Catholic Church Music in England and Wales 1778-1963

Part 3

1903-1963: Order, Atrophy and Dissolution

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The Motu Proprio of Pius X: *Tra Le Sollecitudini* (TLS)

When Pius X issued his Motu Proprio he set a framework for what was supposed to follow.[1] Its principal features are as follows:

- Music should be subordinate to a Latin liturgy with an unalterable text (cl. 7-9).
- Plainchant was the touchstone of excellence, and congregations should be encouraged to sing it (cl. 3).
- Renaissance Polyphony was fully congruent with Plainchant and next to it in status (cl. 4).
- More modern styles could be acceptable, but should only be used with caution due to their secular connotations (cl. 5).
- National contributions were permitted provided they did not infringe the above (cl. 6).
- The Organ should just support singers, Pianos were banned, and other instruments only permitted with permission from the local bishop (cl. 20).
- Seminaries should teach Plainchant and Renaissance Polyphony (cl. 25).
- The ideal choir was a choir of clergy; lay choirs were a second-best, and would be regarded as liturgical ministers. However this meant that women (apart from nuns) had to be excluded (cl. 12-13).
- Every diocese should have a commission to supervise all aspects of music (cl. 24).

TLS is therefore a thoroughly Ultramontane document. It endorsed the positions taken at the first and third Synods of Westminster; and the establishment of diocesan commissions (filled with Cecilians) could be exploited by issuing lists of approved music. Indeed this had already been done by Bishop Cornthwaite at Beