared. ISML is also interesting because it shows the first recognition of the impact of electronically produced or recorded sound. In terms of organisation the most consistent support was shown throughout all the documents for the operations of Diocesan Music Commissions, the provision of musical-liturgical training (especially in plainchant) in seminaries, and the establishment of Scholae Cantorum and sometimes other Choirs in Cathedrals and major churches. The distinction between a Schola Cantorum for singing plainchant and a choir for the performance of other music up to SC should also be observed along with attempts to discourage the use of women in choirs, with the exception of nuns chanting the Office. Here a consistent interest again seems to have been shown from DC up to the ISML. As regards other themes, congregational participation was always an issue; but there is a tendency for statements to become progressively more elaborate and detailed. From DC the idea of the clergy, choirs and congregation each having

distinct roles in the Mass was developed and surfaces even in SC. Moreover, although SC broke with the insistence on Latin that had hitherto been maintained, it is interesting to observe that the amount of vernacular used at Mass was left to the discretion of the local bishops. This, surely, was a concession extracted by conservative forces. Moreover, starting with TLS and right up until IMSL, congregations were persistently encouraged to learn parts of plainchant Masses.

In all essentials, then, there is a consistent pattern throughout the period 1903-1963. TLS provided the basic template for all subsequent pronouncements. Comparison with earlier tables also shows how many of the ideas in TLS were present in the nineteenth century and, in some cases, for centuries before that. This supports Hayburn's suggestion that TLS marked the climax to patterns that had developed since the earliest days of the Papacy which were then subsequently worked out by Pius X's successors, although conceding the significant shifts brought about by SC.²⁹⁹ Such connections with the past are particularly marked in the support for plainchant as the highest form of liturgical music, the fear of secular and theatrical elements, and the persistent prejudice against women in choirs. It is also interesting to observe the rise in status given to the organ vis-a-vis other instruments, especially if compared with the situation in the sixteenth century, when brass and woodwind were quite frequently used. On the other hand its inferior status in relation to unaccompanied singing remained the same. Another surprising feature is how many of the ideas encapsulated in TLS remained in SC, especially given the enormous changes that happened on the ground after 1963. The key differences seem to be the recognition accorded to local customs, the (cautious) sanctioning of the vernacular, the encouragement given to compose for the

²⁹⁹ Hayburn 1979: xi and 407-8.

congregation, and permission for the use of a wider variety of instruments - though this could be regarded as a development from the ISML and MSD.

As suggested earlier the consistent repetition implies a measure of impracticality, negligence and even outright disobedience. With plainchant in particular is there was, in certain quarters, some loss of momentum in the early twentieth century. For instance, in 1903, the very year TLS was promulgated, the Irish Cecilian Society disintegrated.³⁰⁰ In the 1880s and 1890s it had been influential in Catholic England; and no equivalent national organisation was set up there till the establishment of the SSG in 1929, and this as a direct result of DC.

Second, both geographically and over time, the provisions for the regulation of other parts of the repertoire appear to have been only patchily enforced. Diocesan lists of approved church music survive for Salford, Liverpool, Westminster and Lancaster. In addition, an unofficial list was compiled by Ernest Jenner for the diocese of Southwark, and a copy of its third part survives in the archives of the Diocese of Hexham and Newcastle.³⁰¹ Elsewhere it does not seem that other dioceses followed suit. Moreover, except for the Lancaster list, which was drafted in 1929 after the creation of the diocese in 1925, all the other official lists date from before the First World War. The behaviour of Louis Casartelli, bishop of Salford (1903-25), is particularly instructive. Between 1903 and 1907 he vigorously enforced TLS. In 1903, immediately following its promulgation, he sent out a questionnaire on church music to all his clergy.³⁰² The next year Salford was the first diocese to produce a list of officially approved music, preparations for which are extensively reported in *The Harvest*, the Salford

³⁰⁰ Kieran Anthony Daly: *Catholic Church Music in Ireland 1878-1903: The Cecilian Reform Movement*. Dublin. Four Courts Press. 1995: 163.

³⁰¹ Ernest Jenner: *Our Church Music, Part 3*. The copy at Hexham and Newcastle Diocesan Archives is held in file 246 (in what the archivist describes as the 'Old Filing Cabinet').

³⁰² Salford Diocesan Archives. Volume entitled *Acta Salfordinesia. Episcopi Quart.* 1903-1904: 241.

Diocesan Magazine.³⁰³ There is also a file of correspondence in the Salford Diocesan Archives showing how he vetted the programmes of music presented in various parishes and institutions when on visitation.³⁰⁴ These form the basis of the repertoire listed in the **Casartelli** file in the *Repertoire* database. In addition on Jan 26th, 1906 Casartelli issued a 'Pastoral Letter on Church Music' to be read to all congregations in the diocese and accompanied by a supplement to the diocesan list of approved music that would become operative the following month. The pastoral itself promoted congregational singing, encouraged the singing of unison Masses by schoolchildren, demanded the exclusion of all solos by women, and required all large churches to substitute all male choirs for mixed choirs. However, Casertalli had to concede that in small churches the removal of women from choirs 'would be impossible under present circumstances.' Moreover, although Gregorian Chant was upheld as the ideal, he thought that where it could not be properly executed in the Proper it would be better 'to substitute... a simple psalm tone, which is quite allowable. Indeed, I do not hesitate to say that, in our diocese, it would be safer and better regularly to substitute such psalm tones for the plainsong *Graduals* (sic) in every case, since the *Gradual* (sic) music is not only very difficult, but also very long; and tends to distraction rather than devotion.'³⁰⁵

Such evidence shows the practical difficulties even an enthusiast like Casartelli encountered trying to make TLS work. Not surprisingly in this diocese, after a flurry of activity there followed periods characterised by an apparent loss of episcopal interest. Casartelli's correspondence with Allen dries up after 1905; and the *Acta Salfordiensia* and Synod books held in the Salford Diocesan archives contain nothing on music for the years 1904, 1906,

³⁰³ Salford Diocesan Archives. *The Harvest*. 'Episcopal Notices: Church Music' 1903 (Dec): 299-300. A supplementary list was issued in the same magazine in Nov. 1904: 260-1.

³⁰⁴ Salford Diocesan Archives. Box 193 (Bishop Casartelli's Letters) Folder 'Church Music: 1903-1905' containing correspondence between Bishop Casartelli and H.P. Allen.

³⁰⁵ Salford Diocesan Archives. *The Harvest*. Jan. 1906: 5-8.

1909, or between 1911 and 1925, when Casartelli died.³⁰⁶ In 1921, however, there was another brief spurt of activity. The *Westminster Diocesan Chronicle* contains a detailed report of his recently issued new Advent Pastoral on Church Music. This is significant because first, it acknowledged that attempts at enforcement had gone into abeyance during the First World War and second, because it showed that despite his earlier efforts, old condemned practices were still widespread in the diocese. Casartelli lamented that ‘for some time past... in certain churches our directions in this matter are being entirely ignored, and even we ourselves, on occasion of canonical visitation, have been much surprised and disedified [sic], even in churches where we should least expect such abuses; at the altogether unseemly and operatic style of the Mass music sung in our presence - often, indeed, very badly sung, and even with female solos’.³⁰⁷

It should also be recognised that inevitably the content of Papal documents, even when intended for the whole Church, was shaped by Roman or Italian conditions that might not be replicated in the same form elsewhere - including England. Hayburn’s selection of documents shows how much the Italian propensity for operatic theatricality lies behind the persistent attacks on secular profanities.³⁰⁸ In this case it can be argued that a parallel situation existed in England, especially with the repertoire in the former embassy chapels during the first half of the nineteenth century. Vincent Novello, its chief purveyor, was, after all, of Italian origin. However, his promotion of Masses by Haydn, Mozart, Weber and Hummel alongside and overshadowing Italian material from the same era suggests a difference of emphasis, especially since he also published samples of plainchant and Renaissance polyphonic

³⁰⁶ In 1907 the *Acta Salfordiensia* advertised the Annual General Meeting of the Guild of St Gregory and St Cecilia, which Casartelli, the patron, planned to attend. The circular asked all Priests to draw this to the attention of their organists and choirmasters.

³⁰⁷ Anonymous author. ‘A Timely Announcement’. *WCC*. 15/1 (January, 1921): 10 and 20.

music.³⁰⁹ Conversely, but unsurprisingly, the significant presence of Anglican music in the early nineteenth-century English Catholic repertoire noted in chapter 2 (table 12.18), is not remarked in any of the major Papal documents.³¹⁰ English music was simply too low in the Papal order of priorities.

Similar differences also surface with the Papal distinction between *Scholae Cantorum* dedicated to the singing of plainchant and other choirs mentioned earlier. In England such distinctions usually occurred either in schools which were run by seminaries or religious houses - such as at Ushaw College, Upholland College and even now at Downside and Ampleforth Abbeys; or in parishes which were run by or had religious communities attached to them - as at St Walburga, Preston or St Dominic, Newcastle. In both cases the building has a West Gallery for the choir at the back and a separate gallery or chancel for the nuns and Dominicans respectively. Elsewhere, however, the norm was to combine the two organisations into one choir, as for example the actual practice, and indeed the layout of the building (with a West Gallery and no chancel) illustrates at St Cuthbert, Durham and St Anne, Wendover.³¹¹

³⁰⁸ Hayburn 1979: 133-43.

³⁰⁹ See for example the three Gregorian Masses (*De Angelis*, *Requiem* and the *Gregorian Mass in D Minor* published in *Twelve Easy Masses calculated for small choirs including the Gregorian Masses*. Novello. 1816. Samples of Renaissance polyphony can be found in his undated publication *A Periodical Selection of Sacred Music selected from the best masters of the German and Italian Schools with a few original compositions and several pieces written especially for this work*. For details of the operatic style prevalent in the embassy chapels see Rosemarie Darby: *The music of the Roman Catholic Embassy Chapels in London 1765 to 1825*. Manchester University (John Rylands Library). M. Mus Thesis. Oct. 1984: 106-26. Here Darby noted the shift in the early nineteenth century from works by lesser-known Italians to compositions by Haydn, Mozart, Cherubini, Hummel and Beethoven (p. 106).

³¹⁰ See also the tables entitled **Cuthbert** and **Everingham** on the *Repertoire* database.

³¹¹ A letter by Fr Vladimir (alias Adrian Broeders) the ex-parish priest dated Sept 23rd, 1998 to myself describes the setup in the 1950s at St Anne's, Wendover under the choirmaster Sir Richard Elwes and the organist Mrs Kathleen McPartland. Details of the nineteenth-century choir at St Cuthbert's, Durham are given in Tweedy. N.d. Part II: 11-15.

In turn this highlights the practical question of resources. The statistics from the Diocese of Hexham and Newcastle show how poor most parishes were (chapter 1: table 1). Consequently there was a heavy reliance on volunteer choirs; although paid groups did exist at Southwark and Birmingham Cathedrals in the nineteenth century.³¹² This meant that attempts to exclude women from them were unrealistic, especially given the complete absence of any boys' choir schools before the foundation of Westminster Choir School in 1901, the only establishment of its kind in Catholic England before the 1960s.³¹³

Such differences between England and Rome also had a legal dimension. The Papal Bull *Sapientio Consilio* of 1908 gave English bishops Ordinary authority. This had two consequences. First, it removed England from the jurisdiction of Propaganda; second, as a result, theoretically it permitted the recrudescence of local customs, such as the use of Sarum Rite and Chant, given that these had been in existence for more than two hundred years when the revised Roman Missal was published in 1570. As has been seen, however, both Manning and Vaughan had discountenanced its use in favour of the Pustet editions during the nineteenth century. In any case the liturgy itself was under the purview of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, and had to conform to the requirements of the code of Canon Law produced under Benedict XV.³¹⁴

Legal questions were closely tied up with the way Papal documents were drafted and the extent to which this process added to or detracted from their authority; and here it is pertinent to note two arguments used to justify resistance. The first was the claim that the

³¹² The salaried choir conducted by Meyer Lutz at Southwark was abolished in 1890. Ernest Oldmeadow: 'One Hundred Years of Catholic Music' in Introduced by Francis, Cardinal Bourne: *Catholic Emancipation 1829-1929. Essays by various writers*. London. Longmans, Green and Co. 1929: 136.

³¹³ Women could also be organists. For example there is a whole set of printed and manuscript volumes of choral music with organ parts stamped or signed by a 'Miss Oldfield' survives from music formerly belonging to St Ignatius' Preston at the Talbot Library, Preston. This is listed in the **Oldfield(w)** table of the *Talbot* database. Some of it is dated between 1873-1874. This is precisely at the same time as the Fourth Synod of Westminster. Some copies of music in the Talbot Library formerly belonging to the church at Bolton Le Sands dating from the 1900s are also signed with women's names.

documents were the result of pressure group activity. Therefore it was held that the Pope had been misled; so the documents were not true expressions of his thought.³¹⁵ The second was the idea that TLS represented the thinking of Pius X alone and therefore became void after his death.³¹⁶ As will be appreciated, the second argument, since it depends on the idea that TLS really is an accurate reflection of Pius' thought, contradicts the first, which denies it. There can be little doubt though that there was a good deal of solicitation from below. This had three aspects. First, there was the activity of publishers, who naturally appreciated that the highest possible ecclesiastical endorsement could enhance their sales. Supporting letters by Leo XIII and Pius X for the *Arundel Hymnal* and the *Grammar of Plain-song* respectively are examples of this (see illustration 4.1).³¹⁷ With the plainchant publications of Desclée and Pustet the stakes were larger; for not only was there a global market, but also the prize of a Papal monopoly, especially if the Papacy had already declared such music to be the ideal for the liturgy (see illustration 4.2). Second, as has been suggested earlier, TLS was preceded by a drumfire of similar decisions from diocesan and provincial councils, as well as through bishops' pastorals, across the Catholic world, including England.³¹⁸ Third, there was the activity of actual pressure groups and movements. The work of the liturgical movement and the Cecilian Society is actually cited in MD and MSD.³¹⁹ Similarly, research into plainchant by Solesmes is directly referred to in *Col Nostro*, the 1904 Motu Proprio decree authorising the publication of Vatican Typical Editions.³²⁰ In some respects such activity was perfectly

³¹⁴ Butler: 1930/1962R: 478.

³¹⁵ Hayburn 1979: 235. Terry 1931: 188.

³¹⁶ Terry 1931: 189.

³¹⁷ Ed. Henry Howard, Duke of Norfolk and Charles Gatty: *Arundel Hymns*. London. Boosey and Hawkes/ R. and T. Washbourne. 1905: iv (the letter was dated June 8th, 1898 and appeared with the first part of the volume).

³¹⁸ Hayburn 1979: 198-9 for example gives details of the diocesan Synod of Mantua convened by the future Pope Pius X.

³¹⁹ *Mediator Dei*. St Paul Books and Media n.d: page 4-5: Clause 4 . *Musicae Sacrae Disciplina*. Clause 54 cited by Joncas 1997:16.

³²⁰ Bergeron 1998: 146. Hayburn 1979: 251, 254-7.

harmless, since it simply represented efforts by such groups to get ecclesiastical recognition for themselves. Bulls recognising the German and Irish Societies of St Cecilia and later, English episcopal endorsement of the SSG, are examples of this.³²¹ There was also nothing reprehensible in the establishment of a Cecilian School of Music in Rome; though obviously this could serve as a base for propagating the Society's ideas there.³²² Such activities became more questionable when they extended to attempts to get the Papacy to impose their plainchant and Renaissance polyphonic tastes on other Catholics.

Illustration 4.1 Facsimile of an autograph letter of approbation for *The Grammar of Plainsong* by Pius X to the Abbess of Stanbrook³²³

*Dilectae filiae Cassiana Agneta Abbatisse de ceteris
fratibus dilectis monialibus Oratorij S. Benedicti in Mona:
sterio B. de N. de Conspatione apud Stanbrook Angliæ
Benedictinorum amantissimæ in domino inquitur.*

*Si precandam Nobis intellucta est dilectis filiis
dilectatam erga monitionem Oratorij offendere, quoniam
videmus in ceteris, etiam in illis, quod circa quædam et
authenticum Canticum cantum super editionem, fieri
non potest quin vehementer gratuleremur illis, quod multis ab
his temporibus cantum traditionalem colerent et quæ
fidem servarent. Quum porro in ipso Monasterio vestro
felicitas fieri intelligamus, quare in vobis Canticis operante
velimus, Nobis litteratum in gradulationem mittere
timemus et a deo vobis deus et benedictionem adprecamur,
ut sit Nobis in precationem quod carit Canticum: Sed illa
res caritum scilicet refertur laudibus, dantibus hinc
et inde, iuxta canore gradibus, illi canentes iungimus
almas Sionis aculeas.*

In Actibus Vaticanis die 29 Decembris 1904

Pius PP. X

³²¹ Daly 1995: 15-16 (for Papal approval of the German Cecilian Society in 1870 - *Multum Ad Commovendos Animos*), 36 (for Papal approval of the Irish equivalent in 1876). See also Hayburn, 1979: 128.

³²² Daly 1995: 43 for details of the planning behind the Scola Gregoriana set up jointly by the Cincinnati, Irish, and German branches of the St Cecilia Society in co-operation with the Roman authorities in 1880.

³²³ Source: *A Grammar of Plainsong in two parts by the Benedictines of Stanbrook*. Worcester: Stanbrook Abbey/London: Burns and Oates Ltd and The Art and Book Co. Ltd. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers. 1905. Un-numbered front page.

Illustration 4.2 Desclée advertises its complete set of liturgical chant books³²⁴

SOCIETY OF ST JOHN THE EVANGELIST

DESCLÉE, LEFEBVRE & Co.

PRINTERS TO THE HOLY SEE AND THE S. CONGR. OF RITES

ROME — TOURNAI (Belgium).

The Gregorian Plainsong

THE VATICAN EDITION — THE SOLESMES EDITION

A complete set of liturgical Chant books compiled from the ancient Manuscripts, printed under the immediate supervision of the Benedictine Monks of Solesmes, and approved by the Sacred Congregation of Rites.

AUTHENTIC APPROBATION

Præsens editio quoad textum typicæ plane conformis reperta est, et quoad cantum respondet *Motui Proprio* Summi Pontificis Pii Papæ X. die 22 Novembris 1903 atque Decreto Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis diei 8 Januarii 1904.

This edition, as regards the text, has been found entirely conform to the Typical, and as to the chant, responds to the *Motu Proprio* of His Holiness Pope Pius X. of the 22d of November 1903, and the Decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites of January 8th 1904.

In fidem, etc.

Ex Secretaria Sacræ ejusdem Congregationis, die 24 Februarii 1904.

L. † S.

✠ D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen.
S. R. C. Secretarius.

The Solesmes Editions, published by Desclée, Lefebvre & Co., are actually the only editions approved by the Sacred Congregation of Rites, as corresponding to the *Motu Proprio* of His Holiness Pope Pius X. concerning the restoration of Sacred Music.

³²⁴ Source: Ibid. Un-numbered end page.

The most obvious example was TLS's support for diocesan musical committees that would draft lists of approved (and disapproved) music modelled on similar lists already produced by Cecilian societies. Here lies the true significance of Terry's publication of Cardinal Respighi's decrees of 1912 for churches in Rome in his book *Music of the Roman Rite*, as these included the establishment of a Roman Commission on Sacred Music headed by known Renaissance polyphonists and plainchant supporters (Baron Rudolf Kanzler, Angelo de Santi, Antonio Rella and Lorenzo Perosi). The commission would control not only repertoire, but also the training, testing, and appointment of all choirmasters in the city. Moreover, no choir could be established in any church there without its authorisation. As shall be shown in chapter 6 this was a blueprint that Terry and his supporters sought to follow. It did not matter that Respighi was legislating to deal with a particular Roman phenomenon, namely the persistent recalcitrance of Roman choirs and choirmasters in the face of demands to eliminate secular and instrumental elements from their music. Respighi was being cited to support a policy advocated in England by a convinced Cecilian such as Terry.³²⁵

There is therefore evidence to suggest that Papal documents, and in particular TLS, were the result of pressure from below. This, of course, could damage their credibility. Hayburn's response to such questions is emphatically to deny them. He insists that TLS was the product of Pius X's personal thinking and that therefore it was uninfluenced by outside forces. In support he cites a number of subsequent commendations of plainchant by this Pope to individual bodies; but these, as the case of his endorsement of Stanbrook's publication of *The Grammar of Plainsong* demonstrate, must often have been the result of direct solicitation. The Pope's attention would have been drawn to a forthcoming event; and

³²⁵ Terry 1931: 270-82 for the text.

naturally he responded with an encouraging official message. They do not necessarily prove Hayburn's argument at all.³²⁶ Moreover Hayburn's extensive chapter describing the development of Pius X's thought shows conclusively that, like any other human being, he *was* influenced by other people; starting as a child with Pietro Jacuzzi, the local curate at Rienze, next through his experiences as a seminarian at Padua, then, when bishop of Mantua, through contact with the music performed by the German Seminary at Rome and, above all, from his friendship with Angelo De Santi.³²⁷ It was De Santi who helped prepare his response to Leo XIII's questionnaire on Church music legislation of 1893. In turn this formed the basis for his Pastoral as Patriarch of Venice in 1895 and then TLS itself. Moreover, De Santi drafted the original text of TLS which Pius then modified in his own hand. Strictly speaking then it is not a 100% Motu Proprio document, since its framework was prepared by someone other than the Pope. It is also interesting to observe that before Pius X's accession De Santi had been temporarily out of favour with Leo XIII because he had reneged on his pledge of support for the Pustet editions of plainchant in favour of the versions promoted by Solesmes. De Santi then was not a neutral official at all. He represented a policy; and this was something that both Leo XIII and Pius X were aware of.³²⁸ Moreover, Hayburn's account shows that Pius X developed his thought *before* he became Pope. Indeed the wording of TLS in many passages is almost identical to other statements produced by Pius as Patriarch of Venice and bishop of Mantua. On this basis, not all of TLS can necessarily be seen by Catholics as a divinely inspired Papal utterance.

³²⁶ Hayburn 1979: 235-40. The documents cited are letters to the Dutch Society of St Cecilia (Dec 1st, 1903), the German Cecilian Conference at Cologne (Dec 1st, 1903, the same date), to Peter Wagner (Jan 10th, 1904), to the bishop of Langres (Feb. 10th, 1904), to Johann Weiss and Michael Horn (March 1st, 1904), to Charles Bordes (July 11th, 1904), to the Abbess of Stanbrook (Dec. 29th, 1904), to the Strasbourg Congress on Gregorian Chant (Jan 23rd, 1905) and to the Manecanterie Choir school in Paris, centre of the Pueri Cantores Movement (August 1st, 1909). All these recipients were keen devotees for the primacy of Gregorian Chant.

³²⁷ Ibid. 195-218.

³²⁸ Ibid. 203-12 for the contents of Pius' reply to Leo XIII's questionnaire, 212-19 for the contents of his Venetian Pastoral, 219-20 for the planning of TLS and 200 for De Santi's position under Leo XIII.

Immediately this raises the issue of infallibility. The issue must be whether TLS is an Infallible Papal judgement. A generalised statement produced by a man such as Terry - 'The Holy Father has spoken, and matters which were regarded as subjects for discussion have been removed from region of controversy to the region of obedience' - is not good enough.³²⁹ If TLS was not infallible then, as will be shown, it could be modified at a later date. The trouble is that definitions of Infallibility tend to be rather shifting, especially before its definition at the First Vatican Council held in 1870. Cuthbert Butler, writing in the 1930s, showed how this could range from the extreme position enunciated by someone such as W.G. Ward, who declared that virtually every Papal pronouncement was infallible, through the ideas expressed by Cardinal Bellarmine in the early seventeenth century, to Gallican positions adopted Bossuet and others in Louis XIV's France. He has also shown that even after Vatican I people such as Cardinal Manning in his pastoral of October 1870 were quite capable of taking a position similar to that expressed by W.G. Ward in defiance of the 'moderate' positions set out in the First Vatican Council that had been endorsed by Pius IX.³³⁰ Certainly between 1870 and 1930 only two Papal documents, both aimed against Modernism, were recognised as infallible statements; and these only by some authorities.³³¹ Following the line accepted by Pius IX, for TLS to qualify as an infallible document it has to fulfil two requirements: first that it is an *ex cathedra* statement representing the divinely inspired mind of the Pope; second it has to be concerned with faith and morals and, moreover, be in line

³²⁹ Terry 1931: 2.

³³⁰ Butler 1962R: 27-38 on Gallican ideas about infallibility; 39-43 for Bellarmine's ideas; 50 and 57-62 for the more extreme Ultramontane positions taken up before 1870. For Manning's interpretation of the Council's decrees see pp. 461-2. Bellarmine's position was to assert the supremacy of the Pope in decisions about faith and morals 'but should a Pope become a formal heretic he would by that very fact cease to be Pope, and could be judged and declared deposed by the Church' (pp. 40-1 citing 'Controversies against the Heretics of our times' 1586). Pius IX support for the position taken by Ullathorne, Fessler and the Swiss Bishops against Manning and Ward's interpretations is on pp. 458-65.

³³¹ Ibid. 469-72. The decrees in question are *Lamentabile* (July 1907) backed by a Motu Proprio decree of November 1907, and the encyclical *Pascendi* (Sept. 1907).

with existing Church doctrine on such matters.³³² Although not explicitly stated, the thrust of Hayburn's presentation of evidence is to try and show that these two conditions have been met. As shown earlier, according to him TLS really does represent the mind of Pope Pius X and the preceding documents demonstrate that his thinking was in large measure shaped by the scandal of secular profanity in church music, with its inevitable deleterious effects on the liturgy. It therefore falls, at least partially, within the purview of faith and morals. However, in neither case is the issue absolutely clear cut; and in any case, as has been suggested, TLS at the very least cannot be explained without reference to a background of pressure group activity and influence. Moreover, despite its enunciation of liturgical principles at the start, it is primarily an executive document. The main body sets out actions and policies that should be taken rather than enunciating principles of faith and morals. TLS then cannot really be seen as an Infallible document. It was a piece of 'Ordinary' Papal legislation which Catholics were expected to obey but which, unlike infallible judgements, was not irreformable.³³³ The same sort of point, in a different sense, surfaces in the distinction made between the 'divine' and 'human' elements of the liturgy referred to in clause 50 of MD.³³⁴ The former cannot be changed; the latter can. However, even here it is not made plain what precisely are the human or divine elements in question. It is this sort of ambiguity at the heart of all Papal statements on music cited in this chapter that gave - and still gives - Catholics the excuse, should they need it, to ignore or circumvent pronouncements emanating from the Vatican.

³³² Ibid. 385 for the actual text of the decree and 455-68 for subsequent technical legal discussion including quotations from the relevant canons (Nos. 1322-1324) in the Codex of Canon Law.

³³³ Ibid. 477-8 citing the Codex of Canon Law, Canons 197 and 329 as regards the 'divine' status of bishops vis à vis the Pope and 471 citing L. Choupin's distinction between Infallible and Ordinary authority (*Valeur des décisions doctrinales du S. Siège*. 1928 no page reference given).

³³⁴ *Mediator Dei*. St Pauls Books and Media n.d.: 24-5. 'The Sacred Liturgy does in fact include divine as well as human elements. The former, instituted as they have been by God, cannot be changed in any way by men. But the human components admit of various modifications, as the needs of the age, circumstance and the good of souls may require, and as the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, may have authorised'.

Part 2

Developments in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries

Chapter 5: Revolutions in plainchant

A. Catholic perspectives on plainchant

Gregorian Chant has always been regarded as the supreme model for sacred music.

[*Tra le Solleitudini* Clause 3]³³⁵

By the early twentieth century, officially at least, plainchant was regarded as the supreme form of church music; for in England, as well as elsewhere, *Tra le Solleitudini* was the culmination of a barrage of local legislation enjoining the use of plainchant. Indeed some claimed it should be the only form of church music.³³⁶ This situation was in sharp contrast with that pertaining a hundred years before, when many noted the neglect into which it had fallen, despite efforts by John Francis Wade and others in the late eighteenth century.³³⁷

The causes and effects of the transformation were closely intertwined, and at once practical and ideological. On the practical side, as noted earlier, there was the sheer quantity of plainchant published in standardised officially approved liturgical books. This could not have been achieved without the nineteenth-century revolution in printing. It simultaneously boosted and was a response to the demand for more plainchant. In addition, mutual benefits accrued from the association between plainchant and the revival of Renaissance polyphony, which was also backed by ecclesiastical sanction. As was well known, a plainchant cantus firmus was often the starting point for compositions in the latter style. Moreover, as shall be

³³⁵ Terry 1931: 256.

³³⁶ See, for example the regulations for the choir of St Chad's Cathedral, Birmingham; or the 1869 Constitutions for the Abbey of Stanbrook. The former are in *A History of St Chad's Cathedral Birmingham 1841-1904 compiled by the Cathedral Clergy*. Birmingham. Cornish Brothers Ltd. 1904: 127-8. The latter are in *The Holy Rule of our most Holy Father Saint Benedict with Declaration of the same approved by the Holy See of Our Lady of Consolation, Stanbrook OSB*. Worcester. Stanbrook Abbey. 1874 and 1876: 50-1 and 1897: 118. Note too that in 1932 Dom Gregory Murray had to remind people that *Tra le Solleitudini* had stated that other forms of music were acceptable. See his review of Terry's *Music of the Roman Rite* in the *DR*. 50: 1-2.

³³⁷ See for example Augustus Welby Pugin: *An earnest plea for the revival of the Ancient Plain-song*. London. Charles Dolman. 1850:5. For a general survey of its eighteenth-century revival see Bennett Zon: *The English Plainchant Revival*. London. OUP 1999: 76-158. Its early nineteenth-century decline and attempts by Vincent Novello and others to reverse this are covered on pp. 174-90. See also his 'Plainchant in Nineteenth-Century England: A Review of some major publications of the period'. *PMM*. 6/1 (1997): 53-74.

shown in the next chapter, the technique was imitated in modern compositions by members of the Society of St Cecilia. Indeed, aspects of plainchant - notably its modality and the gently curving lines promoted by Solesmes' methods of performance - influenced other English composers such as Laurence Bévenot (1901-1990) well into the twentieth century (see example 5.1). Such practices were also actively encouraged by the statement in *Tra le Sollecutudini* that 'the more closely a composition for church approaches in its movement, inspiration, and savour the Gregorian form, the more sacred and liturgical it becomes; and the more out of harmony it is with the supreme model, the less worthy it is of the temple'.³³⁸

The ideological aspects are in some respects more significant. There can be little doubt that the mass of apologetics on the surface, at any rate, furthered the plainchant cause. In particular, supporters seized the high ground by an appeal to church authority, crippling opponents before they could speak out. As Terry put it: 'The Holy Father has spoken, and matters which were regarded as subjects for discussion have been removed from the region of controversy to the region of obedience'.³³⁹ In reality, however, the plainchant cause was riddled with inconsistencies and contradictions.

An obvious starting point is the close link perceived between plainchant and liturgy. The idea is strongly endorsed by *Tra le Sollecutudini*.³⁴⁰ Moreover, as shown in chapter 3, in

³³⁸ Clause 3 in Terry 1931: 256-7.

³³⁹ Terry 1907: 39-40. Here of course he directly refers to *Tra le Sollecutudini*. However in his *Music of the Roman Rite* he states this was originally uttered at a Catholic Truth Society meeting in Newcastle in 1901 before *Tra le Sollecutudini* had been produced. 1931: 2. For a survey of early nineteenth-century apologetics see Zon 1999: 217-46.

³⁴⁰ Key passages are 'Sacred music, being a complementary part of the solemn liturgy, participates in the general scope of liturgy, which is the glory of God and the sanctification of the faithful'. (clause 1). 'Sacred music should consequently possess, in the highest degree, the qualities proper to the liturgy'. (clause 2). 'These qualities are to be found, in the highest degree, in the Gregorian Chant'. (clause 3) Terry 1931: 255-6.

Example 5.1 Plainchant influence in modern Catholic music. The 'Kyrie' from Laurence Bévenot's *Mass in Sol*³⁴¹

Cary Edition N° 907

MASS in SOL

1

Being modal in character, the music of this Mass may serve as a stepping-stone to plainsong.

It is written for two groups of singers, I and II. (Group I could well be the Congregation, and Group II the Choir.) The symbol III means that *both* groups are singing together.

This organ-part should never dominate the singing by being played too loudly.

Dom Laurence Bévenot

KYRIE

Andante

I KY-RI-E E-LÉ-I-SON. II Ky-ri-e e-lé-i-son. III KY-RI-E E-LÉ-I-SON.

I CHRI-STE E-LÉ-I-SON. II Chri-ste e-lé-i-son. III CHRI-STE E-LÉ-I-SON.

I KY-RI-E E-LÉ-I-SON. II Ky-ri-e e-lé-i-son. III KY-RI-E E-LÉ-I-SON.

poco rit.

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the hands of abbot Prosper Guéranger, founder of Solesmes abbey, it included the idea that during the Office the liturgy of the word was at once received from God and returned to him in an endless cycle of praise. Through this association, then, plainchant acquired a much stronger monastic tinge. It is also closely connected with the idea that plainchant is not music but a form of oratory. The injunction 'Sing the chant as you speak' made by Haberl, among others, exactly sums up the idea, which was developed in great detail by Pothier and his

³⁴¹ Laurence Bévenot: *Mass in Sol*. London. L.J. Cary and Co. 1957.

colleague Antonin Schmitt at Solesmes.³⁴² This, in turn, fitted with the notion that in some respects plainchant was divine. The idea appears in both literary and iconographical sources. For example Little in *The Chant: A Simple and Complete method for teachers and students* declares that 'our lips, when they join in the official worship of the Church, are no longer our own, but become truly the lips of the Mystical Body of Christ.'³⁴³ Later, towards the end of the book, she states: 'now we have seen that the Chant is not our own personal song but the song of Christ himself, either directly or indirectly, and the thoughts and feelings we have to express it are His, not our own.'³⁴⁴

Little may have been influenced by her friend Laurentia McLachlan, of Stanbrook Abbey. McLachlan's book *Gregorian Music: An Outline of Musical Paleography* states that chant gave people a mystical contact with God alongside what is clearly defined throughout by language. In turn she acknowledges her debt to Pothier and Augustine Baker (1575-1641), who worked at the English Benedictine nunnery of Cambrai, the ancestor of Stanbrook, in the early seventeenth century.³⁴⁵

³⁴² Franz Xavier Haberl, trans. N. Donnelly: *Magister Choralis: A Theoretical and Practical Manual of Gregorian Chant*. Ratisbon. Pustet. 1877: 45. Pothier, Joseph: 1880 esp. pp 3 'dans la liturgie la parole et le chant decoulent d'une meme source', 34-50 discussing the evolution of neumes and 234-41 dealing with liturgical recitatives. Antonin Schmitt: *Méthode pratique de chant Grégorien. Leçons donnés aux Benedictines du Temple. Rue Monsieur, Paris*. 1885. Paris. Charles Chauvin/Blaise Pascal. 1885: 2 quoting Cicero. 'Le rythme libre du langage: est in dicendo cantus, le simple langage est un chant'. See also pp. 61-3 showing how oratorical accents developed into neume notation.

³⁴³ [Vilma Little]: *The Chant: A Simple and Complete method for teachers and students by V.G.L.* London. B. Herder Book Co./Tournai. Desclee and Co. 1938: 8.

³⁴⁴ Ibid. 136-137. For a similar nineteenth-century statement of this ideal see the discussion of Henry Formby: *Plainchant, the image and symbol of the humanity of our Divine Redeemer and the Blessed Mary*. London 1848 in Zon 1999: 235-6.

³⁴⁵ [Laurentia McLachlan]: *Gregorian Music: An Outline of Musical Paleography Illustrated by facsimiles of Ancient Manuscripts by the Benedictines of Stanbrook*. London and Leamington. Art and Book Company. 1897: vii and 4. Baker, it is true, was no musician, but his thinking influenced the Laurentia McLaughlin's liturgical ideas and therefore had an indirect impact on her approach to plainchant. I owe this insight to Sr Margaret Truran, archivist and choir mistress at Stanbrook Abbey. Baker's work at the English Benedictine Convent in Cambrai and his enduring influence on Stanbrook is extensively discussed by Feliciatas Corrigan, who taught Truran, in *In A Great Tradition. Tribute to Dame Laurentia McLachlan, Abbess of Stanbrook, by the Benedictines of Stanbrook*. London. John Murray. 1956: 10-34 and 55-7.

Iconographical evidence comes in the form of facsimiles of medieval illustrations showing Pope Gregory I, inspired by the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove, performing or dictating the chant to a scribe (see example 5.2 and illustration 5.1).

Example 5.2 The first page of Pothier's *Liber Gradualis* of 1883³⁴⁶



Gregory's image also reminded people of the direct historical associations and claims made on behalf of plainchant. First there was a specifically English connection. Gregory sent St Augustine of Canterbury to convert the English in 597. According to Bede, Augustine is

³⁴⁶ *Liber Gradualis*. Tournai. Desclée et Cie. 1883.

supposed to have brought plainchant with him direct from Rome.³⁴⁷ From there it was transmitted to Charlemagne's court in the ninth century by scholars such as Alcuin; and late Carolingian manuscripts of the ninth and tenth centuries were the earliest sources used by the monks of Solesmes in their attempts to 'restore' chant. It is highly significant then that McLachlan's *Gregorian Music* is dedicated to St Gregory and St Augustine and published on the thirteenth centenary of the latter's arrival in England.³⁴⁸ Chant was both Roman and English; and the concept of restoring the chant was part of the wider ambition to restore Catholicism in England, as bishop Ambrose Burton (1852-1931), in his hymn 'Lover of Christ's immortal Bride', dedicated to Bede, states.

Now stand our altars unprofaned;

Again our Victim lies thereon; [a reference to the sacrifice of the Mass]

Thence rises up that orison [plainchant]

By Gregory of old ordained.³⁴⁹

³⁴⁷ Ed. And trans. Lee Shirley-Price, revised R.E. Lathom. Bede: *A History of the English Church and people*. Book 2. London. Penguin. 1955/R1968: 70 (Book 1, ch. 25) describes Augustine and his monks singing plainchant as they approached Canterbury. Gregory's despatch of books (without specifying their titles) is mentioned on page 85 (Book 1, ch. 29) Bede also reports that St Benedict Biscop (d. 690) visited Rome twice in the middle of the seventh century and brought back the precentor of St Peter's to train the monks at Wearmouth and Jarrow in Northumbria. 236-7 (Book 4, ch. 18).

³⁴⁸ These ideas are expressed for example in Joseph Smits Van Waesbighe: *Gregorian Chant and its place in the Catholic liturgy*. Stockholm. The Continental Book Co. AB. N.d (but almost certainly published in the late 1950s). See also Vilma Little: 'How Plainsong came to England'. *ML*. 1/3 (April 1930): 76-8. As late as 1998 Margaret Truran, the current successor from McLachlan as choir director at Stanbrook, said the same thing in 'The Chant from an historical perspective'. *Panel of Monastic Musicians Newsletter*. 1998: 3-4. The same ideas are also discussed by Dunstan O'Keefe: 'Gregory the Great – Past legend and present inspiration'. *ML*. 30/1 (No. 313) (Spring 2004):10-13.

³⁴⁹ *WH1912*: No. 249, verse 6.

Illustration 5.1 Present logo of the Society of St Gregory (taken from the cover of their magazine: *Music and Liturgy*)



Second, there is the claim that plainchant was the oldest form of Christian music. *Tra le Solleitudini* therefore refers to 'The Chant proper to the Roman Church, the only chant she has inherited from the earliest fathers, which she has jealously guarded for centuries in her liturgical codices'.³⁵⁰ Sometimes this was extended to the idea that, in part, it had Jewish origins, especially in psalmody. Chant was therefore known to Christ, lending further support to the notion that it was divine.³⁵¹

It is at this point, however, that a tension between plainchant and a possible pre-Christian heritage becomes apparent. If plainchant is divine, it must eschew the secular. So *Tra le Solleitudini* deliberately contrasts it with secular operatic aspects of 'modern' church

³⁵⁰ Clause 3 in Terry 1931: 256.

³⁵¹ Pothier 1880: 267. [McLachlan] *Gregorian Music* 1897: 4. G.B. Chambers refers to further arguments in support by Egon Wellesch and F.L. Cohen but challenges this viewpoint. See Chambers' *Folksong-Plainsong: A Study in Origins and Musical Relationships*. London. The Merlin Press Ltd. 1956/1972R: 70-2.

music, especially those of the Classical Viennese school.³⁵² Such thinking is rooted in historical argument. Plainchant was supposed to be a reaction against the pagan music of Classical Antiquity. As far as McLachlan and Pothier were concerned, it did not use pagan melodies.³⁵³ They could take this line because they believed that chant had developed from speech; but this meant that a distinction had to be drawn between Classical and Ecclesiastical Latin, especially if the liturgical language was supposed to be divine. This was why so many writers stressed the importance of correct pronunciation. For instance in her *Grammar of Plainsong* McLachlan, following Bishop Casartelli, described it as 'Italian'.³⁵⁴ With hymnody some credence was given to the idea by the fact that there are significant differences between Classical and Late Antique poetry. In the former, the emphasis on quantity meant that metre and stress were combined; with the latter, accentuation clashed with metre.³⁵⁵ This did not prevent some writers, notably Pothier and Schmitt, from citing Classical practitioners such as Cicero in support of their theories about how plainchant had evolved as a branch of oratory. However, if plainchant had developed from Classical oratorical models then it owed something to pagan roots and was therefore not divorced from the secular. Pothier himself seems to have been aware of the contradiction, for he argues that the true divide between Classical and Medieval poetry was perpetrated by Renaissance scholars who ignored the impact of Greek on Latin pronunciation.³⁵⁶

³⁵² 'Among the different kinds of modern music that which appears less suitable for accompanying the functions of public worship is the theatrical style, which was in the greatest vogue, especially in Italy, during the last century. This of its very nature is diametrically opposed to the Gregorian Chant and the classic polyphony.' Clause 6 in Terry 1931: 258.

³⁵³ [McLachlan] *Gregorian Music* 1897: 5 and 10. Pothier 1880: 10 citing Fétis. Such arguments were denied by Dom Gregory Murray in 1932, who argued that the distinction between secular and profane music really occurred in Renaissance times. See his review of Terry's *Music of the Roman Rite* in the *DR* 50 (1932): 4-5. Little, while admitting plainchant's Jewish origins, suggests that it was subject to Greek influences. Little, 1930: 101-3.

³⁵⁴ [McLachlan] 1905: 6-9. The same point is made in her *Handbook of Rules for Plainsong*. Worcester. Stanbrook Abbey. 1957: 12-13. See also Pothier 1880: 105-129 and Schmitt 1885: 5-57.

³⁵⁵ This argument is set out by Hiley 1993: 281-5.

³⁵⁶ Pothier 1880: 120-125. Schmitt 1885: 29.

The difficulties multiply when psalmody is considered. For a start, it is obvious that, for everyday purposes, Jesus thought and spoke in Aramaic, and that the psalmody he knew was written in Hebrew. If, as Pothier and others argue, plainchant grew out of a Latin text that was a translation from the Hebrew then, by definition, it was defective as an expression of the word of God. Worse, there were three different translations dating from the late fourth century: the 'Itala', the 'Gallican' and the Vulgate versions associated with St Jerome. Only one of these, the Vulgate, was a direct translation from the Hebrew; the others were derived from Greek translations. Yet it was these, not the Vulgate, that were used for the Psalms chanted in the Office; and percolated from there into parts of the Mass.³⁵⁷ Yet, in these same services, the psalm texts used in the antiphons were derived from the Vulgate. There is also evidence of cross-fertilisation between different versions during the Middle Ages; and some early twentieth-century scholars knew this. For example, in 1908 Gasquet and Bishop noted that the Bosworth Psalter, like other Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, used the Itala translation, but followed Norman practice imported from the Continent by interpolating Gallican corrections.³⁵⁸ Gasquet and Bishop almost certainly told this to McLachlan, because their facsimile edition was printed at Stanbrook and she copied hymn melodies from it for the *Benedictine Hymnale* of 1904.³⁵⁹ It was knowledge of such contradictions, coupled with Pius X's revision of the Breviary, that prompted scholars, notably the Pontifical Biblical Commission headed by Gasquet, to prepare revised translations. Yet these in turn exposed other deficiencies in Jerome's translations, further undermining the credibility of a plainchant

³⁵⁷ Hiley 1993: 309 gives a useful summary. See also Winifrid Douglas, revised Leonard Ellinwood: *Church Music in theory and practice*. London. Faber and Faber. 1962: 21. For early twentieth-century understandings see James McSwiney: *Translation of the Psalms and Canticles with commentary*. London: Sands and Co./Dublin: M.H. Gill and Son. 1901: xxi-xxii.

³⁵⁸ Francis A. Gasquet and Edmund Bishop: *The Bosworth Psalter. An account of a manuscript formerly belonging to O. Turville-Petre esq. of Bosworth Hall, now Addit Mss 37517 at the British Museum*. London. George Bell and Sons. 1908: 6-9. They noted similar modifications to a 'Winchester MS' (Royal MS2BV) and Harl. MS 603.

that was supposed to have grown out of a divinely inspired liturgical text.³⁶⁰ Jerome laid out the psalms in two-line verses; so plainchant psalm tones were designed accordingly.

However, it was soon realised that in many cases they were merely sub-units of much larger stanzas. It was also appreciated that the Hebraic pattern of accentuation was completely different from that given in Jerome's Latin; a point reinforced when translations into English began to be made. Compare, for example, the following translations of Psalm 42; the first from Pustet's 1883 edition of the *Pontificale Romanum*; the others from L.C. Fillion's *The New Psalter of the Roman Breviary*, as published in 1915. Notice how, even though the text is the same, the accentuation is altered by different punctuation. Observe too that Fillion has synchronised the accentuation in his Latin and English texts.

Júdica me Deus, et discérne causam meam de gente non sancta: * ab hómine iníquo, et dolóso érue me,
Quia tu es Deus fortitúdo mea:* quare me repulísti, et quare tristis incédo, dum affligit me inimícus?

Pontificale Romanum Part 1. Ratisbon, New York, Cincinnati. Pustet: 1888:33³⁶¹

Judica mea, Deus, et discerne causam meam de gente non sancta;

ab homine iniquo doloroso erue me.

Quia tu es, Deus, fortitudo mea; quare me repulisti?

et quare tristis incedo, dum affligit me inimicus?

Judge me, O God, and distinguish my cause from the nation that is not holy;

deliver me from the unjust and deceitful man.

For thou art God my strength: why hast thou cast me off?

and why do I go sorrowful whilst my enemy afflicteth me?

L.C. Fillion: *The New Psalter of the Roman Breviary*. London/St Louis USA. B. Herder³⁶²
1915R/1912 (Paris): 5³⁶³

³⁵⁹ Stanbrook Abbey archives. Box 'Hymnale, 1963'. Letter dated 3/8/1959 from Dame Felicitas Corrigan to Abbot Byrne of Ampleforth describing the compilation of the 1904 *Hymnale*.

³⁶⁰ P.V.Higgins: 'The Psalms in the Vulgate'. *IER*. 22 (1907): 372-9. See also Francisco Zorrell: *Psalterium ex Hebraco Latinum*. Rome. Pontificii Instituti Biblici. 1928 who states in the preface that his work was triggered by the revision of the Breviary. (p.xviii) and discusses the layout of the psalms in larger stanzas on pp. xiv-xvii.

³⁶¹ The asterisk denotes the half way point in the psalm tone; in this case Tone 4.

It is clear that these points were understood by liturgists; but it is very doubtful that their implications for plainchant were grasped by musicians. McLachlan certainly seems to have had some inkling, as her correspondence with Henry Bewerunge of Maynooth College shows. Perhaps this was because she was a liturgist as well as a musician.³⁶⁴ However, the issue seems to have been largely ignored by Solesmes; as their continued publication of psalm texts in two-line verses shows.³⁶⁵ Perhaps the implications for their understanding of the relationship between plainchant and the liturgy were too radical to contemplate; maybe too Mocquereau's idea that in plainchant there was a tension between textual and musical rhythm meant that the issue could be evaded.³⁶⁶ What is certain, however, is that it was not until the 1950s that musicians, led by Joseph Gelineau (b. 1920), really set about grasping the nettle.

Liturgy was not the only problem afflicting the plainchant cause. Ironically, the emphasis on its Roman origins, especially when coupled with the Ultramontane emphasis on uniformity, could create difficulties. Papal legislation took a straightforward line. For example, the brief *Quod Sanctus Augustinus* of July 7th, 1894 declared that Gregorian Chant was the only variety to be authentic and legitimate.³⁶⁷ This depended on a historical link to the chant of Early Christian Rome. The task was to restore that link, and this was the justification for the work undertaken by Solesmes.³⁶⁸ Unfortunately, there were several snags.

³⁶² Fillion's research went back at least as far as 1893, when he published a Latin and French translation in his *Les Psaumes Commentées D'Après La Vulgate et L'Hébreu*. Paris. Letouzoy et Ané

³⁶³ The underlined accentuation is my own.

³⁶⁴ Stanbrook Abbey archives. W1914: Letters from Henry Bewerunge to Laurentia McLachlan dated 6/5/17 and 7/5/17. W1219: Letters from Laurentia McLachlan to Henry Bewerunge dated 21/1/15 and 17/8/17.

³⁶⁵ A further revealing detail is Mocquereau's advice in his *Petit Traité de Psalmodie* to treat 'Dávid' like in Latin. Solesmes. Imprimerie de Saint Pierre. 1897: Clause 27 (p.16).

³⁶⁶ See part C of this chapter.

³⁶⁷ Cited in an anonymous article 'Legislation on Church Music' printed in the *DR*. 20 (1901): 58-9.

³⁶⁸ For a typical exposition of this view see Richard A.B.Burke: *The Music of the Roman Church*. London. Catholic Truth Society M29 1923: 6 and 8. References to preparatory work on the Vatican Editions of plainchant though show that this was originally drafted in 1904.

First, there was the sheer variety of chant, as many scholars now recognise.³⁶⁹ Second, there was the fact that the earliest manuscripts with musical notation survive from the ninth and tenth centuries; and several of them came from northern Europe. Third, as shall be seen, there were disputes about how it should be interpreted. As Alphege Shebbeare (1851-1928), a Downside supporter of Solesmes, later admitted: 'In the last resort we simply do not know what the chant sounded like in its golden days'.³⁷⁰

To all this the Solesmes response, derived from Guéranger, was simple: 'Lorsque des manuscrits différents d'époque et de pays, s'accordent sur une version, on peut affirmer qu'on a retrouvé la phrase grégorienne'.³⁷¹

It was this principle that underpinned Solesmes's massive enterprise to photograph, copy and systematically compare as many manuscripts as possible. The object was to show that there was one proper version of any given melody; and this in turn rested on the questionable belief that oral transmission could be accurate.³⁷² Even Pothier admitted that the earliest forms of notation were merely shorthand aids to memory; but he did not perceive that this undermined his proposition that 'tous les morceaux du répertoire grégorien ont été conservés intégralement, très souvent note pour note, et groupe par groupe, dans les manuscrits antérieurs au dix-seizième siècle'.³⁷³ Yet even if it was acceptable, this still left certain problems unresolved. One was the issue of the artistic value of later accretions. An authentic

³⁶⁹ See for example Waesbighe: *Gregorian Chant*: 8-9 and Hiley 1993: esp. 171.

³⁷⁰ Alphege Shebbeare: *The Music of the Liturgy*. Society of St Gregory publication. 1959: 20. The 'golden age' he refers to is the era of Pope Gregory I up till the eleventh century.

³⁷¹ 'When manuscripts from different periods and countries agree on a version, you can be sure you have rediscovered the Gregorian phrase'. Quoted by Pothier 1880: ii and 15.

³⁷² For a modern discussion of this issue, using ethnomusical techniques, see Peter Jeffrey: *Re-envisioning past musical cultures: Ethnomusicology in the study of Gregorian Chant*. London and Chicago. University of Chicago Press. 1992. This depends heavily on earlier work by Leo Treitler and Helmut Huckle. In essence the argument is that oral transmission depends on the handing down of formulaic phrases with the intervening sections improvised by the performer (pp. 23-25 and 87-97). See also Richard Crocker: 'Gregorian Studies in the Twentieth Century' *PMM*. 4/1 (April 1995): 33-84.

³⁷³ 'Every part of the Gregorian repertoire has been integrally preserved, often note for note, and group by group, in pre sixteenth-century manuscripts'. Pothier 1880: 22-3 and iv.

approach, aiming to restore the chant as it was known in Pope Gregory's day, either implied that there had been a subsequent artistic decay or that there was a clash between artistic and historical merit. As will be seen the issue came to a head with the preparation of the Vatican editions of plainchant from 1904 onwards. Pothier, as head of the Pontifical Commission, was prepared to admit the value of later additions; the 'archaeological school' headed by Mocquereau, opposed them.³⁷⁴

Another difficulty concerned the effects of scholarly research. We have seen that they had implications for the study of history, theology and liturgy. They also applied to plainchant. Ultramontanes wanted a 'once and for all solution'. Plainchant would be rediscovered and restored in a permanent form for all time. The belief that there was one authentic version fitted in with this concept. Mocquereau's continuous programme of research undermined it, however, because new discoveries could persistently revolutionise understandings of the chant. The issue surfaced quite early. In Belmont Abbey archives there is a correspondence dating from 1856-7 between Francis Wegg-Prosser, the donor of the abbey, and Placid Burchall, President of the English Benedictine Congregation. Prosser demanded, as a condition of his gift, that only unaccompanied plainchant 'according to the best models' should be sung. By this he meant the recently published Mechlin editions based in part on the Montpellier Antiphoner. Failure to comply at any time would result in a revocation of the gift. In reply Burchill noted that, due to scholarly research, plainchant could easily change, and with it, Papal regulations. Thus, 'as all do not understand the words

³⁷⁴ For a classic resume of the 'archaeologists' objections to Pothier's work see Bewerunge: 'The Vatican Edition of Plainchant' (Parts 1 and 2) 1906: 44-63 and 414-28.

Gregorian Music in the same way, may not the day arrive when difficulties or misunderstandings may arise from this circumstance?’³⁷⁵

In short, whatever Ultramontanes may have wanted, nineteenth and twentieth-century plainchant was not, and could not be static. Moreover, ideologically it contained the seeds of its downfall as the dominant form of Catholic church music. In 1903, the year of *Tra le Solleitudini*, however, the issue was not so much whether plainchant should be accepted as the supreme form of church music but what sort of plainchant should be adopted. Basically there were three choices: a Renaissance tradition encapsulated in the Pustet and Mechlin liturgical books going back to the Medicean *Gradual* of 1614-15; a Solesmes approach propagated by Pothier; and an emerging new line, also emanating from Solesmes, advocated by Mocquereau.

³⁷⁵ Belmont Abbey archives. Envelope MS 39-73. Weg Prosser’s letter is dated 15/8/1857. Burchill’s response is set out in letters dated 21/1/1856, 17/2/1856, 6/3/1856 (from which the quotation, including the underlinings, is taken), and 22/7/1857.

B. The Medicean tradition of plainchant

1. Sixteenth and early seventeenth-century developments


According to Mary Berry, the Medicean tradition of plainchant had its roots in late fifteenth and early sixteenth-century developments. Key aspects were the development of mensural notation, the slowing down of tempi, and a simplification of melodies. Berry argues that, in the thirteenth century, the type of symbol employed usually signified a change of pitch, rather than duration. Thus the virga was used for higher notes, the punctum for lower ones. This, clearly, was a hangover from the days of stave-less notation. Moreover, it implied that Solesmes's theory that all notes were of the same length was correct, at least at that time.³⁷⁶ However, influenced by the Renaissance, things then began to change. Humanists were concerned with the correct pronunciation and accentuation of the text according to Classical, rather than medieval, models, and this meant that notes had to be of unequal length. As a result, note symbols began in some cases to be used to denote duration rather than pitch. In any case, the latter could be determined by their position on the four-line stave. As one would expect, the technique was first applied to Latin hymnody. This, after all, was a Late Antique variety of Classical poetry. It was then extended to *Credo* settings and other parts of the plainchant repertory. In England, the effects can be observed in publications printed under the aegis of such noted scholars as Dr John Sampson and Bishop Fox of Winchester.³⁷⁷ A Continental example is the 1525 hymnal prepared by Zacharias Ferreri, bishop of Guardi Alfieri. A notorious early seventeenth-century instance is Pope Urban VIII's revision of the Roman Hymnal of 1629, which was incorporated within the 1631 Breviary.³⁷⁸


³⁷⁶ Mary Berry (otherwise referred to as Sr. Thomas More): *The Performance of Plainsong in the Late Middle Ages*. Cambridge University. Ph.D thesis. 1998: 14-56.


³⁷⁷ Ibid. 53-67, 76-9, 106-20, 144-71.

³⁷⁸ Zon. 1993: 1, 4-5.

The idea is encapsulated in John Merbecke's *The Book of Common Prayer Noted* of 1550 and John Guidetti's *Directorum Chori*, first published in 1582.³⁷⁹ There are three basic note lengths:

The Long = 

The Breve (the basic pulse) = 

The Semibreve = 

In other words there is a proportion of 4:2:1. Moreover, as Guidetti himself admitted, this represented a simplification of the more complex array of symbols available to medieval scribes. Guidetti's declared motive was to make the chant easier to learn; but there is a strong suspicion that such policies were conditioned by the limited capabilities of early musical type.³⁸⁰

Simultaneously there was a slowing down of tempi. Partly this was due to the Humanists' concern for clarity; but it also arose due to the development of polyphony. In particular Berry noted the effects of the interpolation of faburden and interludes for organ between passages of unaccompanied chant. Faburden usually employed note-for-note harmonisations; but this left scope for elaborate vocal ornamentations, pulling back the tempo even more. Such devices also required the development of equivalencies between plainchant and 'modern' notation. Usually this was on the basis that two minims or one semibreve

³⁷⁹ John Guidetti: *Directorum Chori*. Rome 1582. The symbols given here are copied from 8th edition was revised by Francis Pelichoari for King John V of Portugal. I owe the reference to Merbecke and other insights confirming Berry's analysis to a paper given on Oct 29th, 2003 by Kim Hyun Ah to the postgraduate students at Durham University: *Rhetoric and the Reform of Plainchant in Tudor England: Proportional Notation in John Merbecke's The Booke of Common Prayer Noted* (BCPN, 1550).

³⁸⁰ Hiley 1993: 391-7.

equalled a standard note of plainchant; while with organ parts one breve in 'modern' notation was the same as a single plainsong breve.³⁸¹

The full effects of all this became apparent at the end of the sixteenth century. Guidetti was a pupil of Palestrina. In 1577 'The Palestrina and Amabile Zoilo (c. 1537-1592) were commissioned by the Papacy to reform the plainchant books; and although the work was not completed, this was the origin of the legend that the Medicean Gradual was really Palestrina's work. It was at this point, moreover, that the third feature of the new style became manifest. Many of the elaborate melismas characteristic of much medieval plainchant were pruned away, and, once again this seems to have been motivated by a desire for textual clarity (see example 5.3). Indeed, this policy was already being pursued elsewhere, as Berry noted with the Roman Antiphoner published in 1572 by Plantin of Antwerp.³⁸² Such features, along with mensural notation and the assumption of slower tempi, were incorporated in the Medicean Gradual of 1614-15 printed by Giovanni Raimondi under the supervision of Felice Anerio (1560-1630) and Francisco Soriano (1549-1621).³⁸³

³⁸¹ Berry 1968: 173-81 followed by analytical tables on 184-245 for Organ passages dating from the fourteenth century up to a Magnificat by Samuel Scheidt dating from 1602. See pp. 244-80 for her discussion of *faburden*.

³⁸² Ibid. 55-8.

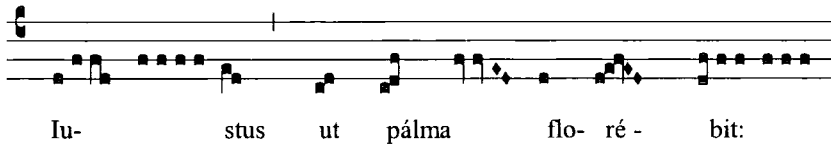
³⁸³ Hayburn 1979: 33-65 provides a hostile, but useful account of these developments. It is interesting to note that originally Anerio and Soriano were to be joined by four other musicians - Nanini, Mancini, Giovanelli and Felini - and that their instructions were that they could correct the *texts* but not the melodies! See also John Rayburn: *Gregorian Chant: A History on the controversy concerning its rhythm*. Westport. Connecticut. Greenwood Press. 1964: 6-8 and Zon 1999: 22.

Example 5.3. Contrasting Medieval and Medicean versions of the Introit *Justus Ut Palma* ('Commune Confessis non Pontificis') as presented in editions by Pustet and Solesmes.³⁸⁴

Pustet 1873



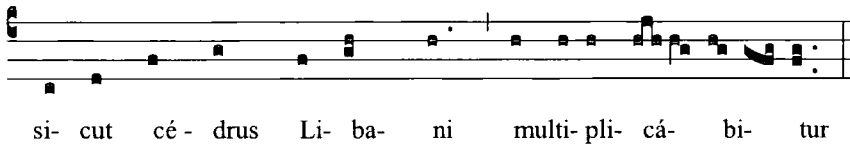
Solesmes 1925



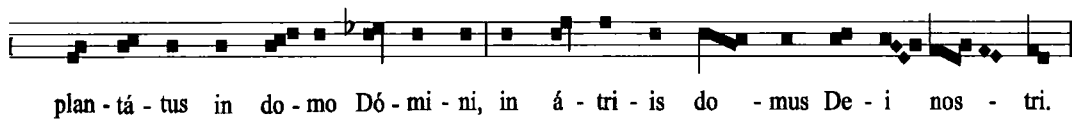
Pustet 1873



Solesmes 1925



Pustet 1873



Solesmes 1925



³⁸⁴ The Pustet edition Vol. 2: [54] is a straight copy from the Medicean editions of the early seventeenth century. The 1925 Solesmes *Liber Usualis* (p.1032) is based on medieval manuscripts.

2. Plainchant in late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England and France

Although intended for use throughout the Roman Catholic Church and - initially at least - supported by a Papal monopoly, in practice the general use of the Medicean Gradual did not extend beyond the Italian peninsula.³⁸⁵ Nevertheless, its indirect influence was considerable. As stated earlier, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were a period of considerable plainchant activity. For example David Hiley noted that the *Miazga Catalogue* contained 700 new Credo settings and 500 variants of *Credo I* produced between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries.³⁸⁶ Henri Dumont's Masses, composed in the reign of Louis XIV, remained in use right into the twentieth century.³⁸⁷ Nor should the influence of La Feillée's *Méthode Normale*, published in 1782, be forgotten. Indeed two of his melodies surface in *The Westminster Hymnal* of 1912.³⁸⁸ Much of the new chant was written for Gallican liturgies; and it could include polyphonic writing.³⁸⁹

Inevitably, French activity affected English practice through the Continental seminaries and monasteries serving the English Mission. For example John Francis Wade (1711-1786), arguably the most influential of the English copyists and composers, worked in the Dominican house at Bornhem.³⁹⁰ Similarly the archives of the Canonesses of the Holy Sepulchre at New Hall, in Essex, who before the French Revolution lived at Liege, have seventeenth- and eighteenth-century editions of plainchant books alongside manuscript

³⁸⁵ Dominic Johnner, trans. W.H. Hoffer: *A New Manual of Gregorian Chant*. Ratisbon. Pustet. 1914: 197.

³⁸⁶ Hiley 1993: 171 citing Tadeusz Miazga: *Die Melodien des einstimmigen Credo der römisch-katholischen lateinischen kirche*. Graz. 1976.

³⁸⁷ See for example the Desclée publications, with Latin and French rubrics, Nos. 2285, No. 2285b, No. 2286, No. 2286b, No. 2281 and No. 2282.


³⁸⁸ *WH1912*: No. 57: 'O God of Loveliness' (text by Alphonsus Liguori trans. Edward Vaughan) and No. 220: 'Thou art left of God' (text by Henry Newman).


³⁸⁹ See for example the CD recording: *Plainchant: Cathédrale D'Auxerre XVIIIème Siècle*. Ensemble Organum directed by Marcel Pérès. Harmonia Mundi (Mas de Vert, Arles). 1990: 901319.

³⁹⁰ Zon 1993: 48-99, 127-62, 174-91 describes Wade's output and influence. For other volumes, some showing his influence, others quite independent of him see pp. 242-6 (Lulworth Organ Book), 248 (A volume from the Spanish Embassy Chapel), 301-9 (Volumes at Wardour Castle), 163-71 and 260-4 (Ushaw).

volumes copied for use by the nuns during the eighteenth century.³⁹¹ Likewise at Stanbrook there is a manuscript by the French organist Faboullier, who came over to England at the time of the French Revolution. His music was also performed by the English Benedictines at Douai before and after their flight to England between 1793 and 1795.³⁹² All of them used some form of the mensural system deployed in Medicean Gradual. Wade in particular relied on La Feillée's system, as the notational relationships in his transcription of Thomas Arne's *Mass in G Major* in the Lulworth organ book show:

Lozenge = 

Tailed Lozenge = 

Breve = 

Tailed Breve = 

Dot = Dot

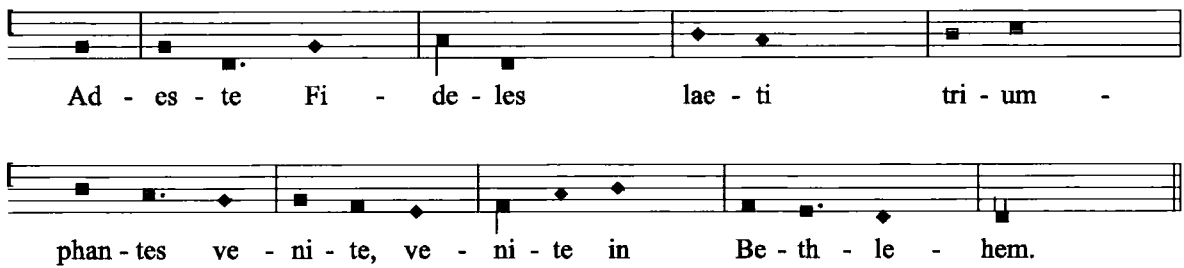
Wade and his colleagues had a continuing impact on all the music, not just the plainchant, performed in English Catholic households and London embassy chapels. For example, Wade's *Vesperale Novum* of 1753, now held by the Smith Library, Washington DC, has the bookplate of John Towneley, who lived near Burnley in Lancashire. The *Lulworth Chapel Organ Book*, as we have seen, contains a Mass by Arne, along with others by Samuel Webbe (1740-1816), who worked for the Sardinian Embassy Chapel. The volume is signed

³⁹¹ See, for example publications from Paris of *Antiphonale Romanum*, published in 1648 (by Martin Hauteville) and 1657 (3 copies), *Processionale*, published in 1628 (Societatem Typographicam) and 1698 (George Josse), as well as 2 copies of a *Graduale Romanum*, published at Lyons in 1787. One of these is marked 'The Chantress' Book, 1810', indicating that it was used by the nuns after their arrival at New Hall in 1794. Manuscript volumes include a collection of Holy Week Chants prepared by the Canonesses in 1678 and two copies of a *Proprium Sanctorum* specially prepared for the Canonesses in 1701 by Thomas Harzens. This was owned by the chaplain, Peter Wright, an alias for Peter Fizwilliam of Kelveden, Essex, who had been educated at the Jesuit run St Omers College c. 1695. Jesuit influence is also suggested by the title of two undated manuscript volumes, one entitled 'Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam', whilst its companion is marked 'Masses'. These contain music in modern notation as well as plainchant neumes.

³⁹² I owe this information to Geoffrey Scott of Douai Abbey and Sr Margaret Truran of Stanbrook Abbey. For outline details of the flight of the Benedictine community at Douai to England see Geoffrey Scott: *Gothic Rage Undone: English Monks in the Age of Enlightenment*. Bath. Downside Abbey. 1992: 216-7.

by Thomas Weld, who was instrumental in settling the English ex-Jesuits at Stonyhurst. Likewise, the Spanish Embassy Chapel Organ book contains works by Webbe and Danby alongside 8 Gregorian Psalm tones.³⁹³ The full effects of such cross-fertilisation can be seen with the evolution of *Adeste Fideles*. An original version appears in Wade's *Cantus Diversi* of 1751, now held at Stonyhurst. Notice that its rhythm is significantly different from the carol anthem version offered by Webbe in 1792. It was then republished in modified form by Vincent Novello with a fully realised keyboard part. Note that here the chorus started at 'Natum Videte' rather than at 'Venite Adoremus'.

Example 5.4a Wade's version of *Adeste Fideles*³⁹⁴



³⁹³ Zon 1999: 62-3; 139-47; 142-50 respectively.

Example 5.4b Samuel Webbe's version of *Adeste Fideles*³⁹⁵

96

At Chriftnas.

Solo

8.

A - des - te fi - de - les læti trium - phantes ve -

- ni - te ve - ni - te in Beth - le - hem Natum vi - de - te

regem auge - lorūm ve - nite a - do - remus ve - nite ado -

remus ve - ni - te a - do - re - mus Do - mi - num.

³⁹⁴ Transcribed from John Francis Wade: *Cantus Diversi Pro Dominicis et Festi per Annum* 1751. Manuscript volume held in the Stonyhurst Archives (Arundell Library) CVI:7. However the 1761 *Cantus Diversi* at Douai has a setting that is closer rhythmically to Webbe's (pp. 123).

³⁹⁵ From *Motets and Antiphons*. London. J. Jones, 1792.

Finally, something similar in overall structure to the modern version surfaces in a late undated edition of Henri Hemy's *Crown of Jesus Music*, originally published in 1864.

Example 5.4c *Adeste Fideles* in *The Crown of Jesus Music* hymnal, edited by Henri Hemy.³⁹⁶

No. 200.

*ADESTE FIDELES.

(For Latin or English Words, Page 646.)

PORTUGUESE A.D.

1. A- des- te fi- de- les, Læ- ti tri- um- phan- tes, Ve-
 2. ... De- um de De- o, Lu- - men de lu- mine, ...

3. ... Can- tet nunc i- o cho- rus an- ge- lo- rum ...
 4. ... Er- go qui na- tus Di- e ho- di- er- na, ...

ni- te, Ve- ni te in Beth- le- hem: Na- tum vi- de- te,
 Ges- tant Pu- el- la vis- ce- ra: De- - um ve- rum,

Can- tet nunc au- la coe- les- ti- um, Glo- - - ria
 Je- - su ti- bi sit glo- ri- a, Pa- tris æ- ter- ni

Re- gem an- ge- lo- rum, Ve- ni- te a- do- re- mus, Ve- ni- te a- do-
 Ge- ni- tum non fac- tum, Ve- ni- te a- do- re- mus, Ve- ni- te a- do-

in ex- cel- sis De- o: Ve- ni- te a- do- re- mus, Ve- ni- te a- do-
 Fer- bum ex- ro fac- tum, Ve- ni- te a- do- re- mus, Ve- ni- te a- do-

re- mus, Ve- ni- te a- do- re- mus Do- mi- num.

* A very fine arrangement of this hymn for Four Voices is published by A. Novello.

³⁹⁶ Note its attribution to Portuguese origins, presumably because Vincent Novello worked at the Portuguese embassy chapel.

It is also worth remarking that other versions of the plainchant *Adeste Fideles* It is continued to circulate in France. These were picked up and re-edited by the monks of Solesmes in the early twentieth century.

Example 5.4d *Adeste Fideles* as presented by Solesmes³⁹⁷

Tone 6

Ad - es - te fi - de - les lae - ti tri - um - phan - tes!

³ Ve - ni - te, ve - ni - te in - Beth - le - hem.

3. Nineteenth-century plainchant

Plainchant, then, because it was still a living repertoire for which composers continued to write, was compatible with the latest developments in early nineteenth-century music. This is clearly illustrated by Vincent Novello’s *Twelve Easy Masses*, published in 1816. Alongside works by Joano Baldi (1770-1816), Giovanni Casali (1715-1792), Joachim de Natividad, Samuel Webbe the elder and Vincent Novello himself, there are five Gregorian Masses: The *Missa De Angelis*, the *Gregorian Mass for the Dead*, a *Roman Mass*, Dumont’s *Messe Royale* and Samuel Wesley’s *Mass with Gregorian Chants*. Modern notation, fully harmonised diatonically on a note for note basis, is used. Moreover, unlike in Solesmes style chant, the dynamic levels are sharply differentiated into well-defined alternating sections, as the following scheme, derived from the *Missa De Angelis*, demonstrates.³⁹⁸

Table 5.1 The musical dynamics in the 'Credo' from Vincent Novello’s version of the *Missa De Angelis*

Dynamic level	Text
<i>p</i>	Credo in unum Deum.....Deum verum de Deo vero
<i>f</i>	Genitum non factum....per quem omnia facta sunt
<i>p</i>	Qui propter nos homines, et propter nostram salutem descendit de coelo
<i>f</i>	Et incarnatus est de spiritu sancto ex Maria Virgine: et homo factus est
<i>p</i>	Crucifixus etiam pro nobis: sub Pontio Pilato passus, et sepultus est.
<i>f</i>	Et resurrexit terria die...cuius regni non erit finis
<i>p</i>	Et in Spiritum Sanctum.....Filioque procedit
<i>f</i>	Qui cum Patre... Qui locutus est per Prophetas
<i>p</i>	Et exspecto resurrectionem mortuorum
<i>ff</i>	Et vitam venturi saeculi, Amen

In addition, in the preface Novello supplied a list of recommended organ registrations for all the compositions, plainchant or otherwise, corresponding to each dynamic level. These show just how great and clear-cut the differences could be.

³⁹⁷ Taken from A.J. Biton. *Vade Mecum Paroissial*. Paris, Rome, Tournai. Desclée et Cie. 1914: 22.

³⁹⁸ This may be a development from Wade’s practice, as revealed by his occasional use of dynamic markings. See for example his copy of the ‘Gloria’ from the ‘Missa Solemnis Octavi Toni’ in the 1765 *Graduale Romanum* held at Douai: 235.

Table 5.2 Vincent Novello’s recommendations for organ registration in *Twelve Easy Masses*

Dynamic level	Recommended stops
<i>pp</i>	Stopped Diapason only on thr Swell manual. For the bass line use the Stopped Diapason on the Choir manual
<i>p</i> (solo parts)	Stopped Diapason and Dulciana on the Choir manual; 2 Diapasons on the Swell manual
<i>p</i> (for whole choir)	2 Diapasons on the Great manual
<i>mf</i>	2 Diapasons and the Principal on the Great manual
<i>f</i>	2 Diapasons, Principal, 15th without the 12 th
<i>ff</i>	2 Diapasons, Principal, 12th and 15th Mixture, Cornet Treble and Sesquialta Bass

Novello then adds that 'the Trumpet may be occasionally added at the termination of the fugues and full choruses which generally end the 'Gloria', 'Credo', and 'Domine'.'

In short, Novello adapted and fully realised the hidden potential of Medicean chant to fit early nineteenth-century circumstances. Strongly differentiated dynamics combined with diatonic note-for-note block harmony and the use of different note lengths to give a sense of power: a power, moreover that was accentuated by the very slow tempo he advocated. In his *Convent Music*, published in 1834, he recommended a basic metronome pulse of a $\text{♩} = 66$.³⁹⁹

All these features are well conveyed by the following extract from his *Evening Service*, published in around 1822. Here, the position of the breathing marks indicates clearly just how slow Novello intended a performance to be.

³⁹⁹ Zon 1998: 59.

Example 5.5 Novello's arrangement of the plainchant for the *Miserere*⁴⁰⁰

22

GREGORIAN CHANT for the MISERERE.

N.B. The marks* indicate where breath is to be taken. Swell, Acc'd & transcribed by V. NOVELLO.

TENOR SOLO.

VOCE

Mi... se... re... re* me... i* De... us*

ORGANO

Swell, Stop Diap: only.

Stop Diap: Choir.

Secundum magnum* mi... se... ri... cor... di... am* tu... am

TUTTI

Et secundum multitudinem* mise... ra... ti... o... nem tu... a... rum*

Ol Diap! & Principal.

Ped: 8vi 8vi

de... le* i... ni... qui... ta... tem* me... lr... am

TREBLE SOLO.

Swell

Am... plius lava me* ab i... ni... qui... ta... to* me... am

Choir

Evening Service Bk. 10. (Page 36.)

⁴⁰⁰ Taken from Novello, Vincent: *The Evening Service Book*. London. Vincent Novello. N.d. II: 22.

Music of this sort may have been appropriate for the Classical ambience of a late eighteenth-century chapel; but came to seem out place in the Gothic churches built by Pugin and his colleagues.⁴⁰¹ Moreover, during the 1840s there was a significant change in Ultramontane attitudes about the relationship between plainchant and other styles of church music. Such concerns were not new. From the 1780s onwards Ultramontanes such as James Coghlan (c. 1732-1800), a leading Catholic bookseller and publisher, had shown interest in plainchant. Coghlan took over the bookstock of Thomas Meighan (d. c. 1771) who in 1748 had produced the plainchant manual *The Art of Singing*. Coghlan then went on to publish *An Essay on the Church's Plainchant* (1782), *Plainchant for the chief Masses...compiled for the use of W-D-R [Wardour] chapel* (1787) and *Divers Church Chants* (1799). Another projected publication was *The Gregorian Note*, which was mainly planned between 1790 and 1791, but left incomplete at his death.⁴⁰²

At this point Coghlan's bookstock passed to Richard Brown (1797-1837), nephew of Coghlan's wife. In 1820 Brown went into partnership with George and Patrick Keating, founding the firm Keating, Brown and Keating. All of them were Ultramontanes. George Keating (1762-1836) had probably been trained by Coghlan's business rival, James Marmaduke (d. 1788), who himself had published *The true method to learn the Church's plainsong* (1748). This was appended to the pamphlet entitled *A Pious Association*, which in turn was added to some editions of *The Evening Office of the Church according to the Roman Breviary*. This, along with Coghlan's plainchant publications, continued to appear in Keating, Brown and Keating book catalogues during the early nineteenth century. Between 1817 and

⁴⁰¹ See for example Pugin 1850: 7-8.

⁴⁰² Zon 1999: 76-81, 87-103.

1818 these also refer to *Instructions for learning plainchant, including hymns etc set to the Gregorian note*.⁴⁰³

Another Ultramontane with plainchant interests was William Eusebius Andrews (1773-1837), publisher of the *Orthodox Journal*. Under his management this periodical included hardly any items on music; but at his funeral and all plainchant programme, including Samuel Wesley's arrangement of the *Missa De Angelis*, was performed.⁴⁰⁴

Armed with this sort of information it is tempting to conclude that there was a special relationship between plainchant enthusiasts and Ultramontanes in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This appears to be confirmed by the interest shown by some English ex-Jesuits, given the Society's emphasis on a special duty of obedience owed to the Pope.⁴⁰⁵ Wade chant books survive at Stonyhurst and other English Jesuit centres, such as the chapels at Lulworth and Wardour Castle. In the case of the latter, there is even a special publication, *Plainchant for Vespers at Wardour Castle*, produced in 1788.⁴⁰⁶ Moreover, in 1794 Coghlan is known to have consulted Fr Charles Plowden, who became Rector at Stonyhurst between 1817 and 1819, about *The Gregorian Note*.⁴⁰⁷

In reality matters are not so simple. First, if the *Instructions for learning plainchant* is discounted, no new plainchant publications were produced by Keating, Brown and Keating.

⁴⁰³ Ibid. 81-87. Joseph Gillow: *A literary and biographical history, or bibliographical dictionary of English Catholics*. London. Burns and Oates. 1894 Vol 1: 322-5, 526-7; Vol 2: 673-6; Vol. 4: 426-34. Keating, Brown and Keating catalogues often appear as part of *The Laity's Directory*, which they published annually between 1801-39

⁴⁰⁴ Gillow 1894: Vol. 1, 43-52. For details of his funeral see 'A Memoir' in the *Orthodox Journal*. London. P.P. Andrews Vol. 4 (Jan-June 1837): 244-6.

⁴⁰⁵ Note that between 1773 and 1815 the Society of Jesus had been abolished. Indeed, it was not formally restored in England till 1829. During this period the ex-Jesuits at Liege and Stonyhurst were referred to as 'The Gentlemen of Liege' or 'The Gentlemen of Stonyhurst'.

⁴⁰⁶ A copy of this at Douai Abbey is signed by the composer John Crookhall, who went on to direct the music at St Edmund's College, Ware. Ware also holds several Wade manuscript books viz. and *Antiphonale et Lamentationes* (1760), an *Antiphonale Romanum* (1760), and a *Graduale Romanum* (1760). In addition there is the volume known as the *Heptenstall Vespers* (1767). Therefore Crookhall may have studied these as well. Given that Ware was founded by exiles from Douai seminary, it is possible that the manuscripts came from there, confirming the tradition recounted by Bernard Ward that Wade had special connections there. Zon 1999: 70-6, 89-93 and Zon: 'Plainchant in the eighteenth-century Catholic Church'. *RH* 21/3 (May 1993): 367.

⁴⁰⁷ Zon May 1993: 366.

Second, interest in plainchant was not confined to Ultramontanes. As suggested earlier, plainchant in England, especially that produced by Wade, was influenced by Gallican traditions. For example Wade's *Cantus Diversi* contains a *Missa Duacena*, or Douai Mass, and, as Lingard's education shows, Gallican ideas circulated there in the late eighteenth century. Likewise, at Douai Abbey there is a manuscript *Vesperale* prepared in 1787 by the French liturgical plainchant composer Faboulier and Canstantio Hennon for the English Franciscan Recollect community at Douai in France. Faboulier's works also appear in an untitled Antiphoner owned by Stanbrook Abbey but marked 'belonging to Downside College'. This suggests the collection was brought over from St Gregory's, Douai to Downside during the French Revolution and passed on to Stanbrook by one of the chaplains it sent there. In similar fashion, the Canonesses of the Holy Sepulchre, who had particularly close connections with the ex-Jesuits at Liege, brought over their chant books, including several French publications, to New Hall, in Essex.⁴⁰⁸ Such influences were reinforced by the activity of French refugee clergy. For instance, Zon argues that James Preston, who used Coghlan's publications to introduce plainchant to his congregation at Abergavenny, may have been a French or Belgian refugee priest. The Benedictine nuns from Montargis obtained at

⁴⁰⁸ The English Recollect *Vesperale* is held in Douai Abbey archives MS52. The Faboulier Antiphoner at Stanbrook is uncatalogued but marked 'Antip. Vol. 1'. Margaret Truran, the archivist, guesses it was most likely brought over by Benedict Wassell, chaplain between 1817 and 1820. The French publications taken to New Hall (now transferred to their new house in Colchester) include a *Processionale* (Paris, Societatem Typographica, 1628), an *Antiphonarium Romanum* (Paris, Martin Hauteville, 1648), three copies of another *Antiphonarium Romanum* (n.p. 1657), and two copies of a *Graduale Romanum* (Lyons, 1787). This last is signed 'the Chantress' Book, 1810 and contains a 'Nova Missa in Solemnioribus'. However, there are also publications from Antwerp, notably an *Antiphonale Romanum* (John Baptiste Verdussen, 1662) and a *Missae Defunctorum* (Plantin Press, 1733) Alongside these are plainchant volumes used by Jesuit chaplains at the Liege house. For instance there are two copies of a *Proprium Sanctorum ad usum Canoniarum S. Hierodineitae Ecclesiae e Custodum Sanctosant Dominici Sepulchri* (Thomas Harzens 1701) given by Peter Wright (an alias for Peter Fitzwilliam, an ex-pupil from the English Jesuit College at St Omer). These are copies of a *Proprium Sanctorum* specially printed for the canonesses at Liege by William Henry Streel in 1674. A preface by Libertus Van Elsrock though shows that the collection was originally prepared in 1537 from medieval liturgical books on the orders of William Zenders. In addition, six eighteenth-century mss volumes contain such items as a first and second 'Douay Mass', a first and second 'Dunkerque Mass', a first and second 'London Mass', a 'French Mass' (actually Dumont's *Missa Regia*) and two Masses by Van Ham. There are also Mass settings by a 'Mr Holden' and a 'Mr Gage', as well as an 'Austin's Mass'. This therefore reveals a cross-fertilisation of French, Flemish, Liege, English and Augustinian traditions. None of these items have catalogue numbers.

least one Wade chant book in London and presumably continued to use it at Bodley Hall, in Norfolk.⁴⁰⁹

Third, the Jesuits and ex-Jesuits at St Omer, Burges, Liege and Stonyhurst educated many members of the English Catholic aristocracy. Some, for example the Constable Maxwells, were Ultramontane; and Thomas Weld himself, the donor of Stonyhurst, refused to have any dealings with the Cisalpine Committee. However others, such as Robert Petre, Charles Dormer and William Plowden, were members.⁴¹⁰ In addition, as has been seen, some ex-Jesuits, notably Nicholas Morgan, Joseph and William Dunn, were interested in vernacular liturgies. Modern post-Vatican II experience suggests that plainchant and the vernacular are antipathetic to one another; but, in the early nineteenth century, many did not accept this, perhaps because, at that time plainchant, technically speaking, was closer to contemporary musical styles. So, as has been noted, Husenbeth incorporated eight plainchant tones into his 1844 edition of *The Vesper Book*, and the 1850 *Catholic Directory* advertises John M. Beste's *Church Hymns in English, that may be sung to the old Church Music*.⁴¹¹

Thus, up till the late 1830s, plainchant was not a bone of contention between Ultramontanes and their opponents. The case of Anthiny Lund (c. 1734-1811) illustrates this. Lund was educated and taught theology at Douai. After that he worked at Bartle, Woodplumpton, and Broughton in Lancashire. The Talbot Library in Preston possesses some of his books. These include *The real principles of Catholics*, by one 'J-H-C.A.D.S', published by Thomas Meighan. This is not a full-blooded Ultramontane book. Laity are required to obey their sovereigns and there is no section on Papal infallibility. However the Pope is declared to

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid. 374-9. The key volume from Montargis is Wade's *Graduale Romanum* (1765), which is signed by Joseph Barratt, on May 5th, 1789, in London. Douai Abbey archives MS 55. This then was given to the nuns during their short stay in London, and then taken from there to Bodley Hall. After that it moved with them to Princethorpe and Fernham. When the house was closed, it was taken to Douai Abbey. The other Wade volumes from Fernham are a *Cantus Diversi* (1761) and an *Antiphonarium Romanum* (1763). Douai MS 56 and 57.

⁴¹⁰ Bernard Ward: *The Dawn of the English Catholic Revival 1781-1803* London. Longman, Green and Co. 1909, Vol.2: 52-4.

be ‘head of the Church under Christ’ and the laity must submit to their ‘spiritual superiors’ as ‘nursers of our souls, and under God are the instrumental causes of our spiritual good.’ What is interesting is that in 1780 Lund obtained a 1778 edition of Marmaduke’s *Evening Office of the Church* with *The True Method to learn the Church plainsong* in the back.⁴¹²

It was only from about 1837 that plainchant began to acquire a new and special association with Ultramontaniam. In that year Peter Paul Andrews took over the management of the *Orthodox Journal*. Immediately he used it as a vehicle to promote plainchant. For example, that year he published a detailed account of the consecration of Ambrose Phillips De Lisle’s chapel at Grace Dieu and the abbey church at Mount St Bernard, in Leicestershire. In both cases the proceedings were dominated by plainchant.⁴¹³ This marked the beginning of a barrage of plainchant publications and articles produced during the 1840s and 1850s. Many of the latter were published by *The Rambler*, *The Dublin Review*, and *The Tablet*, which were run by the Ultramontane firm Burns and Lambert.⁴¹⁴

Three years later Thomas Walsh, Vicar Apostolic of the Midland District, recruited Nicholas Wiseman to be President at Oscott College, near Birmingham. Wiseman’s views about plainchant have already been noted in connection with the First Synod of Westminster, held in 1852 at Oscott. Under his aegis the choirmaster, Johann Benz (1807-1880), produced his *Cantica Sacra, or Gregorian Music*, in 1845. Three years later John Moore, Wiseman’s successor at Oscott, imposed an exclusive diet of plainchant on the students there.⁴¹⁵

Wiseman also wrote the preface for J.A. Novello’s *Cantica Vespera*, which was favourably

⁴¹¹ *Catholic Directory*. London. Burns and Lambert. 1850: 165.

⁴¹² ‘J-H-C.A.D.S’: *The real principles of Catholics*. London. Thomas Meighan. N.d. 167 and 341.

⁴¹³ ‘Philaethes’: ‘Consecration of churches at Grace Dieu, Whitwick and Mount St Bernard’. *Orthodox Journal* Vol. 5 (July-Dec 1837): 382-4. The reports were originally published in the *Staffordshire Examiner*. In the same volume see the account of ‘a religious festival at Grace Dieu, Leicestershire’ p. 30.

⁴¹⁴ Zon 1999: 217-46.

⁴¹⁵ Johann Benz: *Cantica Sacra, or Gregorian Music*. London, Dublin, Derby: J. Richardson and son/J.A. Novello. 1845/R1849. Zon (1999: 192-3) says this was first published in 1846, but the anonymous preface is dated 1845. For Moore’s musical policies see Judith Champ: *Oscott College Chapel*. Oscott, 2002: 47.

reviewed by the *Orthodox Journal*. Immediately afterwards there is a letter by Wiseman attacking the employment of Protestant singers in Catholic choirs and blaming them for encouraging a theatrical florid style of singing and repertory. Wiseman also demanded uniformity in the performance of plainchant in the Catholic Church at Vespers. In particular he emphasised the importance of correct punctuation, especially the vowels, recommending Italian practices for this purpose. Here then plainchant was tied to an Ultramontane agenda, with its emphasis on Italianate uniformity, and it is contrasted favourably with modern musical styles tainted by their association with Protestants.⁴¹⁶

At the same time Ultramontanes used plainchant to trump liberal Catholic experiments with vernacular elements in the liturgy as a means of obtaining lay participation. For example the anonymous preface (possibly by Wiseman himself, since it was written at Oscott) in Benz's *Cantica Sacra* argues that plainchant is easy to learn and therefore suitable for congregational singing in small churches that have difficulty forming a choir. It also drew attention to the fact that Catholic choirs 'are but imperfectly provided with music for the secondary portions...of the service' (i.e. the Introit, Gradual, Offertory and the proper hymns for Vespers). *Cantica Sacra*, by remedying such deficiencies, was therefore extending the scope of congregational singing to more parts of the liturgy. The same ideal of congregational participation in singing plainchant is articulated in Ambrose Phillips De Lisle's *The Little Gradual, or Choralist's companion* of 1847 and in William Kelly's *The complete Gregorian*

⁴¹⁶ J.A. Novello: *Cantica Vespera: The Psalms chanted at Vespers and Compline adapted to the Gregorian songs*. London. J.A. Novello. 1841. This was reviewed in the *Orthodox Journal* Vol. 13 (July-Dec 1841): 65-6. Wiseman's letter is on page 67. For an example of further developments of his ideas, including the link between plainchant and Renaissance polyphony, see 'F.M' (Francis Miller): 'Church Music'. *Orthodox Journal* Vol. 19 (June-Dec 1844): 202.

Chant manual of 1849.⁴¹⁷

The opening of St Chad's Cathedral, Birmingham, on July 21st, 1841 was meant to be a showcase for the new Ultramontane plainchant order. This was a Gothic building designed by Pugin (see illustration 2.2). At its consecration by Walsh and Wiseman, twelve bishops served as canons. The music, performed by Catholic amateurs and students from Oscott under Benz's direction, consisted entirely of plainchant. Yet, at the Pontifical Mass celebrated two days later – the first in England since the Reformation – Benz and the Oscott choir performed a hitherto unpublished Mass by Haydn. In other words, Benz showed that he belonged to the older tradition represented by Samuel Wesley, the Webbes and Vincent Novello. He saw no incompatibility between plainchant and modern styles of music.⁴¹⁸ Similar views were held at that time elsewhere. For instance, the Jesuits at Stonyhurst obtained copies of Alfieri's *Saggio Storico Pratico de Canto Gregoriano o Romano*, Benz's *Cantica Sacra*, and N.A. Jansen's *Les Vrais Principes du chant Grégorien*; but, at the same time they vigorously maintained a repertoire of modern and Classical Viennese music. For example, in 1836, for the opening of their new church, dedicated to St Peter, they commissioned a Classical Viennese style Mass from Salvatore Meluzzi, director of the Papal choir at St Peter's, Rome. In this way they showed they could be both up-to-date and Roman, even though their church was built in a

⁴¹⁷ Anon 'Preface' in Benz: 1845/R1849. n.p. Zon, 1999:193-8. De Lisle intended his book for village communities; Kelly appealed to members of the working class. This idea of using plainchant to encourage congregational participation was also widely used in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century France. Ironically, therefore, it was of Gallican, rather than Ultramontane origin. Jean-Yves Hameline: L'Intérêt pour le chant des fidèles dans le catholicisme français d'Ancien Régime et le premier mouvement liturgique en France'. *La Maison Dieu*. No. 241 (2005), 32, 37-40, 48-51 (for the Ultramontane takeover of the idea), 59-60 (for its spread to England via Fernand Cabrol) and 74 (for its world-wide dissemination at the International Congress of Sacred Music, held at New York in 1920).

⁴¹⁸ Anon. 'St Chad's Cathedral, Birmingham: Consecration and dedication'. *Orthodox Journal*. Vol.13 (July-Dec 1841): 400-2.

Perpendicular Gothic style.⁴¹⁹

In short, what Ultramontanes needed was a change in plainchant scholarship. They had to show that authentic Gregorian chant was different from and incompatible with modern styles of music. This implied a move towards modality, especially in plainchant accompaniments. It was also necessary to purge the plainchant repertory of post-medieval compositions, especially if they were Gallican. The impetus was supplied by the ‘discovery of a complete and authentic copy of the original antiphony of St Gregory’. This was none other than the Montpellier Antiphoner, recovered by J-L-F Danjou in 1846.⁴²⁰ As such it formed the basis for the Mechlin books of plainchant, beginning with the Gradual of 1851 published by H. Dessain and F.J. Hanicq under the auspices of Cardinal Sterckx. The editors, Pierre Duval and P.F. De Voght, also drew on Roman sources, so the connection between plainchant and the Papacy – an essential point for Ultramontanes – was retained. Consequently the Mechlin books are a Renaissance-Medieval hybrid. As regards mensuration, for instance, Medicean principles are faithfully reproduced:’

Nota quadrata (■) signum est semibrevis seu communis. Nota caudata, id est quadrata cui a dextris vel a sinistris, sursum vel deorsum linea verticalis seu cauda appingitur (■), sonum longum designat. Semi-breven denique exprimit nota rhombi figuram referens (◆).⁴²¹

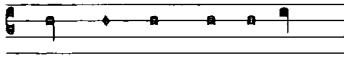
⁴¹⁹ Pietro Alfieri: *Saggio Storico Teorico Pratico del Canto Gregoriano o Romano per istruzione degli ecclesiastici*. Rome. Tipografia Belle Arti, 1835. N.A. Jansen: *Les vrais principes du chant Grégorien*. Malines (Mechlin) P.J. Hanicq. 1845. Both are stored in the Arundell Library at Stonyhurst. This also holds a copy of Louis Lambillotte SJ: *Esthétique théorie et pratique du chant Grégorien restauré d'après la doctrine des anciens et les sources primitives*. Paris. Librairie d'Adrien le clerc et cie, 1855 ed. P.J. Dufour SJ, who presented this copy to Fr Clough, the rector at Stonyhurst. In 1858 Clough also obtained a folio size *Graduale Juxta Missale Romanum*. Lyons. J. Boursy. 1816 which is stored in the room known as ‘Cacus’. The *Cantica Sacra* is stored in the music basement.

⁴²⁰ ‘ALP’: ‘Discovery of a complete and authentic copy of the original antiphony of St Gregory’. *The Rambler*. 3/11 (Nov 1848) 174-80. This quotes substantial extracts from Danjou’s report. Shortly after Louis Lambillotte produced hand drawn replicas of a St Gall Gradual and Antiphoner in 1851 and 1857. Hiley 1993: 622-3.

⁴²¹ ‘The square sign is commonly referred to as a semibreve. The tailed note, that is a square sign with a vertical tail attached to the right or left hand side, designates a Long. The semi-breve likewise is referred to by a rhomboid symbol’. *Tractatus de Cantu Ecclesiastico ad usum seminarii Mechliniensis*. Mechlin. H. Dessain. 1864: 7.

The rhythmic implications of this are illustrated by the following sample from the same source:

Example 5.6⁴²² Rhythm in Mediean style plainchant



Do- mi-nus ex Si-on

Mechlin books were widely used in England; but they also exerted an indirect influence through the work of Sir John Lambert (1815-1892). In 1848 Lambert, in partnership with the Ultramontane James Burns, established the firm Burns and Lambert, which eventually developed into Burns and Oates. Lambert lived in Salisbury and had close contacts with the chapel at Wardour Castle nearby. An Old Gregorian, he helped reorganise the music at Downside. Later, between 1854 and 1856, in collaboration with Henry Formby, John Hardman, and John Moore, did the same thing at St Chad's Cathedral, Birmingham, where William Ullathorne, a monk of Downside, was bishop. Here, an exclusive diet of plainchant and Renaissance polyphony was prescribed. In this way the 'modern' musical deficiencies of Benz's regime were eliminated.⁴²³ Next, as a friend of Weg Prosser, he was brought in to advise on chant for Belmont Abbey, which was consecrated in 1860. For this purpose, the future bishop and English Benedictine President Austin O'Neill (1841-1911) was recruited by him from St Edmund's Priory, Douai as organist. Lambert then represents a bridge between the world of aristocratic household chapels, Wiseman style Ultramontaniam and the Gothic monastic revival. His publications reveal the cross-fertilisation of medieval

⁴²² Ibid: xxii.

⁴²³ For details see 'Compiled by the Cathedral Clergy: *A History of St Chad's Cathedral, Birmingham. 1841-1904*. Birmingham. Cornish Brothers Ltd.1904: 123-9.

and Medicean source material in the Mechlin books.⁴²⁴ Example 5.8, taken from the *Easy Music For Church Choirs*, shows this clearly. The directions at the bottom state that ‘the chants are to be sung spiritedly in moderate time, breathing *not at all* at the bars, but *only* at the commas.’ Since this implies that choirs at that time commonly breathed on the bar lines, the tempo must have been somewhat faster than that recommended by Novello. If ‘commas’ are supposed to include the colons at the second double bar then a comfortable metronome speed for breathing in this way would probably beat about a $\text{♩} = 80$. Lambert was not unique in this respect. The anonymous preface in Benz’s *Cantica Sacra* requires singers to ‘avoid a drawling, heavy and slow manner of performing’ plainchant.⁴²⁵ In this way it would be made more palatable for congregations to sing. However the preface then goes on to say that in monastic communities the slower speed is acceptable because it increases the opportunities for meditating on each syllable of the text during the Office. There is no means of knowing whether Lambert accepted this reasoning for Belmont; but if he did not, then his preference for faster tempi may be the result of medieval influences. On the other hand, like Renaissance musicians, Lambert states that accented notes should be made long, producing a mensural effect in 3/2 time at the words ‘Domino’ and ‘Dextris’. This, moreover, is synchronised with the syllabic pattern of the text, which is organised according to Classical rules of quantity - even when chanted on a reciting note - as Note 2 and Direction III make clear. In addition, although Lambert used modal harmonies elsewhere, here, as with Novello, the four part setting is strictly diatonic and organised on a note-for-note basis. Lambert also follows Novello in prescribing the use of loud and soft Organ passages on alternate verses.

⁴²⁴ Zon 1999: 202-11 lists his plainchant publications. For his work at St Chad’s Cathedral see *A History of St Chad’s Cathedral Birmingham compiled by the Cathedral Clergy*. Birmingham. Cornish Brothers Ltd. 1904: 126-8. Basil Whelan: *The History of Belmont Abbey*. London, Bloomsbury. 1956: 28-29. MSS history of Belmont Abbey by Dr Newlyn Smith. Belmont Abbey Archives MS 754: p.128. Geoffrey Scott: ‘Bishop Austin O’Neill OSB 1841-1911: An Edmundian Enduring *Diu Quidem*’. EBC History Conference: 1999: 32.

Example 5.7 Facsimile of Psalm Tone 1 from *Easy Music for Church Choirs*. London. Burns and Lambert. 1853: 3

PSALM TONES.

1. The first half-verse of each Psalm to be sung by the Cantor, or by a Semichorus, the remaining verses by the Choir alternately, all joining in the "Gloria Patri," the last words of which, "sæculorum, Amen," are to be sung slower. If the Choir is not numerous enough for division, the voices must sing throughout, with loud and soft Organ in alternate verses.

2. The syllables marked — are to be sung with emphasis, and to be made *long*: those marked ∪ are unaccented, and to be made *short*. This must be specially observed with regard to the notes immediately before and after the upright line |. Without strict attention to this there can be no expression, or musical effect. The emphatic notes corresponding to the long syllables are marked ^ . No pause whatever is made at the line |.

A TONE 1.

Di-xit Dominus Donec ponam inimicis tuis scabellum Gloriam sicut erat in principio, et nunc et semper, et in secula seculi. Amen.

N.B. The verses here given are simply meant as specimens of the mode of applying the syllables to the notes: the Psalms in full will be found in the "Vesper Psalter," which is a necessary companion to this music. In commencing to teach a Choir to chant the Psalms, the Choir-master would do well to go over several times the whole of the Chants with the words here given, directing the attention of the singers particularly to the rules for long and short notes, accents, &c. on which the whole beauty of the performance depends. (See Directions below.)

ANOTHER ENDING.

Con-fi-tebor tibi Domine in toto corde meo: in consilio justorum et congregata. Magnam operam Domini exquisita in omnes voluntates eius. Redemptionem misit populo suo: mandavit in aeternum testamentum suum.

Directions. — I. The Chants to be sung spiritedly in moderate time, breathing *not at all* at the bars, but *only* at the commas. II. The mark ^ shows the accented notes, and the syllables under them are to have a swell of the voice, and to be held on longer than the others. III. The syllable before the bar | must be made short, ∪, and the one after it (marked —) long: and no pause whatever must be made between them, as the bar | merely indicates the end of the recitation note. IV. The accents, ^, especially the one before the short syllable, ∪, must also be attended to. In this way an easy and flowing style of Chanting will be attained. V. The upper notes in the Treble Staff are the melody for the voices: the harmony to be played on the Organ, which should be used *forte* and *piano* alternately.

During the consecration ceremonies at Belmont, the Pontifical Mass was celebrated by none other than Abbot Guéranger, and it is known that he met Lambert on that occasion. The coup was engineered by Laurence Shepherd (1825-1885), an Ampleforth monk who visited Solesmes every year between 1855 and his death thirty years later. As novice master

⁴²⁵ Zon 1999: 211-15, who cites other examples of this phenomenon.

Shepherd had already introduced Guéranger's ideas to Ampleforth.⁴²⁶ These were of direct relevance to the EBC. As noted before, hitherto the EBC had been centrally organised to serve missions, where monks lived relatively isolated lives after training in what were, in effect, monastic seminaries. Monks such as Shepherd wanted to move away from this and, like Guéranger at Solesmes, establish fully-fledged autonomous communities headed by abbots. Belmont was a compromise between these two approaches. On the one hand, it was established as a central noviciate for the whole EBC; on the other, it was a place where a full monastic life could be celebrated around the Office. This aspect was reinforced by the fact that it provided a monastic chapter, since Belmont also served as the Cathedral for the diocese of Menevia. Plainchant then was central to its existence as a monastic community.

Accordingly Shepherd was designated as novice master. Yet, due to ill health, he did not take up the appointment; and perhaps also conservative monks might have been afraid of what he might do. Instead, he became chaplain for the nuns at Stanbrook Abbey, near Worcester in 1863. Stanbrook then became the powerhouse for subsequent EBC reform.⁴²⁷

The Stanbrook community had been founded at Cambrai in 1623. During the French Revolution, the nuns migrated to England and eventually settled at Stanbrook in 1838.⁴²⁸ Up to Shepherd's arrival, they had subsisted on a musical diet of Webbe, Novello and representatives of the Viennese Classical tradition.⁴²⁹ Shepherd changed all that. Daily conferences with the nuns were instituted, using Guéranger's *L'Année Liturgique*, which Shepherd translated and had printed on the press he had installed at the abbey. In 1869 the

⁴²⁶ Whelan 1956: 32. Eanswythe Edwards and Margaret Truran: 'The influence of the EBC on Guéranger's revival'. *EBC History Symposium*. 1985: 41. See also Shepherd's Mss. 'My Personal Souvenir of the Abbot of Solesmes: Dom Guéranger. A Chapter of an autobiography'. Stanbrook Abbey Archives. Box: 'D. Laurence Shepherd and Guéranger'. pp. 9-11 and 16 (describing Guéranger's meeting with Lambert).

⁴²⁷ Edwards and Truran 1985: 32 and 45.

⁴²⁸ [Kathleen Felicitas Corrigan]: *In a Great Tradition: A Tribute to Dame Laurentia McLachlan by the Benedictines of Stanbrook*. London. John Murray. 1956: 5, 32 and 41.

⁴²⁹ Ibid. 54 where Corrigan reports the purchase in 1833 of two copies of Novello's *Collection of Sacred Music*. The abbey also still holds a 1792 edition of Webbe's *Motets and Antiphons*.

house adopted, for a five-year trial period, the rule Guéranger had written for the nuns at St Cecile de Solesmes. The Cambrai custom of having two daily masses was reinstituted in 1870; a new Gothic church designed by Edward Pugin was opened in 1871, and, following the completion of a new monastery wing, full monastic enclosure was adopted in 1880. In 1914, daily Conventual Mass was instituted. Stanbrook, in short, became a clone of Solesmes.⁴³⁰

Inevitably this affected the music. The new Rule stated that only plainchant could be used in the Office.⁴³¹ It also seems that the failure to recruit new postulants between 1852 and 1862 made it almost impossible to perform the existing repertoire. Plainchant monody was thus a solution for a pressing musical problem. Accordingly Burchill, President of the EBC, gave £5 for the purchase of new chant books.⁴³² Mechlin and Lambert's chant books were used. For example there survives at Stanbrook a copy, signed by Shepherd, of Lambert's *Ordinarium Missae e Graduale Romano*.⁴³³ Moreover, Shepherd's instructions, derived from the Mechlin Vespéral, betray characteristic Medicean features. For him, 'The notes of duration... are the Long, the Breve and the Semibreve, and as their names imply, express the longer or shorter continuance of the sounds. What is principally needed in the execution of this style is vigour, concentrated power, and massiveness of effect.'⁴³⁴

Needless to say, these changes were not made without opposition. Shepherd was excluded from the EBC chapter in 1883; and in 1886, one year after his death, there was an EBC visitation, prompted by Stanbrook's attempt to elect Gertrude Dubois as Abbess in perpetuity. Dubois was deposed and, along with her supporters - including McLachlan, she

⁴³⁰ Ibid. 56-7 and 103.

⁴³¹ See footnote 336 for exact references.

⁴³² [Corrigan] 1956: 55 and 140.

⁴³³ John Lambert: *Ordinarium Missae e Graduale Romano: A Complete Organ Accompaniment for the Ordinary of the Mass from the Roman Gradual*. London. Burns and Lambert. 1850. Its dedication to the Nuns at Handsworth reveals Lambert's Birmingham connections with Ullathorne.

was made to do penance. A fortnight later, however, at the instigation of Cardinal Manning, the verdict was reversed. In 1886, O'Neill, the ex-organist at Belmont recruited by Lambert and a supporter of Stanbrook, was elected President of the EBC, and in 1897 Guéranger's Constitutions were accepted by Rome. Dubois was then re-elected Abbess at a chapter presided over by Manning.⁴³⁵ On a broader front, in 1889 the Papal decree *Religiosus Ordo* abolished the EBC's Provincial system dividing the missions between Ampleforth, Downside and Douai. Ten years later the decree *Diu Quidem* elevated these houses to abbatial status. The stage then was set for a new phase in the history of English Catholic plainchant, and one that would be dominated by Solesmes.

Meanwhile, however, another blow had been struck on behalf of the Medicean tradition. In 1868 Franz Xavier Witt (1834-1888) founded the Society of St Cecilia in Germany. Irish, Italian and American societies soon followed, and in England Bishop Ullathorne founded a branch at the Birmingham diocesan seminary at Olton. Witt's prime objective was to promote plainchant and Renaissance polyphony, and in 1868 he was helped by Friederich Pustet of Ratisbon's offer to produce for the Papacy a complete set of new chant books. These were edited by Haberl. An octavo Gradual was produced in 1871 and a complete Gradual appeared in 1873. Haberl was a specialist in Renaissance polyphony, so naturally the Pustet books were directly inspired by Medicean Gradual, along with the Plantin Gradual of 1599. It appears though that anyway Haberl had little choice. Every sheet was inspected by the Sacred Congregation of Rites. Astonishingly, in view of what had been happening in France, they believed that the medieval stave-less neumes could not be interpreted; and anyway they could not agree on what sort of plainchant to use. Since

⁴³⁴ Quoted by [Corrigan] 1956: 144

⁴³⁵ [Corrigan] 1956: 164. Edwards and Truran 1985: 49. Geoffrey Scott: 'Bishop Austin O'Neill OSB 1841-1911. President of the EBC 1888-96 - Teacher, Benedictine President and Bishop. *Douai Magazine*. No. 163. 2000: 4-5.

Ultramontane uniformity was the watchword, the Congregation therefore fell back on the Medicean books. As a reward for the financial risk he was undertaking, Pustet was granted a monopoly on plainchant publications in 1868. Two years later, the Sacred Congregation of Rites recommended them to all the bishops. Some dioceses in Britain - notably Dublin, Salford and Beverley - tried to make their use compulsory. In the next two decades Pustet successfully lobbied the Papacy for further endorsements of his publications culminating in the 1894 decree *Quod Sanctus Augustinus*.⁴³⁶

Haberl's strict adherence to Medicean models meant that the Pustet editions were somewhat different from those offered by Mechlin, especially when the latter were mediated through Lambert's publications. The difficulties this could cause are illustrated by the following extracts from the diary of John Gerard at Stonyhurst.⁴³⁷

Jan 17th, 1869

Vespers tonight celebrated in a new and prodigious fashion - another move of the high and mighty party which at present controls our musical state. Ye choir in ye sanctuary in surplices - singingsuch tones; pure Gregorian I believe but to the uninitiated very awful. Fr Splaine remarks that it will deprive the office of ye dead of its unique solemnity. Fr Kingdom [the Prefect of Studies] that he wonders how the singers know what note to put next, as one would do quite as well as another: "Its [sic] full of surprises".

Sept 26th, 1869

Ye last appearance, as I believe of ye real original Gregorian Vespers. Their demise I do not regret, agreeing with Tom the gardener that the method of singing therein is "too much bowlin, and never comes to nought."

⁴³⁶ For general accounts of these developments see Hiley 1993: 616 and the rather hostile picture presented by Hayburn 1979: 145-167. For a contemporary British account see 'Sacerdos': 'Article IX - Plainchant. *DubR*. 1874 (2): 172-204.

⁴³⁷ Stonyhurst Archives. Arundell Library. E/III/2. Diary of John Gerard. 1868-9. 'Log of Ye Corpus Doctum of ye doings thereof with some notice of contemporary history'. N.p.

As can be seen, full Medicean-style Vespers were abandoned at Stonyhurst even before the full range of Pustet books were produced, though an 1871-3 octavo Gradual does survive in the Arundell Library there. Instead Stonyhurst fell back on Lambert publications, purchasing several copies of *The Choir Manual* for its 'Congregational Choir' as late as the 1890s. In addition, a completely new set of plainchant accompaniments for Vespers was prepared in manuscript by Edwin Sircom, the organist, in 1870.⁴³⁸

Elsewhere, a similar ambivalence, especially regarding tempi, can be found in Louis Hall's publication *Evening Services for Sundays and Festivals*, compiled for Portsmouth Catholic Cathedral in the 1890s. Here the psalms are laid out in modern notation using note-for-note diatonic harmony and, unusually, an English text is used. The tempi can be deduced from the metronome markings given for the matching antiphons, although these are original compositions. They range from a basic minim pulse of $\text{♩} = 66$ (the same as with Novello), through $\text{♩} = 88$ (as with Lambert) to $\text{♩} = 144$ for the Easter period! At about the same time Heinrich Oberhoffer confessed that when the Ratisbon editions were first published he had at Pustet's request made numerous corrections, but that only some, mainly concerning clefs, had been accepted. The rest had been blocked by persons unknown. Moreover he was acutely aware of the challenge represented by Solesmes scholarship based on medieval manuscripts. As he himself stated: 'looking at these books so beautifully printed, a feeling of great sorrow steals over me, for their introduction, I fear, is equivalent to the loss of true Gregorian plainsong.'⁴³⁹

⁴³⁸ This can be found in the Music Basement Library at Stonyhurst. No catalogue number.

⁴³⁹ Heinrich Oberhoffer: 'Desiderata; In connection with the official Ratisbon edition of the Choral Books: Parts I and II.' *AJ*. 2 (Dec. 1896): 195-202 and 318-37. The reference to his corrections comes on page 200, the quotation is on page 326, his call for a return to manuscripts of the ninth century is on pages 336-7.

This, then, was the scene as 1900 approached. Officially the Medicean books, as represented by the Pustet, Mechlin and Lambert's publications, held the field; but changes in the English monastic environment were preparing the way for the radical changes initiated by Solesmes.

C. The Solesmes Revolutions

1. The work of Joseph Pothier

Solesmes produced not one, but two - albeit related - traditions of plainchant. The first is associated with Pothier; the second with Mocquereau. Pothier's approach grew directly from Guéranger's Ultramontane liturgically-orientated vision - a vision imbued with the idea of reconnecting with a medieval past.⁴⁴⁰ The liturgical orientation is manifest not just in the belief that plainchant evolved as a branch of oratory but in aspects of performance practice developed by Guéranger in association with Gontier.⁴⁴¹ First the adoption of an 'equal note' principle gave a completely different meaning to the 'sing as you speak' doctrine. As enunciated by Haberl, the speech pattern would be akin to Classical Latin, driving the performer in a mensural direction, as has been seen. The 'equal note' principle, by contrast, was better suited to a medieval Latin dominated by accent rather than quantity. On the other hand Gontier, unlike Pothier, did concede that musical aspects could sometimes predominate in plainchant. Second, a faster tempo suited a monastic regime dominated by numerous Offices spread across the day, since the services would thereby be significantly shortened. Third, the preference for lower dynamic levels fitted in with the self-abnegation held up as an ideal for the monastic life.

Pothier, in collaboration with Paul Jaussons, began serious work in 1860 with the establishment of a scriptorium.⁴⁴² A key feature was the study of medieval rather than Renaissance sources. Guéranger's visit to England that year proved to be more than coincidental, for he was shown English manuscripts by Lambert. Indeed, the very first manuscript they studied was a thirteenth-century Processional of St Edith of Wilton brought

⁴⁴⁰ Bergeron 1998: 2-15.

⁴⁴¹ Pierre-Marie Combe: 'La Reforme du Chant et des livres du Chant Gregorien a L'Abbaye de Solesmes 1853-1883' in *Etudes Grégoriennes*. 6 (1963): 195-206 citing Gontier: *Méthode Raisonné du Plainchant*. Paris 1859.

over by Laurence Shepherd in 1859.⁴⁴³ The first major results appeared in 1880 and 1883 with the publication of *Les Mélodies Grégoriennes* and a *Gradual*. Other publications followed, notably another *Gradual* and a *Liber Responsorialis* in 1895 followed by a *Liber Usualis* in 1896.⁴⁴⁴ A notable feature is the use of new musical type developed by Desclée, enabling a wider variety of more nuanced symbols to be used. This fitted in with Guéranger's preferred performance practice; and was in sharp contrast with the boldly marked neumes hitherto used in the Mechlin and Pustet editions, which must have encouraged a martellato style of execution.⁴⁴⁵

These differences are clearly illustrated by comparison between examples 5.2 and 5.8 below, giving the first page of Pothier's and Pustet's 1883 and 1871 Graduals respectively. Notice too how in both cases the textual and musical accentuation coincide, although the effects are very different due to the use of mensuration in the Pustet edition. With Pustet barline divisions reinforce the rhythms in the text. Thus full barlines coincide with the punctuation while half barlines provide extra impulses or accentuation within a given textual phrase.⁴⁴⁶

⁴⁴² Bergeron 1998: 16.

⁴⁴³ Combe 1963: 194. In the Stanbrook Archives however there is a letter by J.B.L. Tolhurst to Anne Field dated 20/5/1958 stating that Solesmes was enquiring about this manuscript which had been produced by Lambert. Box 'Stanbrook Hymnale'.

⁴⁴⁴ Other examples are the *Variae Preces ad Benedictionem* and the *Processionale Monasticum* of 1888. Pierre-Marie Combe: 'Préliminaires de la réforme Grégorienne de S. Pie X.' (Part I). *Etudes Gregoriennes* 1967a : 79-80.

⁴⁴⁵ Bergeron 1998: 56-8.

⁴⁴⁶ See for instance the division at 'va' of 'levavi' and between 'inimici' and 'mei'.

Example 5.8 The first page of Pustet's 1871 edition of the *Graduale Romanum*

PROPRIUM MISSARUM

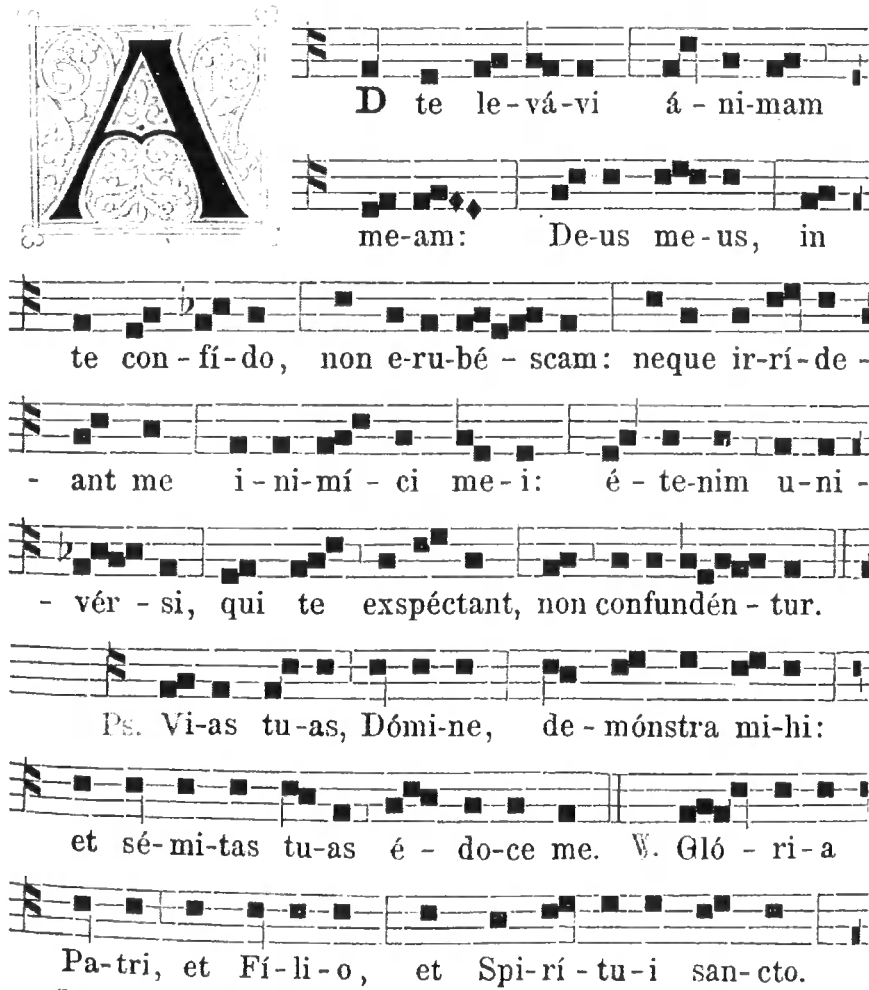
THE TROUBLESHOOTER.

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## Dominica I. Adventus.

Ad Missam.

Introitus. Ton. VIII.



**A** D te le-vá-vi á - ni-mam  
me-am: De-us me-us, in  
te con - fí-do, non e-ru-bé - scam: neque ir-rí-de -  
- ant me i - ni-mí - ci me-i: é - te-nim u-ni -  
- vér - si, qui te exspéctant, non confundén - tur.  
Ps. Vi-as tu-as, Dómi-ne, de - mónstra mi-hi:  
et sé-mi-tas tu-as é - do-ce me. V. Gló - ri - a  
Pa-tri, et Fí-li-o, et Spi-rí - tu-i san-cto.

Graduale Romanum.

Reproduction of a hand-copied script in identical printed copies had certain implications. A particular script had to be chosen; and once selected, a standardised version based on numerous individual manuscript examples had to be adopted. As Bergeron noted, Pothier created a supposedly authentic ideal that had never existed in medieval practice.<sup>447</sup> Note too that up to this time there had still been occasional cases of English monks performing direct from original medieval manuscripts, as John Harper found at Mount St Bernard Abbey in Leicestershire. Under the impact of printed plainchant books this now came to an end.<sup>448</sup>

Pothier's work moreover contains some rather curious features. First, he opted for a thirteenth and fourteenth-century style of script. This had the practical advantage of being known to nineteenth-century plainchant musicians. Yet the manuscripts he used dated primarily from the ninth and tenth centuries, raising questions of authenticity; hence the tables in *Les Mélodies Grégoriennes* tracing the evolution of the neum from that period. These demonstrated the historical pedigree of the notation that Pothier presented. Second, Pothier was not above inserting plainchant melodies of his own, without attribution. Usually this was to fill gaps created by liturgical developments since the Middle Ages. Here Pothier was continuing a well-worn tradition. Indeed, in 1856, only three years before his arrival in Solesmes, his fellow monk Dom Fontaine had composed several chants of his own.<sup>449</sup> The trouble was that it undermined confidence in the atmosphere of medieval authenticity he was

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<sup>447</sup> Bergeron 1998: 25-60 discusses this extensively.

<sup>448</sup> John Harper: 'Gothic Revivals: Issues of Influence, Ethos and Idiom in late Nineteenth-Century English monasteries' in Ed. Jeremy Dibble and Bennett Zon: *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies. Vol. 2.* Aldershot. Ashgate. 2002: 19. The thirteenth-century manuscript in question has English cross-references and interpolations pasted over parts of the music in a late eighteenth- or nineteenth-century hand. It may well have been used in conjunction with other books from the early modern period with similar interpolations, notably 2 copies of a Cistercian Antiphonary printed by M. Nicolle of Paris in 1545 and a *Graduale Cisterciense* of 1696 (no other title page data provided). Recently fragments of Rhineland manuscripts, including some eleventh-century ones from St Gall that were used at eighteenth-century Dieulouard and bound into the backs of books during the nineteenth century have been found at Ampleforth. Joan Malcolm: 'The Ampleforth Fragments: A Preliminary Survey'. *PMM.* 7/2 (1998): 129-140.

trying to create, as several commentators later remarked in connection with his work for the Vatican Editions.<sup>450</sup> Of greater significance, however, was the fact that, by aiming to produce an authentic medieval product, Solesmes in effect reduced plainchant from a living tradition to which modern composers could add to a dead antique.

## 2. The work of André Mocquereau

Inevitably Pothier's work constituted a challenge to the Pustet editions; and this became clear at the Congress of Arrezzo, held in 1882, where Solesmes's case was publically presented. Personally Pope Leo XIII gave his support, but the Sacred Congregation of Rites was opposed. Accordingly, the 1883 Gradual was issued for use by Solesmes and its daughter houses, backed by a testament from Leo XIII. Pustet, however, fearful of the implications of this for his monopoly, got the Pope to send a second letter saying that it should be regarded as a work of historical scholarship.

These rebuffs then led to a new phase, led by Mocquereau. The key device was the publication of *Paléographie Musicale*; a series of volumes containing photographs of complete medieval documents, backed by critical essays.<sup>451</sup> In this way then the deficiencies of a scholarship based on a standardised printed reproduction of a mass of different hand-copied manuscripts would be overcome.<sup>452</sup> Volume 1 was issued in 1889. Volumes 2 and 3 compared versions of the *Justus ut Palma* chant from 219 manuscripts ranging from the ninth to the seventeenth centuries. This was Guéranger's methodology writ large, the object being to show that the version given in Pothier's 1883 Gradual was authentic. Against Pustet's

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<sup>449</sup> Combe 1963: 191. For a collection of Pothier's own chants see *Le Livre de Saluts*. Paris. A L'Art Catholique. N.d. c. 1930.

<sup>450</sup> See for example McLachlan's letter to Bewerunge dated 2/10/1905. Stanbrook Archives W1219. See also the 'Letter to the Editor' by 'A Student' from Downside (probably Alphege Shebbeare) in *The Tablet*. 73 (Jan 15th, 1905).

<sup>451</sup> Hayburn 1979: 173-9. For an account of Mocquereau's early life see Combe 1967a: 62-95.



*Paléographie Musicale* though could also have a corroding effect on clerical authority, for by making images of medieval documents generally available it enabled scholars to study the evidence for themselves and come to their own conclusions. Simultaneously, the comparative techniques used in Mocquereau's 'Paleographic Workshop' established in 1889 reinforced the effect because they removed the analysis on which judgements could be made about plainchant into the hands of specialists. Nevertheless, in the short run *Paléographie Musicale* proved to be a key weapon in promoting Solesmes's cause in Rome against Pustet, securing such notable converts as Angelo De Santi (b. 1847), Baron Kanzler and Lorenzo Perosi (1872-1956).<sup>454</sup>

Gradually, however, it became apparent that Mocquereau's approach to plainchant was significantly different from Pothier's. As early as 1883, following Gontier, he was willing to accept that in plainchant musical aspects could outweigh textual considerations. However, it was with the development of his rhythmical theory that the full implications of this became manifest.<sup>455</sup> Pothier, guided by his regard for the rhythm of the text, preferred to rely on innate artistic judgement.<sup>456</sup> Mocquereau wanted something more exact and prescriptive.

His starting point was psalmody. In his article 'L'Influence de l'accent tonique et la psalmodie', drafted in 1892, he argued that Latin texts had a natural rhythm of impulse and relaxation – or 'Arsis' and 'Thesis'.<sup>457</sup> However, he then proceeded to apply it to the music

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<sup>453</sup> Printed in Cagin and Mocquereau c. 1904. Placed between pp. 50 and 51.

<sup>454</sup> De Santi had been charged by Leo XIII to be the main spokesman defending the Pustet edition in *Catolica Civilita*, the official publication for the Papacy. He was also a close confidant of Pius X. Kanzler and Perosi were directors of the Sistine Chapel choir. Perosi had been a pupil of Haberl but travelled to Solesmes in 1894. A detailed account of Solesmes campaign in Rome is supplied by Pierre-Marie Combe: 'Preliminaires de la Réforme Grégorienne de S. Pie X. Part II: Le P. De Santi and Mgr. Carlo Respighi'. *Etudes Gregoriennes*. 7 (1967b): 99-139.

<sup>455</sup> Combe 1967a: 67.

<sup>456</sup> Bergeron 1998: 101-111.

<sup>457</sup> This was published in 1895 at the diocesan Congress of Rodez and reappeared in vol. 7 of *Paléographie Musicale*. Combe 1967b: 102.



itself. The process can be traced in his correspondence with McLachlan, which began in 1895. In 1896 he was working on an 'Essai de rythmique'; then there is discussion of his *Petit Traité de Psalmodie*, which McLachlan translated and later incorporated in her *Grammar of Plainsong*. On March 12th 1901, he triumphantly announced 'Je crois vraiment que je tiens la vérité'; which he then followed by discussion of McLachlan's project to write an 'ABC of Gregorian Rhythm'.<sup>458</sup> The fullest expression of his ideas, however, was not realised until the publication of his *Le Nombre Musical Grégorien*. The first part appeared in 1908, the second in 1927.<sup>459</sup>

Mocquereau's approach depended on his concept of what was signified by 'accent'. It did not just mean how a note was 'struck'. Just as important was the manner by which rhythm could be conveyed through changes of pitch, note durations, and dynamics. To guide singers Mocquereau added 'rhythmical signs' to the music. These became standardised as an Episema (or horizontal line), a Vertical Episema (to denote the arsic points in the music), and a dot to slightly lengthen a neume. Mocquereau claimed that these symbols were of medieval derivation.<sup>460</sup>

Example 5.10 An instance of Mocquereau's rhythmic signs



<sup>458</sup> Stanbrook Abbey archives. Letters from Mocquereau to McLachlan. Esp. 5/3/1896, 20/3/1896, 11/10/1896, 8/7/1900, 13/3/1901, 18/7/1901 and 22/3/1902.

<sup>459</sup> A detailed discussion of Mocquereau's ideas is given by Bergeron 1998: 111-8.


<sup>460</sup> Ibid. 122-4 for a summary of Mocquereau's earlier experimentation with various rhythmic symbols between 1899 and 1905.

Mocquereau did not regard arsis-thesis rhythms as merely local phenomena. They produced waves of sound - or chironomy - across the whole of a piece of plainchant. This is the origin of the chironomic method of conducting, whereby the choirmaster directs the choir by raising or lowering his hands in a kind of horizontal wave in line with the arsis-thesis rhythms of the music.

Example 5.11 Chironomic patterns taken from the preface of the 1950 *Liber Usualis*: xxxi

Simple rhythm.


beat. v. g.




Rhythm : 1 2 | 3 1 2 | 3 1 | 2 1 | 2 1 | 2 1 2 | 3 1 | 2  
 Grá-ti-as á-gi-mus tí-bi pró-pter má-gnam gló-ri-am tú-am.  
 Measure : 1 2 | 1 2 3 | 1 2 | 1 2 | 1 2 | 1 2 3 | 1 2 | 1

Compound rhythm

the stepwise movement of the rhythm. e. g.



Rhythm : 1 2 | 3 4 | 5 1 | 2 1 2 | 3 1 | 2 3 | 4 5 | 6 1 | 2  
 In-ef-fá-bi-lem nó-bis, Dó-mi-ne, mi-se-ri-cór-di-am tú-am  
 Measure : 1 2 | 1 2 | 1 2 | 1 2 3 | 1 2 | 1 2 | 1 2 | 1 2 | 1

Rhythm : 1 2 | 3 1 2 | 3  
 cle-mén-ter o-stén-de.  
 Measure : 2 3 | 1 2 3 | 1

In turn this produced a Schenkerian kind of rhythmic analysis, again derived from Psalmody. In his *Petit Traité de Psalmodie*, Mocquereau followed the standardised structuring of Psalm Tones presented in earlier manuals like Haberl's *Directorum Chori*. However, as his follower McLachlan shows in *The Grammar of Plainsong*, he then proceeded to regard other sorts of plainchant in the same way. Arsis-thesis rhythms could be applied to

sections, and indeed the whole piece, producing a rhythmic ‘middle ground’ and ‘background’ to the local ‘foreground’ events.

### Example 5.12 Analyses of plainchant

#### 5.12a Haberl’s analysis of a Psalm Tone and its application to a portion of text<sup>461</sup>

*Initium.\*)*      *Mediatio.*

**I. Tonus.**

*Fin. 1.*

*Fin. 2.*

*Fin. 3.*

*Fin. 4.*

*Fin. 5.*


|             |        |        |      |        |      |
|-------------|--------|--------|------|--------|------|
| Dixit Dómi- | nus    | Dó-mi- | no   | me-    | o.   |
| emittet     | Dó-mi- | nus    | ex   | Si-    | on.  |
| in splen-   | dó-ri- | bus    | san- | ctó-   | rum. |
| Glória      | Pa-    | tri    | et   | Fi-li- | o.   |

<sup>461</sup> Haberl 1877: 120-1.

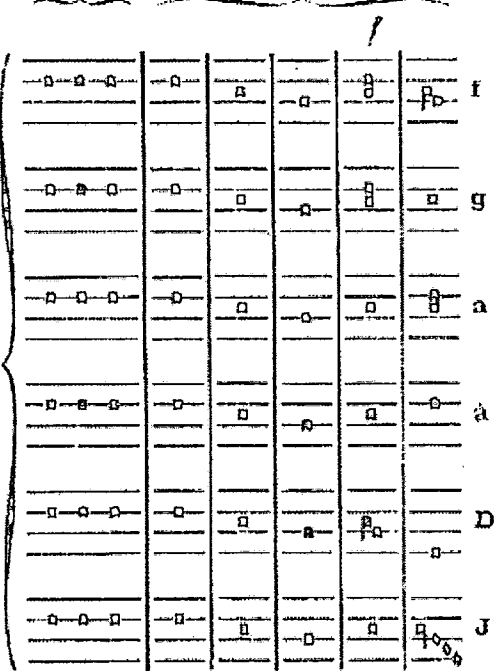
5.12b Mocquereau’s analysis of a Psalm Tone

**Premier Ton.**

Int. Teneur      Mediante



Teneur      Finales



5.12c McLachlan’s schematic plan of the arsic-thetic structuring of a piece of plainchant

| Period      |      |             |      |             |      |             |      |
|-------------|------|-------------|------|-------------|------|-------------|------|
| Section     |      |             |      | Section     |      |             |      |
| 2-bar group |      | 2-bar group |      | 2-bar group |      | 2-bar group |      |
| Bar         | Bar  | Bar         | Bar  | Bar         | Bar  | Bar         | Bar  |
| A.T.        | A.T. | A.T.        | A.T. | A.T.        | A.T. | A.T.        | A.T. |
| 1           | 2    | 3           | 4    | 5           | 6    | 7           | 8    |

Example 5.12d Its practical application to the antiphon: *Tu Es Petrus*  
 (The numbers correspond to the Arsis-Thesis (A.T.) units in the schematic layout)<sup>462</sup>

The image shows two musical staves for the antiphon "Tu Es Petrus". The left staff uses square notation on a four-line staff, and the right staff uses modern staff notation. Both staves include lyrics and are divided into measures with Arsis-Thesis (A.T.) unit numbers in parentheses.

Left staff (square notation):

- Measure 1: U es Pé- trus, et (2)
- Measure 2: su-per hanc pé-tram ædi- fi-cá- (4)
- Measure 3: bo Ecclé- si- am mé- am. (6) (8)

Right staff (modern notation):

- Measure 1: Tu es Pé- trus, (2)
- Measure 2: et su- per hanc pé- tram æ- (4)
- Measure 3: di- fi- cá-bo Ecclé- (6)
- Measure 4: si- am mé- am. (8)

Lib. Us. p. 883.

The whole thrust of Mocquereau's thinking was thus largely musical, creating a tension between linguistic and notated rhythms. Paradoxically Mocquereau had to concede that it did not apply to psalmody; where obviously the demands of the text were paramount, if only because it was chanted. In most other respects Mocquereau's rhythmic approach was at odds with Pothier's; and it was the publication of the Vatican Edition of plainchant that brought these differences to a head.

<sup>462</sup> [McLachlan] *Grammar of Plainsong*, 1905: 106.

### 3. The Vatican Edition of plainchant

In 1901 the 30-year monopoly granted to Pustet expired and was not renewed. Moreover, that same year Raphael Molitor, pursuing researches conducted by Guiseppe Baini sixty years before, revealed that Palestrina was not directly responsible for the Medicean Gradual on which Pustet's books had been substantially based.<sup>463</sup> The question then was what to replace them with. *Tra le Sollecutudini* had declared plainchant to be the supreme form of church music; and in the authoritarian Ultramontane atmosphere of the time it was inconceivable that a definitive edition for use across the whole Roman Catholic Church should not be produced. Accordingly, Pius X on April 25th 1904 issued the Motu Proprio decree *Col Nostro*. A new series of plainchant books would be prepared by the monks of Solesmes vetted at every stage by a Papal Commission. Solesmes agreed to give up its copyrights; and the whole was to be published by the Vatican Press. However, this 'Typical' edition could be freely reproduced by any other publisher.<sup>464</sup> In some respects Solesmes' willingness to give up its copyrights is surprising, even when allowance is made for the tradition of Ultramontane obedience inculcated there by Guéranger. However the community were in a weak position following its expulsion from France because the French government had seized all its assets, including the book stock and printing press.<sup>465</sup> Nonetheless, *Col Nostro* vindicated its position against Pustet after two decades of lobbying. The occasion was celebrated at the Gregorian Congress held that year in Rome, where a special series of recordings was produced by *The Gramophone company*.<sup>466</sup>

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<sup>463</sup> [Corrigan] 1956: 118.

<sup>464</sup> Hayburn 1979: 251-7. Combe 1967c: 148-54 .

<sup>465</sup> Stanbrook Abbey archives: Letter from Mocquereau to McLachlan dated 31/5/1907.

<sup>466</sup> This has been reproduced as on two LPs by Discant under the title *The Gregorian Congress of 1904. Plainchant and Speeches recorded in Rome by the Gramophone Company*. 1982 DIS1-2. See Bergeron 1998: 130-1, 133 Figures 26a and 26b for a discussion the implications of the new medium; which was primarily regarded as providing an accurate exemplar for choir masters to follow. At that time no one seems to have appreciated the role played by a Sound Engineer in manipulating the recording.

In the ensuing months the Papal commission got to work. A visit was paid to Appuldurcombe, on the Isle of Wight, where the Solesmes community had temporarily settled, and there they saw Mocquereau's 'Paleographic Workshop' in action. In addition to H.G. Worth from Liverpool, who was a member of the commission, the visitors included Wilfrid Corney from Downside, Michael Maloney (d.1905) from Westminster Cathedral, M.A. Booth - another Liverpudlian - and Augustus Gatard from Farnborough. The optimism of the time is reflected in the booklet *Plainchant and Solesmes*, written by Cagin and Mocquereau.<sup>467</sup> However, the meetings soon exposed the differences between Pothier's and Mocquereau's approaches. The focal points were the use of rhythmic signs and the balance between those who wanted to rely on the earliest possible sources and those who paid heed to the artistic validity of later traditions and the practical requirements of the early twentieth-century liturgy.<sup>468</sup>

The Papal response, as articulated by Cardinal Merry Del Val, Pius X's secretary, was to base the new edition on the Solesmes Gradual of 1895; and to put Pothier in charge of correcting the melodies.<sup>469</sup> The Vatican *Kyriale*, *Graduale* and *Antiphonale* of 1905, 1908 and 1913 reflected this approach. In particular they did not include rhythmic signs and substantially ignored the most recent results produced by Mocquereau's Paleographic Workshop, as Bewerunge noted.<sup>470</sup>

Thus, on the surface, Mocquereau had been defeated; and his distress is reflected in his correspondence with McLachlan. For example, in response to a report in *The Universe*

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<sup>467</sup> Although no publication date is given internal evidence in the text shows that it was produced in 1904.

<sup>468</sup> On this matter *Col Nostro* ambiguous. 'Church melodies, called Gregorian, will be re-established in their integrity and in their purity, not only in conformity with the older manuscripts, but also taking particular account of legitimate tradition, contained in manuscripts across the centuries, and also of practical use in the actual liturgy'. Quoted in Combe: 'La Restauration du Chant Grégorien III L'Oeuvre de Saint Pie X'. *Etudes Grégoriennes*. 1967c. 7: 165 and translated by myself from the French. The underlined phrase was interpolated at the request of Pothier. See also Hayburn. 1979: 260-3.

<sup>469</sup> Bergeron 1998: 147-54.

that Merry Del Val, following Desclée's publication of Mocquereau's own *Kyriale*, had banned the use of the rhythmic signs deployed there, he declared 'nous sommes sous la terreur Grégorienne'.<sup>471</sup> Yet here the Papacy was in a difficult position because Solesmes had not surrendered its copyright over the rhythmic signs. In January 1906 the Sacred Congregation of Rites therefore ruled that they could be 'tolerated', provided that they did not interfere with the notes as laid out in the Vatican edition.<sup>472</sup>

During the course of the controversy, as in the campaign against Pustet, Mocquereau did not hesitate use *Paléographie Musicale* as a weapon in his support. This is particularly apparent in volumes 10 and 11, published in 1909-12 and 1912-21 respectively. In the former there are two chapters, complete with detailed rhythmic analyses, dealing with the Vatican edition's version of the Introit *In medio* and a *Credo*. Moreover, the photographic facsimiles of the accompanying medieval *Antiphonale Missarum* (Laon Codex 239) are deployed to support Mocquereau's case.<sup>473</sup> As will be seen the same idea occurred to McLachlan in connection with the plan to publish a facsimile edition of the *Worcester Antiphoner* in the same series; and this was part of a strategy to outflank the Vatican Edition by producing plainchant books, particularly a monastic antiphoner, based on hitherto unused manuscript

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<sup>470</sup> Henry Bewerunge: 'The Vatican Edition of Plainchant' (Parts I and II). *IER*.19 (1906): 44-63 and 20: 414-28.

<sup>471</sup> Mocquereau to McLachlan 24/1/1906 ('We are living in a Gregorian terror'). See also his letter of 26/6/1905, written after the decision to rely on the 1895 Gradual had been announced, where he states 'C'est la ruine matérielle et morale de Solesmes' (It is the material and moral ruin of Solesmes). Stanbrook Abbey archives.

<sup>472</sup> Bergeron 1998: 158. The issue is discussed by Mocquereau in a letter to McLachlan dated Oct 14th, 1906. Stanbrook Abbey Archives.

<sup>473</sup> 'Edition Vaticane. L'Introit de la Messe 'In Medio'. Notes Théoriques et Pratiques'; 'Le Chant "Authentique du Credo selon l'édition Vaticane' in *Paléographie Musicale*. Tournai. Desclée et Cie. 10: 65-89 and 90-176. See also the Preface (pp. 2-15) and the article 'Les Signes Rythmiques Sangalliens et Solesmiens' designed to show the link between medieval symbols and Mocquereau's signs on pp. 41-66. The link with Laon 239 is established in the article 'Aperçu sur la notation du manuscrit 239 de Laon. Sa Concordance avec les "codices" rythmiques sangalliens' on pp. 177-211. In Vol.11 see the preface pp. 9-13.



sources.<sup>474</sup> In this context Mocquereau's English connections proved to be exceptionally important.

#### D. The impact of Solesmes on plainchant in England

The publication of the Vatican Editions produced a flurry of controversy in England, as the vigorous exchange of letters in *The Tablet* reveals.<sup>475</sup> Initially the balance was fairly even between the two sides. Pothier's approach was adopted by F. Clement Egerton in his *A Handbook of Church Music*, with a preface by H.G. Worth.<sup>476</sup> Curiously though the ecclesiastical censor was Gatard of Farnborough, a supporter of Mocquereau. Terry at Westminster Cathedral also used Pothier's methods, as his pupil Dom Gregory Murray admitted.<sup>477</sup> Here he may have been helped by the death in 1906 of his superior, the Cathedral administrator Michael Maloney, who was another supporter of Mocquereau.<sup>478</sup> Things might also have been different if the Solesmes community at Farnborough had taken up invitation from Cardinal Vaughan to form the Cathedral chapter.<sup>479</sup> In addition Terry, had an ally in Thomas Burge (1846-1929), an ex-Prior of Ampleforth, who under the pseudonym 'Laurence Ampleforth' contributed several tunes to the *Westminster Hymnal*, for which Terry was chief musical editor. Burge was so contentious that he was forbidden by his abbot to make further

<sup>474</sup> See for example Mocquereau's confidential letter to McLachlan, dated 23/10/1909. Stanbrook Abbey Archives.

<sup>475</sup> See especially the contents of Vol. 73 (Jan-June 1905): 20-2, 57-8, 125-6, 176 and Vol. 75 (Jan-June 1906): 21, 60, 100, 139-41. The pro-Mocquereau side is represented by Bewerunge, Maloney, 'Translator', 'A student from Downside' and A. Eudine'; the opposition by T.A. Burge, ex prior of Ampleforth, S.H. Sole and the anonymous reviewer from Westminster Cathedral of McLachlan's *Grammar of Plainsong* (107: 92-3).

<sup>476</sup> Clement F. Egerton: *A Handbook of Church Music*. London. R and T Washbourne. 1909 especially 29-33.

<sup>477</sup> Anthony Gregory Murray: 'Gregorian Rhythm: A Pilgrim's Progress'. *DR*. 52 (1934): 15-17.

<sup>478</sup> Maloney built up a well-known plainchant choir at Holy Trinity church, Dockhead. For an obituary see *The Tablet*. 73 (Jan-June 1905): 824.

<sup>479</sup> See for example the discussion of these proposals in letters by Cecilia Heywood (Abbess of Stanbrook) to Austin O'Neill. 9/3/1899, 22/10/1899, 22/7/1900, 23/11/1900 and 23/1/1901. Douai Abbey archives. File A. O'Neill.

contributions on the subject to the *Ampleforth Journal*.<sup>480</sup> However, from his parish in Grassendale, he steered the Liverpool archdiocese firmly into the Pothier camp. In 1905 the archbishop banned the use of Mocquereau's books and in 1908 he presented 50 copies of the Vatican Graduale to the diocesan seminary at Upholland College.<sup>481</sup>

Despite appearances, however, the balance was already swinging Mocquereau's way. As early as 1905 W.H. Mitchell noted in the *Tablet* that 80% of all chant book sales used the rhythmic signs.<sup>482</sup> Clearly Desclée's effective marketing policies, including the production of English rubrical editions, had something to do with this. The two most decisive factors, however, appear to have been the presence of the Solesmes community in England and the influence exerted by the Abbey of Stanbrook on the EBC and, through them, the wider English Catholic world. Solesmes's influence has already been noted with the visit of the Vatican Commission to Appuldurcombe. From there some of the leading figures, including De Santi, went on to visit Stanbrook. In August 1904 Maloney began the first of a series of summer schools at Appuldurcombe. In addition there was a constant succession of visitors to the community. The impact this could exert is well illustrated by a letter to 'Dear Buzzy Bee' from Gregory Ould (1865-1939), chaplain to the Canonesses of the Holy Sepulchre at New Hall in Essex and later at Stanbrook: 'I wish I could send you a gramophone record of these monks: they are splendid. They make you feel the rhythms - not jerkily or 'gaspingly', but smoothly as oil!'<sup>483</sup> Solesmes contacts with Farnborough were also important. In the long run, however, its most significant links were with Stanbrook Abbey.

<sup>480</sup> This is described in McLachlan's letters to Bewerunge dated 11/11/1905 and 10/4/1906. Stanbrook Abbey archives. W1219.

<sup>481</sup> See letters by McLachlan to Bewerunge dated 5/1/1905 and 13/10/1905. Canon J.F. Turner to McLachlan dated 26/2/1930 and 12/3/1930. Stanbrook Abbey archives File W1219 and Box marked 'D.L. McL to Allen/Holland, Edeson, and J.F. Turner'.

<sup>482</sup> W.H. Mitchell: 'First fruits of the Gregorian Commission' *The Tablet*. 74 (Oct 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1905): 900.

## 1. Plainchant at Stanbrook Abbey

In the late 1880s and early 1890s Stanbrook, naturally enough, followed Pothier's method of chanting. In 1883 McLachlan, in company with her schoolteacher Miss Boswood and Laurence Shepherd, visited Solesmes for the first time. By the time McLachlan had taken control of the choir, Stanbrook possessed copies of *Les Mélodies Grégoriennes* and Pothier's Gradual of 1883.<sup>484</sup> However, the first signs of a shift in McLachlan's thinking appear in her *Gregorian Music: An Outline of Musical Paleography*, published in 1897. As shown earlier she still subscribed to Pothier's idea that plainchant grew from and had to follow the pattern of the text; but the very title is redolent of Mocquereau's *Paléographie Musicale*. The next step came the following year with her translation of his *Petit Traité de Psalmodie*. A revised version was then produced in 1904 and incorporated in her *Grammar of Plainsong*.<sup>485</sup>

The *Grammar of Plainsong* was produced at the request of archbishop Edward Ilsley for the Archdiocese of Birmingham, and it proved to be the most influential plainchant manual in the English-speaking world before the introduction of *Plainsong for Schools* in 1929. It was prepared in close collaboration with Mocquereau, who helped produce the French translation.<sup>486</sup> McLachlan reciprocated by helping with the English translation of his *Le Nombre Musical Grégorien*.<sup>487</sup> Not surprisingly then the *Grammar of Plainsong* adopted most of his ideas.<sup>488</sup>

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<sup>483</sup> Uncatalogued letter, dated 6/2/1909, found by myself inside one of several massive volumes of manuscript plainchant accompaniments prepared by Ould in the New Hall archives.

<sup>484</sup> [Corrigan] 1956: 90-1 and 140.

<sup>485</sup> [McLachlan] *Grammar of Plainsong* 1905: 46-58.

<sup>486</sup> See for example Mocquereau's letters to McLachlan dated 16/7/04, 29/7/04, 5/8/04, 5/1/05, 5/6/05. Stanbrook Abbey archives.

<sup>487</sup> Ibid. 8/10/05. See also McLachlan's letters to Bewerunge dated 17/9/22 and 3/12/22 in file W1219.

<sup>488</sup> See especially the chapter on rhythm. [McLachlan] *Grammar of Plainsong* 1905: 46-58.

The work was also closely vetted by Bewerunge, who visited Stanbrook every Christmas from 1902 onwards; and prepared the German translation.<sup>489</sup> The correspondence shows how McLachlan won him over to Mocquereau's way of thinking.<sup>490</sup> Bewerunge was an important ally. As has been seen, he was a useful protagonist in the press and had been president of the Irish Society of St Cecilia. Through his German contacts he arranged for the publication by Schwann of an edition of plainchant books with modified rhythmic signs, for which McLachlan provided an English translation of the rubrics. In addition he nearly succeeded in persuading the German Cecilians at their 1911 Innsbruck congress to support Mocquereau, in the teeth of opposition from Peter Wagner, another member of the Vatican Commission.<sup>491</sup> His correspondence with McLachlan also reveals the speed at which other religious replaced the Mechlin or Pustet books with Mocquereau's chant. For instance Ould, chaplain at Stanbrook from 1912, taught at Ampleforth, Fort Augustus (his own house), and the Sisters of Mercy, in Glasgow. Aided by Dom Gatard of Farnborough he also persuaded the nuns at Teignmouth to abandon the Vatican editions.<sup>492</sup> Another important figure was Shebbeare, an Anglican former Cowley father who brought over the monks at Downside.

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<sup>489</sup> An Italian translation was also made by Giulio Bas and published by Capra of Turin. See McLachlan's letter to Bewerunge, dated 15/12/1906. Stanbrook Abbey Archives W1219.

<sup>490</sup> See the letters from McLachlan to Bewerunge dated 5/10/1905, 10/12/1905, 11/11/1905, 13/12/1905, 24/3/1906 and 13/12/1906 for details of the translation. For general discussion of the *Grammar* and Mocquereau's ideas see 25/10/1904, 29/10/1904 and a long sequence of letters covering most of 1905 followed by further material in letters dated 19/2/1907, 15/10/1909 and 24/6/1911. Stanbrook Abbey Archives W1219. Bewerunge's visits to Stanbrook are mentioned by Corrigan 1956: 126

<sup>491</sup> Letter from McLachlan to Bewerunge dated 23/6/1911. For the translation of the rubrics see letters from Bewerunge to McLachlan dated 6/11/1908, 2/12/1908, 8/1/1909, 15/1/1909, 19/1/1909, 22/1/1909, 23/1/1909, 1/2/1909, 5/2/1909, 7/2/1909, 12/2/1909, 20/2/1909, 27/2/1909, 28/2/1909, 5/3/1909, 8/3/1909, 18/3/1909, 28/3/1909, 3/4/1909, 8/4/1909, 23/4/1909, 2/5/1909, 10/5/1909, 14/6/1909, 29/6/1909, 13/8/1909 and 20/8/1909. The Innsbruck congress is described in his letters of 7/6/1911 and 2/8/1911. Stanbrook Abbey Archives. W1219.

<sup>492</sup> Letters from McLachlan to Bewerunge dated 11/5/1912 (describing his impact at Stanbrook), 8/5/1909 and 16/8/1909 (describing his work at Ampleforth and Fort Augustus) and 24/2/1907 (describing his activity in Glasgow). Stanbrook Abbey Archives W1219. His role at Teignmouth is described in *A History of the Benedictine Nuns at Dunkirk now at St Scholastica's Abbey, Teignmouth, Devon edited by the community under the direction of Dom Adrian Hamilton OSB*. London. Catholic Book Club N.d. (1950s publication): 126-7.

to his Anglican origins he encouraged the use of Sarum Chant, which was sung at the opening of the chancel of Downside's abbey church in 1905. The year before, he produced the English Benedictine *Hymnale*, for which McLachlan contributed melodies from the Worcester Antiphoner and Bosworth Psalter. His principal source, however, was the Anglican W.H. Frere's edition of *Plainsong Hymn Melodies and Sequences*.<sup>493</sup>

Such changes were not made without opposition. The London Oratory, for example, retained performed from Mechlin books till 1935; Douai abbey did not abandon the Mechlin *Vesperal* till 1922; and there was considerable resistance at the abbey of Belmont. During the 1906 EBC Triduum held at Stanbrook Mechlin books were used by the monks on one side; and Solesmes volumes by the nuns on the other. McLachlan therefore had to change her organ accompaniments as required. However, by 1910 Dunstan Sibley (1862-1938), helped by Ould, had brought Belmont over to Solesmes chant, albeit with the Vatican Editions.<sup>494</sup>

Shebbeare was not alone in the promotion of English Medieval plainchant. McLachlan herself was even more active. Her interest was encouraged by visits from Anglican specialists and collectors, notably Sir Sydney Cockerell, Dyson Perrins (the inventor of Worcester Sauce) and Dr G.H. Palmer.<sup>495</sup> In 1909 and 1910 she discussed plans for a *Hymnale* with Mocquereau using English sources. Her magnum opus, however, was the publication, again with Mocquereau's assistance, of a facsimile edition of the Worcester

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<sup>493</sup> See, for example McLachlan's letter to Beverunge dated 20/5/1905 Stanbrook Abbey Archives W1219. For the opening of Downside's chancel see T. Leo Almond: 'The Opening of the New Choir' *DR*. 24 (1905): 254-65. For his work on the EBC *Hymnale* see the letter from Felicitas Corrigan to Abbot Byrne of Ampleforth dated 3/8/1959 in the Stanbrook Archives. Box 'Stanbrook Hymnale 1963'. Frere's collection of *Plainsong Hymn Melodies and Sequences* was published by the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society in 1896. Note though that, despite Shebbeare's influence the present *Hymnale* has few of Mocquereau's 'rhythmic signs'.

<sup>494</sup> Henry Washington: 'The Oratory Musical Tradition' in ed. Michael Napier and Alistair Laing: *The London Oratory Centenary 1884-1984*. London. Trefoil Books. 1984: 153. Letters from McLachlan to Beverunge dated 5/11/1922 (for Douai), 20/7/1906 (for the EBC Triduum), 30/4/1905, 11/4/1905, 11/8/1905, 25/3/1910, 30/9/1910, and 20/5/1911.

<sup>495</sup> [Corrigan] 1956: 168-169. See also McLachlan's letters to Beverunge dated 30/1/1906, 9/2/1907 and 24/2/1907. Stanbrook Abbey Archives. W1219.

Antiphoner in *Paléographie Musicale*.<sup>496</sup> Help was also given by Edmund Bishop. The project lasted from 1899 to 1925; and a key feature running through the negotiations was its potential as a weapon against the Vatican Edition.<sup>497</sup> As already mentioned, such a source could be used to compile a monastic antiphoner according to Mocquereau's principles. The establishment of an Anglo-Saxon plainchant tradition going back to Rome was therefore important. So was the link with manuscripts from Corbie - because these were already being used by Solesmes. For instance on March 9th 1913 McLachlan reported to Beverunge that:

Fr Gregory [Ould] tells me that the division of two vowels in laies and moyses is typically Roman. Wig. [The Worcester Antiphoner] is most careful in this respect and in the matter of liquescence - always, I think, by addition of a note. Fr G. [Gregory] likes to think that our MS [The Worcester Antiphoner] represents a tradition established at Wearmouth and Jarrow by John the Roman Cantor in the 8th century. Northern Mss may help to make this evident, but at any rate we get a very direct current from Rome if we trace our text to the 10th century revival in England. The chant at that time was got from Corbie in Picardy, the monastery to which Amalarius [of Metz] belonged and which gloried in possessing an Antiphoner straight from Rome.<sup>498</sup>

Accordingly a plan was made in 1907 for Downside to produce a Kyriale based on that in the Worcester Antiphoner; and which would then be followed by the production of a Vesperale. Both plans proved abortive. Another scheme was the preparation of an English Proper. In 1908 a commission, headed by Beverunge, Mocquereau, Worth, Corney and Terry was set up by Cardinal Bourne, Archbishop of Westminster. However, this seems to have been blocked in 1913, although negotiations with Pustet continued up till October 1914.

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<sup>496</sup> 'Antiphonaire Monastique XIIIeme Siècle Codex F.160 de la Bibliothèque de la Cathédrale de Worcester' *Paléographie Musicale*. 12 (1922-1925). See also Corrigan 1956: 124 and letters from Mocquereau to McLachlan, especially those dated 20/1/1899, 9/3/1899, 16/3/1899, 28/6/1899, 8/7/1899. See also McLachlan's letters to Beverunge, especially those dated 20/5/1905, 29/5/1905, 26/1/1912, 14/6/1914 and 3/7/1914.

<sup>497</sup> The idea first surfaces in embryo in McLachlan's letters to Beverunge of 2/10/1905 and 5/10/1905 when comparisons are drawn between the Worcester Antiphoner and the Vatican *Kyriale*. Stanbrook Abbey Archives W1219. It is possible that in 1899 the Worcester Antiphoner may have been seen as a useful weapon against the Pustet editions. However since it was a thirteenth-century source it was less useful in this respect than ninth and tenth-century Continental materials.

<sup>498</sup> McLachlan to Beverunge 9/3/1913. See also her letter of 28/2/1914. Stanbrook Abbey archives W1219.

The driving-force behind plans for a monastic antiphoner appears to have been Cardinal Gasquet. It is significant that the facsimile edition of the Worcester Antiphoner in *Paléographie Musicale* is dedicated to him. McLachlan reported to Bewerunge that he had lobbied in Rome against Pothier in 1908; in 1912 he proposed a modified version of the Roman Breviary for approval by the Sacred Congregation of Rites; and in August 1913 he presented a memorial to the Pope recommending a new Monastic Antiphoner. Immediately afterwards he visited the Solesmes community at Quarr Abbey on the Isle of Wight to put the idea to them. Mocquereau was at first cautious. He pointed out that such a project needed permission from the Sacred Congregation of Rites; and that an English plainchant hymnale would be easier to get past them. His real motive though seems to have been that he was planning a monastic antiphoner of his own based on Hartker's St Gall Manuscript Codex 390/391. Indeed, as early as 1901, he had shelved production of the Worcester Antiphoner in *Paléographie Musicale* in favour of this source. Nevertheless, in 1913 Mocquereau did collaborate with McLachlan by arranging for the photography of several English manuscripts. However, in 1920, 1925 and 1931 three international Congresses of Benedictine Abbots approved Mocquereau's scheme which was eventually brought to a successful conclusion by his pupil Joseph Gajard in 1934.<sup>499</sup>

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<sup>499</sup> See letters from McLachlan to Bewerunge dated 2/5/1905, 15/5/1907 and 13/8/1907 (for the Downside Kyriale); 24/5/1907 (for the Downside Vespers); 2/6/1908, 2/11/1913 and 14/10/1914 (for the English Proper); 10/5/1908, 11/7/1912, 5/8/1913, 20/8/1913, and 13/10/1913 (for Gasquet's activities). Stanbrook Abbey Archives W1219. For Mocquereau's views see his letter to McLachlan dated 23/10/1909. His photography of English manuscripts is described in letters dated 10/4/1910, 16/7/1910, 5/8/1913, 24/8/1913, 10/10/1913 and 23/10/1913. The manuscripts included a thirteenth-century antiphoner at Hereford, identified by Ould, the Douce manuscript in the Bodleian Library, Oxford; a Peterborough antiphoner and CCC339 and CCC391 at Cambridge. For details of the production of the 1934 Monastic Antiphoner see *Antiphonale Monasticum Pro Durnis Horis*. Tournai, Paris, Rome. Desclée. No. 818A. 1934: vi-viii.

## 2. The spread of Mocquereau's variety of plainchant in England during the 1920s and 1930s

The adoption of Mocquereau's style of plainchant by the EBC was of considerable importance, because it was often through the Benedictines that it spread to the rest of the English Catholic community. Here Stanbrook's role, though significant, was somewhat restricted. The principal difficulty arose from the fact that it was an enclosed community; so the nuns found it difficult to travel. For example, between 1890 and 1913 McLachlan made only two outside visits: one to Princethorpe (in Warwickshire), the other to Milford Haven (in South Wales). In the 1920s such expeditions were a little more frequent.<sup>500</sup> However, as has been seen, people could come to Stanbrook. In addition to Mocquereau, Bewerunge, De Santi, Gasquet, Oswald Smith (of Ampleforth), Shebbeare and Sibley, visitors included Cardinal Bourne, Archbishop Illsley (of Birmingham), Bishop Peter Amigo (of Southwark) and Bishop Cuthbert Hedley (of Menevia and Newport). It is clear, however, that monks had an advantage over nuns. They could travel more easily, as Ould's activities show. Dom Gregory Murray was also very active in this respect; so his conversion to Mocquereau's methods was especially important.<sup>501</sup> Moreover, despite the effects of the Downside movement, many monks still worked as parish priests. Anselm Burge's hostile activities at Grassendale, near Liverpool, show what could be done by just such a monk. Moreover if this was the case for some Benedictines, it was even more applicable for members of a Mendicant Order such as the Dominicans. Their partial adhesion to Mocquereau's style then was important. It is revealed in two manuals: Fr James Harrison's *How to sing plainchant. Chiefly for the use of Dominican Choirs*, published in 1920; and Justin Field's *The Simplicity of*

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<sup>500</sup> [Corrigan] 1956: 142-4 for the 1890 and 1913 visits to Princethorpe and Milford Haven respectively. The latter is also described in her letter to Bewerunge, dated 13/6/1913. Her letters to Bewerunge dated 22/3/1923 and 23/4/1923 describe her visits to nunneries at East Bergholt and Oulton (Staffs) in 1923. Stanbrook Abbey Archives. W1219.

<sup>501</sup> See his article 'Gregorian Rhythm: A Pilgrim's Progress'. *DR*. 52 (1934): 13-47.



*Plainsong*, produced in 1931. Both cited the *Grammar of Plainsong*; and in his chapter on rhythm Field follows Mocquereau closely. However, both show some deviation on the question of note lengths. Mocquereau adhered to the equal note theory; so a dotted punctum (■ .) meant a slight, rather imprecise, lengthening of the note. Field and Harrison though state that such a symbol doubled the duration of the note. Field also states that a punctum with a horizontal episema (®) above it was worth 1½ beats. In both cases then an element of mensuration was reintroduced.<sup>502</sup>

Example 5.13 Vilma Little’s system of numerical plainchant notation<sup>503</sup>

| THE GREAT DIATONIC SCALE. |     |   |
|---------------------------|-----|---|
| a                         | la  | 6 |
| g                         | sol | 5 |
| f                         | fa  | 4 |
| e                         | mi  | 3 |
| d                         | re  | 2 |
| c                         | DO  | 1 |
| b                         | SI  | 7 |
| b                         | [a] | 6 |
|                           | G   | 5 |
|                           | F   | 4 |
|                           | E   | 3 |
|                           | D   | 2 |
|                           | C   | 1 |
|                           | B   | 7 |
|                           | A   | 6 |

This scale, spaced as above, should be copied out in very large characters and pasted on cardboard, so that it may be hung up in the song room to be available for reference.

<sup>502</sup> James Harrison: *How to sing plainchant. Chiefly for the use of Dominican Choirs*. Ditchley, Sussex. St Dominic’s Press. 1920. Justin Field: *The Simplicity of Plainsong*. New York. J. Fischer and Bro. No. 6485. 1931. This was produced for use in Ontario, Canada; but copies also were used in England. The *Grammar of Plainsong* is cited by Field on page ix; and by Harrison on pages 86-87. Field’s chapter on rhythm covers pages 29-32. The issue of note lengths is described by Field on page ix; and by Harrison on page 84.

<sup>503</sup> [Vilma Little]: *The Chant: A simple and complete method for teachers and students by V.G.L.* London. B. Herder Book Co. Tournai. Desclée and Co. 1938.

Work by laity also proved to be increasingly important. Vilma Little is an interesting example because although she never became a nun she had close connections with many religious houses, especially those at Teignmouth and the Augustinian Nuns at Boarbank Hall, near Grange-over-Sands, in Cumbria, where she is buried. Her publications show this link too. For example *Laudate Dominum: A Benediction Manual compiled chiefly from English Mss* has an introduction by McLachlan and used material supplied from Stanbrook and Farnborough.<sup>504</sup> The music is equipped with rhythmic signs and, as the title implies, Little followed McLachlan in her use of English sources, including those from Sarum, Worcester, York, Barking and Cambridge. More interesting perhaps is *The Chant: A simple and complete method for teachers and students by V.G.L.* This employed a numerical system of notation, rather like the system of numbers used to denote pitches in Javanese Gamelan. The relationship with Sol-Fa, which was also used for plainchant, should be observed (example 5.13).

Little also recognised that ‘to the great mass of the faithful plainsong was, and to a great extent still is, a sealed book’.<sup>505</sup> This was where the Society of St Gregory (or SSG) came in. The SSG was founded by Fr Bernard McElligott (1890-1971), a former choirmaster at Ampleforth. The publication of *Divini Cultus*, with its call for greater congregational participation in plainchant, prompted him to write a letter to *The Universe* on November 2nd, 1928, calling for action. By September 1929 the SSG had 343 members and 30 parish affiliates; and later its presidents included Cardinal Hinsley and Cardinal Griffin, successive

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<sup>504</sup> [Vilma Little] *Laudate Dominum*. 1934 /1947R. Stanbrook sources are used for Nos. 22, 23, and 47. Farnborough sources are used for Nos. 3, 5 and 19.

<sup>505</sup> [Vilma Little]: *Cantate Domino*: 1933/1935/1941R: Forward. np.

archbishops of Westminster.<sup>506</sup> Its 'Four Aims', set out in its journal *Music and Liturgy*, were:

- [1] To maintain the dignity of the Sacred Liturgy as the supreme instrument of congregational worship.
- [2] To carry out the wishes of the Church with regard to church music: that is, to put into practice the instructions given by Pope Pius X in his 'Motu Proprio' of Nov 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1903 as Church Music [ *Tra Le Sollecitudini*], and confirmed by Pope Pius XI in his 'Apostolic Constitution' of Dec 28<sup>th</sup>, 1928 [ *Divini Cultus*] on the same subject.
- [3] To provide each year a course of instruction in Plainsong and Polyphony for Catholic choirmasters, teachers and others practically interested.
- [4] To attempt, by mutual help, to find a solution for the practical problems of members.<sup>507</sup>

Its work can be divided into the following related areas. There were the annual summer schools held in Oxford, the first at Blackfriars, the others at Worcester College. Then there were the large plainchant festivals and competitions. A typical example was 'The Pope's Mass for World Peace' held at Westminster Cathedral on April 13th 1936. Here a choir of 100 priests, other ecclesiastics and laity rendered the Mass Proper, while the congregation sang the Mass Ordinary, including an unaccompanied rendition of the Creed, and the Mass Responses.<sup>508</sup> More lasting perhaps was the publication in two parts of *Plainsong for Schools*, in 1930 and 1934 respectively.<sup>509</sup> This was prepared by Dominic Willson, another Ampleforth monk, with a preface by McLachlan and equipped with rhythmic signs. McLachlan's and the SSG's involvement is revealed in a sequence of letters to her surviving at Stanbrook.<sup>510</sup> In the first instance it was intended for use in the archdiocese

<sup>506</sup> Alberic Stacpoole: 'Fr Bernard McElligott. I: The Ampleforth Years 1890-1927. II: The Liturgical Years'. *AJ.* 77/2 (1972) 102-9; 77/3: 86-97. A full list of members is supplied in *ML.* 1/1 (Oct. 1929): 39-42. The reference to *The Universe* letter comes on page 88.

<sup>507</sup> 'The Four Aims': *ML.* 1/1 (Oct 1929): 1.

<sup>508</sup> Stacpoole 1972: III: 92.

<sup>509</sup> [ed. Dominic Willson] *Plainsong for Schools*. Part I and II. Liverpool. Rushworth and Dreaper. 1930 and 1934.

<sup>510</sup> For the planning see especially Willson's letters of 31/3/1930, 9/4/1930, 15/5/1930 and 12/7/1930. Stanbrook Abbey Archives. Box 'D.L. McL. To Allen/Holland/Edeson and J.F. Turner.'

of Liverpool, where from 1931 Willson was director of its school of music.<sup>511</sup> However, its use soon spread across the whole country. As the title implies the books were aimed at schools. In turn this required the training of plainchant teachers. As the Liverpool Archdiocesan Commission stated: 'No one should be allowed to teach plainsong to children who has not been properly grounded in the art. In [the] course of time it is to be hoped that many will qualify by taking the various examinations arranged by the Society of St Gregory in conjunction with the Benedictine Dames of Stanbrook Abbey'.<sup>512</sup> The link between *Plainsong for Schools*, examinations set by Stanbrook and the Society of St Gregory is therefore clear. So is the prescriptive character of the campaign, which is strongly reminiscent of earlier activities by the Society of St Cecilia. It is no accident then to find that Herbert P. Allen, Casartelli's former ally, was active in both in the North West. Preparation for such examinations took place at local training sessions and inspections as well as at the SSG's summer schools.<sup>513</sup> The programme for August 11th-18<sup>th</sup> 1930 at the latter is given below:

Advanced (taught by J.H.Desrocquettes): Rhythm, modality, psalmody, palaeography, analysis, chironomy, transcription, liturgical practice.

Elementary and Intermediate (taught by J.F. Turner and H.P. Allen): Notation, modality, general principles of execution, palaeography, transcription, liturgical practice, rhythm.<sup>514</sup>

*Plainsong for Schools* was supported by two volumes of accompaniments prepared by Herbert P. Allen.<sup>515</sup> Contrary to what many suppose, such accompaniments were not simply an extra frill supplied to support singers too incompetent to manage plainchant in its 'pure'

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<sup>511</sup> Before that Willson worked at St Anne's church, Edgehill.

<sup>512</sup> Quoted by Willson in a letter, dated 14/7/1930 to McLachlan. Stanbrook Abbey Archives 'Box D.L. McL. to Allen/Holland, Edeson and J.F. Turner'.

<sup>513</sup> Sample copies of *Examination Questions Grades I and II* published by Stanbrook Abbey in 1935 can still be found at Stanbrook. Their detailed planning and execution is discussed in letters by Canon J.F. Turner to McLachlan of 3/4/1930, 15/8/1930, 2/5/1930, 1/6/1930, 30/11/1930, 11/1/1931 and 31/3/1931. Stanbrook Abbey Archives. Box 'D.L. McL. to Allen/Holland, Edeson and J.F. Turner'.

<sup>514</sup> The programme is enclosed in Willson's letter to McLachlan of 30/11/1930. Stanbrook Abbey Archives. Box 'D.L. McL. to Allen/Holland, Edeson and J.F. Turner'.

unaccompanied form. Its very character shaped - and reflected - the method of performance. It could therefore be used as a weapon in support of particular styles. As shown earlier, in the nineteenth century, such accompaniments were often diatonic and organised on a note-for-note basis. This reinforced the slow, massive martellato performances so often preferred at that time. Solesmes's style chant, whether that of Pothier or Mocquereau, required a completely different approach. The accompaniment had to be modal; it had to be understated; and it had to be suggestive of the required smoothly undulating melodic line. This meant there had to be a reduction in the number of chords; so that there was no longer a note-for-note accompaniment and that therefore several elements in the melody had to be treated as passing notes. These features are illustrated in the following early example taken from a pre-1914 anonymous manuscript organ book at Stanbrook Abbey. Note the assumption that the organist has access to a pedal board.

Example 5.14 Anonymous accompaniment for the *Commune Confessoris Pontificis In Simplicibus* 1516



<sup>515</sup> Herbert P. Allen: *Accompaniments to "Plainsong for Schools"*. Parts I and II. Liverpool. Rushworth and Dreaper Ltd. Liverpool. 1930 and 1934.

<sup>516</sup> The volume from which this is taken (page 40) is kept in the Organ loft at Stanbrook Abbey.

There are though several features in accompaniments of this sort that undermine the atmosphere of medieval authenticity that plainchant was supposed to generate. It bears little resemblance to genuine medieval methods of accompaniment or polyphony. For instance, there are no drones, and determined efforts are made to avoid the parallel fifths and octaves characteristic of medieval Organum. Thus the presence of two examples here (highlighted by asterisks), along with the prevalence of chords in root position, are indications of lack of skill by the arranger. Instead the basic principles of conventional classical harmonisation are resorted to. Chords always have thirds and contrary (as opposed to medieval parallel) motion in the part writing is preferred. Such principles are set out for example in Abbe Meroux's *Nouvelle Méthode Pratique, Simple et Complète pour apprendre rapidement accompagner le plain-chant Grégorien suivant les lois de l'harmonie, de la tonalité et du rythme*. The reference to the 'laws of harmony' is especially revealing.<sup>517</sup>

Plainchant accompaniments ruthlessly exposed the differences over rhythm between Pothier and Mocquereau. This was because the positioning of the chords under certain notes showed where the accent should be. Other parts of the melody, treated as passing notes, were therefore subordinate to them. Mocquereau's adherents therefore sought to place the chords according to his arsis-thesis principles.<sup>518</sup> Compare for example the following extracts from Terry's and Allen's accompaniments for the Gloria in the *Missa Cum Jubilo* (Examples 5.15a and 5.15b). Notice how Allen, unlike Terry, starts 'Laudamus Te' and 'Benedicimus Te' on

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<sup>517</sup> L'Abbé Meroux: *Nouvelle méthode pratique, simple et complète pour apprendre rapidement accompagner le plain-chant Grégorien suivant les lois de l'harmonie, de la tonalité et du rythme*. Tournai, Rome, Paris. Desclée et Cie. 1925. Modality is prescribed on page 17, note 1; the avoidance of parallel fifths and octaves is demanded on page 13, note 23; and contrary motion is recommended on page 14, note 25. The restrained use of 6/4 chords and chords using a 7th is urged on page 13, note 22.

<sup>518</sup> Meroux clearly states this on page 16, note 28. The issue is extensively discussed by McLachlan in a letter to Austin O'Neill of 4/9/1907. Douai Archives. File 'A. O'Neill1'. See also Potiron, Henri: 'The Aesthetics of Gregorian Accompaniment' *ML*. 1/4: 97-100. (The article originally appeared in *Revue Pratique de Liturgie et de Musique* (March-April 1928).

the off beat; and how he inserts an extra chord (of E minor) on the 'ho' syllable of 'hominibus' in the second bar.

Example 5.15a Extract from Terry's accompaniment to the *Missa 'Cum Jubilo'*<sup>519</sup>

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# GLORIA

(MODE VII)

Melody of the 11th Century

Glo - ri - a in ex - cel - sis De - o, Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni - bus

bo - nae vo - lun - ta - tis. Lau - da - mus te. Be - ne - di - ci - mus te.

Example 5.15b Extract from H.P. Allen's accompaniment to the *Missa 'Cum Jubilo'*. Taken from *Plainsong for Schools Part 1*: 67

Glo - ri - a in ex - cel - sis - De - o.

Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni - bus bon - ae vol - un - ta - tis. Lau - da - mus te.

Be - ne - di - ci - mus te. A - do - ra - mus te. Glo - ri - fi - ca - mus te.

<sup>519</sup> London. J. and W. Chester Ltd. 1933: 2.

Differences of this sort explain the considerable amount of energy expended by McLachlan and Bewerunge at Stanbrook on the subject. As early as 1909 McLachlan was dissatisfied with the accompaniments for the Vatican Edition prepared by F.X. Mathias; and by 1913 they understood that with an accompaniment arranged according to arsis-thesis principles a choir, even if it was equipped with Vatican Chant books inspired by Pothier, could be made to sing in Mocquereau's way.<sup>520</sup>

At the same time though accompaniments revealed differences between individual interpretations about what the arsis-thesis rhythm actually was. McLachlan for instance was particularly scathing about Gregory Ould's approach; declaring on one occasion that 'I don't think he will ever see beyond his rule of thumb on rhythm, any more than Dom Mocquereau will.'<sup>521</sup> The following three samples from three accompaniments to the hymn *Pange Lingua* illustrate the sort of differences that can occur (Examples 5.16a, b, and c).

Example 5.16a H.J. Biton's accompaniment for *Pange Lingua* (1914) 522



<sup>520</sup> F.X. Mathias. *Organum Comitans ad Kyriale seu Ordinarium Missae*. Ratisbon, Rome, New York, Cincinnati. Pustet. 1910. See McLachlan's letter to Bewerunge of 2/3/1913. Her dissatisfaction with Matthias surfaces in a letter dated 1/11/1909. Other letters by her discuss Guilio Bas' accompaniments produced according to Mocquereau's principles. These are dated 27/10/1904, 1/11/1905, 15/9/1905, 18/9/1905 and 25/11/1914. Examples of her requests for Bewerunge's accompaniments surface in letters dated 18/12/1905, 19/1/1906, 29/1/1906, 15/2/1906, 26/2/1906, 9/3/1906, 26/3/1906, 6/4/1911, 14/10/1911, 15/11/1905, 9/3/1912, 28/5/1912, and 25/11/1914. Bewerunge's replies surface in letters dated 14/12/1905, 9/7/1906, 19/10/1906, 5/3/1907, 14/10/1907, 26/10/1907, 11/11/1907, 28/1/1908, 21/2/1908, 20/5/1909, 20/12/1909, 4/12/1910, 17/2/1911, 3/3/1911, 4/4/1911, 19/10/1911, 18/5/1912, 2/9/1912, 17/3/1913, 18/3/1913, 12/4/1913, 18/4/1913, 11/1/1917 and 3/12/1917. Stanbrook Abbey Archives files W1219 and W1914.

<sup>521</sup> Letter from McLachlan to Bewerunge dated 8/10/1912. Stanbrook Abbey Archives W1219.

<sup>522</sup> A.J.Biton: *Vade Mecum Paroissial*. 1914: 109.



Example 5.16b Henri Potiron's accompaniment for *Pange Lingua* (1934) 523

Tone 3

Pan-ge lin - gua\_\_ glo - ri - o\_\_ si Cor - por - is my - ste - ri - um

Example 5.16c Herbert P. Allen's accompaniment to *Tantum Ergo*; using the same melody as for *Pange Lingua*. Taken from *Plainchant for Schools. Part 1*. 1930

Tan-tum er - go\_\_ Sa - cra men - tum ve - ne - re - mur cer - nu - i

Despite this, by 1939, thanks to the efforts of the SSG and his adherents

Mocquereau's approach to plainchant had become predominant in England. It is difficult though to be precise about this, as nothing less than a comprehensive survey of every ecclesiastical establishment and priest ordained before 1962 would be required to give the necessary statistical proof. Nevertheless, the following pointers are highly suggestive. First, as has been seen, the *Grammar of Plainsong* had been commissioned by the archdiocese of Birmingham and had already run through three editions by the late 1930s. Second, because *Plainsong for Schools* was originally intended for use in the Liverpool archdiocese, it almost certainly swung that whole region into Mocquereau's camp. For example, Raymond Dixon, choirmaster at Lancaster Cathedral, switched from the Vatican editions in the late 1920s.

<sup>523</sup> Henri Potiron: *Gradual Paroissial contenant L'accompagnement du chant Grégorien pour les messes des dimanches et principales fêtes*. Paris, Tournai, Rome. Desclée et Cie. 1933, Part 1(Advent –Holy Saturday): 1

Moreover, when the diocese of Lancaster was created in 1925, its official list of approved music recommended Gatard's *Manual of Plainchant*. At Stonyhurst the *Cantionale* produced by Driscoll in 1936 included a supplementary 'Kyriale' printed by Desclée equipped with rhythmical signs. Given Driscoll's similar work at Wimbleton, Beaumont and the seminary at Manresa this suggests that the English Jesuits fell into line too. Meanwhile, in the North East from the 1920s students at Ushaw used *Liber Usualis* equipped with the same signs. The position was further reinforced by two sets of recordings; one by the monks of Solesmes, directed by Joseph Gajard (c.1930); the other by the monks of Ampleforth, directed by Bernard McElligott (1928).<sup>524</sup>

Against this, however, it should be noted that Terry's realisation of plainchant, which followed the Vatican edition, remained in use through his publications of Holy Week music; and these were on the official list of music recommended by the diocese of Lancaster.<sup>525</sup> Terry's realisations also appear in *The Benediction Choir Book*.<sup>526</sup> Likewise Cistercians at Mount St Bernard Abbey, in Leicestershire, used Vatican-style editions published by the central Cistercian press at Westmalle, in Belgium.<sup>527</sup> Dominicans, despite the work by Field and Harrison, did the same.<sup>528</sup> Stray elements of Medicean style chant also crop up here and there. For example, Hall's *Evening Service for Sundays and Festivals* is on Lancaster's

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<sup>524</sup> *Gregorian Chant: The Choir of the Monks of Saint Pierre de Solesmes*. Directed by Dom Joseph Gajard OSB with a critical introduction. HMV Album Series 120. DM 71-82 c.1930. McElligott's recording appears under the HMV label C2087/8. See Berry 1979: 197-217.

<sup>525</sup> Ed. Richard Terry: *Music for the Morning Office on Palm Sunday, Music for the Morning Office on Good Friday*. London. Cary and Co. 1909.

<sup>526</sup> Ed. Richard Terry: *The Benediction Choir Book*. London. Burns Oates and Washbourne Ltd. 1937.

<sup>527</sup> See for example *Hymnarium Cisterciensis* (1909), *Laudes Vespertinae* (1926 and 1956), *Graduale Cisterciensis* (1934 and 1960) and *Antiphonarium Cisterciensis* (1947) in Mount St Bernard Library (no shelf mark).

<sup>528</sup> See for example the *Graduale Juxta Ritum Sacri Ordinis Praedicatorum*. Rome. Vatican Press. 1928. *Antiphonarium Sacri Ordinis Praedicatorum Pro Diurnis Horis*. Rome. Vatican Press. 1933.

diocesan list of music; and the revised 1931 edition of Tozer's *Complete Benediction Manual* includes other examples.<sup>529</sup>

Thus, despite the strong drive towards uniformity, a good deal of variety survived in early twentieth-century plainchant performance practice. As has been seen this is especially noticeable when accompaniments are examined. Bewerunge is an extreme instance.

His use of very few chords drove him to conceive of the melodic line as a sequence of note clusters, each forming what was in effect a broken chord (see example 5.17). He was, in effect, anticipating the concept of ‘Coupure’ developed by Cardine in the 1950s. It was also very much an open question whether congregations could be persuaded to sing plainchant en masse. These issues, along with a revival of measured chant, were to return in the 1950s.

Example 5.17 Bewerunge’s approach to plainchant accompaniment<sup>530</sup>

The musical score for Example 5.17 shows a Voice part and an Organ accompaniment. The Voice part is written on a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The Organ part is written on two staves (treble and bass) with a key signature of one flat. The Organ accompaniment is characterized by long horizontal lines and vertical stems, creating a broken chord effect. The organ part is divided into two systems, each with two staves.

Laurentia McLachlan’s proposed amendments

The musical score for Laurentia McLachlan’s proposed amendments shows a Voice part and an Organ accompaniment. The Voice part is written on a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The Organ part is written on two staves (treble and bass) with a key signature of one flat. The Organ accompaniment is characterized by long horizontal lines and vertical stems, creating a broken chord effect. The organ part is divided into two systems, each with two staves.

<sup>529</sup> Ed. Albert Edmonds Tozer: *Complete Benediction Manual*. London. Cary and Co. 1897/1931R: *Tantum Ergo* setting No. 41 and *Adoremus* setting No. 12.

<sup>530</sup> Extract from the ‘Gloria Dei’ of the Mass ‘*In Dominicis*’ taken from a letter by Bewerunge to McLachlan 11/1/1917. Stanbrook Abbey archives W1914. This is the only surviving sample of the dozens of accompaniments he prepared for the nuns.

## **Chapter 6: Renaissance-style polyphony: its revival and imitation**

Renaissance polyphony was not unknown to English Catholics in the early nineteenth century; but it was swamped by musical styles prevalent in the former London Catholic embassy chapels at that time. This chapter does seven things: (1) It provides a brief sketch of the main components of this music and its subsequent development; (2) it picks out the basic factors shaping the revival of Renaissance polyphony; (3) it describes early nineteenth-century attempts to promote Renaissance polyphony; (4) it examines the work of the Cecilian movement through (a) the editing and publishing of sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century music (b) its encouragement of modern imitations; (5) it looks at the work of Sir Richard Terry, focussing on his compositions as well as the fillip he gave to the publication and performance of Renaissance polyphony; (6) it assesses attempts to spread the performance of such music across Catholic England in the early twentieth century; (7) it discusses issues raised by the promotion of this music within the environment of the twentieth-century English Catholic church, especially with regard to performance practice and the preparation of modern score editions.

### **A. Music from the London embassy chapels**

This has three elements. The first is plainchant of the type associated with Wade, as refracted through the publications and performance practices of Samuel Webbe the elder and Novello. This has already been discussed. The second is the development of a fairly up-to-date native tradition associated with Webbe and Novello. Note though that Webbe still assumes performers can play from a figured bass. Important publications are Webbe's *A Collection of Motets or Antiphons* (1785) and his *A Collection of Sacred Music* (1792). Several of Novello's own compositions, along with some plainchant and works by other

composers, foreign as well as English, appear in such publications as his *A Collection of Sacred Music* (1811), his *Twelve Easy Masses calculated for Small Choirs* (1816), and his *Evening Service* (1822). In general the music is straightforward and direct, with relatively short movements. Third, there is the importation of considerable quantities of continental music by Novello, especially Grand Masses with orchestral and/or organ accompaniment by Viennese Classical Masters. In particular, from 1819 Novello edited and published 15 and 18 such Masses by Haydn and Mozart.<sup>535</sup>

These two styles – the native English and the Classical Continental – were continued and supplemented during the nineteenth century. John Richardson (1816-1879) and John Crookall (1821-1887) both added to the stock of music left by Webbe and Novello. The continental strand is represented by such composers as Johann Hummel (1778-1837), Carl Maria Von Weber (1786-1826), Charles Gounod (1818-1893), and Edouard Silas (1827-1909). The style was also adopted by such English composers as Henry George Nixon (1796-1849), Henry Farmer (1849-1928) and Joseph Egbert Turner (1853-1897). Such music remained popular throughout the nineteenth century and survived into the twentieth century. For example during Easter 1900 the *Organist and Choirmaster* magazine reported performances of Haydn and Mozart Masses in London at Our Lady of Victories church (the pro-Cathedral of the Westminster Archdiocese), St Mary's, Chelsea, the church of the Sacred Heart in Battersea and St Thomas of Canterbury, Fulham.<sup>536</sup>

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<sup>535</sup> One of these, Mozart's *Twelfth Mass* has subsequently proved to be spurious.

<sup>536</sup> Anon 'Magister Choralis': 'From our Roman Catholic Correspondent'. *OC*. 8 (1900-1): 6-7. Similar performances are reported elsewhere in such churches as St Mary's, Monkwearmouth; St Peter's, Scarborough, St Mary's, Sunderland; St Mary's, Morecombe; and the church of the Sacred Heart, Hove.

## B. Factors shaping the revival of Renaissance polyphony

It is against this backcloth that the revival of Renaissance polyphonic music took place, backed by numerous contemporary works composed in imitation. In the long run it altered the balance of styles within Catholic church music during the twentieth century, although on the ground the picture could still be very mixed, as will be shown in chapters 12 and 13. Renaissance polyphony benefited from its association with plainchant - especially of the Medicean variety. It is therefore significant that the principal developments in both styles occurred in tandem. Thus, in the early nineteenth century Vincent Novello produced editions of plainchant and Renaissance polyphony; John Lambert and James Burns did the same in the 1840s and 1850s; and in the latter half of the century the Cecilian movement again coupled the two together. Renaissance polyphony, as epitomised by Palestrina and Victoria, also benefited from its association with Rome; so it was attractive to Ultramontanes. Moreover, unlike with more modern music, the prevailing belief that it was performed *a capella* meant that it was especially suitable for performance during Advent and Lent, when the use, not just of organs, but of string, woodwind, brass and percussion instruments - with all their secular operatic associations – was increasingly discouraged. In addition there was a parallel revival of interest within the Anglican Church, as well as among scholars and secular musicians generally. One symptom was the foundation of the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society in 1888; another was the production of early editions of Byrd's masses by E.F. Rimbault and W.S. Rockstro.<sup>537</sup> The conversion of High Anglican musicians such as John Moore Capes and Richard Terry then was of some significance in this respect.<sup>538</sup>

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<sup>537</sup> Rimbault's edition of Byrd's *Five Part Mass* was published by the Musical Antiquarian Society in 1847-8. Rockstro and William Barclay Squire's edition of Byrd's *Four-Part Mass* appeared in 1890. Other non-Catholic work included G.E.P. Arkwright's edition of Tudor music called *Old English*, published between 1889 and 1902. In 1899, Rockstro collaborated with Richard Terry in an edition of Byrd's *Five-Part Mass*. Hilda Andrews: *Westminster Retrospect: A Memoir of Sir Richard Terry*. London. OUP.1948: 46-7, 178.

<sup>538</sup> For full details of these Anglican developments see Mager 2001: 88-203.

On the other hand, at the beginning of the twentieth century there are the first signs of a loss of momentum. In the first place Solesmes's denigration of Medicean style plainchant weakened the alliance between plainchant and Renaissance polyphony. Similarly the growing interest in English Renaissance polyphony had the potential to undermine the Roman connections so beloved by Ultramontanes despite Terry's attempts to 'square the circle' by arguing that composers such as Byrd and Tallis were English composers working within an international Catholic circuit.

### **C. Attempts to promote Renaissance polyphony in the early nineteenth century**

The first major English Catholic musicians to take a serious interest in Renaissance polyphony were Samuel Wesley and Vincent Novello.<sup>539</sup> In 1826-7 and 1830 Wesley projected a publication of 21 motets drawn from an eighteenth-century manuscript copy from William Byrd's *Gradualia* in the Fitzwilliam Collection, Cambridge.<sup>540</sup> At about the same time Novello was at work on his *Fitzwilliam Music*, published in 5 volumes between 1825-7, drawing on music from the same collection. He also produced *A Periodical Collection of Sacred Music Selected from the best Masters*, containing works by Allegri, Palestrina and Guiseppe Bainsi, the current master of music in the Sistine Chapel. In addition he revised John Moore Capes's *Selection from the works of Palestrina, "Prince of Music"*.<sup>541</sup> Such activity grew from a more general English interest in such music during the eighteenth century with the foundation of such organisations as The Academy of Ancient Music (1726), the Catch Club (1761), the Concerts of Ancient Music (1776) and the Glee Club (1788), in which many Catholics, including Webbe and Wesley, participated. However, the nature of such interest

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<sup>539</sup> Much of the information in this paragraph comes from a draft of an article (dated July 5<sup>th</sup>, 2004) lent to me by Philip Olleson, Philip and Fiona Palmer: 'Publishing the Fitzwilliam Book: Vincent Novello, Samuel Wesley, and the music collection of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge'.

<sup>540</sup> In fact one item, a setting of 'Super Flumina Babylonis', was composed by Victoria.

needs to be clearly understood. 'Ancient' Music meant music by composers who had been dead for as little as twenty years; so it encompassed people such as Purcell or Handel, as well as Byrd and Palestrina. Novello's *Fitzwilliam Music* reflects this. Only four out of its fifty-eight items were written by 'classic' late sixteenth-century Renaissance polyphonic composers.<sup>542</sup> All the others date from the mid-late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In any case Novello's activities in this area pale into insignificance alongside the scale of his other activities.

More important perhaps were later publications by James Burns and John Lambert. James Burns converted from Scottish Presbyterianism in 1847, and in association with Lambert produced a range of plainchant and Renaissance polyphonic publications. Of these the most important were *The Choir: Collection of Church Music Original and Select* and *The Ecclesiastical Choir Book: Selections from the Great Masters of the Sixteenth Century*.<sup>543</sup> *The Choir* contains a mixture of Renaissance polyphonic and compatible modern music, some of which could be performed unaccompanied. Many items were composed by John Richardson, choirmaster at Liverpool Pro-Cathedral. Richardson thus represents a bridge with the earlier practical straightforward traditions of Webbe at the former London embassy chapels. With *The Ecclesiastical Choir Book* there is a sharper focus on the period 1551-1650 as the great era of Renaissance polyphony. All 42 items, including 29 by Palestrina and 6 by Victoria, date from this period. All are by Italians, or composers who worked in Italy; most of whom had close associations with Rome. None are by Englishmen.<sup>544</sup> It is significant that the

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<sup>541</sup> Mager 2001: 49. Hurd 1981: 3. Both were re-published by his son J.A. Novello in the 1840s.

<sup>542</sup> These are Lassus, Lupo, Palestrina and Victoria.

<sup>543</sup> *The Ecclesiastical Choir Book: Selections from the Great Masters of the Sixteenth Century*. James Burns. 1848. *The Choir: Collection of Church Music, original and select*. 2 vols. Burns and Lambert. Vol. 1 is undated; Vol. 2 appeared in various parts from 1852 and 1853 onwards. Some were edited by John Richardson. This contains works by the following composers: (Renaissance polyphonists) Allegri, Casali, Casciolini, Croce, Farrant, Lotti, Palestrina, Soriano, Terziani, and Tye. (Modern composers): Baini, Ett, Richardson. Mager also refers to their 1868 publication *Masses and Motets of the great vocal schools of Italy*. Mager, 2001: 281-3.

<sup>544</sup> The other composers are Anerio and Nanini (2 works each), Marenzio, Morales and Waert (1 work each).



volume was dedicated to Nicholas Wiseman, at that time Rector at Oscott College near Birmingham and shortly to be appointed Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. As Rector of the English College in Rome, Wiseman had become well acquainted with the music directed by Baini in the Sistine Chapel. For example in 1833 he sent transcripts of its Holy Week music to his friend Charles Newsham, President of Ushaw College. In 1839 he published a collection of four lectures describing the Holy Week Ceremonies there. Lecture 2 in particular contains a detailed account of the music.<sup>545</sup> Thus, for someone like Wiseman Renaissance polyphony was a useful adjunct in the Ultramontane campaign to 'Romanise' the Catholic Church in England. Yet, like many English visitors before, he appears to have been blind to deficiencies in Roman performance standards in his own time and during the Renaissance period. In 1832 Berlioz noted that, although the Sistine Chapel had maintained its standards, 'the other churches in Rome... have lapsed into an incredible state of decay, some might even say degradation.'<sup>546</sup> Berlioz moreover illustrates the divide between a modern professional nineteenth-century composer and an amateur ideologue like Wiseman who accepted unquestioningly the alleged supremacy of a composer like Palestrina. Thus, commenting on some psalm settings, Berlioz remarked that 'although these psalmodes in four parts contain neither melody nor rhythm, and the harmony is confined to common chords interspersed with a few suspensions, one may concede taste and a certain skill to the musician who wrote them. But genius! They must be joking.'<sup>547</sup>

Wiseman's arrival at Oscott (1840) coincided with and boosted its role as a centre for the promotion of Renaissance polyphony. For example, the library possesses a copy of Pietro

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<sup>545</sup> Nicholas Wiseman: *Four Lectures on the Office and ceremonies of Holy Week as performed in the Papal Chapel delivered in Rome in the Lent of 1837*. London. Charles Dolman. 1839. A copy, signed by Wiseman himself can be found in 'Cacus', the Arundell Library annexe at Stonyhurst College.

<sup>546</sup> Edited and translated by Trevor Cairns: *The Memoirs of Hector Berlioz*. London. Gollancz. 1969: 184. For details of the state of affairs in the sixteenth century see Richard Sherr: 'Competence and incompetence in the Papal choir in the age of Palestrina' *EM*. 22 (Nov. 1994): 607-29. This draws a sharp contrast between impressions reported by visitors and the reality as recorded in official investigations of the Sistine Chapel choir.

Alfieri's *Raccolta di musica sacra*, published in 7 volumes between 1841 and 1848, with numerous works by Palestrina.<sup>548</sup> Johann Benz, organist and choirmaster between 1838 and 1841, had been trained by Baini in Rome, and his compositions, like Richardson's, were sufficiently restrained to fit in with a repertoire of sixteenth-century polyphony. He also did some work editing Renaissance compositions and plainchant settings for modern use.<sup>549</sup> Benz became the first choirmaster at St Chad's Cathedral, Birmingham, and during the consecration ceremonies on June 21st, 1841 an exclusively Gregorian repertoire was provided. However, two days later Benz's choir from Oscott performed a Haydn Mass. Benz thus inherited some of the attitudes of Novello. He saw no incompatibility between plainchant, Renaissance polyphony and the Viennese Classical style. Thus it was not till 1854 that revised choral regulations drafted by Henry Formby, John Lambert and John Hardman prescribed an exclusive diet of Renaissance polyphony and plainchant.<sup>550</sup>

Given this background it was entirely understandable that as Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, Wiseman and his successor Manning, promoted Renaissance polyphony and plainchant across the English Catholic church; albeit with a greater emphasis on the latter in official decrees. Thus, at the Fourth Synod of Westminster plainchant was endorsed as the highest form of church music. As regards more modern styles, the synod declared that 'it is not for us to condemn the use of harmony or figured music;' but later it stated that 'harmonised singing should be clear and simple; that the words be intelligible; that there be no frequent repetition; that there be no addition, omission or change in the sacred liturgy' and 'that, as far as practicable, the laws as to the use and non-use of the organ in the "Ceremonial

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<sup>547</sup> Berlioz 1969: 183-4.

<sup>548</sup> Pietro Alfieri: *Raccolta di musica sacra*. Rome. 1841-1847 (7 vols). I was shown this copy by Fr Peter Jones in Birmingham.

<sup>549</sup> Zon 1999: 192-3 for a description of his *Cantica Sacra*. Derby, Dublin and London. 1846. For other details see Mager 2001: 32.

of Bishops”, which is binding everywhere, should be kept.’<sup>551</sup> Thus, although no distinction was drawn between different kinds of more modern music, the basic thrust of the decrees favoured the Renaissance style, especially given the belief that many vocal compositions from that period were meant to be sung *a capella*.

#### **D. The Cecilian movement**

These developments overlapped with the burgeoning influence of the Cecilian movement. The original German Society of St Cecilia was founded by Franz Xavier Witt (1838-1888) in 1867, and affiliated societies were soon established in other countries, notably Holland, the USA, Italy and Ireland. In 1870 it acquired official Papal recognition through the brief *Multos ad commovendos animae*, cited in an appendix to the translated decrees of the Fourth Synod of Westminster. The brief was issued shortly after the conclusion of the First Vatican Council, so there is an unmistakable association with the Ultramontane temper of that Council. The chief centre of activity was at Ratisbon Cathedral, but from 1880, with the establishment of the Schola Gregoriana, the Cecilian movement also acquired a presence in Rome.<sup>552</sup>

Its principal activities concerned the promotion of plainchant; the recovery, publication and performance of Renaissance polyphonic music; and the composition of modern works in the same style. In the recovery and publication of Renaissance polyphonic works the most important figure was Haberl, President of the German society after Witt’s

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<sup>550</sup> *History of St Chad’s compiled by the Cathedral Clergy 1841-1904*. Birmingham. Cornish Bros. Ltd. 1904: 15-16, 124-6.

<sup>551</sup> Arranged by Guy: *The Synods in English...* 1896. Ch. 7 185-95. Mager 2001: 278-9 and 286-300. (discussing the contribution of Manning).

<sup>552</sup> Robertson 1961: 139. Hayburn 1979: 128-9.

death, and founder of the Ratisbon School of Sacred Music in 1874.<sup>553</sup> Haberl's work on the Pustet editions of plainchant has already been discussed. However, between 1874 and 1907 he also produced a complete edition of Palestrina's known output, in the process identifying and publishing many virtually unknown manuscript works.<sup>554</sup> At the same time he also produced a complete edition of the motets of Orlando Lassus.<sup>555</sup> Lassus's Flemish background, his work in the Sistine Chapel, and above all his activity at the ducal court of Bavaria have significant connotations. Lassus was representative of a Catholic musical culture that was Roman, Bavarian and international, neatly resolving the inherent tension between nineteenth-century nationalism and Roman Ultramontane claims. For instance, a parallel edition of Lassus' settings of non-Latin texts (including Luther) in sacred works and madrigals was prepared at the same time by Adolf Sandberger of Munich. It should also be noted that the first volume of Haberl's edition of Lassus's works was published in 1894, when the tercentenary of Palestrina's and Lassus's deaths was celebrated at a summer festival of music in Ratisbon.<sup>556</sup> As will be shown this approach was imitated by Richard Terry in England.

Such achievements built on earlier work undertaken by Caspar Ett (1788-1847) and Karl Proske (1794-1847). Ett was commissioned by Duke Ludwig II of Bavaria to reform church music in Munich, and as part of this enterprise he published his *Cantica Sacra*, which

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<sup>553</sup> For a useful outline survey of such late nineteenth-century editorial work as perceived in the early 1930s see H.B. Collins: 'Ecclesiastical Polyphony'. *ML*. 2/2 (Dec 1931): 28-31.

<sup>554</sup> Ed. Franz Xavier Haberl et al: *Palestrina's Werke*. Leipzig. Breitkopf and Haertel. 1874-1888 with supplements issued in 1891, 1892 and 1907. The most commonly known mass recovered by Haberl was Palestrina's *Missa 'Assumpta Est Maria'*. Credit for this has sometimes been ascribed to Karl Proske, but it does not appear in his *Musica Divina* collection which Haberl helped complete.

<sup>555</sup> Ed. Franz Xavier Haberl, F: *Orlando di Lasso's Werke. Magnum Opus Musicum Von Orlando de Lasso*. Leipzig. Breitkopf and Haertel. 1894-1908. 10 vols. Haberl acknowledges that some of the initial preparation had been done earlier by Karl Proske. By 1931, according to Collins (1931: 28) Haberl's work had been supplemented raising the total in this series to 20 volumes.

<sup>556</sup> See for example Ed. Adolf Sandberger: *Orlando Di Lasso's Werke. Kompositionen mit Deutschen Tert. Kompositionen mit Franzoscichen Tert*. Leipzig. Breitkopf and Haertel. N.d. The Madrigals series begins in 1895. The first item in the German collection is Lassus's setting of Luther's translation 'Vater Censer Im Himmelreich' (The Lord's Prayer). Robert Eaton: 'At Ratisbon in 1894'. *ML*. 3/3 (July 1932): 60-1.

was later revised by Witt.<sup>557</sup> This contains 42 works, most of them plainchant; but also some original compositions by Ett and Witt themselves. Ett's setting of *Haec Dies* was published and performed in England right up to the early 1960s.<sup>558</sup>

Proske meanwhile published a massive collection of Renaissance polyphony in his *Musica Divina Sive Concentuum Selectissima*. The series was completed by Haberl and recommended to English Catholic musicians in diocesan lists of approved music produced by Salford and Westminster early in the twentieth century.<sup>559</sup>

Cecilian influence penetrated England both directly and indirectly. Many Cecilian works were published by Friedrich Pustet of Ratisbon; usually these were sold in England via Breitkopf and Haertel. Several attempts were made to found Cecilian societies. Archbishop Ullathorne's at Olton, created in 1888, has already been mentioned; but earlier, in 1876, a Society of St Gregory and St Cecilia had been attempted. In 1888 an English Society of St Cecilia was formed, and in 1906 the London Society of St Cecilia was founded.<sup>560</sup> Indirectly, influence was exerted through societies formed in the USA and Ireland. In the USA there were societies in New York, Newport (Rhode Island) and Cincinnati (Wisconsin). Of these the most active was that at Cincinnati, founded by Joseph Singenberger, who had studied at Ratisbon. Friedrich Pustet also set up a branch of his publishing business there; and references to its magazine - *Caecilia* - occur in part books belonging to St Cuthbert's church,

<sup>557</sup> Ed. J. Michael Hauber and Caspar Ett: *Cantica Sacra in usum studiosae juventutis*. Monachii. 1855. The revision by Witt was published by Pustet (Ratisbon, New York and Cincinnati) in 1869. A copy of this survives in the choir gallery at Croxdale Hall chapel, Nr Durham. See also Hutchings. 1967: 60.

<sup>558</sup> For an example of a later edition of Ett's *Haec Dies* see the version published by Cary and Co. in their *Motets Ancient and Modern* Series No. 26.

<sup>559</sup> Ed. Karl Proske: *Musica Divina Sive Concentuum Selectissima*. Ratisbon. Pustet. 1854, 1855, 1859, and 1863. 4 vols. but with several sub sections within them. Diocese of Salford Episcopal Commission on Ecclesiastical Music. *List of Church Music* Salford. 1904. Archdiocese of Westminster Episcopal Commission on Ecclesiastical Music. *List of Church Music*. London. 1906 Section B: 'Volumes of Polyphonic Masses': 16.

<sup>560</sup> Daly 1995: 107. Mager 2001: 329, 331, 334-335.

Durham, indicating that copies circulated in England.<sup>561</sup> The Irish Cecilian Society was founded in 1878 by Nicholas Donnelly, who also played a key role in setting up the Gregorian School in Rome. Within a year its membership peaked at 730. Donnelly had been a pupil at the Irish College in Rome and visited Ratisbon in 1873. In 1879 he founded the journal *Lyra Ecclesiastica*. Among other things this published the decrees of the National Synod held at Maynooth in 1879 along with its official list (and supplements) of approved church music. From 1883, additional editorial assistance was provided by Joseph Seymour, an organist from Cork who came to Dublin in 1882 and had been trained at Malines and Ratisbon. Seymour's compositions circulated quite widely in England and later appeared on diocesan lists of approved church music published there after 1904.<sup>562</sup> Another key figure was Henry Bewerunge, whose work in connection with plainchant developments at Stanbrook Abbey has already been noted. Bewerunge took over the management of *Lyra Ecclesiastica* in 1891 till the collapse of the Irish Cecilian society in 1903. From 1902 he was also editor of the *Irish Musical Monthly*.<sup>563</sup> As professor of music at Maynooth seminary, he arranged a considerable quantity of Renaissance polyphony for male voices, some of which was published and made available in England.<sup>564</sup>

Cecilian policies were actively promoted by several English bishops. Like Wiseman, Robert Cornithwaite had been Rector at the English College in Rome, and as bishop of Beverley he produced the first list in England of officially approved music, drawing almost exclusively on the Vereinskatalog of the German Cecilian Society. He also recruited R.W. Oberhoffer to direct the music at the projected pro-Cathedral of St Wilfrid's, York.

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<sup>561</sup> Daly 1995: 15-16, 107. Hayburn 1979: 115. For manuscript items copied from *Caecilia* at St Cuthbert's church, Durham see the reference to 2 anonymous Litanies in the Organ Book and matching part books there. F.X. Witt's *Mass of St Caecilia* and a 'Two Part Mass' by Simon Schter were also copied into the same volumes. The latter was sung at the 1910 consecration ceremonies.

<sup>562</sup> Daly 1995: 22-35, 44-5.

<sup>563</sup> Ibid. 117-8, and 164.

Elsewhere, Meyer Lutz's professional orchestra and choir at Southwark Cathedral, with their Viennese Classical repertoire, were abolished by John Butt shortly after his consecration there in 1885; while in Manchester Herbert Vaughan, a protégé of Manning, appointed G.A. Oesch, a pupil of Haberl, to run the choir at St Wilfrid's church, in 1878. His successor Louis Casartelli vigorously continued his policies, as has been seen.<sup>565</sup>

However, the chief conduits for Cecilian influence were the seminaries. Naturally Oscott was among the most receptive, and here Wiseman's policies were continued by Monsignor Henry Parkinson. For example, in 1904 the *Tablet* published details of the annual St Cecilia festival held there. In addition to plainchant from the *Liber Usualis*, works by Lassus, Nanini, Palestrina, Richert, Soriano and Victoria were performed, alongside more modern imitative works by Benz, Engel, Haller, Hamma, Mitterer, Perosi, Piel, and Singenberger. At Upholland College in Lancashire, F. Ambrose Turner introduced works by Cecilian composers such as Johann Molitor and Oreste Ravanello, works that were still being performed there in the late 1920s.<sup>566</sup> A spectacular collection of Cecilian music survives at Ushaw, where there are several bound volumes of works stamped in gold with the signature of Edwin Bonney, choirmaster between 1899 and 1917.<sup>567</sup> They include music by at least 40 Cecilian composers, including Michael Haller, Ignatius Mitterer, Johann Molitor, Singenberger, Seymour and Witt alongside works by Anerio, Byrd, Casciolini and Victoria.

Bonney also possessed three bound volumes containing more than 100 publications edited by Charles Bordes. In 1891 Bordes was appointed music director of the church of St

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<sup>564</sup> See for example the reference to his arrangement of six motets by Palestrina of 1898 in the Salford Diocesan List of 1904: 164.

<sup>565</sup> Mager 2001: 308-11, 320, 337 and 338.

<sup>566</sup> See the letter by his nephew Canon J.F. Turner to Laurentia McLachlan of 28/9/1928 in the Stanbrook Abbey archives. Box D.L. McL. to Allen/Holland, Edeson, Turner. For the year 1928 works by Ravanello (*Veritas Mea*), Molitor (*Mass Opus XIII*), Witt (*Salve Regina*), Terry (*Mass: 'Veni Sancte Spiritus'*), Palestrina (*O Filii et Filiae*) and Victoria (the *Turbae* for Good Friday and Holy Saturday) are mentioned. For further details see the *Repertoire* database, **Upholland** table.

<sup>567</sup> C.G. Clifford: 'The Choir' *UshM*. 45 (July 1935): 112-6.

Gervais in Paris. The following year he founded the Chanteurs de St Gervais, specifically to perform recently re-discovered Renaissance polyphonic works, many of which were then published in his *Anthologies* series. In conjunction with Vincent D'Indy he also founded the Schola Cantorum, Paris, specifically for the training of musicians in plainchant and Renaissance polyphony.<sup>568</sup>

Beyond the seminaries, Cecilian influence was variable. For example, several Pustet publications survive from St Augustine's church, Preston.<sup>569</sup> More unusual perhaps is the survival of 31 compositions by identifiable Cecilian composers in the household chapel of the Tempest family at Broughton, near Skipton. 12 of these are to be found in a copy of Michael Haller's *Cantica Sacra Vol. III* of 1893; 10 more appear in Haller's *Maier-Grusse I Samlung Zehn Gesange zur sebigsten Jungfrau und Gottermutter Maria fur vierstimmijen gemischterchor* of 1903. Both were published by Pustet of Ratisbon. In addition there are separate copies of works by Koenen, Koethe, Molitor, Singenberger and Witt. Alongside them though are works by Webbe, Schulthes and Reger, the latter two of whom were not Cecilians.

Cecilian compositions have often been dismissed, to quote Alec Robertson, as 'a dreary and turgid stream of mainly unoriginal and imitative music'.<sup>570</sup> However, their sheer quantity demands closer inspection, if only to distinguish their leading features. Two works will be discussed here. The first, J.B. Molitor's *Missa 'Rorate Coeli' Opus XIV* is a characteristic product of the German Cecilians. It is rooted in plainchant, and plainchant

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<sup>568</sup> Harry Haskell: *The Early Music Revival: A History*. London. Thames and Hudson Ltd. 1988: 45-50

<sup>569</sup> These are currently stored in the Talbot Library, Preston. They include works by Bill, Joanne, Ebner, Gruber, E. Gruberski, Haller, Singenberger, Stehle and Witt as well as three parts of *The Choir*. In addition there are works by Palestrina (*Missa Papae Marcelli*. London, Novello Ewer and Co. 1881) and Victoria (*Missa 'O Quam Gloriosam'* published by James Burns in 1848). However, there are also Masses by non-Cecilians like Kalliwoda and J.E. Turner. See the tables **Augustine (p)** and **Augustine(w)** in the *Talbot* database.

<sup>570</sup> Robertson 1961: 139.



moreover of the Medicean variety, as the basic melody in example 6.1, taken from the opening Introit, shows. Since the chant does not appear in the Pustet editions of plainchant it may in fact have been composed by Molitor himself. His note-for-note block harmonisation of this, coupled with the fact that his music is influenced by Medicean style plainchant, suggests a very slow speed of performance, although he provides no instructions about this. Where a chant is not used, as in the *Agnus Dei*, this gives a hymn like character to the music (see example 6.2). Diatonic use of major and minor scales - in this case A major and D minor - is employed throughout.

Example 6.1 'Introit' from Molitor: *Missa 'Rorate Coeli,' Opus XIV*

[a] [b]

Ro - ra - te coe - li de - su - per,

Example 6.2 Opening of the 'Agnus Dei' from Molitor: *Missa 'Rorate Coeli,' Opus XIV*

Nicht schleppend

*p* A - gnus De - i, *mf* qui tol - lis pec -

5 ca - ta mun - di:

Some attempts are made at integrating the musical material across the Mass in the settings of the 'Kyrie' and the 'Sanctus' using the basic material given in the Introit. The opening of the 'Kyrie' shows how it has been adapted:

Example 6.3 Opening of the 'Kyrie' from Molitor's *Missa 'Rorate Coeli', Opus XIV*

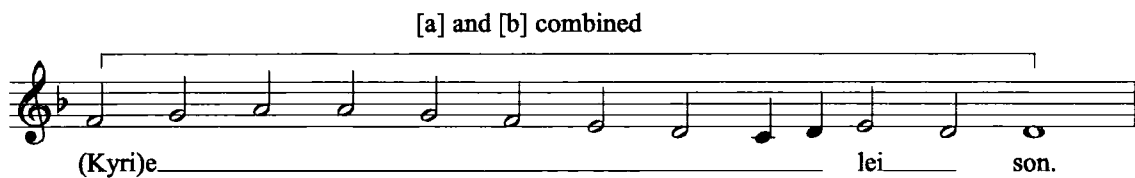
6.3a Skeleton phrase (a) from the opening of the 'Introit'



6.3b Variation on the descending phrase (b) taken from the 'Introit'



6.3c Combination of phrases (a) and (b) from the 'Introit'



In the 'Sanctus' Molitor then presents the material in inverted skeletal form:

6.3d The opening phrase of the 'Sanctus'



Thus, unlike with Mocquereau, Molitor's developmental analysis of a chant is based on pitches rather than rhythm. However, usually the note lengths are of equal value, although

there are occasional signs of mensuration. Yet, Molitor's groups of notes are quite large, so his approach is not governed by medieval-style neumes. On the other hand, the concept of adding or subtracting notes to adapt a chant phrase to different texts has been clearly grasped.

The second example is quite different. Seymour's *Mass in Ab* is a product of the Irish Cecilian movement. Indeed, it won second prize in a competition sponsored by the Archbishop of Dublin in 1889 that was adjudicated by Haberl. It also seems to have been quite widely performed in England.<sup>571</sup> The approach is more flexible and less academic, with some features taken from more modern music. Technically it is also more accomplished. The vocal ranges are given below (example 6.4). Since the alto and bass parts divide, this indicates that a choir with large numbers of these voices is assumed. This, and the fact that the alto part rises to e'', suggests that female upper voices were envisaged, contrary to the Cecilian preference for all male choirs with boys voices. The dynamic range is much greater too, moving from *pp* to *ff*. As for the organ, much of the time it doubles the voice parts in the approved Cecilian 'a cappella' style. Indeed the 'Kyrie' is supposed to be unaccompanied. Elsewhere though the organ definitely has an independent role. Moreover at various points in the score the instructions indicate that a pedal board and up to three manuals constitute the ideal. Seymour then compromised Cecilian values against the practical needs and preferences of typical parish choirs.

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<sup>571</sup> Joseph Seymour: *Mass in Ab*. London. Cary and Co. N.d. Copies have been found in collections from Everingham, Ushaw and St Gregory's church, Preston.

Example 6.4 Vocal ranges in Seymour's *Mass in Ab* (Optional notes added in brackets)

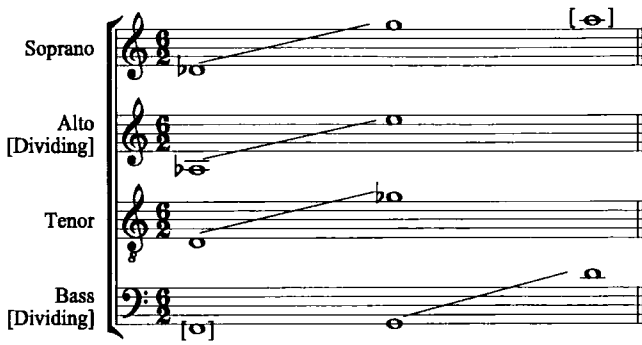


Table 6.1 shows that the work is more coherent than Molitor's *Mass*. In terms of length, each movement corresponds directly to the size of the text set. Thus the 'Credo', with 280 bars, is the most important part of the *Mass*. There is a recognisable key cycle. The 'Kyrie' and 'Gloria' are set in Ab; the 'Credo' is set in F (with excursions into Bb and D major); the 'Sanctus' and 'Benedictus' are in Ab and its relative F minor; while the 'Agnus Dei' is cast in three sections moving from F minor to Ab major, to Db major, and back to F minor. There is also an alternation between movements dominated by counterpoint (the 'Kyrie' and the 'Sanctus') and those where unison singing or block harmony predominate (the 'Gloria', 'Credo', 'Benedictus' and 'Agnus Dei').

In addition, Seymour achieves much greater thematic unity. Examples 6.5 and 6.6 from the 'Kyrie' display two basic sets of material [a] and [b]. Note how the [b] material is offered in embryo form by the altos in bar 9 of example 6.5. Their full import only becomes clear with the 'Gloria' and 'Credo'. Example 6.7 shows the relationship [a] has with key elements in the plainchant intonation offered by the celebrant. In the 'Credo' the statement is fairly direct; in the 'Gloria' it is reversed. The main ingredients are the combination of the rising fourth and third to or from the tonic. The plainchant intonation itself is of interest since it is mensurated. This then reveals Seymour's interpretation of how such a chant should be sung. Meanwhile, example 6.8 shows how the organ part at the start of the 'Gloria' delivers a

‘walking bass’ version of the [b] material against a unison vocal figure that is plainly derived from [a] motif. These features are then picked up in the other movements. The opening of the ‘Sanctus’ is built out of the ‘Kyrie’ [b] material (example 6. 9). The ‘Agnus Dei’ is in many respects a mirror of the ‘Kyrie’ (see example 6.10). The opening bass line has the same [a] material, albeit in F minor; the ‘miserere’ phrase presents the [b] material on a C major pedal. Throughout, the approach is essentially motivic and ultimately derived from plainchant. In this sense, Seymour conforms to Renaissance polyphonic ideals as understood by the Cecilian movement. On the other hand this is balanced by his willingness to use up-to-date harmonic methods. The ‘Benedictus’ provides a striking instance of this with a shift from Ab to G# major preparing the way for a temporary modulation into E major! (see example 6.11)

Table 6.1 Structural features of Seymour's *Mass in Ab*

| Movement            | Tempi                                                              | Character                              | Dynamics                                                | Key                                           | No. of Bars     |
|---------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| <b>Kyrie</b>        | Andante ♩ = 84. 4/4                                                | Contrapuntal                           | <i>p</i>                                                | Ab                                            | 63              |
|                     | Alla Breve ♩ = 60. 2/2                                             |                                        | <i>mf</i>                                               | (Ab to Eb)                                    |                 |
|                     | Andante ♩ = 84. 4/4                                                |                                        | <i>p/f/p</i>                                            | (Eb to Ab)                                    |                 |
| <b>Gloria</b>       | Allegro Maestoso                                                   | Unison or<br>Block Harmony             | <i>mf</i> ('et in<br>terra' onwards)                    | Ab-Eb                                         | 98              |
|                     | ♩ = 108. 4/4                                                       |                                        | <i>pp</i> ('Miserere<br>nobis' section.<br>4 bars only) | Gminor-Eb                                     |                 |
|                     |                                                                    |                                        | <i>f</i> ('Quoniam tu<br>solus' to end)                 | Ab                                            |                 |
| <b>Credo</b>        | (a) Con moto ♩ = 66. 4/4<br>( 'Patrem omnipotens'<br>onwards)      | Unison or<br>block harmony             | <i>fff</i>                                              | F major                                       | 280             |
|                     | (b) Andante ♩ = 76. 3/4<br>( 'Qui propter nos<br>homines' )        |                                        | <i>p</i>                                                | F major                                       |                 |
|                     |                                                                    |                                        | <i>f</i> ( from<br>'Crucifixus pro<br>nobis' )          | D minor into<br>major at<br>'sepultus<br>est' |                 |
|                     | (c) Andante ♩ = 104. 4/4<br>( 'Et resurrexit' onwards)             |                                        | <i>f</i>                                                | Bb major                                      |                 |
|                     | (d) Con moto ♩ = 66. 4/4<br>( 'Et in spiritum sanctum'<br>onwards) |                                        | <i>f</i><br><i>ff</i> on the final<br>'Amen'            | F major                                       |                 |
| <b>Sanctus</b>      | Lento ♩ = 88. 4/4 time                                             | Counterpoint &<br>block harmony        | <i>pp/mf/p/pp</i>                                       | Ab                                            | 64<br>(22 Bars) |
|                     | Vivo 3/4 time                                                      | Block harmony                          | <i>f</i>                                                |                                               |                 |
| <b>(Benedictus)</b> | Lento ♩ = 88. 4/4 time                                             | Block harmony                          | <i>pp/p</i>                                             | Ab                                            | (42 Bars)       |
|                     | Vivo 4/4 time                                                      |                                        | <i>f/ff</i>                                             |                                               |                 |
| <b>Agnus Dei</b>    | Andante ♩ = 96 4/4 time                                            | Unison or Solo<br>vs. Block<br>harmony | <i>mf/pp/mf/p</i>                                       | (a) F minor<br>to Ab major                    | 56              |
|                     |                                                                    |                                        | <i>mf/p/mf/p</i>                                        | (b) Ab major                                  |                 |
|                     |                                                                    |                                        | <i>f/p/ppp</i>                                          | (c) Db major<br>to F major                    |                 |

Example 6.5 Extract from the 'Kyrie' of Seymour's *Mass in Ab*. [a] material<sup>572</sup>

Andante ♩ = 84

Soprano

Alto

Tenor

Bass

[a]

Ky ri - e e le - i - son, e -

Ky

Ky ri - e

7

S.

Ky ri - e e

A.

son Ky ri - e e - lei

[b] in embryo form.

T.

B.

10

S.

lei - - - son,

A.

son, e lei son,

T.

Ky

B.

Ky ri - e

<sup>572</sup> The organ part has been left out here.

Example 6.6 Second extract from the ‘Kyrie’ of Seymour’s *Mass in Ab*. [b] material

Alla breve ♩ = 60

Soprano

Alto

Tenor

Bass

[b]

mf

Chris te

Chris te e - le - i - son, Chris

Chris te e - le - i -

5

S.

A.

T.

B.

son,

Chris



Example 6.7 Extracts from the ‘Gloria’ and ‘Credo’ of Seymour’s *Mass in Ab*

6.7a The Celebrant’s opening intonation for the ‘Gloria’

Example 6.7a shows the Celebrant's opening intonation for the 'Gloria'. The notation is in treble clef with a key signature of two flats (Bb and Eb). The melody consists of a series of eighth and quarter notes. Brackets labeled [a] and [b] indicate specific intervals: [a] spans the first two notes (G4 to A4), and [b] spans the next two notes (A4 to Bb4). The lyrics are 'Glo - ri - a in ex - cel - sis De - o'.

6.7b The opening intonation of the ‘Credo’

Example 6.7b shows the opening intonation of the 'Credo'. The notation is in treble clef with a key signature of two flats (Bb and Eb). The melody consists of a series of eighth and quarter notes. Brackets labeled [b] and [a] (interval of a 4th + semitone) indicate specific intervals: [b] spans the first two notes (G4 to A4), and [a] (interval of a 4th + semitone) spans the next four notes (A4 to D5). The lyrics are 'Cre - do in un - um De - um'.

6.7c The opening motif from the ‘Credo’

Example 6.7c shows the opening motif from the 'Credo'. The notation is in treble clef with a key signature of two flats (Bb and Eb). The melody consists of a series of eighth and quarter notes. A bracket labeled [a] indicates a specific interval: [a] spans the first two notes (G4 to A4). The lyrics are 'Pa - trem om - ni - po - ten - tem,'.

6.7d The basic [a] motif from the ‘Kyrie’

Example 6.7d shows the basic [a] motif from the 'Kyrie'. The notation is in treble clef with a key signature of two flats (Bb and Eb). The melody consists of a series of eighth and quarter notes. Brackets labeled [a] and [b] indicate specific intervals: [a] spans the first two notes (G4 to A4), and [b] spans the next two notes (A4 to Bb4). The lyrics are 'Ky - - - - (rie)'.

Example 6.8 The ‘Walking Bass’ accompaniment at the start of the ‘Gloria’ in Seymour’s *Mass in Ab*

Allegro maestoso ♩ = 108

Soprano

Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni - bus

Alto

Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni - bus

Tenor

Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni - bus

Bass

Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni - bus

Allegro maestoso ♩ = 108

Organ

GT WITH PEDAL

Example 6.9 Opening of the ‘Sanctus’ from Seymour’s *Mass in Ab*

Lento ♩ = 80

Soprano

Sanc \_\_\_\_\_ tus,

Alto

Sanc \_\_\_\_\_ tus,

Tenor

Sanc \_\_\_\_\_ tus,

Bass

Sanc \_\_\_\_\_ tus,

Example 6.10 The opening section of the ‘Agnus Dei’ in Seymour’s *Mass in Ab*

Andante ♩ = 96

Soprano

Alto

Tenor

Bass

*mf*

Andante ♩ = 96

Ag - - nus De - i, qui

Organ

*And.*

MAN

6

S.

A.

T.

B.

tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di

*p*

mi - se -

CHOIR

Org.

*pp*

*p*

2

11

S. *mf* mi - se -

A. re - re - no - bis mi - se -

T. *p* mi - se - re - re - no - bis

B. *p* mi - se - re - re - no - bis -

Org. *no GREAT*

15

S. *p* -re - re no - bis.

A. re - re no - bis.

T. mi - se - re no - bis.

B. -mi - se - re - re no - bis.

Org. *p*

Example 6.11 The enharmonic modulation in the 'Benedictus' of Seymour's *Mass in Ab*

The musical score for the 'Benedictus' of Seymour's *Mass in Ab* is presented for five parts: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass, and Organ. The tempo is marked [♩ = 66]. The key signature is Ab major (three flats). The lyrics for the vocal parts are: (nomi)ni - Be - ne - dic - tus - qui. The organ part provides harmonic support, featuring sustained chords and moving lines in both hands. The score demonstrates an enharmonic modulation from Ab major to Bb major, which occurs between the vocal and organ parts.

### E. The work of Sir Richard Terry

The work of Cecilians such as Seymour and, to a lesser extent, Charles Bordes prepared the way for Sir Richard Terry. Thus Terry did not create the Renaissance polyphonic revival. He built on it, and in the process helped give it a distinctively English Catholic twist. Born at Ellington, Northumberland in 1866 he was educated and later served as an assistant master at Battersea Grammar School, where his uncle was headmaster. In 1886 he won an organ scholarship to Oxford, and in 1887 he obtained a choral scholarship at King's College, Cambridge, where he was taught by Stanford. At this stage he was a High Church Anglican. In 1890 he became organist and choirmaster at Elstow School, Bedford, after which between 1892 and 1894 he worked at St John's Cathedral, Antigua. He then returned to work at

Thanet College, Margate and St John's College, Leatherhead. However, in 1895 he was converted to Catholicism by Fr Bowden of the London Oratory and obtained a temporary post at St Dominic's church, Newcastle. His first breakthrough was his appointment as assistant master by Abbot Ford at Downside.<sup>573</sup>

As first abbot of Downside, Ford was a key figure in the 'Downside Movement' that did so much to prepare the way for developments in plainchant. He was also something of a musician himself, since later he chaired the musical committee for the preparation of the *Westminster Hymnal*. Moreover, Downside's monastic library has copies of Proske's *Musica Divina*, and this may well have triggered Terry's interest in Renaissance polyphony. In 1897 he directed a performance of Palestrina's *Missa 'Aeterni Christi Munera'*.<sup>574</sup> Such performances were quickly followed up by his publication of the *Downside Masses* and *Downside Motets* series of music. Initially they were privately produced as dyeline copies by the abbey; but from 1905 they were printed by Cary and Co. It is important to note though that at this stage Terry was not averse to modern styles of music, as his *Mass of St Gregory (No. 1)* (1896), dedicated to Ford, and his *Mass of St Dominic (No. 2)* show.<sup>575</sup>

All the *Downside Masses* are works by continental composers, three of whom are 'Roman'. In this respect they follow well-worn Cecilian policy; yet the presence of Casciolini and Lotti among them shows that, even at this late date, Renaissance polyphony could still be interpreted to include some mid-seventeenth and eighteenth-century compositions. After all such composers still used the *stila antiqua*.<sup>576</sup> Their practical purpose is also manifest, as

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<sup>573</sup> Andrews 1948: 1-19.

<sup>574</sup> Ibid. 36 and 39. She also mentions performances of works by Arcadelt, Tye and Victoria at Holy Week in 1898.

<sup>575</sup> In addition he also directed the performance of works by Gounod and Tozer in 1898. Andrews 1948: 41.

<sup>576</sup> The Masses are as follows: Casciolini: *Mass for Four Voices*; Lotti: *Simple Mass for Four Voices*, Heredia: *Mass for Four Voices*; Viadana: *Mass "L'Hora Passa"*; Hasler: *Mass "Dixit Maria"*; Lassus: *Mass "Quinti Toni"*.

shown by some of their titles and the fact that they are all for four voices. The *Downside Motets* break new ground, however, by offering a mixture of English and continental works.<sup>577</sup> Terry was not the first to do this; but his underlying purpose was distinctive - namely to reclaim a forgotten English Catholic heritage.<sup>578</sup> In the preface to volume 5 he states:

Many such compositions have been adapted (since the havoc caused by the Reformation) to English words for the use of the Established Church till all memory of their Catholic origin has gradually died out. It will be the object of this publication to give in each issue some one or more acknowledged masterpieces, but with the original Latin text restored. Each issue will also contain some hitherto unpublished piece or pieces by English composers. The English school will thus occupy the foremost place in the collection but the great polyphonic schools of Italy, Spain and the Netherlands will be drawn upon to no small extent.

Secondly, Terry argued that such English composers belonged to an international Catholic scene. It was possible then to be both English and Roman. The theme is fully developed in his book *English Catholic Music*, published in 1907.<sup>579</sup> Here he presents the idea that Renaissance polyphony began with John Dunstable, an English composer, and was then transmitted to Rome via Flemish composers. Palestrina's musical style therefore had English roots; and there is an unmistakable parallel with similar ideas about how Gregorian plainchant was transmitted to Anglo-Saxon England by St Augustine and then back again to Rome via Alcuin and other scholars of the Carolingian Renaissance. Terry could thus claim that England would have remained a great musical nation were it not for the Reformation, which cut it off from international Catholic culture. This in itself is a musical application of

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<sup>577</sup> Vol. 4 for instance contains the following items: Byrd: *Civitas Sancti Tui*; Carissimi: *Ave Verum*; Tallis: *Bone Pastor* and *Veni Creator Spiritus*; Tye: *Si Ambulem in Medio*; Palestrina: *Salvator Mundi*.

<sup>578</sup> For example in 1890 W.S. Rockstro and W. Barclay Squire's edition of Byrd's *Missa Quatuor Voces* was published by Novello. Barclay Squire and Terry then jointly edited Breitkopf and Hartel's publication of Byrd's *Missa Quinque Voces*. At about the same time Charles Gatty and the Duke of Norfolk printed Byrd's Three Part Mass in *Arundel Masses*. London, Burns and Oates.

Gasquet's claims about the deleterious cultural effects of the dissolution of the monasteries; something Terry might have picked up at Downside where Gasquet had been prior.<sup>580</sup> Terry then sought to show that the great English Renaissance polyphonists were Catholics, citing Blytheman, Byrd, Redford, Phillips, Tallis and Whyte. Tye, he admits, was a Protestant; but Terry blunted the implications of this by praising Tye's pre-Reformation settings of Latin texts. As for Orlando Gibbons, Terry comes close to arguing that he was a Catholic in all but name. For instance he states that with "Hosanna" I have no hesitation in describing it as an adaptation of the Palm Sunday antiphon *Hosanna Filio David*.<sup>581</sup> Terry concludes his book by stating that the Catholic music performed in Anglican Cathedrals was 'written by Catholics for the services of the Catholic Church. It is our heritage - our birthright; and the fact that our claims have lain so long in abeyance does not make it any the less ours, or its revival any the less a duty which we owe to the memory of our Catholic forefathers. Its possession is one more link with our national past - that glorious past when this England of ours was undivided in her loyalty to the See of Peter.'<sup>582</sup>

Terry's work at Downside helped secure him the post of Master of Music at Westminster Cathedral in 1901. At that time the building was still under construction, and the consecration did not take place till 1910. Services were initially conducted in the Cathedral hall from June 1902. Terry owed his appointment in part to the impression made by Downside's choir at the opening of Ealing Abbey on Nov 25th 1899 in the presence of Cardinal Vaughan;<sup>583</sup> but he also benefited from a chapter of accidents. Vaughan had planned for a monastic chapter staffed by monks from Downside residing at Ealing. When this scheme

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<sup>579</sup> Terry 1907: 59, 178-9, 183 and 192.

<sup>580</sup> Aidan Gasquet: *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries: An attempt to illustrate the history of their suppression*. London. John Hodges. 1889 2 vols: 519-21. Terry 1907: 192.

<sup>581</sup> Ibid. 196. He then performs the same trick with Tye's *I Will Exalt* and Redford's *Rejoice in the Lord*.

<sup>582</sup> Terry 1907 loc cit.

<sup>583</sup> Andrews 1948: 50. See also xii and 41.



fell through he turned to the Benedictines at Farnborough and the exiled Solesmes community at Appuldurcombe. Only when these plans also failed did he fall back on a community of secular canons supported by a non-monastic choir, giving Terry his opportunity. Terry was not even the first choice; he only secured the job after Charles Santley had turned it down.

Terry began with a virtual *tabula rasa*. Moreover he benefited from the fact that he could work with 28 choirboys trained in a choir school supported by 16 salaried singing men.<sup>584</sup> The result was a very different repertoire from that offered by other English Catholic establishments, dependent as they often were on amateur resources. An almost exclusive diet of plainchant and Renaissance polyphony was offered. Theoretically this was similar to that projected fifty years before by Hardman and Lambert at St Chad's, Birmingham; but the scale was altogether different. For instance as regards works by Palestrina Edward Hutton estimated that during Terry's tenure in office (1901-1923) 27 Masses, 60 motets, 27 offertories, 35 Magnificats and the *Improperia* were performed.<sup>585</sup> Palestrina in fact formed the bedrock of Westminster's repertoire in the 1900s.<sup>586</sup> His output was supplemented by a systematic programme of performances of works by other composers. For example in 1907, the entire *Cantiones Sacrae* by Peter Phillips was performed; in 1909 the contents of Jakob Handl's *Opus Musicum* Book 4 were sung; and 1911 was dominated by Spanish Renaissance composers, with Terry drawing on recent editions published by Pedrell. As a result under Terry's successors Victoria's *Tenebrae* settings became a standard feature of Holy Week celebrations at Westminster up to the mid-1950s.<sup>587</sup> Westminster Cathedral thus became a

<sup>584</sup> Almost immediately this fell to 14 in 1901, 6 in 1912 and 4 by 1918. *ibid.* 1948: 61, 138.

<sup>585</sup> Edward Hutton: Obituary Letter to the *Tablet*. 171 (Jan-June 1938): 579.

<sup>586</sup> Andrews 1948: 84 estimated that ten of Palestrina's Masses were already in the repertory by 1910.

<sup>587</sup> *Ibid.* 84, 89, 104 and 107. For the regular performance of Victoria's *Tenebrae* settings see Robertson, 1961: 115-116. However, Terry himself frequently turned to other composers on this occasion. For example in 1918, as a result of studies of the Old Hall Manuscript, discovered in 1893, and the Eton Choir Book Holy Week was dominated by the works of Nicholas Ludford and Robert Fayrfax. Likewise during Holy Week in 1921, 8 Masses by John Taverner were performed. Andrews 1948: 118, 124-5, 127 and 129. See also Robertson 1961: 72.

showcase for Renaissance polyphony. ‘Palestrina for Tuppence’ was Stanford’s cry to his students at the Royal College of Music. By this he meant that, for the price of a bus fare, they could go down to Westminster Cathedral and hear the latest rediscoveries of the Renaissance repertory. Westminster’s status, moreover, was boosted by the publication of regular press reports and programmes in the *Daily Telegraph* from 1907, as well as sometimes in *The Tablet* and the *Westminster Cathedral Chronicle*.<sup>588</sup>

Like other Cecilians, Terry did not hesitate to place his own compositions alongside a genuine plainchant and Renaissance polyphonic repertory. Table 6.2 shows the resulting combination in his booklet *Music for Palm Sunday*, originally prepared for Westminster and later published by Cary and Co. in 1909. The practical concessions to the limited capacities of the average parish choir should be noted.

Table 6.2 The contents of ed. Terry, Richard: *Music for Palm Sunday*<sup>589</sup>

- Anon: ‘Hosanna Filio David’ (SATB)
- Anon: ‘Collegereunt Pontifices’ (Text for the Gradual) (SATB)
- Anon: ‘In Monte Oliveti’ (SATB)
- Responses: Vatican Plainchant: ‘Pueri Hebraeorum’ (Solo voice)
  - : ‘Portuguese’: ‘Pueri Hebraeorum’ (Solo voice)
  - : Palestrina: ‘Pueri Hebraeorum’ (SATB and segue Organ)
- Antiphons (for the Palm Sunday procession):
  - : ‘Old Hymn Melody’: ‘Cum Appropinquaret’ (SATB)
  - : Harmonised plainchant, Mode VIII: ‘Cum Audisset Populus’ (SATB)
  - : Terry: ‘Occurrent Turbae’ (SATB)
  - : Terry: ‘Cum Angelis’ (SATB)
  - : Vatican plainchant: ‘Gloria, Laus et Honor’ (Unison voices)
  - : ‘Old Welsh Air’ arr. Terry: ‘Ingrediente Domino’ (SSATB)
  - : Viadana: ‘Ingrediente Domino’ (SATB)

The bedrock of Terry’s compositional output was his Masses, which were widely circulated and frequently reprinted. These show how, beginning with a fairly modern musical language, Terry came to be influenced by plainchant and Renaissance polyphony. Surprisingly, the *Mass of St Gregory*, his first Mass, has no traces of plainchant, despite the

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<sup>588</sup> Andrews 1948: 75 and 133. Full details of the Holy Week programme began to be published by the *Westminster Cathedral Chronicle* in 1913. See the table **Westminster** in the *Repertoire* database for the complete lists for 1914.

dedication to Abbot Ford of Downside.<sup>590</sup> It is, for its day, a modern composition, characterised by wide dynamic ranges (*p* to *ff*), diatonic language and, in places, the deployment of sophisticated harmonic techniques (see example 6.12). The grandiloquent strokes in the organ part for the 'Gloria' should also be noted (see example 6.13). On the other hand, as a concession to Cecilian tastes, in its revised form all the movements except the 'Gloria' could be sung unaccompanied. A practical feature is the fact that the treble part does not rise above a g".

Example 6.12 Opening of the 'Kyrie' from Terry's *Mass of St Gregory*

The musical score for the opening of the 'Kyrie' from Terry's *Mass of St Gregory* is presented in two systems. The first system shows the vocal parts (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and the Organ part, all marked 'Andante Moderato' and 'p'. The lyrics are 'Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son. Ky - ri - e e -'. The second system shows the vocal parts and the Organ part, all marked 'cresc molto' and 'ff'. The lyrics are 'lei - son, e - le - i - son. Ky - ri - e e - lei - son'. The organ part has a 'f' dynamic.

<sup>589</sup> Terry prepared similar collections for Maundy Thursday and Good Friday.

<sup>590</sup> Richard Terry: *Mass of St Gregory No. 1 (Revised Edition)*. London. Cary and Co. (No. 810). N.d. The date 1896 at the end of the 'Agnus Dei' almost certainly refers to the time of its composition, rather than its publication.

## Example 6.13

Opening of the 'Gloria' from Terry's *Mass of St Gregory*

The musical score is for the opening of the 'Gloria' from Terry's *Mass of St Gregory*. It features five staves: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass, and Organ. The tempo is marked 'Allegro moderato'. The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The organ part is marked with dynamics 'f' and 'ff'. The organ part includes a '16ft and 8ft' registration marking and a 'Man' (Manual) marking.

The first signs of change appear in the *Mass of St Dominic*, composed in 1899 and dedicated to St Dominic's church, Newcastle.<sup>591</sup> 'Modern' features still predominate, with dynamics ranging from *pp* to *ff*, the use of diatonic harmony - often in a sophisticated manner (see example 6.14), and the requirement for a full organ equipped with pedal board and preferably several manuals, as pencil annotations on the organist's copy from St Dominic's church in my possession illustrate.<sup>592</sup> Elsewhere, however, the vocal writing is restrained, such as at the start of the 'Kyrie' (example 6.15), and boys rather than women's voices are assumed. The most striking feature is the adoption of a chant-like approach to the 'Credo', producing something very different from the florid grandiloquence of such a movement in a mass by Gounod or J.E. Turner (see example 6.16).

<sup>591</sup> Richard Terry: *Mass of St Dominic*. London. Cary and Co (No. 759). 1899. Dedicated 'To the Very Rev Edmund Buckler OP (Prior) and the Choir of St Dominic's Newcastle-on-Tyne'.

Example 6.14 Terry's progression from a second inversion G major chord to C major in the 'Kyrie' of his *Mass of St Dominic* (An example of 'modern' diatonic harmony – note the chromatic touch)

[Andante = 66] *molto rit* *a tempo*

Choir (el-) le - - - i - son.

Organ *pp* *molto rit* *a tempo*

4 Trebles alone *pp*

Choir Chri - - - (ste)

Org. *pp*

Example 6.15 Opening of the 'Kyrie' in Terry's *Mass of St Dominic*

Andante = 60 *pp*

Choir Ky - ri - e e - lei - son.

Organ *pp*

<sup>592</sup> For example on the first page there are pencilled references to 'Great' and 'Swell'.

Example 6.16 Opening of the 'Credo' in Terry's *Mass of St Dominic*<sup>593</sup>

MEN (8va lower)

PA trem om - ni - po - ten - tem. Fac TO rem

Organ

5

BOYS

Choir

coe - li et ter - - rae, visi BIL ium

Org.

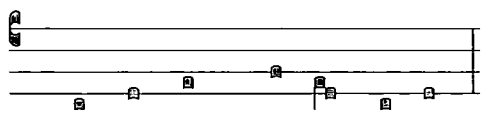
The real change, however, occurs with the next work, Terry's *A Short and Easy Mass* (No. 3) on the theme 'Veni Sancte Spiritus', composed at Westminster and published in 1904.<sup>594</sup> First, the title betrays a plainchant basis, something not seen in his previous Masses. Thus example 6.17 shows that the opening of the 'Kyrie' is a straight metrical version of the start of the plainchant hymn, while examples 6.18 and 6.19 show the relationship between other parts of the melody and elements in the 'Sanctus' I and II as well as in the 'Agnus Dei'.

<sup>593</sup> In the Preface Terry instructs his singers to regard the breves as reciting notes without a uniform time value. Up to the syllable in capitals they are to be sung 'at the same pace as good reading'. Thereafter the basic pulse was ♩ = 88. The time value from this syllable to the next bar is worth 2 beats. If there is a single succeeding syllable the rhythm is a dotted minim plus a crotchet; if there are two syllables the rhythm is a minim plus two crotchets; and if there are three succeeding syllables then a dotted crotchet, quaver and two crotchets are used.

<sup>594</sup> Richard Terry: *A Short and Easy Mass* (No. 3) on the theme 'Veni Sancte Spiritus' for four voices with or without organ'. London. Cary and Co. (No. 813). 1904.

Example 6.17

6.17a Opening of the plainchant melody *Veni Sancte Spiritus*



Ve- ni sanc- te Spi- ri- tus.

6.17b Terry’s version of this in the opening of his *Mass on the theme ‘Veni Sancte Spiritus’*

Larghetto ♩ = 80

*p*

Soprano  
Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son.

Alto  
Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son.

Tenor  
Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son.

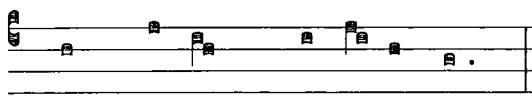
Bass  
*p*  
Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son.

Larghetto ♩ = 80

Organ  
*p*

Example 6.18

6.18a Extract from the plainchant melody *Veni Sancte Spiritus*



Flec- te quod est ri- gi- dum.

6.18b Terry’s adaptation of the melody in the ‘Sanctus I’ of his *Mass on the theme ‘Veni Sancte Spiritus’*.

Adagio ma non troppo  $\text{♩} = 72$

*f*

Soprano

San - ctus, San - ctus, San - ctus

Example 6.19

6.19a Extracts from the melody *Veni Sancte Spiritus*

Ve- ni sanc- te Spi- ri- tus.

Lu- cis tu- ae ra - di - um

6.19b Terry’s adaptation of these extracts in the ‘Sanctus II’ and ‘Agnus Dei’ of his *Mass on the theme Veni Sancte Spiritus*

Opening of the Sanctus II

Andante  $\text{♩} = 92$

Soprano

San - ctus, San - ctus, San - ctus,

Opening of the Benedictus

Adagio  $\text{♩} = 72$

Alto

Be - ne - di - ctus

Opening of the Agnus Dei

Andante Moderato  $\text{♩} = 76$

*p*

Soprano

Ag - nus De - i qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di



Second, as in the *Mass of St Dominic* and in his Holy Week Music, Terry uses what he now called ‘harmonised inflexions’ in the ‘Credo’ and ‘Gloria’ (see example 6.20).<sup>595</sup> The pulse is set at  $\text{♩} = 96$ , which is somewhat faster than in the *Mass of St Dominic* ( $\text{♩} = 88$ ), and therefore betrays the growing influence of the more rapid method of chanting recommended by Solesmes. As before, Terry follows Pothier by stating ‘Sing syllables under them at the same pace as in good reading with the same observances of stops’. The overall effect on the mood of the Mass then is much greater than in the *Mass of St Dominic*, despite the wide range of dynamic levels (*p* to *ff*). This is because a form of chant is used in the largest two movements of a Mass whose tempi are relatively slow, producing a more restrained effect.<sup>596</sup>

Example 6.20 Opening of the ‘Gloria’ in Terry’s *Mass on the theme Veni Sancte Spiritus*

Choir

*mf*

Et in terra pax, ho- mi - ni - bus bonae

*mf*

5

Choir

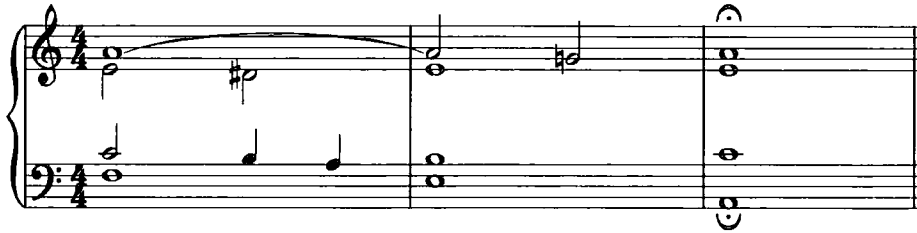
vol - un - ta - - - tis.

<sup>595</sup> The latter is directly referred to in the Preface, suggesting that Terry prepared his Holy Week music collection sometime between 1901-1904, some time before its general publication by Carys after 1907.

<sup>596</sup> The tempi in the other movements are: Kyrie: Larghetto  $\text{♩} = 80$ ; Sanctus I: Adagio ma non troppo  $\text{♩} = 72$ ; Sanctus II: Andante  $\text{♩} = 92$ ; Benedictus: Adagio:  $\text{♩} = 72$ ; Agnus Dei: Andante Moderato:  $\text{♩} = 76$ .

Third, Terry acknowledges the influence of Renaissance composers. Indeed, in the Preface he justifies the chord progression that concludes the 'Sanctus I' by reference to Thomas Morley. However, he admits that elsewhere modern diatonic harmony is used.

Example 6.21 Chord progression at the conclusion of the 'Sanctus I' in Terry's *Mass on the theme 'Veni Sancte Spiritus'*



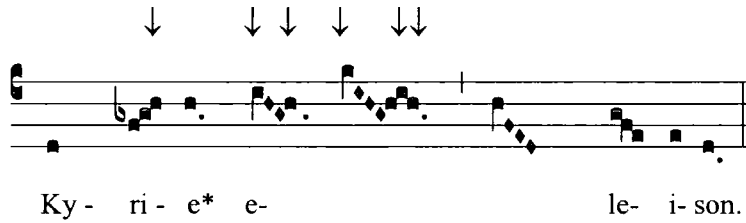
Such features are picked up and modified in Terry's next two Masses. The *Short Mass in C*, also composed in 1904, is a unison mass; and therefore intended for congregational singing.<sup>597</sup> Like the other masses, then, it is practical in purpose. So it fitted in with his policy, inaugurated in 1907, of finding time to perform simple modern masses at Westminster. The preface states that the 'Credo' is based on a fragment from Luther's hymn melody 'Ein Feste Berg'. At that time then Terry did not disdain Protestant melodies; something that he attacked in the preparations for the *Westminster Hymnal* of 1912. The rest of the mass is built out elements from the opening of the plainchant *Missa 'De Angelis'*, giving a unified feel to the whole work.

<sup>597</sup> Richard Terry: *Short Mass in C*. London. Cary and Co. (No. 814) 1909. I myself remember frequent performances of this at Stonyhurst in the period 1977-1985. Terry's *Mass of St Bruno* (No. 6). London. Cary and Co. (No. 812). 1907 is another unison setting of the same type.

## Example 6.22

6.22a Opening melody from the 'Kyrie' of Terry's *Short Mass in C*6.22b Opening phrase of the 'Kyrie' in the *Missa 'De Angelis'*.

[The arrowed notes show where Terry has picked out his 'Kyrie' melody]



Terry's *Short and Easy Requiem Mass (No. 5)*, published in 1907, is dominated by chanted 'harmonised inflexions'.<sup>598</sup> However, it also throws an interesting light on Terry's understanding of plainchant at that time (example 6.23). The 'Kyrie' is a harmonisation of the melody given in the Gregorian Plainchant *Mass No. XV*. In the preface Terry states that when plainchant is harmonised it ceases to be plainchant. This apparently justifies the use of diatonic language in the 'Kyrie', while using modes in the 'Sanctus' and 'Benedictus'; and he adds that 'the question of what "Plainchant Edition" he [the composer] has used is irrelevant'. The most curious effect can be seen in the rhythm. It is not clear whether Terry means what he writes in the score; but if it is literally interpreted then each bar is of equal length; and therefore the triplet minims move more quickly than the duplets. This is something that neither Pothier nor Mocquereau are likely to have accepted.

<sup>598</sup> Richard Terry: *Short and Easy Requiem Mass (No. 5)*. London. Cary and Co. (No. 812). 1907.

Example 6.23 Extract from the 'Kyrie' of Terry's *Short and Easy Requiem Mass*

The musical score is divided into three systems, each with a treble and bass staff joined by a brace. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 4/4.

- System 1: MEN (unison)**
  - Lyrics: Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son.
  - Notes: Treble staff has a triplet of eighth notes (G4, A4, B4) followed by a quarter note (C5), then a half note (D5) and a whole note (E5). Bass staff has whole notes (G3, F#3, E3, D3).
- System 2: FULL (harmony)**
  - Lyrics: Ky - ri - e e -
  - Notes: Treble staff has a triplet of eighth notes (G4, A4, B4) followed by a quarter note (C5), then a half note (D5) and a whole note (E5). Bass staff has a triplet of eighth notes (G3, A3, B3) followed by a quarter note (C4), then a half note (D4) and a whole note (E4). Dynamics: *p* (piano) at the start and *p* (piano) at the end.
- System 3:**
  - Lyrics: le - i - son.
  - Notes: Treble staff has a triplet of eighth notes (G4, A4, B4) followed by a quarter note (C5), then a half note (D5) and a whole note (E5). Bass staff has a triplet of eighth notes (G3, A3, B3) followed by a quarter note (C4), then a half note (D4) and a whole note (E4). Dynamics: *cresc.* (crescendo) at the start and *rall* (rallentando) at the end.

Terry was not content solely to promote his own music. He also used Westminster Cathedral as a forum for music by his English contemporaries, notably works by Vaughan Williams, Holst, Howells, Oldroyd and Stanford. This fitted in with his Catholic musical ideology. If the Reformation had led to the decay of English music, then the Catholic revival should restore it to its former vigour. However, two points immediately stand out. None of these composers were Cecilians, reflecting Terry's poor opinion of most works from that source. However, Vaughan Williams' *Mass in G Minor*, performed at Westminster in 1923,

clearly betrays the effects of that composer's interest in Tudor music.<sup>599</sup> Second, several of these composers were not Catholics, undermining Terry's ideological logic. Here again Terry broke his own rule, set out in the *Westminster Hymnal*, that only music by Catholic composers should be performed in Catholic services. Finally, when contextualised against Westminster's total repertoire, the extent of this programme should not be overplayed.<sup>600</sup>

#### **F. The spread of Renaissance polyphony in the early twentieth century: A flawed achievement**

Pius X's Motu Proprio *Tra le Solleitudini*, with its endorsement of plainchant and Renaissance polyphony, appeared to vindicate Terry's cause. Immediately he followed it up in two ways: first through new publications; secondly by influencing the content of diocesan lists of officially approved music. In addition to the *Downside Masses*, *Downside Motets* and his own compositions Terry also took over from Tozer and J.E. Turner the editing of Cary's *Motets Ancient and Modern* series. Later, in 1931, he edited 16 works in Cary's *Polyphonic Motets* series; and in 1934 he produced 20 works by English composers in Novello's *Tudor Motets* series.<sup>601</sup> Alongside Terry the work of H.B. Collins, editor of J. and W. Chester's *Latin Church Music of the Polyphonic Schools* should also be observed.

The diocesan lists of officially approved music were a Cecilian idea. Indeed, as already observed, some attempts had already been made to produce such lists in England; and *Tra le Solleitudini* gave it official endorsement. Terry and his allies seized control of the relevant committees. For example Salford's list of 1904 was drafted on the instructions of

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<sup>599</sup> Andrews 1948: 132-4. The premiere was given by Holst's Morley College choir. Terry's first conducted a performance by the combined choirs of Westminster Cathedral and the Sacred Heart Church, Wimbledon, trained by John Driscoll. The *Times* report intimates that the Wimbledon choir was superior at that time. H.W.R. Lillie: Obituary of John Driscoll in *LN: Our Dead 1939-45*. London, Manresa Press. 1947-8: 119-37.

<sup>600</sup> See ch. 13, pp. 573-4.

<sup>601</sup> Andrews 1948: 181-2. For further details of the scale of Terry's editorial activities see ch 12, pp. 478-9.

bishop Casartelli by a team that included H.P.Allen (the secretary and Casartelli's personal music advisor), W.A. Norris (choirmaster at Salford Cathedral), F. Ambrose Turner (choirmaster at Upholland Seminary), H. Bewerunge (Maynooth College, Dublin) , J.J. Dunne (choirmaster at Holy Cross College, Cunliffe, Ireland), Henry Parkinson (Rector of Oscott), and Terry himself.<sup>602</sup> All of them were plainchant or Renaissance polyphonic specialists; and the Irish Cecilian contribution should be observed. Terry also helped prepare the Liverpool and Westminster Archdiocesan lists as well as producing his own set of recommendations in his books *Catholic Church Music* and *Music of the Roman Rite*.<sup>603</sup> .

These lists then were Cecilian in spirit. For example, male voice choirs are assumed in the Salford List; and, despite Terry's reservations, they were packed with works by modern Cecilian composers. Thus Salford's list names at least 31 of them, including Haller, Mitterer, J. Molitor, H. Oberhoffer, Perosi. Sechter, Seymour, Singenberger, Witt and Terry himself.<sup>604</sup> Indeed earlier drafts of the Salford booklet make direct reference to the Irish Cecilian list and incorporate sections giving the names of inappropriate works or composers.<sup>605</sup> It is a tribute then to the latter's enduring popularity that the Salford list not only retains works by Webbe and Newsham but also compositions by Paxton, Butler and J.E. Turner.<sup>606</sup>

Nevertheless the achievement was flawed in several respects. First, as already noted, Solesmes' revision of plainchant, by exalting medieval over Renaissance sources, undermined

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<sup>602</sup> The other members were Francis Daniel (Canon and parish priest at Ribchester) and Alfred Anselm Poock (of St Augustine's church, Manchester).

<sup>603</sup> See the Bourne Papers Box 1/87 'Music-Church 1904-1910' for the membership of the Liverpool Commission (H. Worth, C.E. Brown, C.A. Cox, James Butler OSB, John Nicholson, Charles Nicholson SJ, and F. Bamber).

<sup>604</sup> Other Cecilian names are: Blied, Diebold, Drobisch, Ebner, Filke, Forrester, Grieisbacher, Greith, Gruber, Hanisch, Jaspers, Kaim, Kerbusch, Koenen, F. Molitor, Piel, Plag, De Prins, Quadflieg, Tanner and Zangl.

<sup>605</sup> The reference to men and boys choirs comes on page 1 of Salford's *List of Church Music*. 1904. For the Irish input see the direct reference to the musical supplement of *Lyra Ecclesiastica* on page 25 of the Salford List. For a list of works by banned composers see Louis Casartelli: 'Episcopal Notices: Church Music. 1st List'. *The Harvest*. Dec. 1903: 299-300. Composers whose works were rejected are Cherubini, Dvorak, Farmer Gounod, Haydn, Kalliwooda, Mozart, C. Murphy, J.P. Murphy, Niedermeyer, Schmid, Silas, Spohr and Van Bree.

<sup>606</sup> Salford List 1904: 18-19.

the alliance between this sort of music and Renaissance polyphony, although it had been a central premise in *Tra le Solleitudini*. Secondly, although Cecilian compositions continued to appear on lists of approved music after the First World War, their performance was hit by its impact on the German publishing industry.<sup>607</sup> Third, the persistence of the older pre-Cecilian repertoire should be observed. For example Lancaster's Diocesan List of 1929 includes compositions by Danby, Dumont, Haydn, Kalliwoda, Lutz, Manners, Mozart, Moorat, Niedermeyer, Novello, Romberg, Silas, Stadler, J.E. Turner, Webbe and Winter, most of whom had been attacked in early drafts of the Salford list.<sup>608</sup>

Fourthly in practice English Catholics were not offered the full gamut of the Renaissance polyphonic repertoire. The biggest example of this concerns Palestrina. 831 of his works are listed in the table **Palestrina** in the *Repertoire* database, 800 of which appear in Haberl's collection.<sup>609</sup> This gives a good idea of the state of knowledge about Palestrina among Catholic musical scholars at the time. However, the number of Palestrina's works specifically referred to in diocesan lists of approved music is much smaller, although some mention the big editions by Proske and Haberl (table 6.3).

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<sup>607</sup> See *Approved List of Church Music for the Diocese of Lancaster*. Preston 1929 listing works by Barrat, Diebold, Ebner, De Falconara, Filke, Forrester, Goller, Greisbacher, Greith, Gruber, Haller, Hohnerlein, Jaspers, Kaim, Klein, Lipp, Mitterer, J.P. Molitor, H. Oberhoffer, Perosi, Piel, De Prins, Ravanella, Sefhner, Seymour, Stehle, Tanner, Terry, Tinel, Turton, and Witt. Reference is also made to works by Baini and Bordes. A shorter list, *Our Church Music*, 'List III: Modern Masses and Motets' prepared by Jenner, Ernest in 1927 for the diocese of Southwark lists works by Ebner (5 Masses and 22 motets), Goller (1 Mass and 5 motets), Mitterer (5 motets), Perosi (7 Masses and 1 motet), Ravanella (7 Masses and 4 motets) and Stein (8 motets). Potiron's plainchant imitations are also mentioned. The deleterious effects of the First World War on the German publishing industry are discussed in ch. 12: 449-50.

<sup>608</sup> Lancaster's list also contains simple practical mid-late nineteenth-century non-Cecilian works by Butler, Cary, Cherion, Crookall, Elgar, Maher, Newsham, Pearsall, Richardson, Schulthes, Sewell, Tozer, C. Vaughan, Vico, Westlake and Zulueta. Works by Rheinberger, who was critical of the Cecilian movement, appear as well.

<sup>609</sup> Two items, a collection of 52 motets, referred to the Salford Diocesan List, and *Salva Nos*, which is mentioned in the *Stonyhurst Magazine* but whose authenticity is dubious have not been included in this total.

Table 6.3 The number of Palestrina's compositions recommended in lists of approved church music

| List                                                                   | Date | Number of Palestrina's works                    |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|-------------------------------------------------|
| Salford                                                                | 1904 | 9 (excluding the reference to Haberl's edition) |
| Westminster                                                            | 1906 | 97                                              |
| Liverpool                                                              | 1906 | 7                                               |
|                                                                        | 1911 | <u>15</u>                                       |
|                                                                        |      | <u>22</u>                                       |
| Lancaster                                                              | 1929 | 24                                              |
| Terry: <i>Catholic Church Music</i>                                    | 1907 | 73                                              |
| : <i>Music of the Roman Rite</i>                                       | 1931 | <u>76</u>                                       |
| : Total number of pieces listed in the two books (most appear in both) |      | <u>79</u>                                       |

The same picture emerges in published catalogues and through analysis of works performed in different places. For example, an undated inter-war list produced by Cary gives only one work by Palestrina; and a 1938 list produced by J. and W. Chester has just 37. At Beaumont between 1918 and 1940 and at Bournemouth in 1926 and 1927 there are no performances of Palestrina. There are nine works in the 1938 list of performances at the Sacred Heart church, Wimbledon and eight on lists for 1928, 1938 and 1961 relating to Farm St church. Reports in the *Stonyhurst Magazine* between 1904-1938 mention seven; the *St Dominic's Parish Bulletin* (from Newcastle) between 1930-1939 mentions six. However, at Salford Cathedral ten works by Palestrina out of 115 were performed during Holy Week in 1904; and of course Westminster under Terry gave due prominence to his output, as has been seen.<sup>610</sup>

<sup>610</sup> For individual details see the tables **Palestrina** and **Sacred Heart, Wimbledon** in the *Repertoire* database. See also relevant tables in the *Jesuit* and *Performances* databases. For another general survey from the early 1930s of polyphonic music that was deemed to be both appropriate and available see the series of articles by H.B. Collins: 'The Polyphonic Motet'. *ML*. 2/4. (Oct. 1931): 84-6; 3/1 (Jan. 1932): 4-6; 3/2 (April 1932): 58-60; 3/3 (July 1932): 62-4; 3/4 (Oct. 1932): 86-9. Here 23 works by Palestrina are specifically mentioned.



This phenomenon is hard to explain. However, there are two possibilities. First, choirs were used to singing a repertoire either for an SATB combination voices, or, in places like Convents and Seminaries, for upper or lower voices only. Yet Palestrina and his contemporaries often wrote for combinations other than these; so a choir might well balk at tackling music for 6, 7, 8, let alone 12 voices. Second, there are limits to what any choir can master. For example, in 1938 Wimbledon's choir performed 203 pieces – an exceptionally high figure; yet Palestrina's known output is four times the size of this. It was simply unrealistic for publishers to print more than a fraction of his music for this mass market; especially in the face of competing claims from other composers.<sup>611</sup>

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<sup>611</sup> For data on Wimbledon's and other choirs' repertory see ch. 13, esp. pp. 565, 567, 572-3, 577, 580 and 585.

**G. The nature of Renaissance polyphony in early twentieth-century Catholic England: Issues of performance environment, performance practice, and the editing of music**

The failure to offer the full Renaissance polyphonic repertoire therefore has much to do with the problems of planting it in a twentieth-century parish environment; and one moreover that was often proletarian or lower middle class, given the social balance of the English Catholic community. This was completely different from the locations and audiences for which much of this type of music was originally composed. What is more, when it came to performances there was a tendency to lump all Renaissance composers together without much regard for the fact that individually they themselves wrote for different audiences. Thus Palestrina wrote most of his music for the Sistine Chapel, St Maria Maggiore or St Peter's, Rome - major ecclesiastical establishments with trained salaried choirs. Their only equivalents in early twentieth-century Catholic England were Westminster Cathedral, the London Oratory, and St Chad's, Birmingham. On the other hand Lassus, although he worked in the Sistine Chapel, spent most of his career in the Bavarian ducal chapel. This was a smaller, more intimate location; and here Lassus was catering for the personal tastes of a court, not a parish or a cathedral. Byrd represents an interesting variation on this. His religious output was intended for Lincoln Cathedral, Elizabeth I's Chapel Royal and aristocratic recusant households. The first two were Anglican, although a Latin version of the Book of Common Prayer was used in the Chapel Royal; however, the third, for which his three Masses were composed, was even more restricted and intimate than a court chapel. Yet choirmasters like Terry did not hesitate to perform such works in large buildings like Westminster Cathedral. Meanwhile, Peter Phillips was at a half way point between Byrd and Lassus. He was English; but he worked in the court chapel of Archduke Albert and Archduchess Isabella in the Spanish Netherlands.

Such distinctions underline the fact that the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were completely different eras from that of the Renaissance period; and some Catholic commentators recognised the implications of this for the revival of older musical styles. For example, in 1846 the anonymous author of the article 'Sacred Music and Palestrina', discussing the religious ethos Palestrina's music was supposed to promote, noted that 'the artist of today, who tries to emulate this style, will feel, however high he can raise himself, that the writer's mind was pitched at a point of devotional earnestness, which is perhaps, impossible of attainment in times like our own'. Thus 'the traditional manner of performance is lost, or its echoes only faintly linger in the Papal Chapel at Rome'.<sup>612</sup> Some fifty years later, in 1907, Terry remarked the same thing, adding that people in his day thought diatonically, not in modes.<sup>613</sup> Such opinions have been endorsed and developed by modern commentators. For example, Mager notes the growing divide in the nineteenth century between music performed in the church and that produced in concert hall.<sup>614</sup> Even when the work was the same, the interpretation could be different. A classic instance is Otto Goldschmidt's edition of Palestrina's *Missa Papae Marcelli*, copies of which appear occasionally in Catholic church collections. This was prepared for a concert performance by the London Bach Choir using modern printed sources only. Instead of sticking to Palestrina's SATTB scoring Goldschmidt converted it to an SSAABB or SSATBB combination; presumably because the London Bach Choir had female upper voices.<sup>615</sup> Two other aspects have been observed by Frederick Neumann. The first was the effect of nationalism, which can be illustrated by Terry's attempts to show that English Renaissance polyphonists were loyal Catholic

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<sup>612</sup> Anon. 'Sacred Music and Palestrina' reprinted in the *Catholic Weekly Instructor* from the *New Quarterly Review*. London, Derby, Dublin. Thomas Richardson and Son. 1846 3: 102-4

<sup>613</sup> Terry 1907: 50.

<sup>614</sup> Mager 2001: 64-5.

Englishmen working in an international Roman environment. The second is the fact that up to the nineteenth century, composers wrote for the day, so their works had a short life expectancy. Such practices were in sharp contrast with the modern development of a canon of enduring masterpieces without which the idea of recovering a past cultural heritage would be virtually inconceivable.<sup>616</sup> In turn, as Bernard Sherman points out, the difference between an era when composers wrote music for the day and more periods dominated by the idea of a musical canon raises other issues, notably the tension between creating an authentic historical performance and the desire to update a work for modern consumption, as Goldschmidt did. Even if authenticity is the objective modern performers are handicapped by the incompleteness of evidence and the effects of changes in socio-economic attitudes noted earlier. One of the most potent factors here was the change in listening habits brought about by the advent of the gramophone and radio.<sup>617</sup> Catholic musicians initially welcomed recorded sound as a training tool for choirs, who would seek to emulate an authentic performance given on a record.<sup>618</sup> They also hoped that radio broadcasts from Westminster Cathedral and other prestigious locations would boost the national Catholic profile. They were slow to perceive that in the long run more music would be heard this way rather than 'live'; and that as a result many Catholics would hear more secular music than religious music. Consequently the divide between music heard inside and outside church would be

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<sup>615</sup> Ed. Otto Goldschmidt: *Palestrina: Missa Papae Marcelli*. London. Novello. 1881. This was reprinted in the 1920s or 1930s. Goldschmidt states that he drew on editions by Capes, Niedermeyer (1843), and Proske (1850). As noted earlier Vincent Novello had revised Capes' edition in the early nineteenth century.

<sup>616</sup> Frederick Neumann: *New Essays on Performance Practice*. Rochester (New York). University of Manchester Press. 1989: 6-7.

<sup>617</sup> Bernard Sherman: 'Authenticity in Musical Performance' Reprinted from ed. Michael J. Kelly: *The Encyclopaedia of Aesthetics*. New York. OUP. 1998. 4 Vols. In this context it is interesting to observe the activity of Anselm Hughes, an Anglican Benedictine, who as secretary of the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society actively promoted broadcasts and recordings of Renaissance polyphonic music. Some of his sheet music editions appear in the Church Music Association collection.

<sup>618</sup> For example Bernard McElligott, in his first annual report to the Society of St Gregory in 1931 mentioned demonstration record recitals of plainchant organised by society members in London, Romford and Plymouth. 'Report for the Society 1930-1931'. *ML*. 2/4 (October 1931): 78-9.

accentuated. Moreover, non-Catholics would record their own interpretations of sacred music, creating invidious comparisons between professionally produced recorded products and 'live' performances by amateur choirs at parish Masses.

It should come as no surprise then to discover deficiencies in Catholic early twentieth-century editorial and performance techniques by Terry and others. For instance, in 1962 Frances Cameron, discussing performances of Palestrina, declared that 'on many sides we are hedged about with false traditions - traditions which often go back no further than the nineteenth-century interest in his compositions'.<sup>619</sup> Such deficiencies were further complicated by ideological considerations. A classic instance is the idea that Renaissance polyphony should be performed *a capella*. This represented a marriage between ideology, history and practicality. It would be convenient if it was historically true because such works, unlike many more modern compositions, could be performed at Lent and Advent, when organs were discouraged; and it fitted in with the drive against the use of instruments in church. The anonymous author of 'Sacred Music and Palestrina' declared that 'purely vocal composition offers the most decent and appropriate form in which art can be employed in public worship. There is an appearance of spontaneity and sincerity in the union of many voices, which is dissipated by the intrusion of instrumental adjuncts'. The trouble is that recent modern scholarship has revealed a more ambivalent picture. As already noted, the German College in sixteenth-century Rome used musical instruments. In addition, Graham Dixon, citing works by Viadana, argues that by the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries the shift to monody and continuo was already well under way, especially if due allowance is made for the fact that at that time publishers were generally about twenty years behind the times and that a good deal of improvisation took place in the Sistine Chapel. This

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<sup>619</sup> Frances Cameron: 'Only for Devotees'. *CM*. No. 22 (Oct.1962): 9-13.

explains the adaptation of several Palestrina works, most notably the *Missa Papae Marcelli* by Anerio and Soriano, to fit the new style.<sup>620</sup>

Another aspect concerned the size of the choir. Modern research, taking account of the chronic absenteeism noted by Sherr, suggests that one voice to a part could often have been the norm in the Sistine Chapel.<sup>621</sup> Late nineteenth and early twentieth-century choirs though were generally larger. Thus the reduction in the size of Westminster Cathedral's choir during the First World War would have inadvertently produced a more authentic performance. Indeed, people at that time noted - with some surprise - that such performances actually worked.<sup>622</sup> A related issue was the time when boys' voices broke. Peter Phillips suggests that in Renaissance times they broke at the age of 18. If this was so then the modern difficulty of training up successive cohorts of boys whose voices broke at 14 would have been to some extent circumvented.<sup>623</sup>

A further feature concerned the relationship between text and music. This had been extensively discussed by Mocquereau in the 1901 issue of *Paléographie Musicale*.<sup>624</sup> At that time though (unlike later) Mocquereau still subscribed to Pothier's interpretation of plainchant rhythm derived from the text. Moreover, he was concerned to show how Renaissance polyphony had grown out of plainchant. He therefore argued that the rhythmic patterns in the melodic lines used by sixteenth-century Renaissance polyphonists up to Palestrina were derived from rhythms in the text in exactly the same way as Pothier had argued with monodic plainchant. What hardly anyone noticed at that time though was the

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<sup>620</sup> Graham Dixon: 'The Performance of Palestrina: Some questions, but few answers'. *EM*. 24 (1994): 667-75 esp. 668-9 and 671-62. It is interesting to note that Haberl may also have been aware of this, as he reproduced Anerio and Soriano's arrangements of the *Missa Papae Marcelli* in his edition of *Palestrina's Werke*.

<sup>621</sup> Sherr 1994: 607-29.

<sup>622</sup> Andrews 1948: 124.

<sup>623</sup> Peter Phillips: 'Beyond Authenticity' in Tess Knighton and David Fallows: *Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music*. New York. Schirmer Books. 1992: 44-7.

implications of revisions to liturgical texts in different historical periods. A stray example occurs in a copy in the CMA collection of Edmund Fellowes' edition of Byrd's *Ave Verum Corpus*, published by Stainer and Bell in 1938 (see example 6. 27). Formerly this belonged to Patrick Morrison, Bévenot's teacher at Mount St Mary's College. At the bottom of the first page he noted the differences between the text and that given in his copy of the *Liber Usualis*. Earlier the same issue had been investigated by Bewerunge. In a letter to McLachlan dated June 28th, 1916 discussing his study of five Palestrina Offertories he states:

I forgot if I mentioned that in my study of Palestrina I came across some peculiar readings (which the editor has reduced to the readings of the post-Tridentine Missal). Thus in the Off. *Justiciae Domini* (Dom. 3. Quadr.) Palestrina had composed the words et dulciana, and the editor made a mess of it by substituting the reading et judicia ejus dulciana.

Bewerunge then proceeded to give other examples from Palestrina's *Confitebor*, *Populem Humilem* and *Sicut in Holocaustis*. In subsequent letters he then reports further research by an anonymous assistant in the Royal Library of Berlin confirming such conclusions.<sup>625</sup>

All of this had practical consequences for editions. First, there was the emerging divide between scholarly and performance publications.<sup>626</sup> Second, the music was frequently transposed, as the following extract from an edition of Palestrina's *Missa 'Aeterni Christi Munera'* by Haberl shows (see example 6. 24). Third, editors added extra directions; and they were not always scrupulous in showing where they had done this. For example Terry, in

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<sup>624</sup> *Paléographie Musicale*. St Peter's Press. Solesmes. 1901. Vol. 7, esp. 37-125. With Palestrina Mocquereau saw the first steps towards a more 'Modern' (and therefore debased) approach to the relationship between musical and textual rhythms (91-105).

<sup>625</sup> Stanbrook Abbey Archives. Bewerunge to McLachlan. Letters dated 28/6/1916, 19/10/1916, 11/1/1917 and 6/5/1917. The edition in question is almost certainly that produced by Haberl. A projected article reporting these discoveries appears to have been rejected for publication.

<sup>626</sup> See ch. 12: 507. For a short discussion of this in the early 1930s see H. B. Collins: 'Ecclesiastical Polyphony'. *ML* 2/2 (April 1931): 28-31. Apropos modern editions for practical use he notes that 'these editions vary, of course, greatly in value' p. 31.

**MISSA: „Aeterna Christi munera“.**

Jo. Petraloysius Praenestinus.  
Hodiernis choris accommodavit F. X. Haberl.

**Kyrie.**

4 vocum.

Altus. *mf* Ky rie e lè

Tenor. *mf* Ky rie e lè i son, Ky

Bassus (I). *mf* Ky rie e lè

Bassus (II). *mf* Ky rie e lè

i son, Ky rie

ri e e lè ison, Ky


*mf* Ky rie e lè

e lè i son.

rie e lè i son.

son, Ky rie e lè i son.

i son, Ky rie e lè i son.

\*) Originalschlüssel sind:  Die Transposition erfolgte in die kleine Unterterz; eine Intonation auf *Des-As* kann nützlich sein und klingt trefflich, besonders wenn dem Bariton *e* und *fi* im *Agnus Dei* schwer fallen.

Stich und Druck von Breitkopf & Härtel in Leipzig. P. 1.



Example 6.25 The opening page of Terry's edition of Lasso: *Missa 'Quinti Toni'*  
 London. Cary and Co (*Downside Masses*). 1905

# Mass

## "QUINTI TONI"

ORLANDO DI LASSO. (1520 1594)

Edited by  
 R. R. TERRY.

## Kyrie.

Adagio.  $\text{♩} = 56.$

Cantus. *pp* Ky - ri - - e e - - lei - son, Ky - ri -

Altus. *pp* Ky - ri - - e e - - lei - - son, Ky -

Tenor. *pp* Ky - - ri - - e e - lei - - son, Ky -

Bassus. *pp* Ky - - ri - - e e - lei - - son, Ky -

Reductio  
 partiturae. *pp* Adagio.

*dim.* SOLO. - e e - - lei - son. SOLO.

*dim.* SOLO. - ri - e e - - lei - son. SOLO.

*dim.* SOLO. - ri - e e - - lei - son. Chri -

*dim.* SOLO. - ri - e e - - lei - son. Chri -

*dim.* *p*

The most fundamental aspect of such changes concerned the conversion of music from part books to full vocal scores. In the former, singers have to think linearly; with the latter, they can 'find their notes' by reference to the other parts, leading them to think more in terms of chords.<sup>627</sup> Rhythm in Renaissance music would also be affected by the positioning of bar lines in more modern vocal scores. Haberl, as noted above, was scrupulous to show how phrases cut across the bar lines he had imposed. Terry does not do so; yet the full effects of his decisions can be exposed by comparisons between his work and that of other editors. Example 6.26 shows the first page of his *Downside Motets* edition of Byrd's *Ave Verum Corpus* based on a score supplied by William Barclay Squire. A 2/2 time signature is rigidly imposed giving a 'square' effect to the music. This, and the decision to use a minim as the basic pulse, would probably have resulted in a slow tempo.<sup>628</sup>

Example 6.27 by contrast shows Edmund Fellowes' edition of the same work, published in 1938. This reflects his Anglican method of performance at St George's Chapel, Windsor, so it is interesting to observe that this particular copy was owned by the Catholic CMA, although a note at the top indicates that they preferred Terry's Cary edition. The key feature is the oscillation between 3/2 and 2/2 bars, producing a more unstable rhythmic pattern. At times this can result in a different pattern of textual accentuation. For example, unlike Terry, with Fellowes the second syllable of 'ave' and 'corpus' fall on the weaker third beat of the bar, whereas Terry lands firmly on the downbeat of a 2/2 bar. In addition the instruction 'Very smoothly, but not too slow' would enhance the sense of suppleness conveyed by the oscillation in the rhythmic beat. In other words, Fellowes, possibly without

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<sup>627</sup> See ch. 12, pp. 481-4 for a further discussion of this as regards general English Catholic singing practices in the nineteenth century.

<sup>628</sup> This type of argument is presented by Cameron 1962: 10-11.

realising it, was closer in sympathy to Solesmes' approach to melodic line than Terry, with his more 'chunky' style.

Example 6.26 The opening page from Terry's *Downside Motets* edition of Byrd's *Ave Verum Corpus*<sup>629</sup>

# ★ AVE VERUM.

WILLIAM BYRD  
[from vol. II of *Gradualia*]  
[1607]

Cantus. *mp* *dim.*  
A - - ve ve - rum cor - - pus

Altus. *mp* *dim.*  
A - - ve ve - rum cor - - pus

Tenor. *mp* *dim.*  
A - - ve ve - rum cor - - pus

Bassus. *mp* *dim.*  
A - - ve ve - rum cor - - pus

Reductio  
partituræ. *mp* *dim.*

*cresc.* *dim.*  
na - tum de Ma - ri - - a Vir - gi - ne ve -

*cresc.* *dim.*  
na - tum de Ma - ri - - a Vir - gi - ne ve -

*cresc.* *dim.*  
na - tum de Ma - ri - - a Vir - gi - ne ve -

*cresc.* *dim.*  
na - tum de Ma - ri - a Vir - gi - ne ve -

*cresc.* *dim.*

\* The Editor owes the score of this motet to the kindness of Mr W. Barclay Squire. The expression marks are the Editor's.

Example 6.27 The opening page of Edmund Fellowes' edition of Byrd's *Ave Verum Corpus*<sup>630</sup>

Use Cary

CHURCH MUSIC ASSOCIATION  
Church Choir Library No 520

LIBRARY

AVE VERUM CORPUS  
(All hail, true body)

Price 6d

Edited and arranged from Gradualia Bk. I and an English text added by  
EDMUND H. FELLOWES

WILLIAM BYRD  
1542 - 1623

*Very smoothly, but not too slow*

SOPRANO  
A - ve ve - rum cor - pus, na - tum de Ma -  
All hail, O true bo - dy, of the bless-ed

ALTO  
A - ve ve - rum cor - pus, na - tum de Ma -  
All hail, O true bo - dy, of the bless-ed

TENOR  
A - ve ve - rum cor - pus, na - tum de Ma -  
All hail, O true bo - dy, of the bless-ed

BASS  
A - ve ve - rum cor - pus, na - tum de Ma -  
All hail, O true bo - dy, of the bless-ed

For practice only

-ri - a Vir - gi - ne: Ve - re pas - sum im - mo - la - tum  
Vir - gin Ma - ry born: Which in an - guish, to re - deem us

-ri - a Vir - gi - ne: Ve - re pas - sum im - mo - la -  
Vir - gin Ma - ry born: Which in an - guish, to re - deem

-ri - a Vir - gi - ne: Ve - re pas - sum im - mo - la - tum in  
Vir - gin Ma - ry born: Which in an - guish, to re - deem us did

-ri - a Vir - gi - ne: Ve - re pas - sum im - mo - la - tum  
Vir - gin Ma - ry born: Which in an - guish, to re - deem us

Transposed up a tone. Note-values halved. Original key-signature: two flats.

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MADE IN ENGLAND  
S. & B. 4883

Not strictly correct words - per L.V.  
Mixtures also added

<sup>629</sup> Ed. Richard Terry: Byrd: *Ave Verum Corpus*. London. Cary and Co. Downside Motets. 1905.<sup>630</sup> Ed. Edmund Fellowes: Byrd: *Ave Verum Corpus*. London. Stainer and Bell. 1938.

The next example (no. 6.28) shows Terry's 'Tudor Church Music' 1921 edition of the same work. This represents a compromise between the two approaches. A crotchet rather than a minim pulse is used, but with a slow  $\text{♩} = 72$  metronome marking. In general the bars are laid out in 4/4 time; but the opening 'Ave' starts off the beat suggesting something of the oscillation between 3/2 and 2/2 time used by Fellowes. However, as with the *Downside Motets* edition, a strong down beat is achieved on the second syllable of 'corpus' through the interpolation of a 2/4 bar; and unlike with Fellowes this is lengthened by the addition of a pause mark.

Example 6.28 The opening page of Terry's Tudor Church Music edition of Byrd's *Ave Verum Corpus*<sup>631</sup>

**AVE VERUM CORPUS**  
Hail, O hail, true body  
Motet for Four Voices

WILLIAM BYRD 1543-1  
*Gradualia*, Lib. I, 1607

$\text{♩} = \text{about } 72$

SOPRANO  
A - ve ve rum cor - - - pus.  
Hail, O hail true bo - - - dy.

ALTO  
A - ve ve rum cor - - - pus.  
Hail, O hail true bo - - - dy.

TENOR  
A - ve ve rum cor - - - pus.  
Hail, O hail true bo - - - dy.

BASS  
A - ve ve rum cor - - - pus.  
Hail, O hail true bo - - - dy.

$\text{♩} = \text{about } 72$

For practice only

*cresc.* *dim.*  
na - rum de Ma - ri - - a Vir - gi - ne; ve - re  
Spot - less vir - gin's vir - - - gin birth; Thou scho

*cresc.* *dim.*  
na - rum de Ma - ri - - a Vir - gi - ne; ve - re  
Spot - less vir - gin's vir - - - gin birth; Thou scho

*cresc.* *dim.*  
na - rum de Ma - ri - - a Vir - gi - ne; ve - re  
Spot - less vir - gin's vir - - - gin birth; Thou scho

*cresc.* *dim.*  
na - rum de Ma - ri - - a Vir - gi - ne; ve - re  
Spot - less vir - gin's vir - - - gin birth; Thou scho

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Printed in Great Britain

<sup>631</sup> Ed. Richard Terry: Byrd: *Ave Verum Corpus*. London. OUP (*Tudor Church Music* series). 1921.

Such differences between Terry and Fellowes reflect the clash of opinion within the editorial board of the *Tudor Church Music* series explored by Richard Turbet.<sup>632</sup> Essentially this had two aspects: the first concerns issues of scholarship and taste; the second was about matters of efficiency and care. Terry's sloppiness editorially and in performance practice was proverbial, and noted even by his eulogist Hilda Andrewes.<sup>633</sup> In the *Tudor Church Music* project he paid for it by being driven from his post as chief editor through the machinations of his sub-editors - Percy Buck, Edmund Fellowes, A. Ramsbotton and Susan Townsend Warner, all of whom were Anglicans. The long-term effects were profound, given that the *Tudor Church Music* series became a major pillar in the Anglican Renaissance polyphonic choral repertoire. Had Terry remained in charge it is possible then that his Catholic ideological vision of the place of such music might have been extended to this constituency.

## H. Conclusions

It should now be apparent that the campaign to promote Renaissance polyphony, while not without achievement, was certainly flawed. Moreover, as will be seen in chapters 12 and 13, on the ground its spread was by no means uniform or complete. In particular the music in the Viennese Classical style, though preformed less frequently, refused to disappear.<sup>634</sup> For example, at the London Oratory, it was the principal element in the repertoire till the arrival of Henry Washington in 1935; and even his control some Classical Viennese items continued to be performed.<sup>635</sup> On the other hand, where Renaissance

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<sup>632</sup> Richard Turbet: 'An affair of honour: "Tudor Church Music": the ousting of Richard Terry, and a trust vindicated'. *MusL.* 76 (1995): 593-600. 'A monument of enthusiastic industry: further light on "Tudor Church Music"'. *MusL.* 81/3 (August 2000): 433-7.

<sup>633</sup> Andrewes 1948: 129-30 and 142. See also Peter Doyle: *Westminster Cathedral 1895-1995*. London. Geoffrey Chapman. 1995: 51-69 esp. 53. Ibid. Turbet, who suggests that Terry's editorial difficulties with the Tudor Church Music series may have had related to the fact that he was on the verge of a nervous breakdown.

<sup>634</sup> See for example some of the data on table 13.3 (pp. 578-9), especially the statistics on music dating from 1701-1850 performed at Wimbledon, Farm St and Stonyhurst between 1904-23.

<sup>635</sup> Washington 1984: 156, 158 and 160.

Polyphony was introduced, the results could both startling and rather shocking, especially if plainchant was vigorously promoted at the same time. For example, during Holy Week in 1925 at Ampleforth 48 works were performed under the direction of Bernard McElligott. 19 of these were plainchant, 26 were in the Renaissance polyphonic style, one was late medieval, and nine were described as 'traditional'. There was nothing that definitely belonged to the nineteenth or twentieth-centuries. In other words there was a complete stultification of creative initiative; and this is all the more remarkable because earlier the house had included composers such as Anselm Burge, Cuthbert Hedley and J.E. Turner.<sup>636</sup>

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<sup>636</sup> Anon. 'Holy Week at Ampleforth. 1925'. *AJ.* 30 (No. 111)(Summer 1925): 198-9. The remaining three items were 2 works by J.S. Bach and a 'Cologne tune'. For further examples of this phenomenon see the details of music performed at Upholland College between 1936-42 in chapter 13, especially table 13.3. 49/67 works performed belong to the periods 1501-1600, 1551-1600 and 1551-1650. Only 3 date from 1901-1950 and 1 from 1851-1950. See also the report of music performed at St Mary and St Joseph's Church, Poplar, in London, on the Feast of Pentecost and the Second Sunday of Pentecost. All the music was plainchant or Renaissance polyphonic in style. Only one item, a *Tantum Ergo* arranged by Terry from the tune 'Dwyfer', dates from after the early eighteenth century. 'Our Members' Activities' *ML.* 3/3 (July 1932): 68. It should be noted that Turner, Hedley and Burge were all trained at Belmont, so may have developed their music interests there as well as at Ampleforth.

## Chapter 7: Catholic Vernacular Hymnody

### A. Origins and development c. 1849-1912

The late nineteenth century witnessed the development of a considerable body of Catholic vernacular hymnody, evidence for which lies in the growing number and size of Catholic hymnals. For convenience these can be divided between those produced by religious orders, sometimes to meet particular local circumstances, and those aiming at a national Catholic constituency. Table 7.1 lists some of them.

Table 7.1 A selection of Catholic hymnals c.1850-1913

#### (a) Hymnals produced by Religious Orders

| Editor                                  | Title                                                                                  | Place of publication | Publisher                          | Date of publication |
|-----------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------|
| Anon                                    | <i>St Winifrid Hymn Book</i><br>(Jesuit)                                               | London               | R. Butler                          | N.d.                |
| Frederick Faber<br>(Text only)          | <i>The Oratory Hymn Book</i><br>(Oratory)                                              | London               | Thomas Richardson<br>and son       | 1854                |
| Anon.                                   | <i>St Dominic's Hymn Book</i><br>(Dominican)                                           | London               | R. and T.<br>Washbourne            | 1881                |
| Anon.                                   | <i>Convent Hymns and Music</i><br><i>used by the Sisters of Notre</i><br><i>Dame</i>   | Liverpool            | Printed by Rockcliff<br>Bros. Ltd. | 1891                |
| Franck<br>Birtchnell, and<br>Moir Brown | <i>The Notre Dame Hymn</i><br><i>Tune Book</i><br>(Ladies of Notre Dame,<br>Liverpool) | Liverpool            | Printed by Rockcliff<br>Bros. Ltd. | 1905                |

#### (b) Hymnals intended for national circulation

|                                         |                                                                                                                  |        |                                                                |                                     |
|-----------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|----------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Frederick Faber<br>(Text only)          | <i>Hymns by Frederick</i><br><i>William Faber</i>                                                                | London | Burns and Oates Ltd.                                           | 1861/1890R                          |
| Henri Hemy                              | <i>Crown of Jesus Music.</i><br><i>Parts I-III. Part IV was</i><br><i>added in subsequent</i><br><i>editions</i> | London | Thomas Richardson<br>and Son. Later by<br>Burns and Oates Ltd. | 1864                                |
| William Maher<br>and Francis<br>Trappes | <i>Liturgical Hymns</i>                                                                                          | London | R. Butler                                                      | N.d. (pre 1877, when<br>Maher died) |



| Editor                                          | Title                                          | Place of publication | Publisher                                | Date of publication               |
|-------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|----------------------|------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| F. Police                                       | <i>The Parochial Hymn Book</i>                 | London               | Burns and Oates Ltd.                     | 1883                              |
| Albert Edmonds Tozer                            | <i>Catholic Hymns, Original and Translated</i> | London               | Novello, Ewer and Co/Boosey/Cary and Co. | 1898                              |
| John Storer                                     | <i>The Catholic Tune Book</i> <sup>637</sup>   | London               | Alphonse Cary/R. and T. Washbourne Ltd.  | 1892                              |
| Anon.                                           | <i>Hymns for the Ecclesiastical Year</i>       | London               | Art and Book Co.                         | 1895                              |
| Charles Gatty and Henry Howard, Duke of Norfolk | <i>Arundel Hymns</i>                           | London               | Boosey/R. and T. Washbourne Ltd.         | 1898/1901/R1905                   |
| Richard Terry, et al.                           | <i>The Westminster Hymnal</i>                  | London               | R. and T. Washbourne Ltd.                | 1912 and several times afterwards |
| Samuel Ould and William Sewell                  | <i>The Book of Hymns with tunes</i>            | London               | Cary and Co.                             | 1913/R1933                        |

This development occurred despite some apparently paralysing obstacles. In Recusant times the need to keep a low profile in theory at least restricted opportunities for the emergence of a Catholic congregational hymn-singing tradition. Even after Emancipation there was a persistent reluctance among many Catholic congregations to sing. Moreover, during the late nineteenth century there seemed to be little place for vernacular hymnody in a predominantly Latin liturgy, especially in the face of increasingly stringent ecclesiastical legislation. However, several factors conspired to overcome such difficulties. First, throughout Recusant times numerous translations of Latin hymns were incorporated into the *Primer* and other liturgical or devotional books intended for use by the laity. For example Blom's catalogue of translations in various editions of the *Primer* between 1599 and 1800

<sup>637</sup> The full title reads *The Catholic Tune Book containing a complete collection of tunes in every metre to all English Hymns in general use.*

lists 206 English versions of 114 Latin texts.<sup>638</sup> In addition Tessa Watt has pointed to evidence for carol singing in publications produced between 1562 and 1638.<sup>639</sup> Second, in Britain generally the nineteenth century was an age of hymn singing, as shown by the production of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* in numerous editions after 1861 and the preparation of the *English Hymnal*.<sup>640</sup> Catholics, envious of the vigour of Protestant hymn singing, could not remain uninfluenced by this. Second, there was the impact of Anglican converts. Richard Terry, the principal musical editor of the *Westminster Hymnal*, is a classic example; but there were others. In particular the impact of three Oratorians - Edward Caswall, Frederick William Faber and Cardinal Henry Newman - cannot be ignored. Tables 7.2 and 7.3 shows how a great a contribution they made to the stock of texts in a selection of hymnals.

Table 7.2 Texts contributed by Caswall and Faber to some Catholic hymnals

| Name of Hymnal                        | Number of texts | Texts contributed by Caswall | Texts contributed by Faber |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| <i>Crown of Jesus Music</i> (1864)    | 214             | 17                           | 16                         |
| <i>The Parochial Hymn Book</i> (1883) | 633             | 53                           | 41                         |
| <i>The Catholic Hymnal</i> (1898)     | 186             | 23                           | 32                         |
| <i>Arundel Hymns</i> (1905)           | 306             | 21                           | 27                         |

Table 7.3 Texts contributed by Caswall, Faber and Newman to *The Westminster Hymnal* (1912)

| Author                | Number of texts contributed |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| Edward Caswall        | 86                          |
| Frederick Faber       | 46                          |
| Henry Newman          | 8                           |
| Subtotal              | <u>140</u>                  |
| Total number of texts | 263                         |

<sup>638</sup> Blom 1979: 80-103, 138-153, 158-161, 197-238.

<sup>639</sup> Tessa Watt: *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550-1640*. Cambridge, CUP. 1991: 86-7. Note, in particular, the registration of several carol books with the London Stationers Company between 1562 and 1638. Thus, of course, suggests that carol singing was not confined to Catholics, although Watt also draws attention to Protestant literature attacking such practices.

<sup>640</sup> Ed. William H. Monk: *Hymns Ancient and Modern*. London. W. Clowes: 1861 and in subsequent revised editions. Ed. Birkbeck, William, Dreamer, Percy et al: *The English Hymnal*. London. OUP. 1906.

Third, there was the impact of mass production and distribution in a printing and publishing industry that was increasingly centred on London. The *St Winifrid Hymnal* shows the scene before this really took off. Produced by students from the Jesuit seminary of St Bueno's in North Wales, its 12 hymns were designed originally to meet purely local needs. Yet it was published in London by Richard Butler. Faber's hymn collection shows how variants of such a hymnal could break out of a local straitjacket, and simultaneously bridge the divide between publications for Religious Orders and those aiming at a national market. An early hymn, *Hail, Holy Joseph, Hail!* first appeared in *The Catholic Instructor* in 1847. The following year a limited selection was published in Derby by Thomas Richardson. In 1849 Richardson printed a further 1,000 copies under the title *Jesus and Mary, or Catholic Hymns for Singing and Reading*. At this stage then Faber had a purely local circulation. The breakthrough came with the production in 1852 of 10,000 copies of *Jesus and Mary*, an enlarged version of the original. This contained 66 hymns. *The Oratory Hymnal*, produced in 1854, contained 79, while the 1861 and 1890 editions of *Hymns by Frederick William Faber* held 149.<sup>641</sup> The *Crown of Jesus Music* shows the same phenomenon in a slightly different way. Its editor, Henri Hemy, taught music at Ushaw College, near Durham; so the contents, including several items by Charles Newsham, President of Ushaw, betray its North-Eastern origins.<sup>642</sup> Its four parts were published separately as well as together. Indeed, two systems of page numbering suggest that separate components appeared at different times, some of which survive as *Crown Music*, a separate publication. Yet for all that the complete hymnal targeted a national constituency. The 1864 three-part edition, like Faber's early hymnals, was produced by Thomas Richardson of Derby; but Richardson also had offices in London and Dublin; and later an undated complete edition was published by Burns and Oates of London.

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<sup>641</sup> These details have been derived from Faber's own statements in the Preface to his collection of 1861: vii-xi.

<sup>642</sup> See for example his *Missa De Sancto Cuthberto*.

## B. The changing character and function of Catholic hymns c. 1849-1912

### 1. Traditional usage

The most fundamental cause - and effect - of the explosion in Catholic vernacular hymnody was the transformation in the function of a Catholic hymn. The Catholic church inherited from medieval times a stock of Latin hymns and, as has been seen, many were translated into English during Recusant times. In their Latin form especially these were closely associated with the liturgy, whether in the form of Sequences or in the use of particular hymns at certain times of the year. For example, *Pange Lingua* was always sung on Palm Sunday, while *Crux Fidelis* and *Vexilla Regis* were associated with Good Friday.<sup>643</sup> The same is true for the Office, with certain hymns assigned to particular services, feasts or seasons. Such hymns then were often incorporated into the relevant liturgical books, as well as appearing in separate 'Hymnale'; and there was a tendency to regard them as part of the liturgical cycle in the manner espoused by Guéranger. This aspect was further reinforced by the fact that they were usually sung to plainchant melodies. As Blom has noted, this applied even to English translations. As a result, in early Recusant times especially, these were often fairly literal versions of the Latin originals.<sup>644</sup> However, with plainchant settings of Latin hymns a variation for the choir to sing every alternate verse as a fauxbourdon, settings of which continued to be composed in the nineteenth centuries. For example, the choir at Stonyhurst between 1905 and 1938 is frequently reported to have sung such settings of *Pange Lingua* and *Vexilla Regis* by William Maher and Wilhelm Bernard Molique (1802-69) during Holy Week.<sup>645</sup>

<sup>643</sup> Note though that the *Stabat Mater* was also used at Stations of the Cross.

<sup>644</sup> Blom 1979: 79-80.

<sup>645</sup> See the table **Stonyhurst Magazine** in the *Repertoire* database for details. Maher's setting of *Pange Lingua* was performed annually between 1905 and 1914, in 1926, 1933, 1936 and 1937. Molique's setting of *Vexilla Regis* appeared every year between 1905-1912, 1934-1938, in 1914, 1923, 1926 and 1945.

Another approach, dating back to the sixteenth century, was to treat the hymn as a choral anthem. Palestrina made several settings of this type. Later, as has been noted before, Novello made a widely performed anthem setting of *Adeste Fideles*. Evidence of a different sort survives at St Cuthbert's church, Durham. Here the surviving copy of the *Crown of Jesus Music* is marked 'IV' and 'for the use of the choir'. Moreover only 11 items in its copy of the *Parochial Hymn Book* are marked up, indicating that this hymnal was also used in the same way.

Such practices discouraged congregational hymn singing. The assignment of particular hymns to particular times in the liturgy militated against the regular performance needed to familiarise people with the music; there were difficulties singing the plainchant; and their use as anthems or in fauxbourdon settings worked in favour of choirs at the expense of the general public.

## 2. Translations

It was thus essential to decouple hymns from their liturgical associations. This was achieved in two stages. First, from the late Middle Ages the Office was often recited in private, hence the value of the Breviary. The emergence of missionary Religious Orders such as the Jesuits who obviously could not recite the Office in a community further encouraged this tendency, especially in countries such as Britain where Catholics were persecuted and therefore had to keep a low profile. Second, English hymn translations appeared not just in the *Primer*, but in other vernacular and semi-vernacular publications intended for use by the laity. From the late seventeenth century onwards this encouraged the use of freer translations and even the writing of original vernacular hymn texts. In the long run this loosened the ties between texts and plainchant, especially if they were *spoken* or meditated upon in private. A notable example of this tendency was *Devotions in the ancient way of Offices* (Paris, 1668),

by John Austin (1610-69). This has forty hymns, most of which are free paraphrases of Latin texts, but some are original compositions.<sup>646</sup> These traditions continued into the nineteenth century, a late example being *The Roman Breviary translated into English*, by John, the Marquess of Bute (Edinburgh, 1879). Some of such texts even appear in twentieth-century Catholic hymnals, including the 1912 and 1940 editions of *The Westminster Hymnal*.<sup>647</sup>

Third, such developments were picked up by Anglican converts. However, it should be noted that their activity sprang from the early nineteenth-century interests in religious poetry and hymn writing shown by many High Churchmen, as Nancy de Flon has demonstrated.<sup>648</sup> Nevertheless they had similar motivations. Such work was regarded as part of their pastoral ministry. In particular, they wanted to make not just the liturgy, but the truths and tenets of Christianity part of the daily lives of the laity, whether through services, schools, or personal devotions.<sup>649</sup> Undoubtedly it was also seen as a means to re-connect with a medieval past. For nineteenth-century Catholics, three such works are outstanding: John Henry Newman's *Hymni Ecclesiae* (1838), Edward Caswall's *Lyra Catholica* (1849) (the most influential of the trio), and Frederick Oakeley's *Lyra Liturgica* (1865).<sup>650</sup> Newman's

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<sup>646</sup> Blom 1979: 146-9. For details of the insertion of translations into other publications see 150-1 (*Office of Holy Week* (1670), with translations by Sir George and Sir Walter Blount), 151-3 (*The Evening Office of the Church*, published in numerous editions from c. 1688 onwards, including 7 by Thomas Meighan and 5 by James Marmaduke), 158-161 (*The Garden of the Soul* (1740)).

<sup>647</sup> Ibid. 158-161. Examples of such hymns in the 1912 edition of *The Westminster Hymnal* are nos. 47 and 57 (by John Dryden), and no. 48 (by John Austin). More can be found in the revised edition of 1940, viz. Nos. 63 and 147 (by John Dryden), 73 and 92 (by Richard Crashaw revised by John Austin), 165 (an original text by John Austin), 18 (by Richard Verstegan), and 109 (by Bute). Strictly speaking, Lingard's 'Hail Queen of Heaven, the Ocean Star' does not belong to this tradition, although clearly it was inspired by the texts 'Ave Maris Stella' and 'Salve Regina'. It was originally written for the Gillow family at Leighton Hall, near Lancaster and first published in *The Catholic Magazine* during 1834 (Vol. 6: 607). Ed. John Trappes-Lomax: *The Lingard-Lomax Letters* CRS Vol. 77 (2000): 30.

<sup>648</sup> Nancy Marie de Flon: *Edward Caswall: Newman's brother and friend*. Leominster, Gracewing, 2005: 149-150, citing publications by John Chandler, William J. Copeland, John Keble, Richard Mant and, of course, John Henry Newman.

<sup>649</sup> Ibid. 151-3, 158-160. See also her article: 'A work to do': Edward Caswall and Pastoral ministry at the Birmingham Oratory during the 1850s and 1860s'. *RH* 27/1 (2004): 103-123. This gives a detailed account of Caswall's educational work at Stratford (during his Anglian days), Edgbaston and Smethick.

<sup>650</sup> John Henry Newman: *Hymni Ecclesiae*. London. Alexander Macmillan. 1838/1865R. Edward Caswall: *Lyra Catholica, containing all the Breviary and Missal hymns with others from various sources*. London. James Burns. 1849. Frederick Oakeley: *Lyra Liturgica: Reflections in verse for Holy Days and Seasons*. London. Burns and Oates. 1865.

collection was assembled while he was an Anglican; Caswall's was published two years after his conversion, but many of the texts and some original poetry and hymns that he published later were drafted while he was still an Anglican.<sup>651</sup> High Anglican attitudes are therefore present, in particular a wish to 'Anglicise' Roman Catholic elements. Newman, for example drew on medieval breviaries from Salisbury and York, as well as ones from Paris and Rome.

Translations rarely produce an exact reproduction of the original. To be effective there usually has to be some modification, sometimes even transformation. Caswall's translation of *Stabat Mater* shows one way that this can happen. In the Breviary and the Missal it is organised into three-line stanzas.<sup>652</sup> However, Caswall in his translation uses six-line verses; and these are grouped into three separate hymns corresponding to Vespers, Matins and Lauds in the Office of the Feast of the Seven Douleurs.<sup>653</sup> In the 1912 *Westminster Hymnal*, although the text is still appears in six-line verses, it is presented as one entity, presumably because here it is associated primarily with 'Passiontide'.

A second effect follows from the fact that different people may produce radically different translations of the same text. In effect, translation can create a proliferation in the stock of hymns, which then have to be assigned different tunes. This happens four times in the *Westminster Hymnal*.<sup>654</sup> Here, for example, is what happens to *Ave Maris Stella* (Table 7.4 over the page):

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<sup>651</sup> Flon 2005: 153

<sup>652</sup> *Breviarum Romanum*. Mechlin. H. Dessain. 1913/1920R/1932R: 689-90 and 701

<sup>653</sup> Edward Caswall: *Hymns and Poems*. London. Burns and Oates 1873: 76. Verses 1-5 are sung at Vespers, verses 6-7 at Matins, and verses 8-10 at Lauds.

<sup>654</sup> These, apart from *Ave Maris Stella* concern *Adoro Te Devote*, where translations are supplied by Caswall and J.D. Aylward (Nos. 76 and 81); *Jesu Dulcis Memoria*, again with two translations by Caswall and one by Aylward (Nos. 19, 45 and 67); and *Lux Alma, Jesu Mentium*, using translations by Newman and Caswall (Nos. 60 and 242).

Table 7.4 Two translations of *Ave Maris Stella* in the *Westminster Hymnal* (1912)

No. 109: from an anonymously edited *Selection of Catholic Hymns*. Glasgow, 1867.      No. 110: by Edward Caswall

Hail, thou resplendent star,  
Which shinest o'er the main;  
Best Mother of Our God,  
And ever Virgin Queen.

Hail happy gate of bliss,  
Greeted by Gabriel's tongue;  
Negotiate our peace,  
And cancel Eva's wrong

Hail, thou Star of Ocean!  
Portal of the sky!  
Ever Virgin Mother  
Of the Lord most High!  
Oh! By Gabriel's Ave,  
Utter'd long ago.  
Eva's name reversing,  
'Stablish peace below'

The effect on the choice of melody is obvious, even though both have the same 6666 metre. No. 109 has 7 four-line verses; No 110 has 3½ eight-line verses. Accordingly Richard Terry composed two separate hymn tunes, each treating the hymn as seven four-line verses; but with No. 110 he also supplied another melody by John Richardson which kept to the eight-line verse structure by stopping half way through the music on the final verse.

### 3. New devotional texts

Parallel with the production of translated texts, many new hymns were composed as devotional poems, supplementing the stock inherited from Recusant times. Here, once again, important work was done by Edward Caswall. For example, his collection *Hymns and Poems, Original and Translated* contains 242 texts of his own alongside the 238 translations abstracted from his *Lyra Catholica*.<sup>655</sup> Even more significant was Faber's *Jesus and Mary, or Catholic hymns for singing and reading*. Faber's object, as the title makes plain, was 'first, to furnish some simple and original hymns for singing; secondly to provide English Catholics with a hymn book *for reading*'.<sup>656</sup> As an Oratorian, Faber was interested in developing devotional literature for Jesuit-style Spiritual Exercises or examinations of conscience on

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<sup>655</sup> Edward Caswall: *Hymns and Poems*. London. Burns and Oates. 1873.



occasions such as retreats. However, both Caswall (another Oratorian) and Oakeley recognised that there could be a connection between this and private study of translations from the Breviary. The full title of Oakeley's collection is *Lyra Liturgica: Reflections in verse for Holy Days and Seasons*. Similarly Caswall states in *Lyra Catholica* that 'the laity are not bound, like the clergy, to its [the Breviary's] recital, yet that portion of it that includes Hymns and Canticles might be frequently, if not daily, recited by them with great spiritual benefit and truth'.<sup>657</sup> The effect, once again, was to separate hymn texts from music.

#### 4. Hymns for schools

However, a third development worked powerfully to reconnect hymn texts with music; but not, it should be noted, with plainchant. Hymns came to be seen as useful adjuncts in children's religious education. Thus Faber's eleven original hymn texts were intended for his St Wilfrid's schools, on the site of what became Cotton College, in Staffordshire. Similarly the *Crown of Jesus Music* has 60 children's hymns, 38 of which are in a specially designated children's section (Part B). Hemy's educational psychology is simple yet sophisticated, and in addition the link with private devotions should be noted.

In every instance....an alliance between sense and sound is secured: the people become familiarised with the music, and can use it in their domestic devotions; the melody becomes associated and intertwined in the mind with the Hymn, the tune suggests the Hymn; the Hymn calls to memory the tune.

Hemy practised what he preached. For example the text *I am a faithful Catholic* is set to Papageno's aria 'Ein mädchen oder weibchen wünscht Papageno sich' from Mozart's opera *The Magic Flute*.<sup>658</sup> The effect was to encourage two types of text: texts with a didactic

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<sup>656</sup> Faber 1852: Preface n.p.

<sup>657</sup> Caswall 1849: v.

<sup>658</sup> *Crown of Jesus Music*: No. 62.

purpose, and texts with a devotional function. Didactic texts can be subdivided as follows: texts designed to propagate doctrine, for example Newman's *Firmly I Believe and Truly*; texts that were intended to inculcate loyalty, such as *I am a Faithful Catholic* or Wiseman's *Full in the Panting Heart of Rome*; and texts reminding people of past endeavours and sacrifices, such as *Faith of Our Fathers* or Sister Mary Xavier's *Martyrs of England!*<sup>659</sup> Similar subdivisions can be applied to devotional hymns. Of these the most important concern the cult of the Virgin Mary. 34 out of the 263 texts in the *Westminster Hymnal* fall into this category.<sup>660</sup> Similarly, the *Notre Dame Hymn Tune Book* devoted 58 out of 137 texts to the subject.

## 5. The spread of Catholic vernacular hymnody

In addition many Catholic schools, especially Jesuit establishments, had sodalities, or prayer groups holding regular services of a devotional nature. Senior sodalities were dedicated to the Virgin Mary, Junior groups to the Guardian Angels. The *Westminster Hymnal* devotes nine hymns to the latter theme. There were also May devotions, again dedicated to the cult of Mary.<sup>661</sup> It was only a step to extend the use of hymns from these activities to those promoted by the proliferating numbers of guilds and confraternities. The *Crown of Jesus Music* has hymns specifically devoted to the Temperance Guild, the Confraternity of the Holy Family, the Confraternity of the Bona Mors and the Sanctuary Guild.<sup>662</sup> Similar groupings can be found in the *Parochial Hymn Book* and the *Catholic Hymnal*.<sup>663</sup> The *Westminster Hymnal* only has sections for the Sacred Heart, the Precious

<sup>659</sup> All these except *I am a faithful Catholic* are provided in *WH1912*: Nos. 245, 139, 138 and 196.

<sup>660</sup> See, for example Faber's *Mother Mary, at thine altar* in the children's section (No. 155).

<sup>661</sup> See, for example Faber's *This is the image of Our Queen* (No. 119). It can also be found in the *Crown of Jesus Music*: No. 169.

<sup>662</sup> *Crown of Jesus Music*: Nos. 9, 56 and 57, 67 and 104 respectively.

<sup>663</sup> *The Parochial Hymn Book*: Nos. 633-701. *The Catholic Hymnal*. 1898: Nos. 613-45.

Blood, the Rosary, and the Holy Family; but many of the hymns devoted to particular saints could be adapted for this purpose. St Joseph for instance, for whom nine hymns are provided, was the patron saint of guilds for young men.<sup>664</sup>

Guilds frequently took part in outdoor processions, not just on civic occasions, but at events such as Corpus Christi and Palm Sunday. Almost invariably hymns were sung on such occasions, usually accompanied by a band. This is precisely what the Catholic Guild at Hurst Green, Stonyhurst, the oldest in the country, still does every year on St Peter's day. This explains why the 1912, 1913 and 1916 editions of *The Westminster Hymnal* advertise the availability of band parts from Richard Terry, its musical editor. Note also a set of six 'Litanies of BVM for processions' in the *Crown of Jesus Music*, indicating that this form of music was also sung at such events.<sup>665</sup>

However, the most frequent occasion for which hymns came to be used was at extra-liturgical devotions, in which guilds and confraternities played an active part. As suggested earlier, these enjoyed an enormous growth in popularity at the expense of Office services in Catholic parish life during the nineteenth century. Benediction was the most important of these services, and hymns tended to be sung before or after this devotion, linking it up with other services such as Rosary devotions, Compline, Vespers or Stations of the Cross, that commonly took place on Sunday afternoons and evenings. Thus, as Tozer explains in the 1898 edition of *The Catholic Hymnal*, 'the common practice among Catholics, hitherto, has been to look upon an English hymn as something of no great importance - a kind of 'stop-gap' in the interval between Vespers and the sermon, or while the Altar is being prepared for the rite of Benediction'.<sup>666</sup>

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<sup>664</sup> *WH1912*: Nos. 173-9.

<sup>665</sup> *Crown of Jesus Music*: Nos. 272-7.

<sup>666</sup> Tozer: *The Catholic Hymnal*. 1898. Preface. n.p.

Little wonder that the principal Benediction texts appear at the back of every edition of *The Westminster Hymnal*.<sup>667</sup> Indeed, some hymns were specifically written for the service, the most obvious example being F. Stanfield's *Sweet Sacrament Divine*.<sup>668</sup> Likewise Part III of the *Crown of Jesus Music* is organised into 20 'Benediction Services', along with 13 'Hymns to the Blessed Sacrament' in Part II, underlining this hymnal's usage as a Benediction Book. There are also three other sub-sections in Part II - the 'Crown of Jesus Rosary', the 'Holy Rosary of B.V. Mary' and 'Stations of the Cross' indicating the use of hymns in these services as well.<sup>669</sup>

### C. Redesigning the Catholic hymnal c.1849-1912

Hymns thus acquired new roles in the Catholic church, and this meant that not only had new texts to be provided, but also the hymnal had to be redesigned, since in many respects it had ceased to be used as a liturgical book. Three basic patterns were available, and it was from admixtures of these that different varieties of Catholic hymnals were developed. The first pattern was that offered by Caswall in *Lyra Liturgica*. Its four sections are entitled 'Hymns for the Week', 'Antiphons of the Blessed Virgin', 'Hymns of the moveable feasts', 'Hymns belonging to the Common of the Saints'. This provides a liturgical framework based on the Office; indeed hymns are specifically assigned to particular services. Faber's approach, however, is completely different. The seven sections of the hymnal *Jesus and Mary* are entitled (1) 'Hymns to God, his attributes and the three persons of the adorable Trinity' (2) [The] 'Sacred humanity of Jesus and the mysteries of the thirty-three years' (3) 'The Blessed Virgin Mary and the Holy Family' (4) 'Angels and Saints' (5) 'Sacraments, Faith and Spiritual

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<sup>667</sup> *WH1912*: 399-400.

<sup>668</sup> *Ibid.* No. 78.

Life' (6) 'Miscellaneous: The World, Poor and Nature' (7) 'Last Things'. The whole thrust is thematic, devotional and meditational.

The third model is exemplified by analysis of the *Notre Dame Hymn Tune book*, a volume designed for use in schools.

Table 7.5 Analysis of the *Notre Dame Hymn Tune Book* (1905)

| Subject                                                                     | Hymn numbers  |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|
| I: God, the Holy Ghost and Jesus (the most heavily emphasised of the three) | 1-39          |
| (The Holy Child)                                                            | (20-7)        |
| (The Sacred Heart)                                                          | (31-9)        |
| II: The Blessed Virgin Mary                                                 | 40-79         |
| III: Angels and Saints.                                                     | 100-15        |
| (St Patrick)                                                                | (130)         |
| (The hymn: 'Martyrs of England')                                            | (124)         |
| IV: Miscellaneous                                                           |               |
| (i) The Church: 'Faith of Our Fathers'                                      | 118           |
| : 'I am a faithful Catholic'.                                               | 134           |
| (ii) Heaven and purgatory                                                   | 124           |
| (iii) Human dependence on God and Jesus                                     | 125-9, 131-13 |
| (iv) Hymn 'Angel of Schools at the bidding of Peter'                        | and 136       |
|                                                                             | 137           |

Inevitably there were attempts to combine different approaches. For example, in Caswall's *Hymns and Poems: Original and Translated* (1873) the first four sections are lifted straight from *Lyra Liturgica*. There then follows a pot-pourri from later publications entitled 'Hymns and Sequences from the Roman Missal', 'Hymns from the various Offices and other sources', and 'Original texts: Hymns and meditative pieces', the last of which is clearly driven

<sup>669</sup> *Crown of Jesus Music*: Nos. 206-271. In addition there are the Litanies for processions mentioned above. The 'Hymns to the Blessed Sacrament' are nos. 170-82. The 'Crown of Jesus Rosary', the 'Holy Rosary of Mary' and the 'Stations of the Cross' sections are nos. 118-20, 121-31 and 132-7 respectively.

by Faber-esque devotional principles.<sup>670</sup> *Arundel Hymns* is more sophisticated, for here a Faber-type framework encapsulates liturgical features (see table 7.6).<sup>671</sup>

Table 7.6 The structure of *Arundel Hymns* (1905)

| Section                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | Hymn number                     |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| I. Almighty God and the most Holy Trinity<br>Sacred Humanity of Jesus<br>Hymns for the period from Advent to Christmas                                                                                                                                                     | 1-52<br><br>53-204              |
| II. Lent and the Passion of Our Lord.<br>Easter, Ascension, the Eucharist and Corpus Christi.<br>The Blessed Sacrament, the Holy Name, 'Our Blessed Lord', St Francis Xavier.<br>Miscellaneous items, including 'God the Holy Ghost' and hymns for the Blessed Virgin Mary | <br><br><br><br><br>205-52      |
| III. Saints and Guardian Angels.<br>St Joseph, Martyrs and Confessors, the 'Crown of Jesus', Guardian Angels, 'the Dead',<br>and 'Judgement'                                                                                                                               | <br><br><br>253-61              |
| IV. Heaven                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 262-7 & 308                     |
| V. The Church and the Faith                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | 275-6<br>268-4<br>277-8 & 300-7 |
| Missions                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 279-95                          |
| Penance and Confession                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 296-8                           |
| Miscellaneous                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | 299                             |
| Morning and Evening Hymns                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |                                 |
| Various hymns on the Christian life                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |                                 |
| The 'Flower Garden of Jesus'                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |                                 |

The general tendency with hymnals designed for national circulation was to have a threefold or fourfold division between (i) hymns for the liturgical year (ii) hymns for feast days (iii) hymns for children, guilds, morning and evening services, along with other miscellaneous purposes, and sometimes (iv) a small selection of Latin hymns. Table 7.7 shows the evolution in this direction by analysis of four selected hymnals.

<sup>670</sup> These include: 'The "Masque of Angels" before Our Lady of the Temple', 'The "Minister of Eld", 'Odes' and 'Poems'.

Table 7.7 The contents and organisation of four selected hymnals c. 1877-1912<sup>672</sup>

| Section                                                                                                                     | Maher (d. 1877) and Trappes. <i>Liturgical Hymns</i> . N.d. (70 items)                                                                  | Tozer. <i>Catholic Hymns</i> (1886) (79 items)                                         | Tozer. <i>Catholic Hymns</i> (1898) (150 items)                                                                                   | Terry et al. <i>The Westminster Hymnal</i> (1912). (263 items)                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| [1] Hymns for particular parts of the liturgical year                                                                       | Nos. 1-48. Advent to Trinity Sunday. (Nos 1-6: Hymns throughout the year). Nos. 49-55. Festival of 'Holy Housel or Eucharist; nos. 56-7 | Nos. 1-31. Advent to Corpus Christi                                                    | Advent to Corpus Christi                                                                                                          | Advent to All Saints day                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| [2] Hymns for feast days associated with the Virgin Mary, Saints, Confessors etc.                                           | Transfiguration; Nos. 58-70. Festivals of the Virgin Mary, Saints, Confessors etc.                                                      | Sacred Heart; Precious Blood; the Virgin Mary; Festivals of Saints up to All Souls Day | Sacred Heart; Precious Blood; the Virgin Mary; Festivals of Saints up to All Saints Day                                           | The 'Holy Name'; 'The Blessed Sacrament'; 'The Sacred Heart'; the Precious Blood and Sacred Wounds; 'The Blessed Virgin'; followed by 'The Church', 'Holy Angels', 'Heaven', 'The Rosary', 'The Holy Family', Saints, Apostles and Martyrs etc. |
| [3] Hymns for children, retreats, morning and evening prayer, sacraments, confraternities and other miscellaneous occasions | Nos. 68-9. The 'Children's Mass'                                                                                                        | Missions and Retreats; 'Occasional'; and 'Evening'                                     | Missions and Retreats; General Hymns; 'Evening'; 'Confirmation'; Confraternities; Stations of the Cross and the 'Children's Mass' | Confirmation; Missions; Children; the Seas; General Hymns; 'Morning' and 'Evening'                                                                                                                                                              |
| [4] Latin hymns                                                                                                             |                                                                                                                                         |                                                                                        |                                                                                                                                   | Latin hymns                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |

<sup>671</sup> Faber's influence type is explained by the fact that the Duke of Norfolk, one of its two editors, had been a pupil at the London Oratory. Moreover the 1861 edition of Faber's hymnal had been dedicated to him.

#### D. Attempts to regulate and standardise hymn texts and music up to 1912

A drift towards a standard approach is thus apparent, and this was reinforced by positive attempts to regulate, and sometimes restrict, the proliferating output of hymns and hymnals. This was partly due to the attitude of publishers, who wished to establish monopolies; and in this they were helped by the growing respect for copyright.<sup>673</sup> Most publishers then tried to get the highest possible ecclesiastical endorsement for their products. The *Parochial Hymnal*, for example, contains a battery of eulogistic statements by senior figures, headed by Cardinal Manning, archbishop of Westminster.<sup>674</sup> *Arundel Hymns* goes one better, incorporating a letter from Pope Leo XIII.<sup>675</sup> *The Westminster Hymnal* ripostes by declaring that it is ‘the only collection authorised by the Hierarchy of England and Wales’. However, this statement occasioned some surprise. James Britten, in a letter to *The Tablet*, claimed that one bishop had said that he never saw the collection till it appeared in print. Britten therefore argued that the phrase ‘authorised by the hierarchy’ ‘I have good reason to believe was an unauthorised statement, or rather it was allowed by one of the five bishops who formed the committee’.<sup>676</sup> However, neither Britten nor anyone else should have been surprised at all. *The Westminster Hymnal* is a musical version of *The New (Complete) Catholic Hymn Book* published by the Hierarchy in 1910; and the relevant committee had been formed in 1905 in reaction to a proposal by the Catholic Truth Society to prepare a

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<sup>672</sup> The main sub-divisions have been imposed by myself. Terry and Tozer’s hymnals, while in general following a numerical order, scatter some items across the book. The contents page is therefore, as the 1916 edition of *The Westminster Hymnal* puts it, an ‘Index of subjects’ (p. xiii).

<sup>673</sup> See ch.12, pp. 481-2 for further discussion of this issue.

<sup>674</sup> These include endorsements by the archbishop of Cashel, along with the bishops of Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Dumfries, Dunkeld, Oban, Leeds, Middlesbrough, Shrewsbury and Emmaeus (an auxiliary bishop at Westminster).

<sup>675</sup> *Arundel Hymns*. 1905: v.

<sup>676</sup> James Britten: ‘Letter to the Editor’ in *The Tablet*. 88 (July-Dec 1912): 222. The bishop who authorised the statement may have been Cuthbert Hedley, who chaired the commission responsible for collecting and editing the texts.



new national hymnal.<sup>677</sup> Moreover, Terry, as noted in chapter 1, circulated a memorandum to all the bishops stating that an unnamed publishing company had agreed to publish the new hymnal at its own expense, provided that they gave it their imprimatur as the authorised version of the tunes and that diocesan inspectors enforced correct performances at inspections of Catholic schools.<sup>678</sup>

It is clear therefore that publishers' interests meshed with the centralising tendencies of Ultramontane bishops, concerned at the apparently uncontrolled proliferation of texts and music. For instance, there was a drive to eliminate Protestant texts, and this is clearly enunciated in the preface to *Arundel Hymns*.<sup>679</sup> The Bishops' Acta of 1907 declare the same policy, which is repeated by Terry in his preface to *The Westminster Hymnal*.<sup>680</sup> Indeed, he goes on to state that 'it has been deemed advisable that the tunes, like the hymns, should be by Catholic authors, or from Catholic sources.'

This extension was Terry's own idea, since the bulk of his preface is a straight copy of the original memorandum he sent to the bishops. However, he must have known that such a statement was just what Ultramonatanes would have wanted. In addition the malleability of his personal convictions is shown by the fact that immediately afterwards he concedes that 'in the case of Continental tunes the authorship is sometimes difficult to fix, since many were sung by Catholics and Protestants alike. The presence of such tunes in Catholic Chorale books and their constant use among Catholic congregations has been deemed sufficient warrant for their inclusion here'. Note, however, that he also included two tunes by Claude

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<sup>677</sup> The full title is *The New (Complete) Catholic Hymn Book containing the hymns prescribed and arranged by the Catholic Hierarchy: with Latin hymns and Benediction service*. London. R. and T. Washbourne Ltd. 1910. For details of the decision making process see the Westminster Diocesan Archives. 'Bishops Meetings 1888-1909': 366 and 'Low Week Acta' (1905) No. 6.

<sup>678</sup> Westminster Diocesan Archives. Bourne Papers Bo1/33 'Church Music 1904-1910'.

<sup>679</sup> *Arundel Hymns*. 1905: iv.

<sup>680</sup> Westminster Diocesan Archives. 'Bishops Acta 1907' 10/10/1907. 'Bishops Meetings 1864-1974' in the folder marked 'Bourne 1903-1908'. *The Westminster Hymnal*. 1912: ix.

Goudimel, the author of *Les Psaumes mis en rime française*, produced in collaboration with Theodore Beza, Calvin's successor at Geneva.<sup>681</sup>

Nevertheless, such policies produced a consolidation of texts and melodies, albeit with significant differences between the two. With texts, what is striking is the large number of hymns used in earlier collections that reappear in *The Westminster Hymnal*, one reason for this being the fact that so many were contributed by Caswall, Faber and Newman.

Table 7.8 Hymn texts from selected collections in *The Westminster Hymnal* (1912)

| Author or editor                  | Collection title                                   | Total number of texts in the collection | Number of texts from the collection in <i>The Westminster Hymnal</i> |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| H. Hemy (ed.)                     | <i>Crown of Jesus Music</i> (1864)                 | 214 <sup>683</sup>                      | 64                                                                   |
| F. Faber                          | <i>Hymns</i> (1861/R1890)                          | 150                                     | 34 <sup>685</sup>                                                    |
| Trans. and composed by E. Caswall | <i>Hymns and Poems</i> (1849/R1873) <sup>682</sup> | 480 pp.                                 | 86 pp.                                                               |
| F. Police (ed.)                   | <i>The Parochial Hymn Book</i> (R1883)             | 633 <sup>684</sup>                      | 160                                                                  |
| Anon.                             | <i>Convent Hymns and Music</i> (1891)              | 45                                      | 15                                                                   |
| J. Storer (ed.)                   | <i>The Catholic Tune Book</i> (1892)               | 319                                     | 134                                                                  |
| A.E. Tozer (ed.)                  | <i>Catholic Hymns</i> (1898)                       | 186                                     | 91                                                                   |
| H. Howard & C. Gatty (eds.)       | <i>Arundel Hymns</i> (1898/1901/R1905)             | 306                                     | 88                                                                   |
| F. Birtchnell & M. Brown (eds.)   | <i>Notre Dame Hymn Tune Book</i> (1905)            | 137                                     | 46                                                                   |

In addition, a sense of continuity with the past was sometimes enunciated. Thus in the preface to *Arundel Hymns* it was stated that ‘the editors... have gathered together the most representative anthology they could collect of popularly used Latin hymns, together with a

<sup>681</sup> *WH1912*: Nos. 15 and 134. Paul André Galliard and Richard Freedman: ‘Goudimel, Claude’ in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. Ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrell. London. Macmillan 2001 (2nd edition) Vol.10: 209-11.

<sup>682</sup> First published as *Lyra Catholica* in 1849. This is the title for the expanded version of 1873.

<sup>683</sup> This total excludes Benediction and Mass settings.

<sup>684</sup> This excludes 79 other prayers and texts not intended for singing. If they are included the total rises to 712 items.

large selection of English hymns by Catholic writers... to illustrate the great truths of the Catholic faith'.<sup>686</sup> Yet the contents of *The Westminster Hymnal* show that this could be very unbalanced. Most of the texts are by nineteenth-century authors or, due to the liturgical emphasis, are derived from the medieval sources. Only eleven texts can clearly be placed in the period 1500-1800.<sup>687</sup>

With melodies, however, there is a different pattern of consolidation. In the case of *The Westminster Hymnal* two factors were identified by Terry. First there was 'the refusal of two proprietors of large collections of tunes to use their copyrights'.<sup>688</sup> Second, there was the deadweight of existing tradition;

The collection includes all the popular tunes in common use amongst English-speaking Catholics. Some of these tunes are good, some indifferent; and some are bad. But it has been felt that since some of these last-named class have been - for one generation at least - bound up with the pious aspirations of so many holy lives, this is hardly the occasion for their suppression. They have therefore been retained... Alternative tunes have been provided for most of them.

As stated above, Terry tried to counteract this by providing alternative tunes. In eight out of the twenty-one cases where this was done the music was composed by Terry himself. Moreover, the index shows that he composed 40 other tunes. Thus, although Terry may have been only one among the team of people constituting the musical editorial committee chaired by his former employer Abbot Ford of Downside, in effect he imposed his taste on the contents of what was meant to be the official hymnal of Catholic England. His attitude though

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<sup>685</sup> *The Westminster Hymnal's* index (p. 411) lists 46 titles, suggesting that other Faber editions were drawn upon.

<sup>686</sup> *Arundel Hymns* 1905: v.

<sup>687</sup> These are nos. 26, 33, 57, 65, 73, 90, 103, 104, 108, 231 and possibly 251 ('Adeste Fideles'). In addition to Faber and Newman original nineteenth-century texts include contributions by Stanfield, F. (6 texts), Vaughan, Edmund (4 texts), Bridges, M. (6 texts), Hall, Louis (2 texts), Oakeley, Frederick (2 texts), the Sisters of Notre Dame, Aubrey De Vere, Russell, M., Canon Scannell, Fr Wyse (1 each).

<sup>688</sup> *WH1912*: xi. James Britten identified one of these as one of the publishers of *Arundel Hymns*. These were R. and T. Washbourne and Boosey and Co. Since R. and T. Washbourne also published *The Westminster Hymnal* it seems that Booseys were the culprits. 'Letter to the editor' in *The Tablet*. 120 (July-Dec. 1912): 222-3.

was not unique; since the *Crown of Jesus* hymnal, *The Catholic Tune Book*, Tozer's *Catholic Hymns* and *The Notre Dame Hymn Book* all include many original compositions by their editors.<sup>689</sup>

Nevertheless, the result was that *The Westminster Hymnal* incorporated relatively few tunes from earlier English Catholic hymnals. Musically this constituted a significant break with the past, in contrast with the maintenance of continuity with texts.

Table 7.9 The number of hymn tunes found in both *The Westminster Hymnal* and in earlier Catholic collections

| Date of publication | Title of hymnal                          | Total quantity of numbered items in the hymnal | Number of tunes that also appear in <i>The Westminster Hymnal</i> |
|---------------------|------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1864                | <i>Crown of Jesus Music Parts I-III.</i> | 377                                            | 9                                                                 |
| 1883                | <i>The Parochial Hymn Book</i>           | 633                                            | 23 <sup>690</sup>                                                 |
| 1886                | <i>Catholic Hymns</i>                    | 79                                             | 14                                                                |
| 1891                | <i>Convent Hymns and Music</i>           | 45                                             | 0                                                                 |
| 1892                | <i>The Catholic Tune Book</i>            | 319                                            | 21 <sup>691</sup>                                                 |
| 1898                | <i>Catholic Hymns</i>                    | 186                                            | 29                                                                |
| 1905                | <i>The Notre Dame Hymn Tune Book</i>     | 168                                            | 11                                                                |

The effects, moreover, were accentuated by the revolution in the provision of hymn tunes. A vernacular hymnody required new tunes. For, as already noted, the translations by Caswall and others had, in effect, decoupled Latin hymns from their plainchant melodies. In any case, most Catholic hymnals included few Latin texts. Tozer's *Catholic Hymns* of 1898 have only six, while *The Westminster Hymnal* has thirteen, of which twelve have plainchant settings. The *Notre Dame Hymn Tune Book* contains none at all. Only the *Crown of Jesus Music* of 1864 has a respectable total of thirty-nine plainchant items, one of which contains twelve Vesper chants. This though is an exception that proves the rule, since Hemy still felt it necessary at this date to incorporate several items for use at Mass or the Office.

<sup>689</sup> The relevant statistics are: *Crown of Jesus Music Parts I-III*: 33 compositions by Hemy; *The Catholic Tune Book*: 56 compositions by Storer; *Catholic Hymns*: 36 compositions by Tozer; *The Notre Dame Hymn Book*: 26 tunes each by Birtchnell and Brown.

<sup>690</sup> 8 with significant variations to the tune.

In addition, the increasingly hostile official attitudes towards the allegedly secular characteristics of much Viennese Classical music and its successors have to be taken into account. 175 out of 377 melodies in Parts I-III of Hemy's hymnal belong to this tradition.<sup>692</sup> Likewise the preface of *Arundel Hymns* asserts that 'the tunes represent, roughly speaking, the plainchant period...the polyphonic epoch; and the modern age, including Haydn, Mozart and the musicians of today'.<sup>693</sup> However, the final phrase helps explain why, despite Papal endorsement, this hymnal, even though at first adopted for use at Westminster Cathedral, failed to become the official hymnal of the English Catholic church. By 1905 in most major Catholic hymnals music by great eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Classical composers, along with representatives from the London embassy chapel tradition, had been virtually eliminated. There are only three such works in the 1886 edition of *Catholic Hymns*, eleven in the edition of 1898, eight in *The Catholic Tune Book*, and four in the *Notre Dame Hymn Tune Book*.<sup>694</sup> On the other hand at the same time the great Renaissance composers exerted relatively little influence either; perhaps because the main surge associated with Terry in the revival of such music had not really taken place before the end of the nineteenth century. No such works appear in the 1886 edition of *Catholic Hymns* and the *Notre Dame Hymn Tune Book*; only one in the 1898 edition of *Catholic Hymns*; and four in *The Catholic Tune Book*.<sup>695</sup> Instead, in addition to items by the editors themselves, many hymnals incorporated

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<sup>691</sup> 17 with English texts, 4 with Latin texts.

<sup>692</sup> 47 tunes are by Haydn, 43 by Beethoven, 37 by Mozart, 14 by Handel, 11 by Mendelssohn, 4 by Pleyel, 3 by Gluck, and 1 each by J.S. Bach, Cherubini, Cimarosa, Clementi, Michael Haydn, Himmel, Purcell, Romberg, Rossini, Spohr and Weber. There are also two melodies by Farrant and Tallis.

<sup>693</sup> *Arundel Hymns* 1905: iv.

<sup>694</sup> The details are as follows: *Catholic Hymns* (1886): 3 works by Mendelssohn; *Catholic Hymns* (1898): 4 works by Nixon, 2 each by Novello and Webbe (the elder), 1 each by Haydn, Mendelssohn and Stainer. *The Catholic Tune Book*: 3 melodies each by Bach and Mendelssohn, 1 each by Haydn and Webbe (the elder). *The Notre Dame Hymn Tune Book*: 3 melodies by Mendelssohn, 1 each by Haydn and Webbe (the elder).

<sup>695</sup> The composers are as follows: *Catholic Hymns* (1898): Palestrina, *The Catholic Tune Book*: 1 work each by Farnaby, Goudimel and Palestrina, 2 by Orlando Gibbons.

tunes by contemporary English musicians. For example Tozer's 1898 edition of *Catholic Hymns* contained 177 melodies by 56 such composers.<sup>696</sup>

Terry's difficulties with copyrights compelled him to draw on the contents of thirty-two old Continental chorale and hymn books, most of them dating from the seventeenth and eighteenth-centuries.<sup>697</sup> The strategy was not entirely new. No such sources, it is true, are cited in Tozer's *Catholic Hymns* of 1898 apart from two that he describes as 'German'.<sup>698</sup> On the other hand Storer in 1892 included eighty that are classified by the same epithet as well as citing an *Aachen Gesangbuch*, a *Trier Gesangbuch*, and a hymnal from Lausanne.

The result was a greater weighting among hymn tune sources towards the Early Modern period, in contrast to the predominantly medieval and nineteenth-century bias of the texts. A Germanic emphasis is also evident; which is in sharp contrast to Gatty's research work for *Arundel Hymns*. His papers, now held at Downside, reveal detailed research of Italian sources, especially *Laudi Spirituali*. This is what one might expect from a hymnal impregnated with Oratorian values; and it fits with the prevailing Ultramontane emphasis on all things 'Roman'.<sup>699</sup> *The Westminster Hymnal*, curiously enough, evades this, perhaps because shortage of time prevented Terry from doing in-depth research like Gatty. In effect,

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<sup>696</sup> The number of compositions contributed is as follows: Tozer: 36, Terry: 15, Richardson: 8, C.E. Miller: 9, H. Whitehead: 6, S.P. Waddington, J. Smith and A.H. Mann: 4 each; J. Barnett, F. Birtchnell, G. Bruche, L. Hall, J. Hallett Sheppard, C. Lloyd, B. Louard Selby, W. Maher and R.B. Sankey: 3 each.

<sup>697</sup> These are: Vehle's *Gesangbuchlein* (1537), *Leisentritt's Gesangbuch* (1567), the *Catholicum Hymnologium Germanicum* (1587), the *Speier Gesangbuch* (1589), the *Andernach Gesangbuch* (1608), M. Praetorius *Musae Sionae* (1609), *Catholische Geistliche Gesänge* (1608 & 1698), the *Köln Gesangbuch* (1631), the *Psalterium Harmonicum* (1642), J. Cruger's *Psalmodia Sacra* (1658), the *Mainz Gesangbuch* (1661 & 1725), the *Nürnberg Gesangbuch* (1676), *La Santa Scala* (1681), the *Strassbourg Gesangbuch* (1697), *Tochter Zion* (1741), *Katholisches Geistliche Gesangbuch* (Vienna 1744), the *Paderborn Gesangbuch* (1765), the *Landshut Gesangbuch* (1777), La Feillée's *Méthode du Plainchant* (1782), Hartig's *Siona* (1832), the *Limburg Gesangbuch* (1838), Ett's *Cantica Sacra* (1840), the *Rottenberg Gesangbuch* (1865) the *Trier Gesangbuch* (1872), the *Cantiarium S. Galli* (undated), the *Miltenburg Processionale* (undated), and a 'Tours Breviary' (undated).

<sup>698</sup> These are nos. 125 and 185.

<sup>699</sup> Downside Abbey archives. Gatty Papers. Boxes 1267-1269, 1275-1276, especially in 1267 and 1268. Among other things these show that Gatty had access to A. Feist's 'Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologia' of 1889 xiii band containing 1381 *Laudi Spirituali*.

then, German Early Modern hymn book sources were substituted for the despised Viennese-Classical repertoire favoured by Hemy.

### E. Changes in musical layout and performance practice 1864-1912

Inevitably the wholesale reorientation of the Catholic hymn tune repertoire affected musical layout and performance practice. In particular the selection of chorale tunes reinforced the tendency towards four-part harmony settings using a minim pulse. Almost all the items in *The Westminster Hymnal* apart from twelve plainchant melodies use this form.<sup>700</sup> The contrast with the *Crown of Jesus Music*, produced nearly forty years before, is stark; for here very few items are arranged like this. Except in his plainchant settings, where the usual note-for-note diatonic block harmonisations are used, Hemy often has a keyboard-orientated approach, placing two or three musical lines in the right hand against a single line in the bass. Here is an example:

Example 7.1 Hemy's setting of a Mozart theme to the text *Sweet Angel of Mercy*<sup>701</sup>

*Devoutly.*

Sweet - An - gel of Mer - cy! By Hea - ven's de - cree be -

nign - ly ap - poin - ted to watch o - ver me!

<sup>700</sup> Nos. 70 and 5 (repeated at No. 251) use a crotchet pulse.

<sup>701</sup> Hemy, *Crown of Jesus Music* 1864: No. 7. Similar practices can be found in Anon. *Convent Hymns and Music*. 1891.

Such shifts say something about performance. Hemy's usual approach presupposes unison singing; and this obviously fitted in with those hymns intended to be sung by children in schools.<sup>702</sup> However, this did not necessarily always mean congregational singing, given the tradition of hymn singing by choirs only. For example *The Parochial Hymn Book* has 56 items where the melody rises above an e' for male voices, placing it beyond the scope of the congregation. There are also 74 arrangements for solo voice and chorus, 7 for duet and chorus, 12 for three parts, 37 for four parts and 1 for six parts. Such tensions explain why Tozer, in his preface to *Catholic Hymns* (1898), distinguished between two sorts of hymn:

Some hymns are essentially suited for singing in unison with the whole body of worshippers.....Other hymns, by their very structure, are utterly ruined and put out of place by such a mode of treatment: these should be sung by the choir alone with every attention to light and shade which the words will naturally inspire in a truly artistic mind; they may become veritable 'Sermons in music'.<sup>703</sup>

Yet with *The Westminster Hymnal* the balance seems to have shifted entirely in favour of congregational singing. Terry states that 'since vernacular hymns are essentially intended for the congregation rather than the choir, the first requisite is a strong and well-defined melody which lends itself easily to unison singing'.<sup>704</sup> However, only five years before, in *Catholic Church Music*, he had stated that he did 'not think it desirable that the people should sing in Mass where a really good choir is in existence'; and since he thought this was more likely to occur in large churches this implied that congregational singing was likely only to flourish in parishes with small populations.<sup>705</sup> It is significant then that *The Westminster Hymnal* was published in two formats: a cheap 'words only' copy for congregational use and

<sup>702</sup> In *Convent Hymns and Music* (1891), which was intended for girls' schools, unison choruses are sometimes contrasted with sections for one or two solo voices (see nos. 1, 9, 19, 39 and 40). In other hymns the choruses are divided into two parts. See nos. 8, 19, and 20.

<sup>703</sup> Tozer. *Catholic Hymns* 1898: Preface. n.p.

<sup>704</sup> *WH1912*: ix.

<sup>705</sup> Terry 1907: 122.



a more expensive choral version equipped with the music.<sup>706</sup> Moreover, Terry, as in *The Parochial Hymn Book*, occasionally allows his melodies to rise above e' for male voices. This he attempts to explain away by arguing that 'experience has shown that the difficult tunes for a congregation are those in which the melody lies at a high pitch throughout, and not those which contain an occasional high note'<sup>707</sup>

Thus Terry's background as a choirmaster with a considerable interest in Renaissance polyphony may well have militated against the congregational ideal; and in any case the adoption of a four-part harmony layout was a necessary compromise between the choral and congregational traditions. The melody could be sung in unison with a satisfactory accompaniment, or a choir could sing the four separate parts as a solo item, with or without organ backing, or the two approaches could be combined.

In his preface, Terry laid considerable stress on the need for accurate performance of a uniformly accepted melody. Eleven examples are cited to illustrate his belief that at the time 'each congregation is a law unto itself'.<sup>708</sup> In turn this depended on *The Westminster Hymnal* being recognised as the sole authorised version by an Ultramontane-orientated Hierarchy. The parallel with similar developments in plainchant at that time is inescapable; in both cases the object was to discover the one allegedly authentic version of a given melody. There was no conception that variants might be legitimate, despite the fact that many hymns underwent considerable modification during their history. This applied not just to old tunes such as *Adeste Fideles* but even to more recent ones such as F. Stanfield's *Sweet Sacrament Divine*. In this case the differences between the versions given in *The Parochial Hymn Book* and *The*

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<sup>706</sup> The prices in 1912 were between 2d and 1/- for the 'words only' version and between 3/6 and 7/- for the full music version. The variations within each price range were dictated by the quality of the covers, paper and binding.

<sup>707</sup> *WH1912*: ix. For an example of this see bar 13 of No. 87 'O Sacred Heart, all blissful light of heaven' which rises to f'. This is Terry's own tune. Such special pleading did not fool T.H. Knuckley in his 'Letter to the Editor' in *The Tablet*. 87 (Jan-June 1912): 1022.

<sup>708</sup> *WH1912*: v-ix.

*Westminster Hymnal* are startling. First, the different choice of key places *The Parochial Hymn Book*'s version beyond the scope of the congregation. Second, the visual effect of using a crotchet pulse encourages singers to emphasise the 'three-in-a-bar' rhythm. This, along with the employment of semiquavers every alternate bar, gives it a more jagged feel that corresponds more closely to the syllabic rhythm. It also makes it more varied, as there are six, rather than four, different note lengths.<sup>709</sup> Again, all these features militate in favour of solo or choir performance. Here then the transformation in the function of the hymn has produced a significant alteration in the music.

Example 7.2 Two different versions of Stanfield's melody for *Sweet Sacrament Divine*<sup>710</sup>

7.2a In *The Parochial Hymn Book* (1883)

Moderato

Sweet Sa - cra - ment di - vine! Hid in thine earth - ly home - . Lo!

6  
round thy low - ly shrine, with sup - pliant hearts we come. Je - sus to Thee our

11  
voice we raise, in songs of love and heart - felt praise. Sweet

14  
Sa - cra - ment di - vine! Sweet Sa - cra - ment di - vine!

<sup>709</sup> Excepting the dotted crotchet and quaver used in bar 10.

<sup>710</sup> *The Parochial Hymn Book*: No. 285. *WH1912*: No. 78.

7.2b In *The Westminster Hymnal* (1912)

Sweet Sa - cra - ment di - vine! Hid in thinearth - ly home - , Lo!

6  
round Thy low - ly shrine, with sup - pliant hearts we come. Je -

10  
sus to Thee our voice we raise, in songs of love and heart - felt praise, Sweet

14  
Sa - cra - ment di - vine! Sweet Sa - cra - ment di - vine!

**F. Issues of scholarship and authenticity in *The Westminster Hymnal* of 1912**

Inevitably, the drive to establish the existence of an authentic melody placed a premium on scholarship. Many claimed that *The Westminster Hymnal* was an improvement in this respect. Thus Hedley in his preface stated that ‘the musical setting is, on the whole, far more scientific and satisfying than anything that has hitherto appeared’; and he goes on to state that ‘it often happens..., that a hymn or a setting, in the course of use, has undergone slight variations in different localities, and it is useful to have an authentic version both in text and music’.<sup>711</sup> The use of the word ‘scientific’ is itself significant, as it denotes the ‘scientific’ method of comparative study of original sources espoused by Solesmes with plainchant at that time. On the other hand Hedley also interpolates the phrase ‘on the whole’. As chairman of the commission and a composer himself Hedley was in a position to identify possible shortcomings. Moreover the limited period of preparation time meant that Terry could not

<sup>711</sup> Cuthbert Hedley: ‘Preface’ in *WH1912*: iii.

compete scholastically with Gatty's achievement in *Arundel Hymns*; and if he was careless as an editor for the *Tudor Church Music* series it is likely that he was equally careless with *The Westminster Hymnal*. Certainly his work did not escape criticism in *The Tablet*. Francis Gladstone remarked on 'the inattention to the rules of prosody shown (not infrequently) by the musical editor', citing nos. 110, 180 and 229 as examples. Mary Simpson, the daughter of the composer George Herbert, complained that, as in other hymnals, a G# had been incorrectly inserted in the fourth bar of his tune *Sunset* (set to the text *Sweet Saviour bless us ere we go* (no. 215). In this case, moreover, Terry had failed to reply to her letter warning him of this possible danger before publication.<sup>712</sup>

In his defence, as with Renaissance polyphony, Terry could argue that 'this book is intended for immediate practical use; and while a reversion to the original form of ancient tunes is possible in a country with an unbroken Catholic tradition, it is *at present* [Terry's italics] in England..., rather a council of perfection than a practicable idea.'<sup>713</sup> Yet, if this was so, then the claim that *The Westminster Hymnal* should be the only authorised version for English Catholics was undermined.

### G. Further Developments 1912-1962

Nevertheless, despite its defects *The Westminster Hymnal* soon became the standard hymnal used by most English Catholics. This is demonstrated by numerous reprints - for example in 1913, 1916, and 1919. Yet the problems remained. In particular, it still proved extraordinarily difficult to persuade Catholic congregations to sing. Back in 1907 Terry had declared: 'whatever may be the case in other countries, it is a certain fact that congregational

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<sup>712</sup> These letters are located as follows in *The Tablet*: 88: 104 (20/7/1912) for Gladstone; 146 (27/8/1912) for Simpson. See also 'P.L.'s attack on the 'mangling' of Burge's hymns, (3/8/1912): 184-6, James Britten, remarks on 10/8/1912: 222-3 and the criticisms made in an anonymous general review on the same page. With *Sunset* it should be noted that the issue is confused by the fact that Terry had transposed it into Eb major. This error was not made in Ould and Sewell's *Book of Hymns with Tunes*.

singing is not cultivated in the Catholic churches of England as it deserves to be'. He repeated this, word for word, in *Music of the Roman Rite*, published in 1931.<sup>714</sup> Part of the difficulty was Terry's ambivalence about the competing claims of congregations and choirs, noted earlier; but it also seems that *The Westminster Hymnal* was too cumbersome an instrument for school use. The early twentieth century then witnessed the continuing publication of hymnals for schools.

James Driscoll's *The Catholic Schools Hymn Book* is one of the most important of these. Commissioned by a committee set up by the Annual Conference of Catholic Colleges in 1922, within a year some 140,000 copies had been sold.<sup>715</sup> It contains forty-four items, ten of which consist of plainchant Masses and some Benediction music. Thus the hymnal was part of the wider drive to promote general plainchant singing at Mass as well as during Benediction. All except one of the thirty-four hymns come from *The Westminster Hymnal*; ten of these are Latin texts; and among the English texts eight each were composed or translated by Caswall and Faber. As for the music, the leading features are the nine items that use plainchant, the seven drawn from German chorale books, five melodies by Terry and three more by Hemy. As before, uniformity is the watchword; but the preface gives a different reason for it. If the object was to improve congregational singing by teaching hymns in the schools then for this to be successful everyone had to learn the same tunes.<sup>716</sup>

Other school hymnals include *New Hymns by the Sisters of Notre Dame*, *New Hymns for the Infant School*, and *Popular Hymns for School and Mission*.<sup>717</sup> There are also the great

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<sup>713</sup> WH1912: x.

<sup>714</sup> Terry 1907: 121, and 1931: 106.

<sup>715</sup> Ed. James Driscoll: *The Catholic Schools Hymn Book*. London. CTS (printed by Novello and Co. Ltd.) N.d.. 140,000 is the number advertised on the cover of the copy held at St Cuthbert's church, Durham.

<sup>716</sup> Ibid. ii.

<sup>717</sup> Anon. ed. *New Hymns by the Sisters of Notre Dame* London. Cary and Co. No. 765. 1925 (a copy of this in the Talbot Library, Preston is stamped with the emblem of St Augustine's School, Preston). Anon. Ed. *New Hymns for the Infant School*. London. Joseph Woner Ltd. 1940. Anon. Ed. *Popular Hymns for School and Mission*. London. Burns, Oates and Washbourne Ltd. N.d.

series of 'Cantionale' produced for major Jesuit establishments by John Driscoll.<sup>718</sup> The *Stonyhurst Cantionale* is typical of the series. Great stress is placed on the need to provide tunes suitable for powerful singing by large numbers of young male voices. 'Consequently in this edition, sturdy, broad, virile tunes, when available, have been requisitioned.'<sup>719</sup> Next the very high proportion of Latin texts should be noted; accounting for 293 out of a total of 480 items, most of which had at least two, and sometimes up to four, alternative melodies, allowing for a considerable number of plainchant settings. This reflects the fact that, unusually in the Catholic Church of the time, the hymnal was used at Mass as well as Benediction. In addition there are several items, such as Mozart's *Ave Verum* or Molique's arrangement of *Vexilla Regis*, that can only have been intended for the choir. The *Cantionale* was therefore an anthem book as well as a hymnal.

Driscoll was also highly independent in his choice of musical material. In the preface he states: 'it will be noticed that tunes by non-Catholic composers have been drawn upon freely. Our contention is that a tune is just a tune and nothing more, good or bad.... In any case there is no law written or unwritten against the use of non-Catholic tunes.' Consequently there are melodies by, among others, Joseph Barnby, Ernest Bullock, Percy Buck, Thomas Fielden, H.J. Gauntlett, John Goss, Gustav Holst, Henry Ley, Henry Smart, Geoffrey Martin Shaw and his brother, John Stainer and Charles Stanford. Driscoll also drew on material by Wolf Ferrari, Lorenzo Perosi and L'Abbé Verhulst as well as using more traditional Catholic material composed by Terry, Stanfield and de Pearsall. As one would expect, the Jesuit tradition was prominent, with melodies contributed by Ferdinand Laloux and Guy Weitz (Choirmaster and Organist at Farm St Church, London), George Herbert (who also worked

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<sup>718</sup> These are the *Stonyhurst Cantionale* (1936 texts only; 1940 Organ version), the *Beaumont Cantionale* (1937), the *Manresa Cantionale* (1937), the *Wimbledon Cantionale* (1937) and the *Harlaxton Cantionale* (1947: posthumous publication). All of them were published by the Jesuit run Manresa Press. Mention should also be made of another *Wimbledon Cantionale* of 1918 with supplements provided to meet the needs of Stonyhurst and Beaumont Colleges. These were published from Wimbledon.

there in the nineteenth century), Henry Wardale (Driscoll's organist at Wimbledon), J.E. Moore SJ, William Maher SJ, and F.M. De Zulueta. Above all, there was the contribution of 59 melodies by William Bowyer, the organist at Stonyhurst.<sup>720</sup> Bowyer was also responsible for the harmonisation of many other melodies.

New hymnals were not only prepared for schools. Several hymnals were designed or adapted for local or diocesan usage. For example St Cuthbert's, Durham has a spirit-duplicated copy of *A Collection of Original Hymn Tunes: composed and harmonised by* Frank C. Farmer (1881-1931) containing 86 items. All the texts are drawn from *The Westminster Hymnal*; but the music, as the title implies, is original. At a diocesan level, mention can be made of *The Parochial Hymn Book*, printed by W. Watson and Co. of Lancaster. This suggests it was produced for the Diocese of Lancaster. If this is so, although it is undated, it must then have been prepared sometime after 1925, when the see was created. Only the texts of its 281 hymns are provided. This is also true of *The Leeds Catholic Hymnal*, prepared in 1954 by John Heenan, bishop of Leeds, the future Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. By 1963 it had run through 12 editions. This has 120 texts, of which 94 are English hymns, 10 are Latin Hymns, 10 are 'Latin Anthems to Our Lady', and the remainder are the texts of services and devotions. The preface claims that the object was to encourage Catholic congregations to learn new hymns; but analysis shows that only 20 out of 94 English texts cannot be found in *The Westminster Hymnal* and 8 of these anyway are of pre-1912 vintage. It was therefore in its day rather old-fashioned in its approach.<sup>721</sup> Religious orders also remained active. For example, there is the *Redemptorist Hymn Book with tunes* (1947).

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<sup>719</sup> Ed. Driscoll: 'Preface' from the *Stonyhurst Centionale*. Organ version. Roehampton. 1940. n.p.

<sup>720</sup> These are nos. 4-5, 30, 41, 45, 49-50, 63, 71, 74, 85, 93, 98-99, 118, 133, 135, 141-3, 149, 155, 157, 160, 163, 169, 185, 193, 196-7, 200, 202, 205, 212-3, 226, 228, 232, 237, 239, 241, 244, 255, 256, 259, 264, 277-8, 281, 285, 342, 352, 367, 404, 433, and 439.

<sup>721</sup> Ed. John Carmel [Heenan], bishop of Leeds. *The Leeds Catholic Hymnal*. Farnworth. The Catholic Printing Co. 1954. The new post 1912 hymn texts are Nos. 2, 11, 12, 16, 50-1, 63-4 and 90.

This has 38 items, of which 3 are the standard Latin texts making up a 'Benediction Service'. Here, unlike in other hymnals, the influence of *The Westminster Hymnal* is limited. Only 16 of its texts can be found in the 1912 edition, and in only 9 cases is use made of the same tune.<sup>722</sup> On the other hand the *Oratory Night Services and Hymns* (1953) is far more conservative.<sup>723</sup> This contains 153 items, 19 of which are in Latin. Not surprisingly, given its function, 108 are organised according to the annual liturgical cycle. There are 26 texts or translations each by Faber and Caswall, plus a further 7 by Newman. 69 of the English texts and all the Latin hymns apart from the Marian Antiphons can be found in *The Westminster Hymnal* of 1912.<sup>724</sup> However, 11 translations by J.M. Neale and 2 by G.R. Woodward, who were nineteenth-century Anglicans, are incorporated alongside 5 more modern translations by Ronald Knox.

Latin hymnals continued to be produced. The Benedictine *Hymnale* (1904), Vilma Little's *Laudate Dominum* (1934) and the *Stanbrook Hymnale* (1963) have all been mentioned in chapter 5. However, in 1913 Adrian Fortescue produced his *Latin Hymns sung at the church of Saint Hugh, Letchworth*. Here an English translation was supplied so that 'first... anyone who knows the tune may join the singers; secondly... those who do not sing may be able to follow, to know what is being sung'.<sup>725</sup> This, then, was part of the campaign to encourage congregational participation - passive and active - in plainchant. A different kind of work is Little's *Cantate Domino*, containing 27 Latin and 84 English texts.<sup>726</sup> Her forward

<sup>722</sup> Anon. ed. *The Redemptorist Hymn Book with tunes*. 1947. No other publication details supplied.

<sup>723</sup> Anon. ed. *Oratory Night Services and Hymns*. London. Burns and Oates. Revised edition. 1953. Only the texts are supplied.

<sup>724</sup> The Marian Antiphons in question are *Alma Redemptoris Mater*, *Ave Regina Coelorum*, *Regina Coeli Laetare* and *Salve Regina*. Nos. 149-153. Here they are associated with Vespers and Compline; so their absence from *The Westminster Hymnal* of 1912 underlines the fact that the latter was not intended for use at these services.

<sup>725</sup> Transcribed and edited by Adrian Fortescue: *Latin Hymns sung at the church of St Hugh, Letchworth*. Cambridge, CUP, 1913, reprinted 1924: v.

<sup>726</sup> [Vilma Little]: *Cantate Domino: A Collection of supplementary hymns by V.G.L.* Liverpool. Rushworth and Dreaper. 1933 repr. 1934 and 1944.



explains that the object was to promote plainchant by providing a bridge between that style and modern taste. It is therefore something of a hybrid. Analysis shows that it has a mixture of items related to parts of the liturgical year and extra-liturgical devotions, indicating its potential for parish use:

Table 7.10 The structure of *Cantate Domino*

| Theme                                                                      | Hymn numbers |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| A: The Liturgical Year: Advent to Corpus Christi                           | 1-46         |
| B: The Blessed Sacrament (therefore hinting at its use during Benediction) | 47-70        |
| C: The Holy Cross                                                          | 71           |
| The Sacred Heart                                                           | 72-7         |
| Christ the King                                                            | 78           |
| D: Blessed Virgin Mary                                                     | 79-82        |
| E: Miscellaneous items                                                     | 93-97        |
| F: Angels and Saints                                                       | 98-106       |
| G: Evening                                                                 | 107-11       |

The music consists of 113 melodies, 17 of which are plainchant. Several of these have not been drawn from the Solesmes books, and 3 of them were harmonised by Anglicans.<sup>727</sup> The 96 others can be divided by period as follows. The weighting towards the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is unmistakable. In this respect Little followed a similar path to that trodden by Terry.

Table 7.11 Division by period of the melodies in *Cantate Domino*

| Period                      | Number of melodies |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|
| Plainchant                  | 17                 |
| Medieval                    | 2                  |
| 1500-1599                   | 35                 |
| 1600-1699                   | 22                 |
| 1700-1799                   | 5                  |
| 1800-1899                   | 3                  |
| 1900-1933 (by Charles Wood) | 1                  |
| No date (No. 21)            | 1                  |

## H. *The Daily Hymnal* and *The Westminster Hymnal* revised

<sup>727</sup> These are nos. 1, 26 and 80.

The most significant developments concerned the effort to produce new national hymnals. In 1931 *The Daily Hymnal* was published, much of the musical work having been undertaken by Terry's successor at Westminster Cathedral, Fr. Lancelot Long (1890-1976).<sup>728</sup> This, together with its endorsement by Cardinal Bourne, to say nothing of its scale and scope, shows that it was intended to replace *The Westminster Hymnal* as the definitive volume for the English Catholic community. Its six parts are arranged as follows: I: Proper of the Season; II: Proper of the Saints; III: Common of the Saints; IV: Hymns to Our Lord; V: Hymns to Our Lady; VI: Various. Thus an even balance is achieved between hymns for particular liturgical occasions and hymns for devotional purposes.

A major difference from *The Westminster Hymnal* concerns the proportion between English and Latin texts. Here 146 out of 384 items belong to the latter category. Likewise there is a much greater emphasis on plainchant – 153 out of 364 melodies. Unlike with Terry, who relied on the Vatican editions, such work was based on Mocquereau's Solesmes editions, the main intermediary being Jean Desrocquettes. However, although all the accompaniments for the Vespers chants drew on the work of Guilio Bas, a supporter of Mocquereau, elsewhere work by an opponent - Peter Wagner - was used. Nonetheless, the increased emphasis on plainchant and Latin texts follows a pattern set by *The Catholic Schools Hymn Book* and pursued by John Driscoll's *Cantionale*. The idea was to get congregations to sing plainchant in the Mass as well as hymns at Benediction. It is surely significant then that the hymnal was published just three years after Pius XI's decree *Divini Cultus* calling for greater congregational participation at such functions.

A second difference concerns the authors of the remaining 211 melodies. True to past form, Long had a hand in 44 of them; 16 others are by Terry; and - surprisingly - 12 by

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<sup>728</sup> Ed. Lancelot Long et al: *The Daily Hymnal*. London. Burns and Oates. 1931. Repr. 1948.

Francis M. de Zulueta. 36 melodies have no identification at all; and several others give only the vaguest indication of their origin.<sup>729</sup> However, this cannot conceal the fact that there is virtually no mention of German Continental Hymnals of the Early Modern Period so popular with Terry. On the other hand only 2 melodies are of definite Anglican origin.<sup>730</sup>

It quickly became clear that *The Daily Hymnal* was not a success, for in 1932 its publisher Burns and Oates reprinted *The Westminster Hymnal*. Then in 1936 work began on a complete revision of the latter. The musical side, begun by Terry, was completed after his death by Bainbridge in 1940 with assistance from Dom Gregory Murray. Terry's notes in Murray's 1932 copy in Downside library show that he had lost none of his anti-Protestant bias. For instance underneath S.E.L. Spooner-Livingstone's setting of 'Hail to Thee! True Body sprung!' he wrote: 'As the composer has apostatised and has returned to Anglicanism (and is still alive) I think it best to scrap this'.

Yet the final result shows that this policy was eventually reversed. 29 Protestant tunes are incorporated. This is the same pattern as can be observed in Driscoll's *Cantionale* of the same period. Note too that almost simultaneously Terry was editing for publication Calvin's psalter of 1539 and the Scottish Psalter of 1635, four items of which appear in *The Westminster Hymnal* of 1940.<sup>731</sup> The inconsistency of such behaviour was explained away in Bainbridge's preface by the claim (citing Terry) that this was merely returning what were in fact Catholic melodies to their intended audience. Thus, 'melodies from the old German hymnaries and the French diocesan books are now restored to their proper place in Catholic

<sup>729</sup> For example 7 are described as 'Old Melody', 7 as 'Melody', 9 as 'German', 2 as 'Irish', 2 as 'Anon' and 3 as 'traditional'.

<sup>730</sup> No. 39 by John Stainer and no. 16 by John Bacchus Dykes.

<sup>731</sup> These are nos. 63, 184, 225 and 226. No. 184 even applies the Scottish melody to Faber's text 'Dear Angel! Ever at my side.' The publications in question are *Calvin's first Psalter, edited with critical notes, and modal harmonies to the melodies by Sir Richard Terry*. London. Ernest Benn. 1932 and *The Scottish Psalter of 1635 edited with modal harmonies by Richard Runciman Terry*. London. Novello and Co. c. 1935.

worship'. The sleight of hand is revealed by a subsequent passage:

Tunes of outstanding merit, whose sources were probably of pre-Reformation times, are to be found in the Metrical Psalters of the seventeenth century; some of the best of these are included in the hymnal. A place has also been found for other fine melodies which can rightly be considered part of our English heritage.<sup>732</sup>

The reference to 'our English heritage' should be noted. It is an attempt, admittedly in time of war, to mesh the English Catholic experience with that of the nation at large.

However, with texts a preface by Bishop David Matthew, chairman of the editorial commission, shows a traditional concern to reconnect with different periods of a specifically English Catholic past, reference being made to hymns from the Middle Ages, the Elizabethan, Jacobean, and Caroline periods, the era of Dryden, the early eighteenth century, and the work of Lingard, Faber, Caswall, Gerard Manley Hopkins and other authors of the nineteenth century.<sup>733</sup>

Yet, despite the protestations, the revised hymnal marks a break with the past. Out of 275 items, only 59 texts, 35 hymn tunes and 8 items of plainchant appear in the original *Westminster Hymnal* of 1912. The number of texts by Caswall and Faber has been reduced to 18 and 17 apiece. In their stead are 46 translations and 5 original hymns by Ronald Knox plus 9 translations by the Anglican J.M. Neale. On the musical side, in addition to the Protestant input, there are 22 melodies and 110 harmonisations by Dom Gregory Murray; as opposed to only 6 tunes and 24 harmonisations by Terry.

The differences such harmonisations could produce are illustrated by comparison between Terry and Murray arrangements of the tune assigned for *See Amid The Winter's*

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<sup>732</sup> William Bainbridge: *The Westminster Hymnal: New and revised edition*. London. Burns Oates and Washbourne Ltd. 1940: vii. The sort of items he had in mind were tunes by W.H. Monk (Nos. 3 and 42), J. Turle (No. 199), O. Gibbons (Nos. 70, 90 and 122), J.B. Dykes (Nos. 36, 166 and No. 4 in the Appendix), S.S. Wesley (Nos. 62 and 214) and Ravenscroft's Psalter (Nos. 67, 174 and 184).

<sup>733</sup> David Matthew: 'Preface' from *The Westminster Hymnal* 1940: v.

*Snow* (example 7.3). Murray changes chords more frequently, and uses a larger number of first inversions. However, the more 'chunky' effect this can produce is counteracted by his greater propensity to use passing-notes in the three lower voices. Murray's thinking, in fact, is conditioned by his approach to the bass line, which is clearly designed with the pedal board on an organ in mind. Terry, on the other hand, with his reiterated G major chords in the first and third bars, produces a more 'chant-like' effect, and is therefore thinking more in terms of the voices of a four-part choir.

In addition the number of plainchant settings was increased to 38, confirming the pattern set in other hymnals at that time. Almost all were harmonised by Murray following Mocquereau's rhythmic principles. Analysis of their sources though shows an even balance between Solesmes and the Vatican editions with a limited input from other materials, including one work by the Anglican Thomas Helmore, seven from La Feillée and even a Cassinese melody known only through English Benedictine sources.<sup>734</sup>

The plainchant items reflect both the forward and backward aspects of this hymnal. It is backward in its patent medievalism, as well as in its blend of different sources; but it looks forward in the sense that congregational participation is expected in this genre - and therefore in the Mass - as well as during Benediction.

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<sup>734</sup> The breakdown is as follows: Solesmes: 13, Vatican Edition: 16, Sarum chant: 2, Downside MSS: 2, 'Traditional': 1, and 'Proper Melody': 1. Helmore can be found at No. 4; La Feillée at Nos. 103, 129, 149-50, 158, 205 and 206; and the 'Cassinese Melody' (Nocte Surgentes) at No. 171.

Example 7.3 Terry and Murray's versions of *See Amid The Winter's Snow*(extracts)<sup>735</sup>

7.3a Terry's version



7.3b Murray's version



<sup>735</sup> WH1912: No. 6 and *The Westminster Hymnal* (1940 edition): No. 40.

## Chapter 8: Music for Benediction

### A. The growth of Benediction music

One of the most significant aspects of nineteenth-century Catholic music in England was the emergence of a substantial repertoire of works for the rite of Benediction. Typically this focused on settings of *O Salutaris*, the Litany, and *Tantum Ergo*, and sometimes these were grouped together to form what was known as a 'Benediction Service'. Benediction music could also include settings of *Adoremus in Aeternum* and other Latin hymns, including *Stabat Mater*. Yet even if these are ignored the sheer quantity of output is impressive. If the database attached to this thesis is examined, it will be found that settings of *O Salutaris*, the Litany and *Tantum Ergo* account for 1024, or roughly one tenth of a total of 9075 compositions scattered across a representative cross-section of 28 collections of music.<sup>736</sup> Moreover, this does not include the contents of the Benediction manuals edited by Tozer, Hasberry and Terry in 1898, 1931 and 1937.<sup>737</sup>

If the contents of particular nineteenth-century collections are examined, the results can be even more impressive. At St Cuthbert's, Durham for instance Benediction music accounts for 224 out of 1053 choral pieces; at Everingham, Stonyhurst (1811-1900), and St Augustine's, Preston the proportions are 387 out of 1204, 188 out of 842 and 41 out of 239 pieces.<sup>738</sup> Furthermore, a high proportion of Benediction music was composed by British composers during the nineteenth century. Analysis of the *Repertoire* database shows that,

<sup>736</sup> See table 12.5a. The detailed breakdown is as follows: 525 Litanies, 240 *O Salutaris*, 220 *Tantum Ergo* settings, 38 Benediction Services and 1 set of Benediction responses. Data obtained by Duplicates Query on the **Genre** column of the **Works(a)** table in the *Repertoire* database. See ch. 11: 411-19 for details about the collections making up this database.

<sup>737</sup> Ed. Albert Edmonds Tozer: *New and Complete Manual for Benediction*. London. Cary and Co. 1898. Ed. Tozer, revised Robert Hasberry: *Complete Benediction Manual*. London. Cary and Co. No. 703. 1931. Ed. Richard Terry: *The Benediction Choir Book*. London. Burns Oates and Washbourne Ltd. 1937. Like hymnals, these were widely used, and so have not been included in the *Repertoire* database.

<sup>738</sup> See table 12.18. Source: Queries on the **St Cuthbert(w)(a)**, **Everingham(w)(a)**, **Stonyhurst1811-1900(w)(a)**, and **Augustine(w)(a)** tables in the *St Cuthbert*, *Everingham*, *Stonyhurst Collections*, and *Talbot* databases respectively.

apart from 378 anonymous pieces whose nationality cannot be determined, 224 items were composed by British composers, as against 112, 88, and 49 by Austro-Germans, Italians and Spaniards respectively.<sup>739</sup> Likewise only 59 out of 1204 items date from the Early Modern period, 176 from the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but 462 from periods after that.<sup>740</sup> Note though that for the twentieth century, although 125 pieces were composed in the period 1851-1950, only 7 others belong to the periods 1901-1950 and 1901-2000. In addition there are 374 anonymous pieces whose period of composition cannot be determined.

There was therefore a surge of native Victorian interest followed by a marked decline in the twentieth century. This may not be unconnected with the considerable amount of consolidation in the repertoire that took place during the latter period. Instead of many individual compositions scattered across numerous different publications and manuscript copies, twentieth-century collections usually have copies of just two works: Tozer and Hasberry's *Complete Benediction Manual* or Terry's *The Benediction Choir Book*. These will be examined later in the chapter.

The difficulty with any study of Benediction music lies in the absence of detailed regular records of performances, reflecting the fact that the service was an extra-liturgical devotion which, officially at least, did not enjoy high musical status. Consequently, one is more than usually dependent on surviving stocks of music. Exceptions to this can be found at the Jesuit establishments of Wimbledon and Farm St. With the former, Benediction music accounts for 61 out of 203 pieces in the repertoire; with the latter the proportions are 47 out

<sup>739</sup> Source: Duplicates Query on the **Nationality** field of the **Works(a)** table in the *Repertoire* database. Contributions by composers from other countries are negligible.

<sup>740</sup> Source: Duplicates Query on the **Period** field of the **Works(a)** table. The system of overlapping periods and its rationale is described in chapter 11: 405-6. The detailed breakdown of Benediction music by period is (1) Early Modern period: 1501-1600: 43; 1551-1650: 8; 1601-1700: 8; 1651-1700: 2 (2) Eighteenth century: 1651-1750: 12; 1701-1750: 13; 1701-1800: 26; 1751-1800: 11; 1751-1850: 60 (3) Nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: 1801-1850: 41; 1801-1900: 276; 1851-1900: 13; 1851-1950: 125; 1901-1950: 3; 1901-1962: 4.



of 234 pieces, 41 out of 148 pieces and 28 out of 131 pieces in 1928, 1938 and 1961 respectively. However, it is probable that these patterns may be rather untypical.<sup>741</sup> For example at Wimbledon the high proportion of repertoire intended for forces larger than a four-part choir is very unusual when compared with the proportions that can be inferred from Tozer and Terry's collections.<sup>742</sup> Likewise at Farm St there are no records of any performances of Litanies, though some are likely to have been sung. Here what is striking is the predominance of nineteenth-century compositions among settings of the *Tantum Ergo* and *O Salutaris*, in contrast to a higher degree of interest shown towards works composed before that time in settings of *Adoremus In Aeternum*. Only 3 out of 21 *Tantum Ergo* and 2 out of 31 *O Salutaris* settings were composed before 1700, as opposed to 7 out of 27 of the *Adoremus*.<sup>743</sup>

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<sup>741</sup> Lists in the *Westminster Cathedral Chronicle* also supply some details; but they are very limited. For example only 5 performances each of settings of *O Salutaris*, the Litany, and *Tantum Ergo* are mentioned in 1930. In 1954 9 settings of *O Salutaris* and 11 of *Tantum Ergo* are mentioned; in 1962 the figures are 8 and 9 respectively. Source: *Westminster* database, **Westminster 1930** table. *Repertoire* database, Query on the **Westminster Cathedral** table followed by select filters on the *O Salutaris*, 'Litany' and *Tantum Ergo* values in the **Genre** column.

<sup>742</sup> The breakdown at Wimbledon is as follows: Benediction compositions for 4 voices: 29 out of 61 pieces; for 5 voices: 9 out of 61 pieces; for 6 voices: 7 out of 61 pieces; for 8 voices: 16 out of 61 pieces. Thus slightly more than half the Benediction repertoire was for 5 voices or more.

<sup>743</sup> The detailed breakdown for when pieces were composed is as follows: *Tantum Ergo*: 1551-1600: 1; 1701-1750: 4; 1701-1800 and 1801-1850: 1 each; 1801-1900: 5; 1851-1900: 1; 1851-1950: 4; 1901-1950: 1; No data: 2 (plainchant). *O Salutaris*: 1551-1600: 1; 1701-1750: 3; 1751-1850: 3; 1801-1900: 3; 1851-1900: 2; 1851-1950: 13; 1901-1950: 1; No data: 2 (plainchant). *Adoremus In Aeternum*: 1501-1600: 3; 1551-1650: 5; 1601-1650: 2; 1651-1750: 2; 1851-1950: 2; No data: 1. Source: Filters on the table **FarmSt(a)** in the *Jesuit* database. This lists the entire repertoire performed in 1928, 1938 and 1961.

## B. Factors behind the growth in Benediction music during the nineteenth century

An obvious reason for the nineteenth-century growth in Benediction music was the rising popularity of the rite, along with other extra-liturgical devotions, noted in chapter 4. This implies that much of the running was made by secular priests, members of missionary Orders like the Jesuits or Oratorians, and laity. Conversely, it might be supposed that monks living in coenobitic institutions with a life revolving around the Office were, by definition, less likely to be active in the field, especially once the Downside Movement got under way within the EBC. Yet, in fact this was not so; and, in any case, many such houses ran schools, where Benediction might be fostered to encourage religious devotion. Many monks also worked in parish missions where, of course, the demands for Benediction were likely to be greater. This helps explain the activity of a monk such as J.E. Turner, seven of whose highly elaborate Litany settings can be found in the 1931 *Complete Benediction Manual*.<sup>744</sup>

The growing popularity of the Benediction service was not the only factor. Just as important perhaps was the need to have settings in every likely key. Indeed, the contents page of the 1931 *Complete Benediction Manual* is mainly organised in a cycle of fifths and fourths for each type of text.<sup>745</sup> This shows that performers wanted to create musical unity in the service by selecting works with the same, or at any rate musically compatible, keys, even if they did not pick a given 'Benediction Service'.

Another factor was the brevity of the service, and in particular of the *O Salutaris* and *Tantum Ergo* texts. This, and the simple structure of the Litany, gave scope to composers with a penchant for writing very short works, either because they were amateurs with limited skills or because of shortage of time due to other major commitments. This could be

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<sup>744</sup> Tozer/Hasberry 1931: Litanies Nos. 93-100. There are also two settings of the *Tantum Ergo* (Nos. 30 and 47). See also the undated publication of his *Five Motets to the Blessed Sacrament*. London. Cary and Co. (1 of these is an arrangement of plainchant rather than an original work).

especially true for clergymen like Charles Newsham, Henry Farmer, William Maher or even Francis M. De Zulueta.<sup>746</sup> In addition the often isolated nature of nineteenth-century parish life encouraged local talent. For example, some Litanies by Alexander Peckett of Scarborough can be found at St Cuthbert's, Durham and at Everingham.<sup>747</sup> The latter also holds the manuscript of a *Litany of the Incarnation* specially commissioned by the Constable Maxwell family there from S. Eloorat of Bath, and a printed edition of two Litanies by Sidney Sykes, organist at St Wilfrid's pro-Cathedral nearby in York.<sup>748</sup> Both factors help explain the high proportion of contemporary or near contemporary works found in nineteenth-century collections, as well as the weak influence exerted by plainchant in this genre at the time.

Many Benediction settings were adaptations from other works, especially hymn tunes or, in the case of Litanies, Anglican style psalm chants. There also seems to have been little hesitation about raiding non-Catholic sources. Arrangements of J.S. Bach's original works, as well as his chorale harmonisations, for example regularly appear in collections. Similarly at St Cuthbert's, Durham there are three Litanies adapted from Anglican psalm chants by Frederick Lingard (1811-1847), a lay clerk at the Cathedral.

Crucial to all these developments was the shift from plainchant to four-part diatonic settings, enabling both choirs and congregations to participate in the music. In this respect Benediction music was similar to Catholic vernacular hymnody. Indeed, the process seems to have occurred earlier and more rapidly with the Benediction repertoire. This was because the

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<sup>745</sup> The sequence for the *O Salutaris* settings is as follows: C,G,D,E,F,Bb,EbAb major followed by A and G minor. For Litanies it is C,G,D,A,E,F,Bb,Eb,Ab major followed by E, B and C minor. For settings of the *Tantum Ergo* it is C,G,D,A,E,F,Bb,Eb and Ab major only.

<sup>746</sup> Zulueta was choirmaster at the church of the Holy Name, Manchester, the Sacred Heart Church, Wimbledon and at Bournemouth. However his obituary also mentions his work as a Retreat Master at the Jesuit Seminary of Manresa from 1904 till his death in 1937. The same is also true of John Driscoll, who also had a fine reputation as a preacher. Watts, Philip: 'Francis De Zulueta' (obituary with an appreciation by John Driscoll). *LN*. 52 (1937): 155-9.

<sup>747</sup> 12 of these were copied into the Organ and part books at St Cuthbert's, 6 appear in print (but with no publication details) at Everingham.

<sup>748</sup> Sidney Sykes: *Two Litanies of the Blessed Virgin Mary*. London. M. Williams. N.d.

Latin texts were retained, so there was no hiatus created by the de-coupling of text from melody caused by translation, as happened with the Latin Office hymns. *Tantum Ergo*, with its straightforward 878787 metre, was a hymn text anyway, and it proved easy to treat *O Salutaris* in similar fashion. Likewise, as noted above, the Litany lent itself readily to Anglican-style chanting.

The process can be illustrated by examining the transformation of a *Tantum Ergo* setting to be found in Wade's *Graduale Romanum* of 1765 at Stonyhurst. Example 8.1 gives Wade's plainchant version. Example 8.2 shows how Webbe then presented this in modern harmonised notation, smoothing out Wade's rhythmic irregularities. Here the occasional independence in the part-writing (especially for the altos) and the fact that, as with Wade, the melody rises to an F suggests this was primarily designed for a choir rather than congregational singing. Example 8.3 gives the harmonisation supplied in Charles Newsham's *A Collection of Music Suitable for the Rite of Benediction*.<sup>749</sup> Clearly this is a slightly simplified version of Webbe's setting. Moreover in the original the music is laid out in separate SATB parts with a segue Organ setting below, indicating that, as with Webbe, this was designed for choral singing, but by boys and Seminarians - some of whom might not have been particularly musical. This explains the simplifications and the transposition down to the more comfortable key of Eb. Finally, in example 8.4, there is a straightforward four-part hymn tune style setting taken from the 1931 *Complete Benediction Manual*, which can be performed by both choir and congregation.<sup>750</sup>

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<sup>749</sup> Charles Newsham, rev. John Richardson: *A Collection of Music suitable for the Rite of Benediction*. London. Burns and Lambert. N.d. 'Tantum Ergo No. 6'.

Example 8.1 Wade's setting of *Tantum Ergo*8.1a. Wade's version<sup>751</sup>

Tan - tum er - go sa - cra - men - tum Ve - né - re - mur cé - nu - i, et an - ti - qum  
 doc - u - mén - tum no - vo ce - dat rí - tu - i: práe - stet  
 fi - des su - ple - mén - tum sen - su - um de - fec - tu - i.

## 8.1b. Wade's version translated in mensuralist style into 'modern' notation

Tan - tum er - go sa - cra - men - tum Ve - né - re - mur  
 cé - nu - i, et an - ti - qum doc - u mén - tum  
 no - vo ce - dat ri - tu - i: Práe - stet fi - des  
 sup - pl - men - tum sen - su - um de - fec - tu -

<sup>750</sup> Tozer, revised Hasberry: *Complete Benediction Manual*, 1931: 'Tantum Ergo No. 31'.

<sup>751</sup> Wade: *Graduale Romanum*. 1765: 142 'Hymnus Ad Benedictionem'.

Example 8.2 Webbe's setting of the *Tantum Ergo* in Wade's *Graduale Romanum*<sup>752</sup>

Tantum er-go fa-cra-mentum ve-ne-re-mur  
Ge-ni-to-ri Ge-ni-to-que laus et ju-bi-

Tantum er-go fa-cra-mentum ve-ne-re-mur  
Ge-ni-to-ri Ge-ni-to-que laus et ju-bi-

Tantum er-go fa-cra-mentum ve-ne-re-mur  
Ge-ni-to-ri Ge-ni-to-que laus et ju-bi-

Tantum er-go fa-cra-mentum ve-ne-re-mur  
Ge-ni-to-ri Ge-ni-to-que laus et ju-bi-

cer-nu-i Et an-ti-quum do-cu-mentum  
la-ti-o fa-lus ho-nor virtus quoque.

cer-nu-i Et an-ti-quum do-cu-mentum  
la-ti-o fa-lus ho-nor virtus quoque.

cer-nu-i Et an-ti-quum do-cu-mentum  
la-ti-o fa-lus ho-nor virtus quoque.

cer-nu-i Et an-ti-quum do-cu-mentum  
la-ti-o fa-lus ho-nor virtus quoque.

<sup>752</sup> A Collection of Motetts or Antiphons for 1, 2, 3 and 4 voices or chorus calculated for the more solemn parts of Divine Worship by S. Webbe. London. T. Jones: 88-9.

Webbe's setting of the *Tantum Ergo* in Wade's *Graduale Romanum* (continued)

No - vo ce - dat ri - - tu - i Præstet fi - des  
 fit met be - ne dic - ti - o Proce - den - ti

No - vo ce - dat ri - - tu - i Præstet fi - des  
 fit met be - ne dic - ti - o Proce - den - ti

No - vo ce - dat ri - - tu - i Præstet fi - des  
 fit met be - ne dic - ti - o Proce - den - ti

No - vo ce - dat ri - - tu - i Præstet fi - des  
 fit met be - ne dic - ti - o Proce - den - ti

sup - ple - men - tum sen - su - um de - fec - tu - i.  
 ab u - tro - que compar fit lau - da - ti - o.

sup - ple - men - tum sen - su - um de - fec - tu - i.  
 ab u - tro - que compar fit lau - da - ti - o.

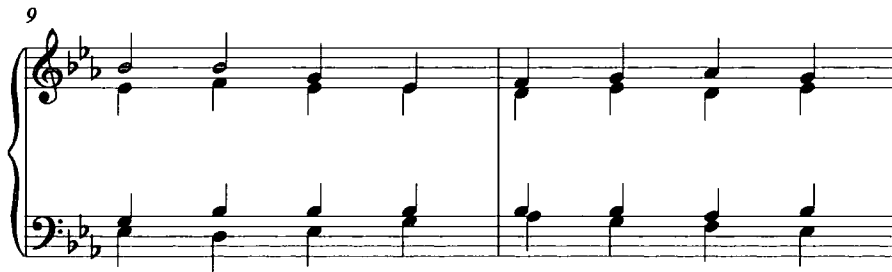
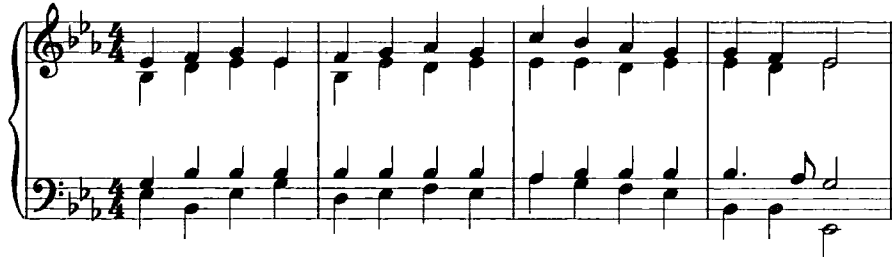
sup - ple - men - tum sen - su - um de - fec - tu - i.  
 ab u - tro - que compar fit lau - da - ti - o.

sup - ple - men - tum sen - su - um de - fec - tu - i.  
 ab u - tro - que compar fit lau - da - ti - o.

Example 8.3 Charles Newsham's setting of Wade's *Tantum Ergo*



Example 8.4 Hasberry's harmonisation of Wade's *Tantum Ergo* in the *Complete Benediction Manual* (1931)



### C. Benediction music in the London embassy chapels and their successor churches

The earliest evidence for the emergence of Benediction music comes from the London embassy chapel repertoire of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. For example, all of Samuel Webbe the elder's masses, whether published by himself, Vincent Novello or by Thomas Boosey, have a *Tantum Ergo* and sometimes an *O Salutaris* setting added at the end.<sup>753</sup> Vincent Novello does the same with his own Masses, as settings in his publication *Twelve Easy Masses* (1816) show.<sup>754</sup> Such practices point to a custom of holding Benediction immediately after High Mass. Indeed the layout of Wade's 1765 *Graduale Romanum* at Stonyhurst may reflect this; since the 'Hymnus ad Benedictionem' section comes straight after a set of Mass Ordinaries and is followed by a 'Missa Pro Defunctis' and two other Ordinary Mass settings.<sup>755</sup>

At this time then the Benediction service, and the music that went with it, still had some liturgical associations with the Mass.<sup>756</sup> Yet there is no reference to the service as such at the embassies in the Directories of the time.<sup>757</sup> However, a tantalising glimpse of the spread of Benediction music to the provinces is given in a file of letters written between 1797 and 1799 by James Preston of Abergavenny to James Coghlan, the Catholic London

<sup>753</sup> See for example the Masses in Webbe's *A Collection of Sacred Music*. London. Jones. 1792. This was reprinted by J.A. Novello in an edition prepared by Vincent Novello in the *Cheap Musical Classics* series of the late 1840s. Boosey published Webbe's Masses in A, Bb and C in his *Short Masses for Small Choirs* series at about the same time.

<sup>754</sup> Ed. Vincent Novello: *Twelve Easy Masses*. London. 1816 contains his Masses in C (No. 1), D and E. See also his 'Convent Mass' (No. 2) in J.A. Novello's publication *Masses for Four Voices*. London. N.d.

<sup>755</sup> John Francis Wade: *Graduale Romanum*. 1765 (Stonyhurst copy): 139-42. The Mass Ordinaries start on page 107. The same phenomenon can be observed in Wade's *Cantus Diversi* of 1761 and *Graduale Romanum* of 1765 now held at Douai. MSS 6 and MSS 5.

<sup>756</sup> Benediction continued to be used occasionally in this way during the twentieth century.

<sup>757</sup> For example the *Laity's Directory* of 1819 lists High Masses at the Sardinian, Bavarian, Spanish and Portuguese chapels at 11.00 with Vespers at 3.00 or 3.30 followed by catechism with no reference to Benediction (London. Keating, Brown and Keating: Appendix n.p.); and this remains true in its equivalent for 1843 (London. C. Dolman and T. Jones: 8-9) even though by that time afternoon or evening Benediction is being advertised elsewhere. However, Webbe, in his *Motetts or Antiphons* of 1785, specifies that the two *Tantum Ergo* settings he provides, were intended for use 'At Benediction'; suggesting that already the service had a distinct free-standing identity of its own. Webbe. 1785: 88-89 and 112-113.

bookseller and publisher. These show Preston's active promotion of plainchant in Abergavenny, not just at Mass and Vespers, but at Benediction as well. For this purpose he used Coghlan's *An Essay on the Church Plainchant* (1782) and *Divers Church Chants* (1799), both of which were strongly influenced by Wade's manuscripts.<sup>758</sup> Moreover many Benediction compositions composed during that era had a long life, and some survived into the twentieth century. For example the 1931 *Complete Benediction Manual*, in addition to the Wade *Tantum Ergo* mentioned earlier, contains two settings of the *O Salutaris* and *Tantum Ergo* to a 'Melody XVIII century'. There is also a *Tantum Ergo* setting in Eb by Henry Nixon and two others in A and G adapted to a 'Spanish Chorale' and an 'Italian Chorale'. These probably came from the Spanish and Sardinian chapels respectively.<sup>759</sup>

However, the growth in Benediction music at this time needs to be kept in perspective, since it constitutes only a very small part of the total repertoire, and this may be because the service could still be associated with the Mass. Only 8 out of the 66 pieces in Wade's *Cantus Diversi* (1751) at Stonyhurst are intended for Benediction; only 5 out of 245 pieces in his *Graduale Romanum* (1765) there fall into the same category. In Webbe's *A Collection of Motetts and Antiphons* (1785) and *A Collection of Sacred Music* (1792) the proportions are 4 out of 50 and 4 out of 26. In Part II (Books 7-12) of Vincent Novello's *Evening Service* (1822) the figure is 8 out of 71.

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<sup>758</sup> Bennett Zon: 'Plainchant in the Eighteenth-Century English Catholic Church'. *RH* 21/3 (May 1993): 373-9. The letters cited are stored in the Lancashire Record Office RCBu 14/66, 14/93, 14/115 and 14/142.

<sup>759</sup> Tozer/Hasberry 1931: *O Salutaris* settings nos. 17 and 32; *Tantum Ergo* settings nos. 4, 5, 9, 18 and 45. See also Webbe's *O Salutaris* setting: No. 29.

## D. Nineteenth-century Benediction music at Ushaw College, near Durham

The first real surge in the production of Benediction music seems to have occurred at Ushaw College, near Durham. The development is closely associated with Charles Newsham, President of the College between 1837 and 1863, though there are earlier signs of interest in compositions by his predecessor Charles Youens (1798-1848) and by Richard Gillow (1811-1867), professor of theology. The manuscript evidence at the college though is meagre. Among 423 works in nineteenth-century manuscripts and printed copies there are only 4 *O Salutaris*, 4 *Tantum Ergo* and 8 Litany settings. Instead one is dependant on Newsham's *A Collection of Music Suitable for the Rite of Benediction* as revised by John Richardson, along with several manuscript copies of other works by Ushaw composers, found in collections elsewhere.

The book contains 32 Litanies, 1 *Adoremus* 15 *O Salutaris* and 19 *Tantum Ergo* settings - 67 pieces in all. Here the key components of Benediction music have been defined - namely settings of *O Salutaris*, the Litany and *Tantum Ergo*. The vast bulk are laid out in four part harmony; but, as seen with the arrangement of Wade's 'Tantum Ergo', they were intended to be sung by a choir.<sup>760</sup>

The balance of sources is interesting. Apart from Allegri's *Adoremus* only 3 *Tantum Ergo* settings date from the period 1551-1650.<sup>761</sup> There is also a *Tantum Ergo* by Caspar Ett in the Appendix. On the other hand, at least 10 pieces are associated with the London embassy chapels.<sup>762</sup> However, the largest single contribution - 23 pieces - comes from Ushaw

<sup>760</sup> The exceptions occur with five settings of the *Tantum Ergo*: Nos. 3 and 11 by Richardson and De Weigl are in 4 parts but with a partially independent organ setting; No. 5, by Rowland Davies, opens for SAB voices before reverting to the SATB combination; No. 7, by Newsham, has an opening for 2 soloists and organ before an SATB chorus section; No. 18, by Richardson, has a second verse for double choir.

<sup>761</sup> These are by Anerio, Palestrina and Perti respectively.

<sup>762</sup> These are works by Rowland Davies (1740-97), Nicolo Pascoli (or Pasquale) (1718-57), Samuel Webbe (the elder), T. White (1764-1826), an 'Italian Chorale', a 'Spanish Chorale', a 'Maltese Litany', and a 'Roman Litany'.

itself, 18 of which were composed by Newsham himself.<sup>763</sup> In addition there are 10 other pieces by Richardson. Richardson is probably also responsible for the Appendix at the end. It seems likely then that, using his experience as choirmaster of Liverpool Pro-Cathedral, he played a key role in adapting a repertory intended for seminary students for regular use in urban churches.

Given that Ushaw was a major seminary for the English Catholic church in its northern heartland, Newsham's influence was wide-ranging and not confined to the impact of this publication. The locations where it is known to have been used are significant in themselves. The Everingham collection has a copy, presumably obtained by the priest, Robert Newsham, the brother of Charles Newsham. This demonstrates it could be used in an aristocratic household chapel. There is also a copy at St Cuthbert's church, Durham, and one in the Talbot Library, Preston belonging to a 'Miss Oldfield' who worked at St Ignatius church in the same town during the 1870s.<sup>764</sup> The contents of a manuscript organ book dating from the same period signed by a Roger Taylor from St Augustine's church, Preston directly states that copies were made from the same source.<sup>765</sup> This volume is also interesting because it contains other works by Ushaw composers such as Newsham, Richard Gillow and Youens that could only have been copied from manuscript sources.<sup>766</sup> Yet more pieces – some from

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<sup>763</sup> The other composers are Charles Youens, Richard Gillow and his brother Robert Gillow (1812-1847).

<sup>764</sup> The Talbot Library also has a copy of a manuscript volume marked 'Music: Miss Oldfield' which was probably prepared when she was an organist at a church in Bradford. This has 11 Litanies, 3 settings of *O Salutaris* and 6 settings of *Tantum Ergo*. 4 of these are by Pascoli and another by Zingarelli. These may therefore be of embassy chapel provenance. Output from a local Catholic church here is signalled by a 'Clapham Litany in A'.

<sup>765</sup> The items in question are the *Tantum Ergo* setting by T. White, two *O Salutaris* settings by Newsham (nos. 1 and 3), and four Litanies (no. 11 by Heinekin, no. 18: 'Maltese Litany', no. 19 from a *Laudi Spirituali*, and no. 23 by Richardson).

<sup>766</sup> These are Youens's *Litany in C* (p. 189), Richard Gillow's *Litany in F* (p. 189) and Newsham's *Adoremus in F*, along with two Litanies in F (one in two versions), two more in D and one in G (pp. 71, 167, 184 and 185). There are also two Litanies by Richardson (both on p. 185).

the London embassy repertoire – are by composers whose names appear in Newsham's manual and therefore may have reached St Augustine's via Ushaw.<sup>767</sup>

The most interesting item concerns a *Tantum Ergo* by Palestrina. The same work appears in Newsham's publication, but for four voices rather than the eight supplied by Taylor. Here it is marked 'Tantum Ergo commonly sung by the Coro Papale'. In both cases the rhythm is the same; but it differs from that given in Haberl's Breitkopf and Haertel edition used by Terry in his *Benediction Choir Book* of 1937 (see examples 8.5 and 8.6). The Taylor arrangement also appears in *The Ecclesiastical Choir Book* published by James Burns in 1848, as well as in an untitled manuscript of 1888 at Stonyhurst, some twenty miles away. These facts, taken together, suggest three possibilities. First, that Stonyhurst and St Augustine's had access to a copy of Alfieri's *Raccolta di Musica Sacra* of 1841-1846. In this context the presence of a Litany by Alfieri in both their manuscripts may be significant. Second, that Stonyhurst and St Augustine's used copies of *The Ecclesiastical Choir Book* that have since been lost. Third, the version was circulating in a manuscript original brought over by Cardinal Wiseman, a personal friend of Newsham, who also presented to Stonyhurst a signed copy of his *Four Lectures on the Office and Ceremonies of Holy Week*. In this context Burns's dedication to Wiseman in *The Ecclesiastical Choir Book* may be significant, especially since he was the publisher of Newsham's *Benediction* manual.

The basic picture seems to be that *Benediction* music from or obtained by Ushaw was circulating in manuscript and printed form across northern England. The pattern was reinforced by the publication in 1864 of *The Crown of Jesus Music*, edited by Hemy, who worked at Ushaw, as has been seen. Part III has 20 *Benediction* Services and 6 Processional

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<sup>767</sup> These are a *Litany in Bb* by Pappazuri (p.180), a *Litany in G* by Pascoli (p. 167), and a *Litany in F* by Samuel Wesley. These seem to belong to the London ex-embassy chapel repertory. There is also a *Litany in E* by Heinekin about whom nothing seems to be known but who appears in Newsham's manual.

Litanies. These were drawn from four major sources: plainchant (12 pieces), music from the embassy chapels (5 pieces), music by Ushaw composers (9 pieces), and 32 of arrangements from works by established Classical composers.<sup>768</sup>

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<sup>768</sup> The embassy chapels are represented by one piece each by Samuel Wesley, Webbe (the elder), and Peter Von Winter, along with a 'Venetian Chorale' and a 'Spanish Chorale'. The Ushaw composers are Newhsam (5 pieces), Hemy (2 pieces) Richard Gillow and Youens (one piece each). There are 10 arrangements from Beethoven, 4 from Mozart, 3 each from Gluck and Mendelssohn, and 1 each from Cherubini, Handel, J. Haydn, Neukomm, Rinck, Romberg, Spohr and Weber.

Example 8.5 Newsham's arrangement of Palestrina's *Tantum Ergo*

Tan - tum er - go, Sa - cra - men - tum

5

Ve - ne - re - mur cer - nu - i: Et an -

9

ti - quum do - cu - men - tum No - vo ce -

13

dat ri - tu - i: Prae - stet fi - des

17

sup - ple - men - tum sen - su - um de - fec -

21

tu - i. A - men, A - men.



Example 8.6. Terry's arrangement of Palestrina's *Tantum Ergo*, using Haberl's edition published by Breitkopf and Haertel



## E. The Jesuit contribution

It should be apparent from the above that there was some overlap between Benediction music associated with Ushaw and Jesuit activity at the same time. For example male members of the Constable Maxwell family were educated at Stonyhurst; Miss Oldfield worked at St Ignatius church, Preston - a Jesuit run institution - and her parish priest was Fr Henry Walmesley (1811-1878), who had worked at Stonyhurst. We have also seen how copies of Palestrina's setting of *Tantum Ergo* reveal possible connections between Stonyhurst, Ushaw and St Augustine's church, Preston. In addition the Everingham collection, where Newsham's brother was chaplain, contains the publication *Litany Chants as used at the Church of the Immaculate Conception, Farm St*, another Jesuit foundation. This must have been purchased by the Constable Maxwells on one of their trips to London.<sup>769</sup> There is also a manuscript book containing 8 settings of the *O Salutaris*, one of which is by the French Jesuit Louis Lambillotte (1796-1855). This French Jesuit connection is confirmed by the presence of Lambillotte's publication *Salut du St Sacrement* marked with the stamp of a Paris shop where it must have been purchased.<sup>770</sup> In addition the Everingham collection holds a copy of *Fourteen Benediction Services* by Henry Farmer SJ (1849-1928).

The process also seems to have worked the other way. For example, St Cuthbert's church, Durham, living in the shadow of Ushaw, possesses a copy of Farmer's *Fourteen Benediction Services*, as well as manuscript copies of some of Peckett's Litanies, which appear in printed form at Everingham.<sup>771</sup>

Farmer was not the only Jesuit interested in Benediction music. In the late nineteenth century there are two outstanding figures. First there was William Maher, composer of the

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<sup>769</sup> This was published by Burns and Oates. It is undated.

<sup>770</sup> No other publication details can be seen on the copy of this work at Everingham.

<sup>771</sup> See footnote no. 738.

words and music of the hymn *Soul of My Saviour*. At Stonyhurst there are numerous copies of his *Nineteen Benediction Services*, for double choir, organ and soloists. This was dedicated to Salvatore Meluzzi.<sup>772</sup> Meluzzi was choirmaster at the Vatican Basilica, St Maria Maggiore and the Gesu in Rome. He had also composed his *Mass in D* for 3 soloists, chorus and orchestra for the opening of St Peter's church, Stonyhurst in 1836.

The other major Jesuit figure at this time was Francis M. De Zulueta (1853-1937). He was responsible for the publication *Benediction Services for Choir and Congregation with music for the 'Via Crucis'*.<sup>773</sup> It contains 73 items, all of them in four-part harmony except for four items set for SATB choir, congregation and organ.<sup>774</sup> Of these 33 are compositions by Zulueta. 32 others are by British composers, including 5 by Newsham, 1 by Richard Gillow, 13 by J.E. Moore SJ, 3 by Maher, 5 by Charles Raymond Barker SJ, and 3 by George Herbert, who worked at Farm St. Once again the overlap between Ushaw and the Jesuits is therefore apparent.<sup>775</sup> The publication thus has a contemporary 'feel' about it. Only one identifiable item - by J.S. Bach - was composed before 1800; and anyway it appears in the appendix of Newsham and Richardson's *A Collection of Music*.

Zulueta and Maher's output was to some extent amalgamated in *Catholic Evening Services*, originally published in 1891 and then reprinted in 1919.<sup>776</sup> It combines four originally separate publications: A 'Bona Mors Choral Service' by Maher produced by the Jesuit press at Roehampton, a 'Rosary of the B.V.M', 'Vespers of the Blessed Virgin, Compline, Benediction etc.' and 'Antiphon chants for Vespers and Compline'. Elements also appear to have come from Zulueta's *Choral Devotions for the League of the Sacred Heart*,

<sup>772</sup> William Maher: *Nineteen Benediction Services*. London. R. Butler. N.d.

<sup>773</sup> Francis M. de Zulueta: *Benediction Services for Choir and Congregation with music for the 'Via Crucis'*. London. Printed by 'Wilson'. N.d.

<sup>774</sup> The breakdown of items is as follows: 26 settings of *O Salutaris*, 22 Litanies, 21 settings of *Tantum Ergo*, 3 motets and 1 miscellaneous item.

<sup>775</sup> For 5 other items there is no identifying data.

published privately by the Church of the Holy Name, Manchester, in 1890, where Zulueta briefly worked. The whole volume is a hybrid between the Benediction rite, other extra-liturgical devotions and Office services. In all there are 24 items: 3 of them by Maher, the rest by Zulueta. 17 are set in four-part harmony, the rest for various combinations of a Cantor, SATB choir, congregation and organ. As with Newsham Jesuit Benediction composers wrote for a *combination* of the congregation, choir, solo cantors and organ.

#### F. Benediction music from the London Oratory

No study of English nineteenth-century Benediction music is complete without reference to the London Oratory. As has been seen, under Faber it was a major engine in the development of Catholic vernacular hymnody; but from its foundation in 1849, it also made daily use of its *Oratory Evening Service Book*, containing many elements of the Benediction rite. Not surprisingly Oratory musicians were active in the composition of Benediction music. Two publications, copies of which survive in the Everingham collection, are outstanding. The first is William Schulthes's *Benediction Service and a Collection of 36 Litanies with Organ accompaniment*.<sup>777</sup> Schulthes was choirmaster at the Oratory. All the settings except 6 Litanies (which are for two upper voices and organ) are for an SATB choir and organ. The second is William Pitts's *One Hundred and Thirteen Litany Oratories*, the composers of which can be identified in 83 cases.<sup>778</sup> Once again, the pattern is familiar. 65 settings are by British composers, 15 by Germans (including 10 by Schulthes), 2 by Italians and 1 by a Frenchman. 75 pieces are by composers active in the period 1801-1900, 1 in the period 1801-1850, 2 each in the periods 1701-1800 and 1751-1800, 3 in the years 1751-1850. These

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<sup>776</sup> Ed. Francis M. De Zulueta et al: *Catholic Evening Services*. Roehampton. 1891/R1919.

<sup>777</sup> William Schulthes: *Benediction service and a collection of 36 Litanies with organ accompaniment*. London. Ewer and Co. 1861. There are, in fact, only 34 Litanies along with a setting of *O Salutaris* and *Tantum Ergo*.

figures show that most of the compositions in Pitts's publication are by British born composers active during the nineteenth century. Indeed, 58 are by people directly connected to the London Oratory.<sup>779</sup> There are also a few non-Catholic items, but no plainchant.<sup>780</sup>

### G. The twentieth-century consolidation of music for Benediction

Catholics in the early twentieth century therefore inherited a stock of Benediction music from a variety of sources. The principal strands though were compositions from the embassy chapels and their successors, Ushaw College, the Society of Jesus and the London Oratory, all of which were originally produced to meet local needs and then acquired a wider circulation. It was no accident that there was then a process of consolidation. After all, the same thing was happening with Catholic vernacular hymnody, with which Benediction was intimately associated. In 1898 it was launched by the publication of A.E. Tozer's *New and Complete Benediction Manual* by Alphonse Cary. The title betrays its 'national' ambition, although it seems to have begun life as a revision of an earlier publication, copies of which no longer appear to exist. In fact, most of its contents are of southern origin; thus it reflects the beginnings of the southward shift in the demographic centre of gravity in the English Catholic community at that time. Newsham, it will be recalled, wrote for a northern audience, while most Jesuit and the Oratorian productions have a London focus. On the other hand Tozer worked at Hove; and Alphonse Cary began his career in Newbury.

The manual contains 48 Litanies, 14 *O Salutaris*, 11 *Tantum Ergo* and 7 *Adoremus* settings. Note that, in contrast with Oratorian and Jesuit practice, 9 out of its 80 items use

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<sup>778</sup> William Pitts: *One Hundred and Thirteen Litany Oratories*. London. Novello, Ewer and Co. A second copy can be found in the choir loft at Arundel Cathedral, where his son worked as parish priest for forty years.

<sup>779</sup> Apart from Schulthes they are Edmund Bagshawe (1829-1915): 2 works; Charles Bowden (1836-1906), who received Richard Terry into the Catholic Church: 17 works; Edmund Garnet (1848-96): 15 works; Archibald McCall (1852-1926): 2; Pitts (1829-93): 12 works.

<sup>780</sup> There is one work each by Boyce, Mendelssohn, Arthur Sullivan and Charles Wesley.

plainchant. However, as one might expect in the period immediately before *Tra le Sollektudini*, there is some confusion about this. One item comes from Guidetti's *Directorum Chori*, two from the Ratisbon editions of plainchant, and another is simply marked 'Roman Canon'. The rest, presumably, are associated with Solesmes.

Like other editors before him Tozer did not hesitate to incorporate works by himself and his personal contacts, including those, like Frank Birtchnell, G.L. Stutfield and Cyril Vaughan, who had contributed to Catholic hymnody.<sup>781</sup> Equally striking is the complete absence of compositions by Newsham, Richardson, Pitts, Schulthes, Pitts and Zulueta. In other words northern, Jesuit and Oratorian contributions to the Benediction repertoire have been ignored. There is also virtually no sign of embassy chapel repertoire. On the other hand, the strong nineteenth-century weighting and the virtual absence of continental input are typical of the time.<sup>782</sup>

Tozer's manual was revised and enlarged by Robert Hasberry in 1931. Hasberry was choirmaster at St James's, Spanish Place, London; so in a sense the wheel had come full circle with a return to the descendant of one of the embassy chapels. His *Complete Benediction Manual* has 213 items, of which only 41 came from Tozer's edition of 1898.<sup>783</sup>

In the process Hasberry restored some music from the embassy chapel and Ushaw repertoires (9 and 8 pieces respectively). However, there are only two pieces by Jesuits and none from Oratory sources.<sup>784</sup> On the other hand he was not averse to works by major

<sup>781</sup> Tozer contributed 13 works, Stutfield 8, Birtchnell 7, Cary 6, and Vaughan 3. There are also 3 works by Elgar.

<sup>782</sup> Continental input, apart from plainchant, is represented by just two adaptations for the *Adoremus* text from Mendelssohn's Oratorios *Elijah* and *St Paul*.

<sup>783</sup> 8 out of Hasberry's 48 settings of the *O Salutaris*, 20 out of his 100 Litanies, 7 out of his 47 settings of the *Tantum Ergo* and 6 out of his 13 settings of *Adoremus* appear in Tozer's 1898 edition.

<sup>784</sup> Embassy chapel music consists of 2 *O Salutaris* set to a 'Melody XVIII century', the 'Spanish Chorale', the 'Italian Chorale', 2 works by Webbe (the elder) and 3 by Nixon. The Ushaw contribution consists of 1 work by Richard Gillow, 3 by Newsham and 4 by Richardson. There is one work each by Maher and Zulueta.

Continental Classical composers, 9 of which appear in the collection.<sup>785</sup> Hasberry also added 23 works that had become available after 1898. However, since 12 of these are by J.E. Turner, who had died in 1897, there is virtually no twentieth-century input.<sup>786</sup> On the other hand, following the trend started by Tozer, there are 18 plainchant settings. However, this is still a small proportion of the whole. Moreover, because he retained some of Tozer's original selections, some of the ambivalence in 1898 about what was the appropriate plainchant style remains. For instance there is the setting from Guidetti's *Directorum Chori*, another from the Mechlin and a third from the Pustet editions.<sup>787</sup>

Despite all this, Hasberry's edition still has a solidly British and nineteenth-century orientation. Yet, by 1931, the latter had a different meaning. The nineteenth century had ended thirty-one years before; so music from that era no longer had a contemporary feel. It had become an established repertoire. Unlike Tozer and his predecessors Hasberry was not really attempting to break new ground. He provided what congregations expected - hence his restoration of embassy chapel and Ushaw music. It is symptomatic that 20 Litanies and 1 *Tantum Ergo* setting are simply marked 'Traditional'.

Hasberry's work was challenged in 1937 by the publication of Terry's *Benediction Choir Book*, which itself was an abridgement of a much larger volume. It should be observed straight away that it was published at the same time as the revision of the *Westminster Hymnal* was commenced. Indeed, Dom Gregory Murray assisted Terry with many of the preparations. A novel feature was the incorporation of several motets, hymns and antiphons,

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<sup>785</sup> There are 2 works by J.S. Bach, 2 by Mendelssohn (taken from Tozer's 1898 edition), 1 each by Beethoven, Joseph Haydn, Michael Haydn, Padre Martini. 2 other items are simply described as 'German'; and there is an *O Salutaris* setting by Ett (the same as in Newsham's manual).

<sup>786</sup> The other composers are C.E. Miller: 6 works; F.J. Stone: 4 works; and Terry: 1 work.

<sup>787</sup> Three other items are described as 'Roman', 'Dominican Processionale' and 'XIII century'.

32 of which were in Latin. Moreover, 41 of the 189 pieces use plainchant, a higher proportion than in Hasberry's manual.<sup>788</sup>

In the process Terry followed the well-established practice of adapting plainchant melodies associated with other texts, sometimes with rather curious results, as the syncopations added to the melody for *Aeterna Christi Munera* show.<sup>789</sup>

Example 8.7 Terry's adaptation of the plainchant melody for *Aeterna Christi Munera* to the 'O Salutaris' text

The musical score consists of three systems of piano accompaniment for the text 'O Salutaris'. Each system is written for piano with a treble and bass staff. The first system is marked '[No slur here]'. The second system is marked '3' and shows a triplet. The third system is marked '[No slur here]' and 'A - me - n'.

<sup>788</sup> The balance is as follows: *O Salutaris* settings: 32; Litanies: 30 (+ 4 separate 'Kyrie' and 'Agnus Dei' settings); 44 *Tantum Ergo* settings; 15 *Adoremus* settings (+ 7 separate 'Laudate Dominum'), 34 Hymns and Motets; and 4 Marian Antiphons.

<sup>789</sup> Terry. 1937: No. 61. Terry also adapted the following other plainchant melodies to fit the *Tantum Ergo* text: No. 51 *Immensae Coeli Conditor*, no. 52 *Creator Alme Siderum*, no. 53 *Verbum Supernum*, no. 54 and 55 *Iam Lucis Orto Sidere* Modes 2 and 6, no. 56 *Jesu Dulcis Memoria*, no. 57 *Te Lucis Ante Terminum*, no. 58 *Ad Coenam Agni* (from La Feillée), no. 59 *Jesu Corona Virginum*, no. 60 *Verbum Supernum Prodiens*, and no. 62 *Jesu Redemptor*.



Another novelty, echoing his work on the *Westminster Hymnal*, was the inclusion of 20 adaptations from Continental hymnals.<sup>790</sup> He also included work by numerous named Continental composers, some of which had appeared in Newsham and Richardson's publication.<sup>791</sup> However, unlike in Hasberry, apart from one item by Michael Haydn, Viennese Classical eighteenth and early nineteenth-century compositions were excluded. Yet despite Terry's strictures on the subject there was some non-Catholic material (Louis Bourgeois and J.S. Bach). Indeed Terry even added adaptations from John Goss's setting of the hymn *Praise my soul the King of Heaven*, a melody by Jeremiah Clarke that had been harmonised by Vincent Novello, and Thomas Helmore's plainchant arrangement of *Veni Emmanuel*.

As usual, Terry did not hesitate to incorporate twenty works of his own, together with nine others by his friends Anselm Burge (under the pseudonym 'Laurence Ampleforth') and Murray. However, to a greater extent than Hasberry, he restored several items from the embassy chapel and Ushaw repertoires. Eleven works are associated with the former, twenty-six with the latter, including thirteen drawn directly from Newsham's manual.<sup>792</sup> Jesuit contributions were limited to one work each by George Herbert, William Maher and Charles Raymond Barker.

The net effect was a very different publication from Tozer and Hasberry's *Complete Benediction Manual*. Only 16 works appear in both volumes; and just as striking is the

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<sup>790</sup> These are taken from the *Andernacht Gesangbuch*, *As Hymnodus Sacer*, (Leipzig 1625), *Cant. S. Galli*, the *Koln Gesangbuch*, Leisentritt's *Gesangbuch*, *Leve Le Coeur* (1547), the *Miltenburg Processionale*, and La Feillée's *Methode de Plainchant* (1782). Terry also refers to a 'Dresden Chorale', a 'French Melody', a 'German Chorale', 'Traditional German', 'Traditional German 1741', 'Traditional German 1755', 'Traditional Parisian', 'Unknown Tours', 'Wolfenbuttel', an 'Italian Melody', a 'Spanish Melody', a fourteenth-century *Laudi Spirituali*, and a J.S.Bach harmonisation of a piece by Joseph Klug.

<sup>791</sup> See for example Ett's *O Salutaris*, Palestrina's *Tantum Ergo*, and adaptation of a Bach chorale for the same purpose and Allegri's *Adoremus*. Other named Continental composers are C.P.E.Bach, Louis Bourgeois, Casciolini, Alexander Choron, N. Choron, Croce, F. Filitz, Gounod, Adam Gumpeltzheimer (c. 1560-1625), Michael Haydn, Nanini, Schein, J. Schop, Schutz, and Johann Stiastny (1746-1820).

absence of compositions by Frank Birtchnell, Alphonse Cary, Edward Elgar, G.L. Stutfield, A. E. Tozer and J.E. Turner. Another difference is the fact that in 42 cases Terry avoided the usual four part harmonisations, though these still predominate. 27 of these 42 cases though are simply unison plainchant settings, so the effect is more apparent than real. On the other hand, the British nineteenth-century weighting was still retained, although the proportions from other countries and periods are somewhat greater. 81 out of 189 items are by British composers, 33 by Germans; 48 were composed between 1801-1900 and 29 between 1900-1937 as opposed to 21, 10 and 13 dating from the eighteenth, seventeenth and sixteenth centuries respectively.<sup>793</sup>

#### H. Twentieth-century attempts to restore plainchant to the Benediction repertoire

It will have been observed that Tozer, Hasberry and Terry made progressively greater use of plainchant settings; and this was paralleled by similar developments in *The Daily Hymnal*, John Driscoll's 'Cantionale' and the revised edition of *The Westminster Hymnal*, fitting in with the general campaign to get congregations to sing more of this kind of music. Not surprisingly the period witnessed attempts to produce plainchant Benediction manuals. Three of these are mentioned in Desclée's catalogue *Cantu Gregoriano* of March 1931.<sup>794</sup> However, the titles show that the principal market was France, not Britain. This also applies to F. Brun's *Livre de Saluts* and C. Boyer's *15 Motets au Saint-Sacrement et La Sainte Vierge*, both of which contain a number of original items in pseudo-plainchant style.

<sup>792</sup> The embassy chapel material consists of the 'Spanish Chorale', and works by J. Clarke (arr. V. Novello), V. Novello, Webbe (the elder and younger), S. Wesley and T. White. Ushaw composers are represented by Nesham and Richard Gillow. There are also 3 pieces by John Richardson.

<sup>793</sup> There are only 9 works by French composers, along with 1 each by identifiable Italian, Polish and Spanish composers.

<sup>794</sup> No. 742: *Chants usuels en l'honneur de Très Saint Sacrement de la S. Vierge*. p. 26.

No. 844: *Cantus selecti ad Benedictionem Sanctissimi Sacramenti*. p. 9.

No. 910: Ed. Tourte, Ferdinand and Kaltnecker, M. *Chants divers pour les saluts du Très Saint Sacrement*. p. 34.

However, the fact that copies of both survive in the Talbot Library, Preston shows that they circulated in Britain.<sup>795</sup> Benediction sections were also incorporated in both parts of *Plainchant for Schools*. Part 1 contains 3 settings each of *O Salutaris* and *Tantum Ergo*, 2 of *Adoremus*, and 8 other items, including the *Te Deum*. Part 2 has 6 settings of *O Salutaris*, 4 of *Tantum Ergo* and 1 of *Adoremus*.<sup>796</sup> Then after 1945, for the first time since Wade, major liturgical books began to incorporate similar sections. The *Liber Usualis* with English rubrics of 1950 and 1951 has a section entitled 'Chants at Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament'. The interesting feature is that, unlike in *Plainchant for Schools*, which provided an exclusive diet of medieval chant, the very first item is the 'Modern Chant' of *Tantum Ergo* adapted by Wade back in 1751. Apparently then the wheel had come full circle. Comparison of this setting with Wade's (see example 8.1) though shows significant differences. A four- rather than a five-line stave has been used; it is modal (starting on C rather than F), and it is set out according to the equal note and rhythmic theories (note the Rhythmic Signs) of Pothier and Mocquereau. Wade would barely have recognised it.

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<sup>795</sup> Ed. L'Abbé F. Brun: *Le Livre des Saluts*. Paris. L'Art Catholique. 1920. The copy in the Talbot library was signed by J.P. Gallagher SJ. C.Boyer: *15 Motets au Saint-Sacrement et la Sainte Vierge*. Saint Laurent sur Sèvre. L.J. Biton. 1920.

<sup>796</sup> [ed. Willson]: *Plainchant for Schools*. Part 1 (1930): 54-67 and Part 2 (1934): 56-61.

Example 8.8 ‘Tantum Ergo “No.3: Modern Chant” in Desclée’s *Liber Usualis* with English rubrics of 1950<sup>797</sup>



Tan-tum er-go Sa-cra-mén-tum Ven-e-ré-mur cé-nu-i: Et an-tí-

-quum doc-u-mé-tum Nó-vo cé-det rí-tu-i: Praé-stet fí-des sup-ple-men-

-tum sen-su-um de-fec-tu-i.

<sup>797</sup> *Liber Usualis*. 1950: 1851.

## Chapter 9: The organ and its music in Catholic England

### A. Catholic attitudes to organs and organists

So far, except in the case of plainchant accompaniment, the focus has been almost entirely on vocal music. In one sense this reflects reality. Officially the function of the organ was to accompany the choir, to which it was therefore subservient. Indeed approval of the instrument was very guarded. *Tra le Solleitudini* (TLS) declared that 'although the music proper to the Church is purely vocal music, music with the accompaniment of the organ is also permitted.'<sup>798</sup> This ideal of unaccompanied music of course applied particularly to plainchant and Renaissance polyphony. Moreover, during Lent and Advent solo voluntaries were forbidden, and sometimes people extended this even to an absolute ban on any use of instruments at all. When the organ was used, TLS stated that with plainchant 'it should merely sustain and never oppress' the music; and that, unlike in Medieval and Renaissance times, it could not be 'preceded by long preludes or interrupted with 'intermezzo' pieces'.<sup>799</sup>

Not surprisingly, organists had a low status. Unlike many choirmasters, who frequently were clergymen, they were usually laypeople. Moreover, the poverty of the Catholic church often precluded a stipend, so the organist was usually an amateur. Even when stipends were paid, the effect of inflation after the Great War eroded their value. For instance 'Cantor' in the *Westminster Cathedral Chronicle* estimated a typical payment of £40 p.a. as opposed to the £500 p.a. offered to a cinema organist.<sup>800</sup>

<sup>798</sup> *Tra le Solleitudini*, clause 15 in Terry 1931: 261. The passage is virtually paraphrased by J.B. O'Connell thus: 'Although the music proper to the Church is purely vocal so that the ideal is to sing it unaccompanied, the use of the organ, or in smaller churches, of a harmonium, is also permitted'. *The Celebration of the Mass: A Study of the rubrics of the Roman Missal* London. 1945 vol. 3: 52; quoted by Gervase Holloway: 'Organists - What the Church Teaches'. *ML*. 26/ 3 (No. 299) (Autumn 2000) : 8. A similar line is taken by 'Cantor' (probably Richard Terry) in the *WCC*. 13/ 1 (Jan 1919): 15.

<sup>799</sup> *Tra le Solleitudini*. Clause 16 in Terry 1931: 261.

<sup>800</sup> 'Cantor': 'The future of the organist'. *WCC* 14/8 (August 1920): 155.

Nevertheless, despite such restrictions organists played an important role in Catholic services. In addition to accompanying the choir they were expected to provide voluntaries at the start and end of a service and freely extemporise on every occasion when there was no singing. Despite official disapproval this could extend to the Canon of the Mass and even the moment of consecration.<sup>801</sup> Symptomatic also was the amount of money spent on instruments from the early nineteenth century onwards, and here the role of Catholic aristocrats could be important. For example, in 1835 Stonyhurst, which educated many Catholic aristocrats, spent £800 on a new organ by John Davis of London. This was put through its paces by none other than Henry Smart, nephew of George Smart, who directed the music at the coronations of William IV and Queen Victoria. Later, in 1883, after it had been upgraded, it was valued at £1,500. However, even poor congregations were willing to spend money. St Cuthbert's, Durham spent £210 in 1842 on an instrument built by J.C. Bishop of London; St Mary's, Burnley spent £412 in 1855 on a John Gray and Frederick Davison organ; and in 1927 the church of the Sacred Heart and St Anne, Blackburn paid £1,030 for an organ by the same firm.<sup>802</sup>

The relationship between the organist and choirmaster could make or break the quality of musical performance and the religious atmosphere it engendered. This was especially true when the organist was paid a stipend and therefore likely to be a professional. Some complained that such players had a secular attitude coupled with a contempt for the liturgy. On the other hand, as appreciations in the *Stonyhurst Magazine* illustrate, a qualified musician could give useful technical advice to the choirmaster and choir, particularly if they were amateurs.<sup>803</sup> An excellent example of an efficient team can be found

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<sup>801</sup> Holloway 2000: 16.

<sup>802</sup> 'L.C': 'The New Organ'. *SM*. 1/2 (March 1883): 165-7. Tweedy, N.d. Part II: 12. NPOR: D04513 and N10777.

with the choirmaster Fernand Laloux and his organist Guy Weitz at Farm St church, London in the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s.

## B. Instruments

With instruments the first point to note is that, although organ technology in Britain owed a good deal to the Continent, it was geared to the needs the Anglican Church, the requirements of concert hall performances and, to a lesser extent, those of other non-Catholic denominations.<sup>804</sup> In some cases Catholics even obtained their instruments second hand from other church buildings. For example, in 1870 the church of St Anthony of Padua, Preston installed a Foster and Andrews organ originally built for a Methodist church in Burnley. Likewise in the 1930s St Gregory's, Preston purchased a Thomas Pendlebury organ from a Wesleyan Chapel in Leigh; Our Lady and St Philip Howard, Arundel obtained their William Hill organ in 1873 from St John's, Islington; and Downside's first organ came from the Brighton Pavilion.<sup>805</sup> However, there are some interesting exceptions. In 1853 St Walburge's, Preston had a William Hill organ built that was a replica of one at the Catholic church of St Mary at Hill, Hampstead. The same thing happened in 1883 with the Willis organs built for St Dominic's, Newcastle and St Dominic's, Haverstock Hill, London. More remarkable is the organ at Stanbrook Abbey, near Worcester. This was

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<sup>803</sup> See the obituary of Henry Joseph McArdle in the *SM*. 19 (No. 269) (June 1927): 215-17. See also the appreciative references to the work of his successor William Bowyer in 'Music Notes' from the same period. *SM*. 19 (No. 276) (July 1928): 577.

<sup>804</sup> An exception to this is the Catholic firm of Rushworth and Dreaper, based in Liverpool. It is also known that Frederick Davidson, who helped build several organs in Catholic churches, was a pupil of Samuel Wesley. Nicholas Thistlethwaite: *The Making of the Victorian Organ* Cambridge. CUP. 1998: 182. For extensive discussion of the impact of foreign influences, especially those from Germany *ibid.* chs. 6, 7 and 12. German design in nineteenth-century Catholic churches, as refracted through English builders is illustrated by the organs built for St Michael and St John, Clitheroe and St Mary's Cathedral, Newcastle *ibid.* 390 and 393.

<sup>805</sup> NPOR: N15317 and D04835. The Downside organ was built by George England in 1805. In 1905 it was moved to the Anglican church of St Vigor, Stratton on the Fosse, near the abbey.

built in 1871 by Nicholsons of Worcester and was clearly considered suitable for the powerful Medicean kind of plainchant used there. However, in 1909 the introduction of the Solesmes style produced a change. Acting on the advice of Ivor Atkins and Henry Bewerunge, Laurentia McLachlan had a special stop added which they believed would be compatible with female voices.<sup>806</sup> In 1936 she went further employing Rushworth and Dreaper to rebuild the organ to her specifications. All the mixtures and virtually all the reeds were cut out, and a wider range of flute stops inserted.

A spectacular purpose-designed organ is the 1931 instrument built by John Compton for Downside Abbey according to specifications laid down by Dom Gregory Murray. It has 141 electric luminous button stops and 6 tremulants organised around four manuals, a 'floating' Bombarde 'manual' and a pedal board. The pipes are enclosed within a gigantic swell box and electro-pneumatic action is employed. This became the model for the instrument built in 1936 for the BBC at its studios at Maida Vale. Indeed many of the radio organ broadcasts there were performed by Murray himself.<sup>807</sup>

The second feature to note with Catholic organs is the basic divide between harmoniums and pipe-organs proper. In many cases the poverty of Catholic congregations forced them to rely on the former.<sup>808</sup> This could be true even with quite large establishments. For example up until the 1920s daily mass in the Boys' Chapel at Stonyhurst was accompanied by a harmonium. Another factor was the small size of many buildings. For

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<sup>806</sup> NPOR: N04102, N10715 and S00041. For Stanbrook see the letters from McLachlan to Bewerunge. 8/5/1909, 15/5/1909, 2/6/1909, 23/6/1909, 28/6/1909, 9/7/1909 and 16/7/1909. Stanbrook Abbey Archives. The information about the changes in the 1930s came from Margaret Truran, the present choir mistress. Details of the present organ, obtained from the NPOR: N03746, are as follows: Pedal: Open Diapason 16ft, Sub Bass 16ft, Echo Bourdon 16 ft, Bass Flute 8ft. Great: Lieblich Bourdon 16ft, Open Diapason 8ft, Diapason Canique 8ft, Stopped Diapason 8ft, Dulciana 8ft. Swell: Geigen Diapason 8ft, Rohr Gedeckt 8ft, Aeoline 8ft, Voix Celeste 8ft, Principal 4ft, Wald Flute 4ft, Gemshorn 4ft, Closed Horn 8ft, Tremulant.

<sup>807</sup> For further details about individual stops and other technical features see the NPOR: N05561. These two organs are also discussed by Stephen Birknell: *The History of the English Organ*. Cambridge. CUP. 1996: 321-4.



example, a harmonium was used in the Sodality Chapel at Stonyhurst; and there is still one in position at in the Tempest family's private chapel at Broughton, near Skipton. It is no accident that Catholics published teaching manuals for the instrument. Henry Farmer SJ's *Tutor for the American Organ and Harmonium*, re-edited in 1915, is a good example.<sup>809</sup> He starts from the assumption that he is dealing with absolute beginners, supplying the most basic instruction about scales and notation. His Catholic credentials are betrayed by the inclusion of such pieces as the 'Spanish Chant', *Adeste Fideles*, the 'Sicilian Mariners' tune (often adapted by Catholics for singing the hymn *O Sanctissima*),<sup>810</sup> and a setting of the Agnus Dei from Rheinberger's Mass in Eb Opus 157. There are also four original voluntaries by Farmer himself. The appeal to a non-Catholic market is shown by a setting of the *Old Hundredth* along with 12 single and 6 double Anglican chants by Anglican establishment stalwarts such as Aldrich, Battishall, Crotch, Croft, Elvey, Farrant, Goss, Lawes, McFarren, Mornington, Tucker and Woodward. Two of them are labelled 'Gregorian', and one is by Farmer himself. In other words, Farmer, who had composed Masses in the grand 'embassy chapel' style, retained an old-fashioned nineteenth-century Catholic eclecticism towards compositions from other denominations. It will be seen that such resistance to demands by Cecilians and Ultramonatanes was also a feature of the solo repertoire performed on pipe-organs.

A notable feature with harmoniums was their standardised mass-produced design. However, as is well known, with pipe-organs this does not apply, although progress was made in this direction with the more common stops. Nevertheless, there was a basic pattern

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<sup>808</sup> I myself remember such instruments being used in the 1960s at St Joseph's church, Stokesley, North Yorkshire (which was quite a large building) and at St Anne's church, Wendover, Buckinghamshire.

<sup>809</sup> Henry Farmer: *Tutor for the American Organ and Harmonium*. London. Joseph Williams Ltd. New and enlarged edition. 1915.

<sup>810</sup> See, for example, ed. Hemy. *The Crown of Jesus Music*. 1864. No.198.

of evolution; and in Catholic churches one aspect of this was the changing functions required of the instrument. In the nineteenth century the first organs were designed to meet the requirements of embassy chapels, seminaries and colleges such as Stonyhurst and Ushaw, aristocratic household chapels, and churches in the early urban missions. A very early example was that built for the Sardinian chapel in 1802 by G.P. England, who went on to build the instrument taken by Downside from the Brighton Pavilion.<sup>811</sup> Another organ, built by John Davis of London round about 1815, still survives in the Junior House Chapel at Ampleforth. This has a single manual with seven stops coupled to a simple pedal board.<sup>812</sup> Edward Hopkins in 1850 reported the existence of a large instrument with three manuals, a pedal board and 31 stops at the pro-Cathedral of St Mary's, Moorfields, London. More modest was a fine organ, which still exists, built by Charles Allen, at Everingham in 1837. This is similar in scale to the organs at St Cuthbert's, Durham and St Mary's Burnley, built at about the same time.<sup>813</sup>

The central point is that, although all these organs have pedal boards - an advanced feature for those days in England - they are of limited scope. These are organs of moderate

<sup>811</sup> The specifications for this instrument are supplied by Darby 1984: 148 citing an account in the *Musical Standard* 1890. 31/5: 1519-1520. It had 15 stops divided between three manuals. As was usually the case in Britain at that time, the instrument had no pedal board. This remained in use till 1855.

<sup>812</sup> NPOR: 15058. For some time it was used at St Mary's, Leigh in Lancashire.

<sup>813</sup> The Sardinian Chapel organ is mentioned in Edward F. Rimbault: *New History of the Organ*. London. Robert Cocks and Co. 1870. 151. St Mary's, Moorfields is mentioned by Edward J. Hopkins: *The Organ. A Comprehensive Treatise*. London. Robert Cocks and Co. 1850/R1870: 466. However, Hopkins' information clashes with completely different details of an organ as rebuilt by Cocks and Co. in 1910 summarised by the NPOR: N17650. This states that currently there are 10 stops arranged on 2 manuals with an additional 16ft stop for the pedal board. This is very similar to the arrangements at Everingham, St Cuthbert's, Durham and St Mary's, Burnley, with 18, 9 and 19 stops respectively (couplers are not included). At Everingham these are divided as follows: Great: 9 stops, Swell: 7 stops, pedal board: 1 stop. At St Cuthbert's there are 4 stops apiece on the Great and Swell manuals (plus a tremulant that was probably added later) and 1 on the pedal board. St Mary's, Burnley has 11 and 7 stops on the Great and Swell manuals plus and 1 on the pedal board. The Everingham organ is discussed by John Rowntree: 'Organ Advisory Group: The organ in the chapel of Our Lady and St Everilda, York.' *ML*. 15/4 (August 1989): 142-3. See also Thistlethwaite 1990: 94-5. Thistlethwaite's discussion emphasises the conservative character of the instrument, both in terms of its action and choice of stops. The details about St Cuthbert, Durham and St Mary, Burnley have been obtained by direct observation. These are summarised in the NPOR: N14981, R00616 and D04513.

power, designed to meet the requirements of Viennese Classical Masses either single-handed, or in co-operation with a small orchestra. On the other hand the limited capacities of the old-fashioned notched swell pedal, along with the presence of two manuals, suited the terraced dynamics favoured by Novello in his arrangements of plainchant.

Subsequent campaigns against Viennese-style music and the use of instruments in church fitted in with later changes to the organ. Here the principal feature was the growth in size combined with the increased number and variety of available stops. For instance the organ at St Dominic's, Newcastle, the 1883 organ at Stonyhurst and the 1904 organ at St Chad's Cathedral Birmingham had 30, 32 and 30 stops (excluding couplers) respectively divided between three manuals and a pedal-board.<sup>814</sup>

Such changes of course were not confined to Catholic churches; but it meant that orchestras were no longer needed. Yet the new instruments were still compatible with the heavy forceful demands of Medicean style chant, as the three-stave arrangements in Edwin Sircom's *Gradual* of 1870 at Stonyhurst demonstrate. On the other hand, apart from the improvements to the quality of swell pedals and boxes, such instruments were unsuitable for the accompaniment of Solesmes style chant. It was hard to fit such large organs into many chancel areas, their power tempted organists to swamp the singers; and, despite the introduction of tubular pneumatic action, their vast scale meant that they lacked the sensitive responsiveness required for this type of singing. The same was true if such instruments were used to give a choir limited support for Renaissance polyphony. This helps explain the niggardly approach to organ building at Westminster Cathedral. Shortage of money was not the whole story. Given the focus there on these two kinds of music a large expensive

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<sup>814</sup>The details are as follows: St Dominic, Newcastle (Fr Willis, London, 1883): Pedal Board: 4 stops, Great: 10 stops, Swell: 10 stops + tremulant, Choir: 6 stops; Stonyhurst (Wadsworth, Manchester), 1883: Pedal Board: 4 stops, Great: 11 stops, Swell: 10 stops, Choir: 7 stops; St Chad's, Birmingham (Iles, Southwark, 1904): Pedal Board: 4 stops (including 32ft stops), Great: 9 stops, Swell: 11 stops (+ tremulant), Choir: 6 stops. Stonyhurst and St Chad's organs were re-buildings of earlier instruments.

instrument was not essential. Consequently, for the first thirty years arrangements were extremely haphazard. In the original Cathedral Hall there was a small organ with just 12 stops and a small 'Positive' organ wheeled around on a trolley for the accompaniment of plainchant in evening services. Shortly afterwards a three manual organ by Norris and Beard was acquired with a highly unreliable electric power source for the bellows. There was also a small two manual organ built by T.C. Lewis for use in the Lady Chapel. This was replaced in 1910 by a similar instrument taken from St Mary's church, Horseferry Road. It was not until 1920 that the present organ was started and an inaugural fund-raising concert was put on by Marcel Dupré. Its completion - ten years later - was celebrated with a second recital by Dupré.<sup>815</sup>

Nevertheless, such constraints did not prevent the construction of even larger and more powerful instruments. The most exotic example can be found at Ampleforth with 102 stops (excluding couplers). Built in 1961 by J.W. Walker and Sons Ltd but incorporating pipes from an instrument built in 1866 by Forster and Andrews, it is in effect two organs in one. Most of it is positioned in the north transept at the junction between the Nave and the Chancel. The 'Antiphon' organ served the needs of the monastic choir; the main organ met the requirements of the school.<sup>816</sup>

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<sup>815</sup> Joseph Collings: 'Westminster Memories V'. *WCC*. Oct 1955: 171-2. See also NPOR: N17955 for the Norman and Beard organ, presently located in the North Choir and N18330/N17956 for the Henry Willis organ. Here it is stated that the organ was built between 1922 and 1932.

<sup>816</sup> The details are as follows: 'Antiphon' organ. Pedal board, Great and Swell manuals: 7 stops apiece. Main organ. Pedal board: 21 stops (including 32ft stops), Great and Swell manuals: 15 stops apiece; Choir, Solo and Positive manuals: 12, 8 and 10 stops respectively. For examples of powerful organs built in the 1920s see NPOR: A01107, R00671, and N17322 for the organs built by Henry Willis at Farm St (1926), Stonyhurst (1927), and St Thomas à Becket, Wandsworth (1929), all of them to similar specifications. For further discussion of the Stonyhurst instruments see Philip McCosker: 'Let The Merry Organ Go: Benedicamus Domino'. *SM*. 59 (No. 492) (1996): 248-54.

Like the rest of the British organ establishment Catholics were slow to respond to the early twentieth-century revival on the Continent of 'Classical organ' designs modelled on those believed to have been known to J.S. Bach. This is somewhat surprising, given the international character of the Catholic Church and the fact that such 'Classical' organs, with their more limited range of stops and dynamics, might have been better suited for the accompaniment of Solesmes style plainchant and Renaissance polyphony. However, there are some exceptions. In 1926 Henry Willis III, following instructions by Guy Weitz, rebuilt parts of the organ at the Church of the Immaculate Conception, Farm Street, London, giving it a more Continental feel.<sup>817</sup> In 1936, Susi Jeans had an organ built for her private use at Cleveland Lodge, Dorking, Surrey for the performance of solo works from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>818</sup> After the War, Ralph Downes, organist at the Brompton Oratory from 1938, emerged as a major protagonist for 'Classical' revival. Downes is best known for his work on the organ built between 1949 and 1954 at the Royal Festival Hall, but at the same time he also supervised the rebuilding of the 1857 Bishop and Storr instrument in the Brompton Oratory.<sup>819</sup> After that the next 'Classical' organ to be built in a Catholic church is the single manual instrument with just four stops by Arnold, Williamson and Hyatt at the Church of the Most Holy Redeemer, Harold Hill, Romford, London.<sup>820</sup> Nonetheless by this stage, thanks to the work of John Rowntree, head of the Organ Advisory Group of the CMA and then of the SSG, the movement had acquired a firm foothold within the English Catholic

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<sup>817</sup> These consisted of the addition of two mixtures to the Great organ, a Piccolo 1 and the inclusion of upper Pedal work to the Swell organ. Birknell 1990: 328. For a comparison of the specifications see the NPOR database N17386 and A01107 for the 1916 and 1926 instruments respectively.

<sup>818</sup> Birknell 1990: 328-9.

<sup>819</sup> Ibid. 336-7. For the technical specifications see NPOR: N18498. See also Ralph Downes: 'The Organs of the Oratory' in ed. Napier and Laing, 1984: 175-6. Downes notes that such changes were, in part, a response to the gradual abandonment there of performances of transcriptions of orchestral works. Details of the Grey and Davison organ used at the Oratory's original chapel in King William St, London and given on page 177.

<sup>820</sup> John P. Rowntree and John F. Brennan: *The Classical Organ in Britain 1955-1974*. Oxford. Positif Press. 1975:32. This supplies a complete list of all such organs built between 1955 and 1974.

church. The result was that, after the Second Vatican Council, many more organs of this type were adopted.<sup>821</sup>

### C. Solo repertoire for the organ

By the 1920s then there was a clear division in the uses to which organs could be put. On the one hand it was supposed - in a limited way - to accompany the choir; on the other in certain places it could function as a solo instrument, making full use of the scope offered by its increased size and complexity. Such solo repertoire falls into two areas: original music written for the organ and arrangements from other kinds of music.

A good example mainly of the former can be found in records abstracted from issues of the *Farm Street Journal* for 1961 (table 9.1).<sup>822</sup> Altogether 112 performances of 99 voluntaries are reported; 40 of these during High Mass at 10.50 am; 72 during the sequence of afternoon services starting at 3.30 p.m. 27 composers are represented with major contributions by J.S. Bach (27 works), Vierne (12 works), Franck (7 works) and Guy Weitz, the Farm street organist (9 works). J.S. Bach does much to explain the strong early eighteenth-century German presence; and this, surely, is not unconnected with the rebuilding of the organ there in 1926. On the other hand works representative of the late nineteenth-century French Romantic school, such as César Franck, may be a reflection of Weitz's Belgian background. However, there are no works by Jean Langlais or Olivier Messiaen,

<sup>821</sup> Ibid. 17. For an example of this influence see the single manual instrument with 3 stops built by H.C. Schumacher of Belgium at St Anne's Church, Wendover, and used by myself. This was installed in 1988 following direct consultations between the organist Mrs Anne Holt, at one time secretary of the Society of St Gregory, and John Rowntree.

<sup>822</sup> Source: *Repertoire* database, **Farm St Church** table with filters on the **year** and **genre** fields to get details of performances. A Query using the **Composers** table is needed to get details of composers' nationality and period of activity. Queries were on the **FarmSt(a)** table in the *Jesuit* database with 'unique values' applied to obtain the repertoire.

despite the late date. Equally striking is the negligible contribution from Britain. There are, for instance, no works by Herbert Howells.

Table 9.1 An analysis of the repertoire in performances of organ voluntaries by Guy Weitz at Farm St. church, London, in 1961

| Nationality of composers | No. of performances | No. of works performed |
|--------------------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| Belgium                  | 17                  | 12                     |
| Britain                  | 4                   | 4                      |
| France                   | 34                  | 33                     |
| Germany                  | 54                  | 47                     |
| Hungary                  | 2                   | 2                      |
| USA                      | 1                   | 1                      |
| Period of composition    |                     |                        |
| 1601-1700                | 3                   | 2                      |
| 1651-1700                | 4                   | 3                      |
| 1651-1750                | 11                  | 11                     |
| 1701-1750                | 33                  | 27                     |
| 1801-1850                | 5                   | 5                      |
| 1801-1900                | 4                   | 4                      |
| 1851-1900                | 10                  | 10                     |
| 1851-1950                | 38                  | 33                     |
| 1901-1961                | 4                   | 4                      |

These patterns might then be regarded as atypical. In fact, they are confirmed to some extent by the pattern of William Bowyer's performances at Stonyhurst some thirty years before. 29 out of the 41 works performed were specifically composed for the organ. Of these only one dates from 1601-1700, whereas 12 apiece date from 1701-1750 and 1850-1900. 14 of these works were composed by Germans, 10 by Frenchmen; only 1 is British. Once again then there is a strong emphasis on late nineteenth-century French Romantic and Baroque German composers, including 10 works by J.S. Bach.

Further limited evidence comes from Ushaw, which has collections of music by Flavell, Guilmant, Reger, Henry Smart and Widor. Here there was an interest in late nineteenth-century German (as well as French) Romantics, along with some native British

contributions. On the other hand, the presence of Parry's *Little Organ Book* points to an interest in more restrained chorale preludes, following the lead given by J.S. Bach.<sup>823</sup>

Catholic interest in J.S. Bach though is not confined to the twentieth century. In the early nineteenth century, especially between 1807 and 1811, Samuel Wesley actively promoted his *œuvre*, and not just in private and public concerts.<sup>824</sup> From about 1810, in collaboration with Charles Frederick Horn, he produced editions of Bach's six organ 'trio' sonatas (BWV 525-530) and *Forty-Eight Preludes and Fugues* (BWV 846-893). Subscribers to the latter included Catholic musicians, such as Samuel Webbe the elder, Samuel Webbe the younger, and Vincent Novello.<sup>825</sup> In addition Wesley published three of Bach's *Six Little Preludes* (BMV 933-938)(the '48').<sup>826</sup> A considerable obstacle was the absence of pedalboards in most English organs at that time. Wesley responded by arranging the organ 'trio' sonatas for three hands on the piano, and in the 'advertisement' accompanying the edition, he stated that the same thing could be done on organ manuals.<sup>827</sup> In similar fashion Novello made four-hand arrangements of Bach compositions for the organ, notably the Prelude in Eb and 'St Anne' fugue (BMV 552/1-2). In his *Reminiscences*, written in 1844, Wesley states that he and Novello performed some of these on occasion in the Portuguese embassy chapel.<sup>828</sup> Traces of Bach's influence also surface occasionally in Wesley's compositions,

<sup>823</sup> Hubert Parry: *A Little Organ Book: Devotional Voluntaries for Parish Use*. The top page with publication details is missing. Andrew McCrea: 'British Organ Music after 1800', in Thistlethwaite and Webber 1998: 29, for an assessment of its significance of this. The other collections are: Flavell, Edwin: *The National Organist: Original Voluntaries by Edwin Flavell*. London. Tuckwood. No other publication data; Felix A. Guilmant: *The Practical Organist*. Books 1-12. Paris. Durand. N.d.; Max Reger: *Zwölf Stücke für Orgel*. 1901 (no other publication data); Henry Smart: *12 Short and Easy Pieces for Organ*. London. Novello and Co. Ltd. N.d.; Charles-Marie Widor: Untitled collection of compositions (top page missing with the publication data), 1901.

<sup>824</sup> Philip Olleson: 'Samuel Wesley and the English Bach awakening' in ed. Michael Kassler: *The English Bach Awakening: Knowledge of J.S. Bach and his music in England 1750-1850*. Aldershot. Ashgate. 2004: 251-314.

<sup>825</sup> Ibid. 281-2 and 304-7 (private and public concerts of Bach's music) 270-4, (Organ 'trio' sonatas) 285-95 (the '48'). The full titles of the first issues are: *No. 1. A Trio composed originally for the Organ by John Sebastian Bach, and now adapted for three hands upon the pianoforte*. C.F. Horn and S. Wesley. London (c. 1810); *S. Wesley and C.F. Horn's new and correct edition of the Preludes and Fugues of John Sebastian Bach*. London. 4 Books. (c. 1810-13). A copy of the second state of the list of subscribers for the latter is given in figure 5.1.

<sup>826</sup> Ibid. 312.

<sup>827</sup> Ibid. 273. See also figure A1 for the title page.

<sup>828</sup> Ibid. 298.



notably his Voluntary No. 1 KO606, published in about 1826 and dedicated 'to his friend Thomas Adams esqr', a notable early exponent of pedal-board performance technique. Earlier, in 1809, when he revised his organ concerto in D, he incorporated Bach's D major fugue from part 1 of the '48' (BMV 850/2).<sup>829</sup>

With arrangements, the patterns are rather different. Good pictures for the nineteenth century come from St Cuthbert's, Durham and Everingham, though there is no knowing whether or not they continued to be used after 1900. St Cuthbert's has a single publication: Edward Travis's nine-volume edition of *The Amateur Organist: A Collection of Voluntaries for the Organ or Pianoforte*.<sup>830</sup> The first thing to observe is that this collection was made by a non-Catholic. Indeed there are several arrangements by J. Henry Hiles (1826-1904), a professor at the Manchester College of Music. Thus, like Farmer, Durham Catholics had no qualms about using material associated with other denominations. Conversely Travis's incorporation of Catholic works shows that Anglicans did the same thing in reverse. Second, these arrangements were designed for the piano as well as the organ, indicating they may have been intended for domestic as well as public use; or reflecting the fact that pianos were still permitted in churches. It also suggests that at St Cuthbert's they might have been performed using the manuals only. There are only two staves and the organ there has only one pedal stop, though couplers are available.

The collection has 170 items, 47 of which have been annotated. This gives a good idea of what was actually performed.<sup>831</sup> 20 of these are by non-Catholics, 12 of which are by

<sup>829</sup> 'Chronology of the English Bach Awakening' (no author given) in Kassler, 2004: 20. Details of Wesley's Voluntary No. 1 KO606 were given by Olleson in his paper 'Samuel Wesley, Thomas Adams and the English Organ in the 1820s' at the 4<sup>th</sup> *Biennial International Conference on Music in 19th-Century Britain* (Leeds University, July 26<sup>th</sup>, 2003). See also his *Samuel Wesley, the Man and his Music*. Boydell and Brewer. Woodbridge. 2003: 301, 308.

<sup>830</sup> Ed. Edward Travis: *The Amateur Organist: A Collection of Voluntaries for the Organ or Pianoforte*. London. Brewer and Co. N.d.

<sup>831</sup> These statistics have been obtained by analysis of the material on the *Cuthbert* database, **Cuthbertv** table, which is equipped with a special column listing those pieces that have been annotated.

Handel. 29 are composed by Germans, 10 by British composers. 14 works were composed between 1651-1750, 6 in 1701-1800 and 9 in 1751-1800. There is therefore a strong concentration on the late seventeenth and eighteenth-century output by German and British composers, but with much less Bach than in performances of repertoire specifically composed for the organ.

At Everingham there are two nineteenth-century collections; Edward Rimbault's *Organist's Portfolio IV*<sup>832</sup> and *The Harmonium Museum: A Collection of One Hundred Pieces of a Sacred and Secular Character*, edited anonymously and published by Boosey and Co. Neither has annotations, so no assessment can be made of what was actually performed. Clearly the Boosey collection was intended for the harmonium, but at Everingham it would have been executed on the organ. However, as this instrument has only one pedal stop, these pieces might have been played using the manuals only, as at St Cuthbert's. 29 of the pieces are classed as 'Sacred Works'. 15 of these are by Germans, 9 by Italians (6 by Rossini) and only 3 by British composers.<sup>833</sup> In Rimbault there are 35 pieces by Germans, 10 by Frenchmen, 3 by Italians and 1 apiece by British and Dutch composers. 21 pieces were composed between 1801-1900, and 16 between 1751-1850.<sup>834</sup> As at St Cuthbert's the Germanic influence is strong, but British contributions are negligible, and there is a greater concentration on nineteenth-century works, perhaps because these are later publications.

Such admixtures of the sacred and profane continued into the twentieth century. For instance, on the back of Farmer's *Tutor for the American Organ and Harmonium* (1915) there is a list of 98 works in Joseph Williams' publication *Celebrated Compositions transcribed for*

<sup>832</sup> Edward Rimbault: *Organist's Portfolio IV*. No publication details supplied. Nineteenth-century appearance.

<sup>833</sup> In addition there is one item apiece by French and Flemish composers.

<sup>834</sup> The balance of items across the remaining periods is as follows: 1601-1700: 1; 1651-1750: 4; 1701-1800: 1; 1751-1800: 3; 1851-1900: 3.

*Organ*, divided into four series.<sup>835</sup> 24 of these are taken from 15 Masses or Motets; another 21 come from 13 Oratorios.<sup>836</sup> The list includes works by J.S. Bach, Handel, Hanselt, Haydn, Mendelssohn, Mozart, Reinecke, Rheinberger, Schubert and Spohr; so, once again, there is a strong late eighteenth and nineteenth-century Germanic weighting.<sup>837</sup>

At Stonyhurst in the late 1920s an even more secular pattern is apparent. In 1927-1928 11 out of the 12 arrangements performed by William Bowyer were of secular origin.<sup>838</sup> Perhaps as a result the balance in terms of nationality is more even, with a much lower proportion of German music. Alongside Beethoven, Handel, Humperdinck and Schubert are arrangements from Byrd, Dvorak, Elgar, Grieg, Sibelius and Tchaikovsky.

A most prolific early twentieth-century arranger was Dom Gregory Murray. His papers at Downside contain 63 such works, most of which were published and all except 3 date from before 1939. However here, as with original works for organ, the emphasis is on the late Baroque (30 works) and the late nineteenth-century (22 works) periods.<sup>839</sup>

Typically, Murray did not remain content with accepted approaches. Between 1935 and 1987 he composed 100 'Liturgical Interludes' for organ. 70 of them appeared in four volumes by 1952.<sup>840</sup> They are quite different from anything else that has been discussed so

<sup>835</sup> 96 works are itemised, but two of these contain more than one composition.

<sup>836</sup> There is also two original works that are clearly intended for ecclesiastical use: Lefébvre Wely's *Offertoire en forme d'une Marche* and R. Faverger's *Prière du Soir*.

<sup>837</sup> Exact details are as follows: Arcadelt: 1, Bach: 1, Cherubini: 2, Farmer: 1, Handel: 10, Hanselt: 1, Haydn: 7, Gounod: 2, Mendelssohn: 5, Mozart: 6, Reinecke: 1, Rheinberger: 5, Rossini: 1, and Spohr: 2. A notable performer of such transcriptions was Edward D'Every at the London Oratory. Indeed, earlier rebuildings of the organ there in 1904, 1915 and 1924 before the arrival of Ralph Downes in 1936 catered for his technique. Downes 1984: 175.

<sup>838</sup> The sacred work is Schubert's *Ave Maria*. The secular works include the slow movement from Dvorak's 'New World' symphony, the overture from Humperdinck's *Hansel and Gretel*, the slow movement from Beethoven's 'Pathétique' Piano sonata, 2 'Pomp and Circumstance' Marches and one of the *Enigma Variations* by Elgar.

<sup>839</sup> There are just two works (both by Gibbons) dating from before 1650 and 9 from the twentieth century (8 by Delius and 1 by Barber). Copies of all these works can be found among Dom Gregory Murray's papers in the Abbot's archives: Downside Abbey. Box 2/7.

<sup>840</sup> For a complete edition incorporating all seven volumes see Anthony Gregory Murray: *Liturgical Interludes: 100 Pieces for Organ*. Rattlesden. Kevin Mayhew. 1998. The first four volumes were published separately by Rushworth and Dreaper of Liverpool in 1935, 1937, 1946 and 1952.

far. The nearest equivalent perhaps would be a simple chorale prelude. In the first instance they were intended for performance at the beginning and end of the monastic Office or Conventual Mass, so the style is very restrained. Most can be performed on a single-manual instrument without a pedal board, though this is sometimes recommended. Many are influenced by plainchant. Indeed, 17 of them are based on actual plainchant melodies. Moreover, volume II, published in 1937, is dedicated to Bernard McElligott, founder of the SSG.<sup>841</sup> Note too that in the earlier volumes, before Murray encountered Vollaerts's writings, such melodies are metricalised. This reflects his penchant for four-part hymnody.

Thus, with Murray, the organ as a solo instrument was finally harnessed to the specific requirements of the Catholic liturgy. However, as far as the rest of the repertoire and its performance is concerned, it is clear that organists displayed considerable independence. Yet at that time plainchant and Renaissance polyphony were being actively promoted at the expense of the supposedly more secular styles of more recent periods, and simultaneously there were attempts to eliminate music from other denominations. Nonetheless, organists persisted in performing music that was more up-to-date and secular in origin, and they did not hesitate to draw upon music and publications intended for non-Catholics, especially J.S. Bach. It is possible that their low status and the lack of attention paid by the authorities to this repertoire allowed them to do this, yet sometimes they persuaded their fellow Catholics to pay considerable sums for the construction and maintenance of the impressive instruments required by much of this music. However, apart from a revival of interest in J.S. Bach, the English Catholic organ repertoire in the early-mid twentieth century remained largely as it had

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<sup>841</sup> The plainchant based pieces are as follows: No. 3 (*Salve Regina*), no. 9 (Offertory: *Desiderium*), no. 10 (Sanctus from Mass XII), no. 14 (Kyrie from Mass IV), no. 16 (Hymn: *Gloria Laus*), no. 17 (*Alma Redemptoris Mater*), no. 18 (*Jesu Dulcis Memoria*), no. 21 (*Anima Christi*), no. 23 (Antiphon: *Proprio Filio Suo*), no. 27 (Offertory: *Lauda Jerusalem*), no. 28 (*Ave Maria*), no. 33 (*O Sacrum Convivium*), no. 37 (Sanctus from Mass VIII), no. 38 ('O' Antiphon melody), no. 40 (Introit: *Gaudemus Gaudebo*), and no. 51 (Communion: *In Splendoribus*).

been established in the previous century - hence the emphasis in original works for the organ on late Romantic and mainly French composers.

## Chapter 10: The 1950s

### A. The return to normality

Preceding chapters, by and large, have covered developments shaping Catholic music in England up till the Second World War. The period that followed - the 1950s - seems to be characterised by the phrase 'business as usual'. After the upheavals of war, on the surface at least, there was a determination to return to the status quo of the 1930s. Churches that had been destroyed by enemy action - such as Our Lady of Victories, Kensington (the former pro-Cathedral of the Westminster archdiocese) and St George's Cathedral, Southwark, both of which had enjoyed long choral traditions - were rebuilt. At Westminster Cathedral the choir, which had been disbanded in 1939, was reconstituted (along with the choir school) by William Hyde and George Malcolm. The latter, who had been trained by John Driscoll, laid the foundations for the formidable reputation that choir holds today. His secret was to focus on the voices as they were rather than attempt to reduce them to a standard uniformity; no attempt was made to eliminate the 'chest notes', and singers were encouraged to think in terms of phrases rather than individual notes. The total effect was one of power, discipline and wide-ranging dynamics.<sup>842</sup> Elsewhere, at Stonyhurst, the boys' attendance at the Holy Week festivities, which had been abandoned in 1940, was restored in 1945, accompanied by the usual full-blown musical ceremonial. This included Vico's *Antiphons and Responses*, performed every year since the late 1840s, Richardson's *Improperia* and the singing of alternate verses of *Crux Fidelis* and *Vexilla Regis* in unaccompanied plainchant and harmonised settings by Molique.<sup>843</sup>

<sup>842</sup> Wilfrid Purney: 'George Malcolm' in *CM*. 4 (Oct. 1959): 4-6. Wilfrid Purney was a bass in George Malcolm's choir. For an example of this sound on record see *Tomas Luis da Victoria: Responsories for Tenebrae (1598)*. The Westminster Cathedral Choir, conducted by George Malcolm. Decca/Argo ZRG 5149. 1960.

<sup>843</sup> 'Music Notes'. *SM*. 27 (No. 385)(Oct. 1945): 118.

With plainchant, generally speaking, the Solesmes method as developed by Mocquereau appeared to reign supreme. A new edition of the *Liber Usualis*, equipped with English rubrics and the Solesmes 'Rhythmical Signs', was published by Desclée in 1950,<sup>844</sup> and this was reprinted several times during the ensuing decade.<sup>845</sup> The scholarly underpinning of the style was reinforced by Joseph Gajard's book *The Solesmes Method*,<sup>846</sup> and popularised in pamphlets such as J.H. Desrocquettes' *Plainsong for Musicians* and Aldhelm Dean's *Notes on Gregorian Chant*.<sup>847</sup> Gajard also directed an important series of Long Player vinyl recordings by the Solesmes monks made by Decca.<sup>848</sup> At the same time the campaign to promote the congregational singing of plainchant continued, and sometimes was intensified. For example during the Holy Week festivities held at Stonyhurst in 1948, 9 of the 13 musical items reported were plainchant settings, including the entire Compline service on Easter Sunday, the Good Friday Passion and the *Missa Cunctipotens No. IV*.<sup>849</sup> In 1955, a general account in the *Stonyhurst Magazine* listed 14 items in the choir's general repertoire, including 12 Masses. Two of these were the plainsong *Missa De Angelis* and *Missa Pro Defunctis*. The congregation were expected to sing *Credo III*, the Gloria of the *Missa De Angelis* and the standard plainchant responses. They were also supposed to know about 50 Latin and 50 English hymns, as well as some 15 settings each of *O Salutaris*, *Tantum Ergo* and *Adoremus in Aeternum*, all of them drawn from Driscoll's *Stonyhurst Cationale* and its accompanying

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<sup>844</sup> *The Liber Usualis with introduction and rubrics in English edited by the Benedictines of Solesmes*. Tournai. Desclée and Co. 1950.

<sup>845</sup> See, for example, the 1959 reprint. A copy of this was recently (13/3/04) for sale at the Talbot Library in Preston, with a stamp from Upholland College, showing that this was a standard text in that seminary.

<sup>846</sup> Joseph Gajard, trans. R. Cecile Gabain: *The Solesmes Method*. Collegeville (Minnesota): The Liturgical Press. 1960. The original French version appeared as 'Le Chant Grégorien et La Methode de Solesmes' in the *Revue Grégorienne* of 1950 (and printed in book form by Desclée in 1951). This itself was derived from a course of lectures delivered at a conference held in Mexico City in 1949.

<sup>847</sup> Jean H. Desrocquettes: *Plainsong for Musicians*. Liverpool. Rushworth and Dreaper 1955. Aldhelm Dean: *Notes on Gregorian Chant*. Society of St Gregory pamphlet No. 9 (No place or date of publication but internal evidence suggests it was produced in 1948).

<sup>848</sup> See, for example, the Choir of the monks of the abbey of Saint Pierre, Solesmes conducted by Joseph Gajard. *Gregorian Chant*. Volume 2, no. 2. Decca. LX 3119. 1956.

Benediction book.<sup>850</sup> On a broader front *Plainson for Schools* was reprinted and revised editions of Stanbrook's *Handbook of Rules for singing and phrasing Plainson* and *The Grammar of Plainson* were issued in 1947 and 1962. Several other small handy plainchant settings with organ accompaniments also date from this period.<sup>851</sup>

Renaissance polyphony continued to be promoted. At Westminster Cathedral it was the core repertoire. In 1954 176 out of 367 (48%) of performed works were composed in periods between 1501 and 1650. In 1962 the proportion is 73 out of 129 works (57%).<sup>852</sup> At the same time there were numerous publications of works composed in the same period. In particular Henry Washington, Bruno Turner and Jonathan Steele continued H.B. Collins' editorial work in the *Latin Church Music of the Polyphonic Schools* series produced by J. and W. Chester Ltd.<sup>853</sup> 49 such publications can be found in the collections listed in the *Repertoire* database. Likewise George Malcolm edited a similar set of compositions in his 'Westminster Series', published by L.J. Cary and Co.<sup>854</sup>

Most prolific of all were the publications by J.A. Bank of Amsterdam. Their 1960 catalogue *Motets and Madrigals* lists 537 publications of works from the sixteenth and

<sup>849</sup> 'Music Notes'. *SM*. 28 (No. 358) (Oct. 1945): 118.

<sup>850</sup> 'Choir Notes'. *SM*. 27 (No. 385) (Jan. 1955): 9-10.

<sup>851</sup> For example see ed. Monks of St John's Abbey: *Parish Kyriale*. Collegeville (Minnesota). The Liturgical Press. 1954 (a copy of this can be found in the Talbot Library, Preston), Robert L. Hasberry: *Gregorian Masses XV* produced 'in accordance with the Instruction of the Sacred Congregation of Rites'. London. L.J. Cary and Co. Ltd. No. 911. 1959, and Peter Peacock: *Missa Cunctipotens Genitus Deus*. London. L.J. Cary and Co. Ltd. No. 933, 1963 (based on the version presented in the Vatican Edition of the *Gradual*). All of these publications use modern notation.

<sup>852</sup> The detailed breakdown is as follows: For 1954: 1501-1600: 78 works; 1551-1600: 14 works; 1551-1650: 82 works. For 1962: 1501-1600: 29 works; 1551-1600: 3 works; 1551-1650: 41 works. Source: *Westminster* database, tables **Westminster1954(w)** and **Westminster1962(w)** analysed using filters.

<sup>853</sup> Source: **Publications** table in the *Repertoire* database. The breakdown is as follows: Henry Washington: 12 publications; Bruno Turner: 22 publications; Jonathan Steele: 15 publications. Jonathan Steele was a counter tenor in the Westminster Cathedral Choir under George Malcolm. In addition Bernard Rose prepared 7 other publications for Schott, Novello, OUP and Stainer and Bell.

<sup>854</sup> These are Jacob Handl: *Ecce Quomodo* and *Ecce Conciplies*, Giacomo Perti: *Inter Vestibulum*, Claudio Casciolini: *Istorum Est*, Giovanni Pitoni: *Laudate Dominum*, Antonio Lotti: *Salve Regina*, Giovanni Palestrina: *Asperges Me* and *Sicut Cervus*, Tomas Vittoria: *Domine Non Sum Dignus*, and Gregor Aichinger: *Regina Coeli*. *Catholic Church Music: Complete Catalogue*. London. L.J. Cary and Co. Ltd. N.d. (but 1960s style typography and layout): 16.



seventeenth centuries; however, only 37 of these can be found in the collections covered by the *Repertoire* database.<sup>855</sup>

There was also a developing interest in late medieval polyphony. For example several examples of Stainer and Bell's *Fayrfax* series of publications, edited by Anselm Hughes, secretary of the Plainsong and Medieval Music society, found their way into the CMA collection. Given that Hughes was an Anglican Benedictine this also illustrates the overlap between Catholics and non-Catholics (especially Anglicans) in this field and the later Renaissance period. Indeed, the CMA, which at that time was gradually separating itself from the Society of St Gregory, had several Anglican members, and this accounts for the numerous editions of Renaissance polyphonic music prepared by Anglican editors for non-Catholic companies in their collection.<sup>856</sup> The same sort of thing though was also happening at Ushaw, an exclusively Catholic seminary. Here 36 out of 338 twentieth-century publications were produced by non-Catholic companies.<sup>857</sup>

The most telling evidence for the prevailing conservatism of the time surfaces when the number of identical reprints of editions produced before 1939, and in many cases before 1914, are added up. For example, most of the *Motets Ancient and Modern* and all of Terry's *Downside Masses* series were still offered for sale in Cary catalogues of the early 1960s.<sup>858</sup> A similar picture emerges if particular collections of music are examined. 395 out of 2962 choral publications found in the collections making up the *Repertoire* database are reprints of this type. This can be compared with the 1007 publications and other copies found in the

<sup>855</sup> Source: *Repertoire* database. **Publications** table with filters applied to 'Bank' in the **Standard Publications** field.

<sup>856</sup> See table 12.3b on page 479.

<sup>857</sup> The breakdown is as follows: Ascherberg, Hopwood and Carew: 22 publications; Banks: 3 publications; Boosey and Co: 3 publications; Curwen: 14 publications; OUP: 13 publications; Chappell and Stainer and Bell: 1 publication apiece. Source: *Ushaw* database, **Ushaw20(p)** table with filters applied to the names of particular companies in the **Standard Publications** field.

<sup>858</sup> *Catholic Church Music: Complete Catalogue*. London. L.J. Cary and Co. Ltd. N.d. but the cover, format and graphics all point to a 1960s provenance. pp. 8-14.

same collections that were newly produced in the period 1951-2000.<sup>859</sup> Not only were publishers marketing such products, Catholic musicians were willing to buy them, as can be shown by the contents of some surviving twentieth-century collections of music. For example there are fourteen post-war copies of Terry's 1905 edition of Lassus's *Mass 'Quinti Toni'* in the collection from St Gregory's church, Preston. Similarly, Stonyhurst has several postwar copies of Collins's 1931 edition of Victoria's *Ecce Sacerdos Magnus*.<sup>860</sup> In this way older performance habits and musical decisions built into such copies by editors were likely to be perpetuated.

It should be stressed though such habits were not confined to the Catholic community, nor to Catholic publishers. For instance the *Repertoire* database lists 23 post-war reprints by J and W Chester, 47 by Novello and Co., 127 by Stainer and Bell, and 61 by OUP.<sup>861</sup> However, the very fact that there was an overlap between Catholic and non-Catholic musical interests, especially in the field of Renaissance polyphony, meant that the conservatism of the former would be reinforced. The contents of the CMA collection show this clearly. The essential point is that this organisation was formed in the 1950s; but the proportion of non-Catholic publications dating from before that period is very high. This means that, even if they had not been reprinted in the 1950s, stock laid up before the War was still being offered for sale after

<sup>859</sup> Source: *Repertoire* database. Query on the **Publications** table with 'Yes' criteria applied to the **Reprint** field and organ voluntaries excluded.

<sup>860</sup> Ed. Richard Terry. Lassus: *Mass 'Quinti Toni'*. London. Cary and Co. Downside Masses series No. 6. 1905. Ed. H.B. Collins. Victoria: *Ecce Sacerdos Magnus*. London. Cary and Co. Polyphonic Motets series No. 31. 1931. Further details of these can be found in the **Publications** table of the *Repertoire* database. PID221 and 276. Other examples of post-war reprints are: Ed. Albert E. Tozer. Casali: *Hosanna Filio David*. London. L.J. Cary and Co. originally published c. 1900. No. 1. in Frank Hickey's collection of music saved from St Wilfrid's church, Bishop Auckland (PID1496); John IV of Portugal: *Cux Fidelis*. London. J. and W. Chester, originally published in 1935 (PID 799); Farrant: *O Sacrum Convivium*. London. L.J. Cary and Co. Ltd. Motets Ancient and Modern series No. 27, originally published c. 1911 at St Mary's church, Burnley (PID 1865). Similar cases can also be found in other collections not covered by the *Repertoire* database. For example Arundel Cathedral holds post-war reprints of ed. Richard Terry. Byrd: *Ave Verum*. London. Cary and Co. Downside Motets series Vol. 1. No.4. originally published in 1905. In the same place see also copies of ed. Albert E. Tozer: *Anerio: Angelus Autem Domini*. New York. J. Fischer and Bros. This was originally published in 1906.

<sup>861</sup> These can be compared with the 34 reprints prepared by the Catholic run Cary and Co.

it was over. Alternatively some might have been purchased earlier and then donated to the CMA, who obviously still considered them to be of use.

Table 10.1 Publications by major non-Catholic companies in the CMA collection<sup>862</sup>

| Name of company  | Total number of publications | No. of publications produced in the period 1951-2000 | No. of publications produced before 1951 |
|------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| Banks            | 10                           | 4                                                    | 6                                        |
| Boosey and Co.   | 44                           | 28                                                   | 16                                       |
| Chappell         | 22                           | 12                                                   | 10                                       |
| Curwen           | 43                           | 25                                                   | 18                                       |
| OUP              | 194                          | 96                                                   | 98                                       |
| Stainer and Bell | 257                          | 100                                                  | 157                                      |

Conservatism then, both in terms of performed repertoire and what was available through publication, appeared to be the order of the day. However, beneath the placid surface there were some signs of change. Such changes prepared the way for the musical explosion that followed the Second Vatican Council, shattering the apparent certainties established before 1914.

**B. New music**

One symptom was the appearance of a small but significant body of new music by professionally trained composers. Of these the most prestigious are Benjamin Britten's *Missa Brevis* (1959); Lennox Berkeley's *Missa Brevis, Opus 57* (1960) and *Mass for Five Voices, Opus 64* (1964); and Edmund Rubbra's *Missa in Honorem Sancti Dominici, Opus 66* (1949), *Mass for Three Voices, Opus 98* (1958) and *Tenebrae Motets, Opus 72* (1951-61). Less well known are works by Michael Bonfitto, Edmund Buckley, Raymond Dixon, Dorothy Howell, George Malcolm, Colin Mawby, Douglas Mews, Anthony Milner, P.O. Rehm, Arthur Oldham and Ronald Senator. Some of these appeared in L.J. Cary's *Contemporary Church Music* and *Praise and Prayer* series. In addition there were some works from abroad, notably

<sup>862</sup> Source: CMA database. CMA(p) table with filters applied to the Standard publisher and Period of publication fields.

Zoltan Kodaly's *Missa Brevis*.<sup>863</sup> Two other figures, who lacked a full professional training, deserve mention: namely Anthony Gregory Murray and Laurence Bévenot. However, since their approach was somewhat different, their output will be examined later.

In analysing this corpus of work certain features stand out. First, there is a rough divide between the output of Britten, Berkeley, Milner and Rubbra and that of the others. The latter is more exclusively Catholic and often driven by practical performance considerations.

The opening of Malcolm's *Veritas Mea* is a good example of such functionality.

Example 10.1 The opening of *Veritas Mea*, by George Malcolm<sup>864</sup>

Moving, but not too fast

Soprano  
Ve - ri - tas me - a, ve - ri - tas me -

Alto  
Ve - ri - tas me - a, ve - ri - tas me -

Tenor  
Ve - ri - tas me - a, ve - ri - tas me -

Bass  
Ve - ri - tas me - a, ve - ri - tas me -

7  
S. - a, et mi - se - ri - cor - di - a, mi - se - ri - cor - di - a

A. - a, et mi - se - ri - cor - di - a

T. - a, et mi - se - ri - cor - di - a

B. - a, et mi - se - ri - cor - di - a

<sup>863</sup> Zoltan Kodaly: *Missa Brevis*. London. Boosey and Hawkes. 1947.

<sup>864</sup> George Malcolm: *Veritas Mea*. London. L.J. Cary and Co. 1960.

Second, many works, for example Douglas Mews' *Sancti et Justi*, are influenced by Renaissance polyphony.

Example 10.2a The opening bars of Douglas Mews's *Sancti et Justi*<sup>865</sup>

Firm and bright, not too slow

Soprano  
Sa - - - - -

Alto  
Sa -

Tenor  
Sa -

Bass

S.  
ncti

A.  
ncti.

T.  
ncti.

B.

<sup>865</sup> Douglas Mews. London. St Martin's Press. 1964.

Example 10.2b A more complex polyphonic passage from Mews's *Sancti et Justi*

S. *f* Sa - ncti, Sa - ncti et  
 A. *f* Sa - ncti  
 T. *f* Sa - ncti et ju -  
 B. *f* Sa - ncti et ju -

S. ju - sti in Do - mi - no gau -  
 A. et ju - sti in Do - mi - no gau -  
 T. - sti in Do - mi - no gau -  
 B. - sti in Do - mi - no gau -

S. de - te.  
 A. de - te.  
 T. de - te.  
 B. de - te.

Rubbra's work also highlights the same characteristic, sometimes blended with earlier medieval features as this passage, in a strict canon on the fifth, shows.

Example 10.3 Bars 27-37 from the 'Gloria' of Rubbra's *Missa In Honorem Sancti Dominici*<sup>866</sup>

Treble

Alto

Tenor

Bass

Do - mi - ne De - us,

Tr.

A.

T.

B.

Do - - mi - ne De - us,

mi - ne De - us, Rex cae -

De - us, Rex cae - les - tis,

Rex cae - les - tis De - us

<sup>866</sup> Edmund Rubbra: *Missa in honorem Sancti Dominici*, Opus 66. London. Alfred Lengwick and Co. Ltd, 1949: 1. Rubbra's *Mass for Three Voices* Opus 98 has also been described by Graves as 'medieval' in character. 431-5.

7 *cresc.*

Tr. Rex cae - les - tis, De - us

A. les - tis, De - us Pa - ter

T. De - us Pa - ter *f* om - ni - po -

B. Pa - ter *f* om - ni - po - tens

10 *f*

Tr. Pa - ter om - ni - po - tens.

A. *f* om - ni - po - tens.

T. tens

B.

In a sense then composers were maintaining Cecilian traditions. The key difference though was that the Cecilians had been, officially at least, hostile to 'modern' music, whereas a composer such as Rubbra mixed Renaissance or Medieval features with up-to-date techniques and idiom. The next two extracts from his 'Sanctus' show this clearly. The music starts in octaves, which develop into fifths ending on a chord of B with a seventh, but not a third. Notice also the 5/2 time signature.



Example 10.4a The opening of the 'Sanctus' from Rubbra's *Missa in Honorem Sancti Dominici*.<sup>867</sup>

Adagio (♩ = 72)

Treble  
Sanc - - - tus, - - -

Alto  
Sanc - - - tus, - - - Sanc - - -

Tenor  
Sanc - - - tus, - - -

Bass  
Sanc - - - tus, - - - Sanc - - -

Tr.  
Sanc - - - tus, - - - Sanc - - - tus, - - -

A.  
- - - tus, - - - Sanc - - - tus, - - -

T.  
Sanc - - - tus, - - - Sanc - - - tus, - - -

B.  
- - - tus, - - - Sanc - - - tus, - - -

Four bars later Rubbra produces a piece of parallel writing, elements of which move in fourths and fifths in the upper three parts. (see example 10.4b at the words '[ple] – ni sunt coe – [li]'). By itself the effect is similar to a passage of medieval organum; but when combined with the bass part, lying a fifth below the alto voice, this produces parallel seconds

<sup>867</sup> Rubbra 1949: 18-19.

between the bottom two lines. Here a late medieval process is being used to create what would have been regarded in the 1950s as a modern sound effect.<sup>868</sup>

Example 10.4b 'Medieval' parallel writing in Rubbra's *Missa In Honorem Sancti Dominici*

**Piu mosso** (♩ = 96)

Treble  
Ple - - ni sunt cae - li

Alto  
Ple - - ni sunt cae - li

Tenor  
Ple - - ni sunt cae - li

Bass  
Ple - - ni sunt cae - li

Lennox Berkeley took this approach further. With him the blend was more with plainchant, as the shape of his vocal lines often demonstrates. The opening passage from his *Missa Brevis Opus 57* is a heterophonic version of a melodic arch, building up to a second inversion G minor seventh chord in the third bar (with an added fourth) (see example 10.5). In his case too French impressionist influence is evident.<sup>869</sup> Heterophony of a different sort, built around chords laid down by the organ, is used in the opening of the 'Gloria' (see example 10.6). Notice how, after 'Laudamus te', Berkeley handles the voices with the same sort of parallel motion deployed in the 'Sanctus' of Rubbra's *Missa in Honorem Sancti Dominici*.

<sup>868</sup> In this work his key plan also has features that would not have been used in the Renaissance. For example the 'Gloria' moves from C to Db (bars 11-26), to E major (bars 27-57), to F minor (bars 58-65) before concluding in C again (bars 66-74).

<sup>869</sup> Emphasis is also laid on his debt to Poulenc in the cover notes for Lennox Berkeley: *Sacred Choral Music*. Choir of St John's College, Cambridge directed by Christopher Robinson. Naxos CD 8.557277. 2003: 2. (no author given).

Example 10.5 Heterophony and plainchant style melody in Berkeley's *Missa Brevis*<sup>870</sup>

Lento (♩ = 42)

Soprano

Alto

Tenor

Bass

Organ

Ped.

*p*

Ky - ri - e Ky - ri - e

Ky - ri - e Ky - ri - e Ky -

Lento (♩ = 42)

*p*

4

S.

A.

T.

B.

Org.

Org.

*pp*

*pp*

*pp*

*pp*

son.

son.

son.

son.

48

<sup>870</sup> Lennox Berkeley: *Missa Brevis, Opus 57*. London. J. and W. Chester Ltd. 1960:1.

Example 10.6. The opening of the 'Gloria' in Berkeley's *Missa Brevis*.<sup>871</sup>

Andante (♩ = 50) *p*

Soprano

Alto

Tenor *p* Et in - ter - ra - pax ho - mi - ni - bus bo -

Bass *p*

Organ

Ped.

5 *rit* Allegro (♩ = 92) *f*

S. Lau -

A. Lau -

T. - nae vo - lun - ta - tis Lau -

B. Lau -

Org. *rit* Allegro (♩ = 92) *f*

Org.

<sup>871</sup> Ibid. 1960: 5

8

S. da - mus te Be - ne - di - ci - mus te,

A. da - mus te Be - ne - di - ci - mus te,

T. da - mus te Be - ne - di - ci - mus te,

B. da - mus te Be - ne - di - ci - mus te,

Org.

Similar techniques can also be found in the 'Kyrie' and 'Sanctus' of Benjamin Britten's *Missa Brevis Opus 63*. With the latter the most notable feature is the dissonance created by the employment in bars 2 and 3 of eleven out of the twelve notes of the chromatic scale over a second inversion D major triad (see example 10.7).

Example 10.7 Extract from the 'Sanctus' of Britten's *Missa Brevis*<sup>872</sup>

Broadly (♩ = 80)

Treble

San - ctus San - ctus

Treble

San - ctus San -

Treble

San - ctus San - ctus

Organ

pp p mf f

MAN

Tr.

San

Tr.

ctus San - ctus

Tr.

San - ctus

Org.

pp p mf

MAN

<sup>872</sup> Benjamin Britten: *Missa Brevis in D Opus 63*. London. Boosey and Hawkes 1959.

The significance of such developments has to be interpreted with care. First, all these composers had received professional training. They therefore tended to write with professional choirs in mind. For example Mews's *Sancti et Justi* was commissioned for the opening of the rebuilt St George's Cathedral, Southwark in 1961. Many other premières occurred in the secular professional atmosphere of the concert hall. Rubbra's *Missa in Honorem Sancti Dominici* was first performed by the Fleet Street Choir at the Royal Academy of Music;<sup>873</sup> Berkeley's *Crux Fidelis* was initially sung by Peter Pears and the Purcell Singers.<sup>874</sup> Likewise his *Stabat Mater Opus 28* was written for the English Opera Group and dedicated to Benjamin Britten. On the other hand, in a letter to Benjamin Britten, he stated that his *Missa Brevis* was 'essentially a liturgical piece and remains at too low a temperature, so to speak, for the concert hall'. The same point might also apply with Britten's *Missa Brevis*, which was first performed at a Mass held in Westminster Cathedral on July 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1959 with the composer sitting in the congregation.<sup>875</sup> However, here there is a suspicion that Britten intended the work as much for the concert hall as for the Catholic liturgy. Malcolm, the dedicatee, received a printed copy of the score direct from Boosey and Hawkes, who were Britten's publishers;<sup>876</sup> and the score offers an alternative version of the link between the 'Sanctus' and 'Benedictus' for concert performances. Britten also used similar heterophonic techniques in his church parable *The Prodigal Son* as well as in his setting of *Jubilate Deo*, commissioned in 1962 by the Duke of Edinburgh for St George's Chapel, Windsor.<sup>877</sup> In addition, the *Missa Brevis* reflects Britten's lifelong interest as

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<sup>873</sup> Ralph Scott Grover: *The Music of Edmund Rubbra*. Aldershot. Scolar Press. 1993: 405-10 together with a discussion of the character of this work.

<sup>874</sup> Anon. cover notes for Lennox Berkeley: *Sacred Choral Music*. Choir of St John's College, Cambridge directed by Christopher Robinson. Naxos CD 8.557277. 2003: 2.

<sup>875</sup> Lennox Berkeley to Benjamin Britten, dated Jan 1<sup>st</sup>, 1960. Britten-Pears Archives. Folder marked 'Berkeley, Lennox. 2 Fol 22 (1). Humphrey Carpenter: *Benjamin Britten: A Biography*. London. Faber and Faber. 1993: 390.

<sup>876</sup> *Ibid.* 390.

<sup>877</sup> *Ibid.* 419.

composer in boys' voices. For Britten these have secular as well as religious overtones. Humphrey Carpenter, for instance, has suggested that they are associated with the themes of 'innocence', 'innocence corrupted' or 'innocence destroyed', and even the corrupting influence of apparently innocent boys.<sup>878</sup> In any case, by definition, works designed for highly skilled choirs were unlikely to survive the changes inaugurated by the Second Vatican Council with their emphasis on congregational participation, popular idiom and the use of mixed amateur instrumental and vocal forces. It is significant that a convert composer such as Berkeley continued to write for the Latin Rite, as his *Three Latin Motets Opus 83* of 1972 shows.

Second, many of these works were closely associated with Westminster Cathedral. Britten's *Missa Brevis* and Berkeley's two Masses were both composed for Malcolm's choir. Indeed members of the choir, including Michael Berkeley, son of Lennox Berkeley and Britten's godson, presented Britten with a signed copy of the 1959 *Liber Usualis*.<sup>879</sup> Moreover, Britten was inspired by the distinctive sound produced by the boys as a result of the special voice training methods used there. Symptomatic is the unusually detailed articulation in the vocal parts, especially in the 'Benedictus' (see example 10.8). It is tempting then to see such compositions as a continuation of Terry's policy of promoting up-to-date modern works; and to regard something such as Rubbra's *Missa in Honorem Sancti Dominici* as belonging to the same 'Tudor' style tradition associated with Vaughan Williams' *Mass in G Minor*.

<sup>878</sup> For associations of boys voices with 'innocence' see *A Ceremony of Carols Opus 28* or *Noye's Fludde Opus 59* (Carpenter 1992: 381-4). For the theme of innocence under attack see *St Nicholas Opus 42*, *Canticle II: Abraham and Isaac Opus 31* and *The Burning Fiery Furnace* (Carpenter, 1992: 264-6, 381 and 459-62). For the corrupting influence of boys see the roles played by the 'boy entertainers' in *The Burning Fiery Furnace* and the association of high treble voices with the temptations of the great city in *The Prodigal Son* (Carpenter, 1992: 462 and 480).

<sup>879</sup> This publication, produced by Desclee and Co, is still held at the Britten-Pears Library, catalogue no. 200.1.



In fact such reasoning can be misleading. As will be shown, Terry's activity here has been greatly exaggerated, especially when viewed against the broad background of the musical repertoire he had performed.<sup>880</sup> Moreover, even within this sphere, he showed a strong tendency to promote his own compositions and those of his followers such as Murray. These characteristics surface under George Malcolm and Colin Mawby. Between Dec 24th 1949 and April 21st 1962 the *Westminster Cathedral Chronicle* reports 5553 performances of specific items of music.<sup>881</sup> 500 (or 9%) of these were of works written by composers alive in the period 1901-2000. Only 6 of these were performances of works composed before 1950; but 415 were of 95 works by composers enjoying a personal connection with the Cathedral.<sup>882</sup> This then leaves a total of 75 performances of 20 new works composed by outsiders at Westminster in this period.<sup>883</sup> The conclusion is that not too much should be made of any claim that it actively promoted new works, as they constituted only a small fraction of its total repertoire. Like any other Cathedral, its choir had to concentrate on meeting the daily needs of an elaborate liturgical programme, and it could not afford to spend too much rehearsal time on experimental new work.

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<sup>880</sup> See ch. 13, pp.573-5.

<sup>881</sup> Source: *Repertoire* database. Query on the **Westminster Cathedral** and **Composers** tables (criteria >1948 on the **Year** field and criteria '1901-1950', '1901-2000' and '1951-2000' on the **Period** field) followed by filters on the **Composer ID** field in the resulting table. The number of works was obtained by running a second Query of this Query (**Composer** and **Work** fields) using 'unique values'.

<sup>882</sup> The breakdown is as follows: Berkeley: 7 performances of 1 work; William Hyde: 27 performances of 6 works; Meinrod Gahaghan: 21 performances of 2 works; Malcolm: 335 performances of 80 works; Mawby: 4 performances of 4 works; Murray: 21 performances of 2 works. Note that Berkeley's two sons were choristers at the Cathedral.

<sup>883</sup> The breakdown is as follows: Britten: 2 performances of 1 work; Herbert Howells: 2 performances of 2 works; Andrew Miller: 2 performances of 1 work; Robin Miller 4 performances of 2 works; Jan Mul: 2 performances of 1 work; Flor Peeters: 27 performances of 2 works; Bernard Rose: 4 performances of 1 work; Edmund Rubbra: 8 performances of 5 works; Matyas Sieber: 16 performances of 1 work; Jonathan Steele: 2 performances of 1 work; Herman Strategier: 1 performance of 1 work; Peter Warlock: 6 performances of 1 work. Note though that in addition there were 302 performances of works by composers active in the period 1851-1950.

Example 10.8 Extract from the solo voice part of the 'Benedictus' in Britten's *Missa Brevis*.



Third, some of these composers - even those who were Catholic - had overlapping interests in the Anglican Church. For example, most of Anthony Milner's choral anthems at this time were written for that denomination, as their titles and English texts reveal.<sup>884</sup> Likewise Rubbra not only composed his *Missa Cantuariensis Opus 59* for the Anglican Church before converting to Catholicism, but he adapted the *Missa in honorem Sancti Dominici* for Anglican usage and in 1949 composed his *Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis in A Flat Opus 65* for the same denomination. Their development as composers of sacred music cannot then be regarded necessarily as a specifically Catholic phenomenon. Indeed, musically speaking, Berkeley seems to have been more comfortable writing for the Anglican Church after the Second Vatican Council. For example his *Three Latin Motets, Opus 83, No. 1* were composed for the choir of St John's College, Cambridge, in 1972.

Britten is even more complex. In addition to *Jubilate Deo* he composed a *Te Deum in C* and a *Festival Te Deum Opus 32* for the Anglican Church; but, apart from these, the *Missa Brevis* is the only strictly liturgical piece in his entire output. However, many other works occupy the grey area between this and the concert hall, examples being the three church parables, *Noye's Fludde*, *St Nicholas*, *Rejoice in the Lamb*, *A Ceremony of Carols*, *A Boy is*

<sup>884</sup> Examples of Milner's Anglican anthems are: *Blessed are they* (publ. 1957), *I have surely built thee* (publ. 1958), *Festival Anthem for St Cecilia's Day* (publ. 1959), *O Praise God in his holiness* (publ. 1960), and *O Praise the Lord of Heaven* (publ. 1960). Rubbra's Anglican works include his *Missa Cantuaruensis, Opus 59* (1946) and his *Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis, Opus 65* (1948), both of which antedate his conversion. Berkeley's Anglican works include *The Lord is my Shepherd, Opus 91, No. 1* (1975) and his *Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis, Opus 99* (1980).

*born*, and *A Hymn to the Virgin*. This fits in with Britten's ambivalent attitude towards religion. He was never a Catholic, and his father never attended church.<sup>885</sup> However, he received an Anglican upbringing from his mother and at school.<sup>886</sup> Yet in 1942 he told the tribunal for the registration of conscientious objectors that he disbelieved in the divinity of Christ and had not attended Church for five years.<sup>887</sup> Nonetheless, the texts of many of his vocal compositions betray a sustained interest in Christian imagery and its ambiance, especially its medieval aspects. Occasionally, Britten even came into direct contact with specifically Catholic ideas, yet in most instances this was tempered by other considerations. For example his *A.M.D.G. Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam* is a setting of seven texts by the Jesuit poet Gerard Manley Hopkins (1844-89).<sup>888</sup> This was composed in the summer of 1939, when Britten was staying in the USA. However, it is likely that he was introduced to the texts by Lennox Berkeley, who has been his close friend since 1937. Yet Berkeley, although a convert Catholic, was a homosexual and is known to have propositioned Britten, who had similar sexual tendencies.<sup>889</sup> On top of that *A.M.D.G.* was composed for the 'Round Table Singers', a group formed by Peter Pears, who from that time onwards was Britten's homosexual partner. It also seems likely that Britten was attracted by the vocal opportunities opened up by Hopkins's unusual choice of imagery and speech patterns. Certainly he appreciated that the subject matter could be articulated to express his personal concerns and pacifist beliefs. For instance the setting of 'God's Grandeur', composed in August 1939, can be read as a diatribe against man's misuse of his world, a theme directly relevant to Britten one month before the outbreak of the Second World War.

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<sup>885</sup> Carpenter 1992: 5.

<sup>886</sup> Ibid. 27.

<sup>887</sup> Ibid. 174.

<sup>888</sup> *A.M.D.G. Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam*. Harlow. Faber and Faber, 1989. Posthumous publication. The original manuscript is held by the Britten Pears Archive. E4 9300885.

<sup>889</sup> Carpenter 1992: 110-111, 127, 136-7.

Later, in 1942, on the advice of Alec Robertson, another Catholic convert and a plainchant expert, Britten added plainchant settings of the text 'Hodie Christus Natus Est' at the beginning and end of *A Ceremony of Carols*. This work also includes texts by another Jesuit, Robert Southwell (c. 1561-95). Yet, once again, the conclusions that can be drawn from this are ambiguous. It is unlikely that Britten knew that the details of Southwell's torture, although, in Catholic accounts, this a classic case of innocence abused; but the subject matter of 'This Little Babe' concerns apparently helpless innocence challenging apparently overwhelming evil.<sup>890</sup> This would have had particular resonance at the time, when Britain was facing the might of Nazi Germany. The theme recurs in the text 'For the mouse is a creature of great personal valour' in *Rejoice in the Lamb*.

Plainchant as such is not used in three of the four movements of the *Missa Brevis*. However, the Gloria is based on the opening intonation of the Gloria in Mass XV (Dominator Deus) found in Britten's 1959 edition of the *Liber Usualis*. Moreover, at the time of its composition Britten was also working on *Curlew River*, the first of his three Church Parables.<sup>891</sup> It is therefore significant that in all three works plainchant settings provide a basis for much of the music. Thus, the *Missa Brevis* may have reminded Britten of Robertson's advice given seventeen years earlier.

Britten therefore had decidedly ambivalent attitudes towards the Catholic Church; and, in the final analysis, the core of his output - namely the operas *Peter Grimes*, *Albert Herring*, *The Rape of Lucretia*, *Gloriana*, *Billy Budd*, *The Turn of the Screw*, *Owen Wingrave* and *Death in Venice* - is non-religious. The same is true with *Rubbra* and *Berkeley*. *Rubbra*

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<sup>890</sup> The opening lines are: 'This little babe so few days old  
is come to rifle Satan's fold'.

For a full account of Southwell's torture, citing several original documents, see Henry Foley SJ: *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*. London. Burns and Oates. Vol. 1 (1877): 354-7 and 368.

<sup>891</sup> The quotation from the *Liber Usualis* appears on page 57. For discussion of the Church Parables see Carpenter, 1992: 390. The Latin hymns are 'Te Lucis Ante Terminum' (*Curlew River*), 'Salus Aeterna, indeficiens mundi vita' (*The Burning Fiery Furnace*) and 'Iam lucis orte sidere' (*The Prodigal Son*).

put his greatest efforts into writing his eleven symphonies; Berkeley, in addition to his choral works, wrote four symphonies, 3 ballets, 3 operas, a *Sinfonietta*, *Opus 34*, a *Divertimento in Bb Opus 18*, a violin and a piano concerto, as well as numerous chamber works. Even Milner, the bulk of whose output *is* religious, wrote three symphonies.<sup>892</sup>

It is these non-Catholic features that distinguish Britten, Berkeley, Milner and Rubbra from other Catholic composers at this time. Symptomatic is their choice of publisher. Cary's *Contemporary Church Music* and *Praise and Prayer* series contains works exclusively by Catholic composers such as Dorothy Howell, and Arthur Oldham; the point being that Cary focussed entirely on the Catholic market.<sup>893</sup> The same is true with publications by the St Martin's Press (SMP), which had close links with the CMA and SSG.<sup>894</sup> Berkeley, Britten, Milner and Rubbra did not have these ties. Berkeley was published by Chester, Britten by Boosey and Hawkes, Rubbra by Lengwick and Milner by Novello, which by this time had shed its nineteenth-century Catholic associations.

### C. Anglican-Catholic links in church music

It is this ambivalence in the relationship between Anglican and Catholic music traditions that is such a curious feature of the post-war period. Many Catholics still clung to the isolationist attitudes promoted by Ultramontanes in the late nineteenth century; on the other hand the common experience of war promoted ecumenism, most notably in the 'Sword and the Spirit' movement of the 1940s. It might also be noted that some Anglicans and Catholics shared an interest in liturgical reforms. Not surprisingly then such attitudes spilled

<sup>892</sup> Peter Harrison: *Anthony Milner KSG, 1925-2002*. *ML* 28/3-4 (Autumn-Winter, 2002): 28-9.

<sup>893</sup> Note though that this did not entirely preclude their publication of works by non-Catholics. See for example their publication of six Latin motets by Lloyd Webber, advertised in their *Catholic Church Music: Complete Catalogue*. N.d: 19. The format and internal evidence suggests it was produced in the early 1960s.

<sup>894</sup> See for example its publication of Ronald Senator's *Communal Mass* (n.d.) and Arthur Oldham's *Missa Beatae Mariae Virginem*. London. 1960.

over into music. For example the CMA contained many Anglicans; so 579 of the 1,343 publications in its collection (43%) were printed by Banks, Boosey, Chappell, Curwen, OUP, RSCM, and Stainer and Bell - all of them non-Catholic firms. If the field is narrowed to post 1951 publications the proportion rises to 293 out of 579 (51%). The same thing could happen in more exclusively Catholic environments, though to a lesser degree. Thus 57 out of 322 (17.70%) publications in Ushaw's twentieth-century collection were produced by Ascherberg, Banks, Boosey, Chappell, Curwen, OUP and Stainer and Bell.<sup>895</sup>

#### **D. The impact of Gestetner, Spirit Duplicating and Photocopying technologies**

It can be seen then that, alongside the appearance of new compositions, the growth of ecumenism was a significant cause of change in the 1950s. At the same time another symptom of change was the challenge to established publishers by the advent of new copying techniques. For example 77 of the 322 items (24%) in the twentieth-century Ushaw music collection are Gestetner, spirit duplicator or photocopied reproductions. In the collection of music from St Gregory's church, Preston the proportion is even higher - 27 out of 81 (33%). The effect was to reverse patterns established since the late 1840s. At that time the reintroduction of moveable musical type and lithography favoured the development of a centralised publishing industry based in London; and the monopolistic tendencies inherent in such developments were reinforced by the strengthening of copyright law and the Ultramontane penchant for centralised control.<sup>896</sup> The Gestetner machine and similar technologies undermined this. Their capital cost was low and 'print' runs could be short. Their potential was double-edged. On the one hand parishes simply duplicated existing

<sup>895</sup> Source: *CMA* and *Ushaw* databases. Duplicates query (>0 criteria) on the **Standard Publisher** field of tables **CMA(p)** and **Ushaw20(p)**. In addition there are 114 and 36 publications by Novello in the CMA and twentieth-century Ushaw collections respectively.

<sup>896</sup> See ch. 12, pp. 513-5 and table 12.16.

repertoire, thereby reinforcing the existing status quo; on the other copies might be made of new compositions or arrangements designed for specific immediate local needs, something that had not been an attractive option since the early nineteenth century. It is interesting then that in the 1950s the first option was usually taken; but not the second. Thus at Ushaw only 9 out of 137 compositions copied in this way were composed in the period 1901-62; and at St Gregory's, Preston the figure is 2 out of 28.<sup>897</sup> Thus the full potential of such equipment for undermining the status quo was not fully realised; and this fits in with the ambivalent attitude towards ecumenism and new music.

### E. The challenge to plainchant

Perhaps then the most significant development was the challenge to the official dominance of plainchant as espoused by Mocquereau at Solesmes. This occurred on two planes: first there was renewed debate about the nature of plainchant; secondly questions were asked about whether it should be the dominant form of church music at all.

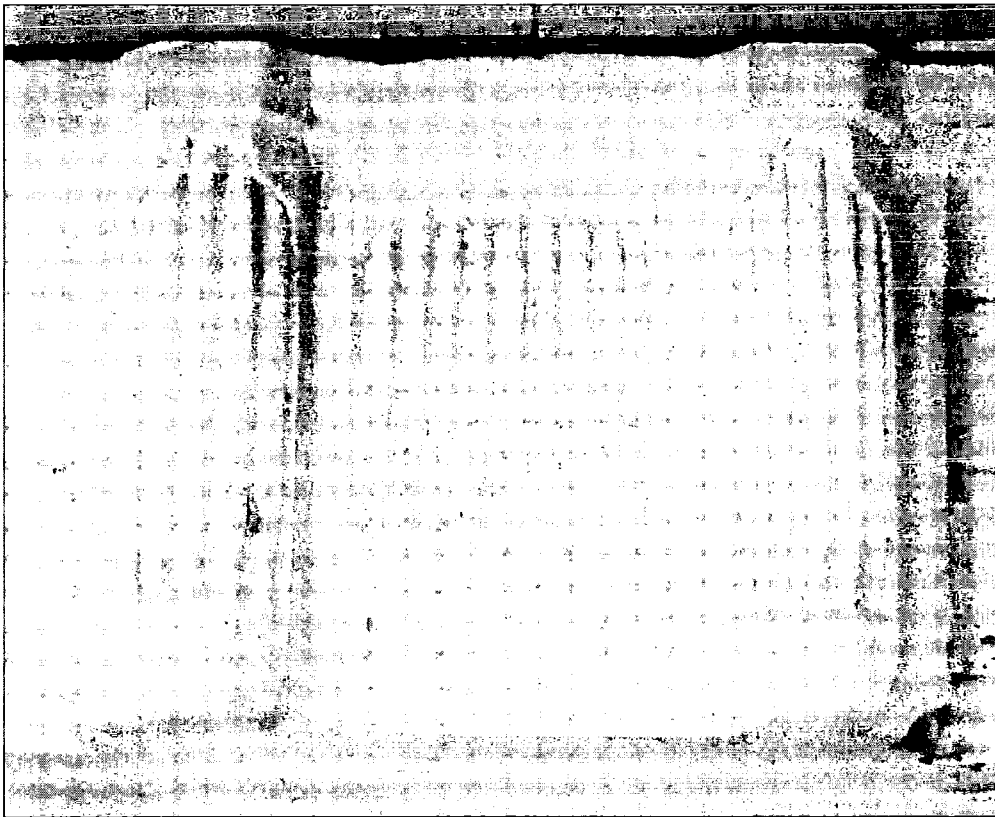
With the former one concerned mean-tone tonality. In 1949 Professor A.R. McClure had a special organ built by Harrisons of Durham; which Bévenot had installed temporarily in a side chapel of Ampleforth abbey.<sup>898</sup> It had a range of four octaves on a standard keyboard and was equipped with two sets of stops. The first provided the usual choice of registrations (Stopped Diapason, Principal, 15', 19', 22' and 24'); the second, by dint of providing separate enharmonic pitches (for example Cb for B natural or Gb for F#), offered alternative mean

<sup>897</sup> In addition at Ushaw and St Gregory's respectively there are 9 and 6 pieces composed in the period 1850-1950. Source: *Ushaw* and *Talbot* databases. Queries on Tables **Ushaw20(w)**, **Ushaw20(p)**, **Gregory (w)**, and **Gregory (p)** using the **Period**, **Standard title**, **Composer**, and **Format** (criteria: 'Gestetner', 'spirit duplicator', 'photocopy' and 'photocopy from Mss.') fields. Duplicates queries (>0 criteria) were then applied to the **Period** field in the resulting tables.

<sup>898</sup> Later it was moved to Allison House, Edinburgh. See Bévenot's correspondence with Susi Jeans in the Ampleforth Archives DX70-5 especially his letters dated 30/3/1949, 9/9/1949, 1/11/1949 and 16/2/1950.

tone tunings within what was in effect a 19 note scale.<sup>899</sup> According to Ronald Johnson it had three main purposes. First it could be used for the performance of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century keyboard music or for the accompaniment of vocal music from that period; second, original experimental music with a sixteenth-century inflection could be composed for it; third, it could accompany plainchant, thereby altering its tonality. Had McClure not suddenly died and Bévenot been moved to parish work in Cumberland this organ might have posed a serious challenge to the way plainchant was performed. As it was plans, to demonstrate it at Solesmes proved abortive, though Bévenot did present a paper on the subject in Rome.<sup>900</sup>

Illustration 10.1 Bévenot's carving of the McClure organ at the entrance to the Old Music Building, Ampleforth (note that it has nineteen pipes)



<sup>899</sup> See the technical description provided by Johnson, Ronald E.C. *The McClure Organ*. N.p. N.d. A copy of this is in Bevenot's papers in the Ampleforth Archives DX70-5. The pitches on the stops were Cb, Gb, Db, Ab, D#, A# and E#. Another useful account is by McClure himself entitled 'An extended miniature organ' *The Organ*. 30 (No. 119) (Jan. 1951): 139-49.

<sup>900</sup> This is dated 26/5/1950. A copy of the text was made for me by Fr Adrian Convery at Ampleforth. The original is inserted within the folds of one of the books in his flat. A second copy has now been placed among Bévenot's papers in the Ampleforth Archives DX70-5.



Of greater significance was the revival of mensural plainchant theories by J.W.A. Vollaerts in his posthumous publication *Rhythmic Proportion in Early Medieval Ecclesiastical Chant*.<sup>901</sup> This created a considerable stir. In a letter to Dame Felicitas Corrigan at Stanbrook Bévenot remarked that 'it looks (his underlining) like being a nail - if not he final nail - in our beloved Solesmes coffin.'<sup>902</sup> Vollaerts's ideas were quickly taken up by Murray, who had received an advance copy of the manuscript in 1956, and vigorously publicised in a series of articles and his book *Gregorian Chant according to the Manuscripts*.<sup>903</sup> As has been seen, in the 1930s Murray had adopted Mocquereau's interpretation; and as late as 1949 he translated Potiron's *Practical instruction in plainchant accompaniment*, which was based on the same system.<sup>904</sup> Now, citing the evidence of medieval theorists from St Augustine onwards and the manuscript sources hitherto deployed by Solesmes, Vollaerts and Murray argued that notes in plainchant were not equal in length. Instead, the neum symbols indicated long and short notes on a 2:1 ratio; and Murray went on to argue that triplet rhythms were used too.<sup>905</sup>

<sup>901</sup> J.W.A. Vollaerts: *Rhythmic Proportion in Early Medieval Ecclesiastical Chant*. Leiden. E.J. Brill. 1958 (2nd edition in 1960). This activity was not entirely new; as mensuralists had continued to present their case throughout the early twentieth century and into the 1930s. See Rayburn. 1964: esp. 35-48 and 54-61.

<sup>902</sup> Stanbrook Abbey archives. Box marked 'Hymnale' Bévenot to Dame Felicitas Corrigan'. 28/4/58.

<sup>903</sup> Anthony Gregory Murray: 'Plainsong rhythm: The editorial methods of Solesmes' Downside 1956. 'Gregorian rhythm in the Gregorian centuries' Downside. N.d. 'Accentual cadencies in Gregorian Chant' Downside N.d. 'The authentic rhythm of Gregorian Chant' Downside 1959. 'A reply to Fr Smits Van Waesbighe SJ.' Downside 1961. *Gregorian Chant according to the manuscripts*. London. L.J. Cary and Co. Ltd. 1963.

<sup>904</sup> Henri Potiron, trans. Anthony Gregory Murray: *Practical instruction in plainsong accompaniment*. Tournai. Desclée and Co. 1949.

<sup>905</sup> To hear a reconstruction of plainchant according to these principles see *Music for Holy Week according to proportional rhythm*. Schola Antiqua directed by Barbara Katherine Jones and John Blackley with cover notes by Anthony Gregory Murray. Decca/Editions de L'Oiseau-Lyre. 417 324-1. 1987.

Illustration 10.2 Extract from Murray’s transcription of *Videns Dominus* from the original staveless neums<sup>906</sup>

8

COMMUNION: VIDENS DOMINUS

(1)

(2)

(3)

Vi- dens Do- mi- nus flen- tes so- ro- res La- za- ri

Metz

339

121

(4)

(5)

(6)

(7)

ad mo- nu- men- tum, la- cri- ma- tus est co-

Metz

339

121

(8)

(9)

(10)

(11)

(12)

ram Ju- dæ- is et cla- ma- bat: La- za-

Metz

339

121

C. & Co. 3082

<sup>906</sup> Murray 1963: 8.

As further proof, Murray noted that where extra notes had been added to a given plainchant melody (usually to accommodate a different text) the rhythmic proportions remained the same.

Example 10.9 Murray’s reading of *Ad Regias Dapes* in Latin and English translation

*Plainsong Rhythm: The Editorial Methods of Solesmes.* Downside: 1956: 11

Solesmes *Liber Usualis*



Ad re - gi - as a - gni da - pes

This musical notation shows a single melodic line on a five-line staff with a treble clef. The notes are: G4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), B4 (quarter), A4-G4 (half), F#4 (quarter), E4 (quarter), D4 (half), C4 (half). The lyrics are written below the staff with hyphens indicating syllables across notes.

Sarum



Ad re - gi - as a - gni da - pes

This musical notation is similar to the Solesmes version, showing a single melodic line on a five-line staff with a treble clef. The notes are: G4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), B4 (quarter), A4-G4 (half), F#4 (quarter), E4 (quarter), D4 (half), C4 (half). The lyrics are written below the staff with hyphens indicating syllables across notes.

Murray's reading of the chant

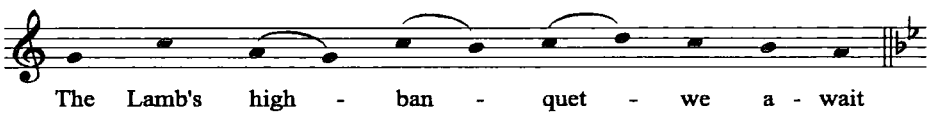


Ad re - gi - as a - gni da - pes

This musical notation shows a more complex reading with some notes beamed together. The notes are: G4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), B4 (quarter), A4-G4 (half), F#4 (quarter), E4 (quarter), D4 (half), C4 (half). The lyrics are written below the staff with hyphens indicating syllables across notes.

Its application to an English translation: From the lecture 'Plainsong and the Vernacular' given at the RSCM on July 31st, 1968:13

Sarum: as applied to an English text



The Lamb's high - ban - quet - we a - wait

This musical notation shows a single melodic line on a five-line staff with a treble clef. The notes are: G4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), B4 (quarter), A4-G4 (half), F#4 (quarter), E4 (quarter), D4 (half), C4 (half). The lyrics are written below the staff with hyphens indicating syllables across notes.

Murray's reading of the English text as performed at Downside.



The Lamb's high - ban - quet - we a - wait

This musical notation shows a more complex reading with some notes beamed together. The notes are: G4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), B4 (quarter), A4-G4 (half), F#4 (quarter), E4 (quarter), D4 (half), C4 (half). The lyrics are written below the staff with hyphens indicating syllables across notes.

Such views involved a rewriting of plainchant history. Mary Berry, it will be remembered, had argued that mensural chanting had developed in the late Middle Ages and Renaissance as a result of the Humanist revival of Classical methods of pronouncing Latin. Vollaerts's research, because it was based on readings of ninth- and tenth-century stave-less neums, enabled Murray to assert the reverse. As far as he was concerned, up till the eleventh century the notes were measured and unequal; they only became equal later as a result of the introduction of organum, which, by slowing down the tempo, evened up all the note lengths. Mensural chant then was not a change of fashion brought about by Humanist scholars; its authenticity rested on the earliest possible manuscript evidence. Solesmes' 'equal note' theory, by contrast, depended on a reading backwards from later manuscripts of the High Middle Ages that incorporated just the sort of corrupting change of fashion hitherto ascribed to the Renaissance.

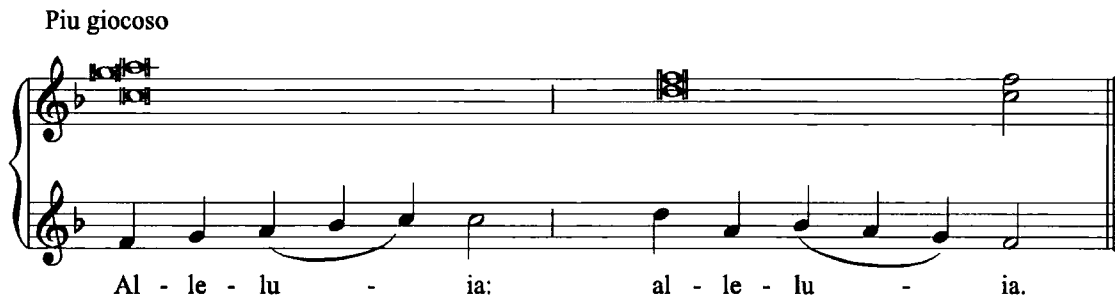
Naturally Vollaerts's and Murray's ideas provoked a strong response from Solesmes and its supporters. A typical example was Eugene Cardine's pamphlet *Is Gregorian Chant measured music?* However, at the same time Solesmes produced a new approach to plainchant scholarship, as intelligent observers such as Bévenot noted.<sup>907</sup> This was fully set out in Cardine's book *Gregorian Semiology*.<sup>908</sup> Its key features were first, that neums do not just denote pitches; they show dynamics, nuances of tempo and other aspects of the required

<sup>907</sup> Eugene Cardine, trans. Aldhelm Dean: *Is Gregorian Chant Measured Music? A critique of the book by Dr J.W.A. Vollaerts SJ "Rhythmic proportion in early medieval ecclesiastical chant"*. Leiden. E.J. Brill. 1958. Abbaye Saint-Pierre Solesmes 1964. In two appendices Cardine also attacked Joseph Gelineau and Murray. Gelineau had argued that the occasional inclusion of neum markings indicating non-proportional note-lengths was evidence that mensuration was standard performance practice. Some of Bévenot's reactions appear in a letter to Susi Jeans dated 24/7/58. 'Last week I was in France: a sudden decision to discuss a book by P. (i.e. Père) Vollaerts, which my friends at Solesmes might one day rebut. Its theme runs counter to their teaching. Dom Eugene Cardine and I had long talks about the subject, and I came back happy in the strength of their traditional position. They know too much about these plainsong manuscripts to be worried by theorists'. Ampleforth archives. JX50. Bévenot's adoption of Cardine's ideas, especially 'coupure' can be seen in his pamphlet *Appraisal of Plainchant*. Panel of Monastic Musicians Pamphlet No. 4. 1978.

<sup>908</sup> Eugene Cardine, trans. Herbert M. Fowells: *Gregorian Semiology*. Solesmes. 1982.

performance technique.<sup>909</sup> This meant that Gregorian rhythm was a ‘symbiosis of the text and the melody’; so there was no such thing as a theoretical a priori absolute rhythm.<sup>910</sup> Moreover the tension between the rhythm of the text and that of the music lying at the heart of Mocquereau’s performance theory was removed. Second, there was the concept of ‘coupure’. The neum or group of neums was really a cluster of notes constituting what was in effect a ‘broken chord’.<sup>911</sup> In buildings with a long echo plainchant therefore became a kaleidoscopic shifting pattern of modal harmony, not a single monodic line. This fitted in with the approach to accompanying plainchant evolved earlier in the century, most notably by Beyerunge, as has been seen. It may also be no accident that many composers, such as Britten, Berkeley and later Bévenot, used heterophony in a similar manner (see example 10.9).<sup>912</sup>

Example 10.10 Bévenot’s use of heterophony in his setting of the Proper of the Mass for the second Sunday after Pentecost<sup>913</sup>



In the long run, the effects of Cardine’s ideas have proved considerable and are being felt even now. For a start it meant that all the Solesmes liturgical books had to be re-edited, a

<sup>909</sup> Ibid. 7-8, 18-22 and 112.

<sup>910</sup> Ibid. 23.

<sup>911</sup> Cardine claimed that there were even symbols to denote the starting and closing points of such clusters. Ibid: 86

<sup>912</sup> The most spectacular example of this is Alfred Schnittke’s *Second Symphony*, which is really a gigantic setting of the Latin Mass. To hear plainchant sung according to developments from Cardine’s principles see *Gregorian Chant: Liturgy for Holy Bishops; Liturgy for Doctors of the Church*. The monastic choir of the abbey of St Peter of Solesmes directed by Dom Jean Claire. Paraclete Press C. 628 (Cassette tape) 1985. The musical examples in the cover notes though are set out using Mocquereau’s rhythmic signs. See also the CD *Vespers and Compline*. Monastic choir of the Abbey of St Peter, Solesmes directed by Dom Jean Claire. Creative Joys Inc. S826. 1985. Jean Claire’s development of Cardine’s ideas is discussed by Kes Pouderoijn in ‘Work on the new *Antiphonale Romanum*’ in *Panel of Monastic Musicians Conferences (full texts and summaries)*. Ampleforth Abbey 14-18 October 2002. Panel of Monastic Musicians ed. Hartley, Mark. No place of publication: 5-7. See also pp. 8-9 for his discussion of ‘coupure’.

notable early monument being the *Graduale Triplex*.<sup>914</sup> In addition to the standard neums parallel lines of staveless neums copied from the St Gall 359, Einsiedeln 121 and Laon 231 manuscripts were added, enabling singers to catch the subtle nuances and inflexions they alone were supposed to contain.<sup>915</sup> However, the challenge to Mocquereau's form of plainchant did not stop there. In the area of psalmody the supremacy of plainchant, even in the Office, has been undermined by the development of Joseph Gelineau's brand of psalmody.

#### F. Gelineau psalmody in the 1950s and early 1960s

In the early twentieth-century biblical and liturgical scholars had become aware that the psalms in Hebrew were not always organised into two-line verses, as had hitherto been assumed (see chapter 5). In fact these were sub-units of larger stanzas of 4, 6, 8 or even greater numbers of lines. Moreover, the process of translation had also helped expose the accentual quality of Hebrew verse. These threads were picked up by the French *Bible de Jerusalem* project. In 1950 R. Tournay and Raymond Schwab published a straight French translation in their *Livre des Psaumes*.<sup>916</sup> They soon realised that this was not enough; so T.G. Chiffot OP and Joseph Gelineau SJ were brought in to give professional musical advice.<sup>917</sup> The effect was not simply to alter the translations. Gelineau and his friends

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<sup>913</sup> Transcribed from an mss copy in Bévenot's own hand. Ampleforth archives. Box KX24. N.d.

<sup>914</sup> *Graduale Triplex: seu Graduale Romanum Pauli PP.VI cura recognitum et rhythmicis signis a Solesmensibus ornatum, neumis Laudunensibus (cod. 239) et Sangallensibus (codicum Sangallensibus 359 et Einsidlensis 121) nunc autem*. Solesmes Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Solesmes 1979.

<sup>915</sup> For a discussion of this work see Pouderoijn 2002: 3-4 emphasising also the effect of changes to the Latin liturgy after the Second Vatican Council.

<sup>916</sup> Joseph Gelineau. Introduction in ed. The Grail: *The Psalms: A New Translation from the Hebrew arranged for singing to the psalmody of Joseph Gelineau*. London./Glasgow: The Grail/ Collins. 1963.

<sup>917</sup> Gelineau, who is still alive, was born in 1920 and trained at the École César Franck in Paris.

published a series of separate volumes with new complete settings of every psalm text.<sup>918</sup> The implications were quickly seized upon by Murray; and it is perhaps no accident that he became interested in Vollaerts's ideas at the same time, given the nature of Gelineau's approach to rhythm. Preparations were made at once to adapt Gelineau's musical method for the English-speaking world. Gelineau insisted that new translations be made. Indeed he himself made a start with the publication of *The Gelineau Psalms: Psalms 22 and 92* by the Gregorian Institute of America (GIA) in 1958.<sup>919</sup> The main work though was done in England. A team of editors headed by Murray, and sponsored by the Grail, produced a complete translation of the text, musical settings of which began to appear with the publication of *Twenty Four Psalms and a Canticle* and *Thirty Psalms and Two Canticles* in 1955 and 1957 respectively.<sup>920</sup> In addition to music for the psalm verses, 160 antiphon settings were provided, 89 of them composed by Murray (as opposed to 27 by Gelineau). As a result, Murray very much imposed his stamp on the style as practised in England.<sup>921</sup>

The principal musical features were as follows. First, for the verses Gelineau provided 45 Psalm tones organised into 6 modes. Each tone consisted of 3-, 4- or 6-bar groupings of music; and in some cases these could be reduced to accommodate different numbers of lines in each verse.<sup>922</sup> Gelineau focused on the fact that, although each line contained a variable number of syllables, the number of accentuations was fixed. Each accent then marked the

<sup>918</sup> The principal volumes are as follows: *Vingt-Quatre Psaumes et un Cantique* (1953), *Cinquante-Trois Psaumes et Quatre Cantiques* (1954), *Deux Cent Six Antiennes pour le chant de 94 Psaumes et 5 Cantiques* (1954), *Psaumes à Quatre Voix Mixtes* Vol. 1 (1954/1958R), *Choix de Formules Psalmodiques pour le chant de 150 Psaumes* (n.d.). All of these were published in Paris by Les Editions de Cerf.

<sup>919</sup> Joseph Gelineau: *The Gelineau Psalms: Psalms 22 and 92*. Toledo (Ohio). GIA. 1958.

<sup>920</sup> Ed. Anthony Gregory Murray et al: *Twenty Four Psalms and a Canticle*. London. The Grail. 1955. *Thirty Psalms and Two Canticles*. London. The Grail. 1957. These were revised in 1963 and 1965 respectively. See also *Twenty Psalms and Three Canticles*. London. The Grail. 1957. *Six Psalms and Three Canticles*. London. The Grail. N.d. The Grail's editorial team consisted of A.G. Murray, G. Schwan, A. Derzelles, H. Richards and P. Craig.

<sup>921</sup> Other contributions are as follows: Clifford Howell: 12, Wilfrid Trotman: 8, Dorothy Howell: 7, Peter Peacock: 5, Ingrid Brustle: 4, Guy Weitz: 3, Elway Bevin: 3, and Joseph Samson: 2.

point where the singer moved from one bar to the next. A regular pulse was maintained throughout, with preliminary ‘up beat’ notes supplied where the text made this necessary. In other words, unlike with plainsong or Anglican Chant, where the music is lengthened or contracted to accommodate the words, the psalm text is made to conform to a fixed tempo and bars of identical length. In practice this meant that the music became essentially chordal, rather than melodic, since the whole procedure depended on how the singer moved from one bar to the next. Moreover, accentuations aside, Gelineau required the normal rhythmic pattern of spoken speech to be followed as far as possible. Indeed the accentuations were, by and large, supposed to fit in with the accentual pattern of English speech anyway. In this respect Gelineau was following the ‘sing as you speak’ doctrines enunciated by Pothier and Haberl for plainchant. All these features are illustrated in the following setting.<sup>923</sup>

Example 10.11 Gelineau psalmody in action<sup>924</sup>

The heavens-pro - claim-the glo-ry-of God  
 and-the firmament-shows forth-the work-of-his hands  
 Day-by day takes-up-the story  
 and night-onto night-makes known-the message.

Antiphon No. 1: by Anthony Gregory Murray

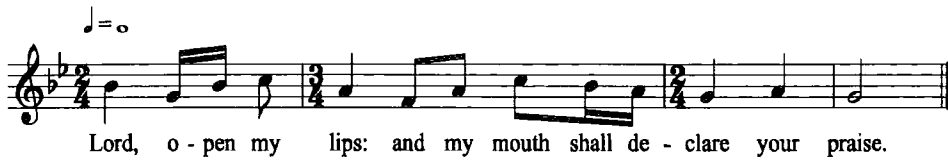
The work of your hands de - clare your glo - ry, O God

<sup>922</sup> The statistics for each mode are as follows: Mode 1: 11 tones; Mode II: 13 tones; Mode III: 4 tones; Mode IV: 4 tones; Mode V: 7 tones; Mode VI: 6 tones.

<sup>923</sup> For a technical description of Gelineau psalmody see J. Robert Carroll: *Guide to Gelineau Psalmody*. Chicago. GIA Publications Inc. 1979.



## Antiphon No. 2 by Laurence Bévenot



This example also illustrates Gelineau's approach to psalm antiphons. These were through-composed in a modern diatonic style. Moreover, as long as the key or mode was the same, different settings by different composers could be associated with the same psalm text. A deliberate contrast then is set up between the psalm and the antiphon. On the other hand, not only is the thematic material sometimes related; but also there is a fixed relationship between the tempo of the antiphon and the pulse in the psalm, usually at a ratio of 4:1 or 2:1.

The fact that Gelineau psalmody was developed before the Second Vatican Council raises the question of whom it was written for. The music is designed for a vernacular text; but the prevailing liturgical language was Latin. Certainly it was quite widely performed. For example on March 17th, 1962 *The Tablet*, in connection with performances by The Grail in aid of World Refugee Year at Westminster Cathedral, noted that 'there must be few English Catholics, and those unlucky, who have never heard a Gelineau psalm sung, either in church, over the radio or on records in their own houses.'<sup>925</sup>

This gives a clue about how it was disseminated, especially through electronic media. It was, moreover, a highly flexible form. Like hymnody, it could be sung by congregations, choirs (in four-part harmony), or solo cantors. It could be used devotionally, in the Office or even with the Gradual at Mass. Here the fact that antiphons were an optional extra that could be interpolated either at the beginning or end of the whole psalm, or between each stanza, was an obvious advantage. Moreover, with long psalms the tedium could be alleviated by the use

<sup>924</sup> Psalm 12a from *Thirty Psalms and a Canticle*. London. The Grail 1957/1963R: 10-11.

<sup>925</sup> Anon. 'From our notebook'. *The Tablet*. 216 (March 17<sup>th</sup>, 1962): 257.

of different antiphon and psalm tone settings. Gelineau psalmody then was not just a challenge to the use of plainchant in the Proper of the Mass or even the Office; because it was designed to fit the vernacular it undermined the status of Latin in the liturgy.

### G. Congregational Masses

This is not the whole story, for an even more direct challenge to the status quo was being mounted with the composition of a new range of Masses specifically designed for congregational singing. Initially this grew out of attempts to compose or arrange music as a stepping stone for congregational participation in plainchant. Vilma Little's *Cantate Domino*, as has been seen, is an early example of this. However, with Mass settings the real pioneers were Bévenot and Murray.

Laurence Bévenot was born in 1901 in Birmingham.<sup>926</sup> His parents were French; and his father was professor of Romance Languages at Birmingham University. He was educated first at the Jesuit preparatory school attached to Mount St Mary's College, Derbyshire and then at Ampleforth, where he came under the influence of Bernard McElligott and Dominic Willson. In 1920 he joined the monastic community; and between 1922 and 1925 he read mathematics at Oxford before ordination in 1928. This meant that he lacked a complete musical training. In 1929 he became a founder member of the SSG and, despite his amateur status, he was put in charge of the music at Ampleforth, a post he held till 1951. After that he worked as a parish priest in Workington, Cumberland (1951-1958), Warwick Bridge, also in Cumberland (1958-1964) and at St Mary's church, Cardiff (1964 until his death in 1991).

It should already be apparent that Bévenot was active in the world of plainchant, especially in connection with the McClure organ. However, it was in his Masses that he first

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<sup>926</sup> For biographical details see his autobiography: *The Bévenot Saga* by LB: *or my elders and betters*. Cardiff. St Mary's Circle. 2nd edition. N.d. See also other obituaries: John Ainslie et al: 'Laurence Bévenot (1901-1991). *ML*. 17/3 (June 1991): 68-70. Adrian Convery: 'Dom Laurence Bévenot OSB' *AJ*. 96/1 (Spring 1991): 72-7.

really began to find his feet as a composer.<sup>927</sup> His first significant publication was his all-purpose *Four Settings of the Proper of the Mass*, produced in 1948.<sup>928</sup> As the introduction by J.F. Turner and himself makes clear, this was designed for choirs as a stepping-stone towards plainchant, not a substitute for it.<sup>929</sup> Each text was sung to a formula consisting of a recitative or monotone followed by a 'jubilus' or turn, usually on the final syllable of the line. The reciting notes were equal in value but the syllables attached to them were of different lengths 'according to the number of consonants following a vowel (all vowels [are] regarded as of equal length)'. However, 'though equal in length, the notes have not the same intensity, nor always the same pitch, nor have they the same function in rhythm'.<sup>930</sup> The imprint of Mocquereau's plainsong theory is thus clear to see; and the whole structure of recitatives and turns is virtually identical to that used in plainchant psalmody (see illustration 10.3).

More radical in approach are his four settings of the Mass in Ré, Mi, Sol and Fa.<sup>931</sup> As noted in chapter 5 (example 5.1) the influence of plainchant on the vocal line is undeniable; but it is combined with a novel approach to vocal arrangement based, as Bévenot put it, on a I + II = III principle. The music was laid out in two parts with keyboard accompaniment. The two parts could be sung independently or in combination by a divided choir or congregation, or by setting a cantor or a choir against the congregation, making it easy to learn. However, as the preface stated, the principle was still to lead the congregation up towards singing plainchant.

<sup>927</sup> Some interesting work though survives from the late 1930s and 1940s; notably his *Turbarum Voces* (c.1938 and c.1939), *Fanfare* for Four Brass Instruments celebrating the jubilee of St Wilfrid's Church, York, *Salve Regina* (1947), *Quem Vidisti Pastores* (c.1948). Unfortunately late in life he deliberately burnt many of his early manuscripts. I owe this information to Fr Anselm Cramer and Fr Adrian Convery at Ampleforth.

<sup>928</sup> Laurence Bévenot: *Four Settings of the Proper of the Mass*. London. L.J. Cary and Co. 1948.

<sup>929</sup> *Ibid.* vii.

<sup>930</sup> *Ibid.* viii.

<sup>931</sup> Laurence Bévenot: *Mass in Ré*. London. L.J. Cary and Co. Ltd. 1952. *Mass in Sol* London. L.J. Cary and Co. Ltd. 1957. *Mass in Fa* and *Mass in Mi*. London. L.J. Cary and Co. Ltd. 1960.

Illustration 10.3 An example of Bévenot's settings from *Four Settings of the Proper of the Mass*

2<sup>nd</sup> SUNDAY IN ADVENT

AT THE INTROIT

**P**OPULUS Sion, †  
 ecce Dominus veniet ad salvandas gentes: ~  
 et auditam faciet Dominus gloriam vocis suae,  
 in laetitia cordis vestri. ~  
*Ps.* Qui regis Israel intende:  
 qui deducis velut ovem Joseph.  
 Gloria Patri.

KYRIE                                      COLLECT                                      LESSON

## GRADUAL

**E**X Sion species decoris ejus: ~~~~~  
 Deus manifeste veniet. ~~~~~  
 ¶ Congregate illi sanctos ejus ~~~~~  
 super sacrificia. ~~~~~  
 Alleluia, alleluia.  
 ¶ Laetatus sum in his quae dicta sunt mihi: ~~~~~  
 in domum Domini ibimus. ~~~~~  
 Alleluia.

**GOSPEL** **CREDO**

AT THE OFFERTORY

**D**EUS tu conversus vivificabis nos, †  
et plebs tua laetabitur in te: ~  
ostende nobis Domine misericordiam tuam,  
et salutare tuum da nobis. ~

PRAYER OVER THE GIFTS                      PREFACE

## CANON

AT THE COMMUNION

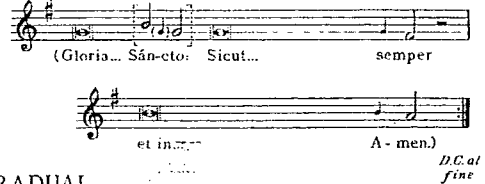
**J**ERUSALEM surge et sta in excelsis, †  
et vide iucunditatem, —  
quae veniet tibi a Deo tuo. —

PRAYER OF THANKS                      BENEDICAMUS DOMINO

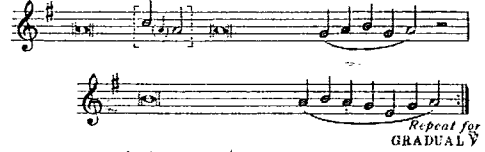
## INTROIT



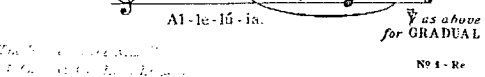
Psalm



## GRADUAL



ALLELUIA



It was therefore Murray who made the decisive break. As already noted, Murray actively promoted hymnody, mensural chant and Gelineau psalmody. Born in 1905, the son of a London publisher and organist, he was trained first at Westminster Cathedral Choir school under Terry, then by Edward D'Evry at the Benedictine school in Ealing. D'Evry was organist at the London Oratory, and under his tuition Murray, at the age of 17, became the youngest person at the time to pass the FRCO examination. In 1922 he joined the Benedictine community at Downside where, after a period of detailed study, he was converted to Mocquereau's style of plainchant by the 1930s. Yet, despite his manifest musical gifts, he was sent to read history at Cambridge between 1926 and 1929. Like Bévenot his musical education was therefore incomplete. Nevertheless, on his return he was put in charge of the music at Downside. In 1931 a great organ was built there to his specifications; and this became the model for the organ built shortly afterwards for the BBC. In the ensuing decade

Murray built up a national reputation as an organist on the radio. However, during the War this came to an end and Murray worked as a parish priest, first at Ealing, then at Hindley, near Wigan (1948-1952), and finally at Stratton on the Fosse, the village next to Downside Abbey (1952-1987). He died in 1992.<sup>932</sup>

His experience as parish priest led him to conclude that plainchant was too difficult for congregations to learn. So, in 1950, he published *A People's Mass*.<sup>933</sup> The preface summarises Murray's thinking at the time. The challenge to Solesmes and all it stood for is unmistakable.

In parish churches it would seem desirable for the congregation to take an active part in the singing of the Mass. Hitherto efforts to encourage the practice have largely failed because it has been assumed that the plainsong Masses of the Kyriele were within the capacity of unskilled singers. The simple fact is that these plainsong Masses were never intended for Congregational use; they were composed for highly trained choirs and their worthy performance demands long hours of practice and a vocal technique far beyond the powers of an ordinary congregation. If our people are to sing at Mass, they must be provided with music which they can readily grasp, learn by heart and sing with ease: music which presents no greater difficulty than an ordinary hymn tune. *A People's Mass* is an attempt to supply this need.

This quotation shows that Murray thought that hymnody in four-part harmony, not plainchant, was the means to persuade congregations to sing. Given his association with Terry in the publication of the revised edition of *The Westminster Hymnal* and *Benediction Choir Book* this is hardly surprising. Its advantage at Mass was that it could be sung by congregation and choir accompanied by the organ. To enable the congregation to learn the music Murray used one basic theme across all the movements (example 10.11). Its similarity with that in Terry's *Short Mass in C* should be remarked (see example 6.22).

<sup>932</sup> Aidan Bellenger: Obituary 'Dom Gregory Murray - 1905-1992' in *The Raven*. 1992: 135-8. See also another anonymous obituary 'Dom Gregory Murray OSB 1905-1992' in *ML*. 18 (Feb. 1992): 16-18.

<sup>933</sup> Anthony Gregory Murray: *First People's Mass*. London. L.J. Cary and Co. 1950.

Example 10.12 Extracts from Murray's *A People's Mass*, illustrating the use of one theme across the different movements

Example 10.12a Opening melody of the 'Kyrie'

Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son

Example 10.12b Melody from the 'Sanctus' and 'Benedictus'

Sanc - tus, Sanc - tus, Sanc tus, Do - mi - nus De - us sa - ba - oth. Ple - ni sunt  
coe - li et ter - ra Glo - ri - a tu - a:  
Ho - san - na in ex - cel sis.  
Be - ne - di - ctus qui ve - nit in no - mi - ne do  
mi - ni. Ho - san - na in ex - cel sis.

Example 10.12c Extract from the 'Agnus Dei'

Ag - nus De - i qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di mi - se - re - re no - bis.

*A People's Mass* was very popular. Over two million copies were sold in Latin and English versions before and after the Second Vatican Council.<sup>934</sup> There was even a version prepared for Anglican Holy Communion by J. Dykes Bower.<sup>935</sup> All this was despite its musical mediocrity, about which Murray was typically unapologetic, stating that 'from the musical point of view it is admittedly pedestrian and obvious; but I am quite indifferent to the opinions of musicians, for I did not write it for them but as a service to God.'<sup>936</sup> In any case the model proved to be highly effective, since it was copied by so many other composers.<sup>937</sup> *A People's Mass* then is a transitional work, bridging the gap between the eras before and after the Second Vatican Council.

<sup>934</sup> Bellenger 1992: 136.

<sup>935</sup> Anthony Gregory Murray, arranged by J. Dykes Bower: *A People's Communion Service*. London. Ascherberg, Hopwood and Carew, Ltd. 1963. For an example of its use after the Second Vatican Council see Compiled by Colin Mawby: *Music for the New Rite of Mass*. London. L.J. Cary and Co. Ltd. 1970. This contains Murray's own Mass alongside other English settings by Mawby ('Mass of the Blessed Sacrament' and 'Acclamations and Responsorial Antiphons') as well as John Rush ('Parish Mass in honour of Our Lady').

<sup>936</sup> Anthony Gregory Murray: *Music and the Mass*. Rattlesden. Leigh on Sea. Kevin Mayhew. 1977: 37-8.

<sup>937</sup> See for example: Laurence Bévenot: *First English Mass* and *Second English Mass* (both London, St Martin's Press, 1968), Caleb Jarvis: *Mass In E Minor* (London, St Martins Press, 1968), Kevin Mayhew: *A Mass for Everyone* (Southend on Sea, Sacred Heart Publications Ltd, 1968), Alan Rees: *Congress Mass* (London: St Thomas More Centre for Pastoral Liturgy, 1979), and Jan Vermulst: *Mass for Christian Unity* (London, St Martin's Press, 1966). Murray himself composed other Masses of the same type: *A Second People's Mass* (London, L.J. Cary and Co. Ltd, 1958), *A New People's Mass* (Gt Wakering, Mayhew-McCrimmon, 1975), and *A Downside Mass* (Leigh on Sea, Kevin Mayhew, 1978).

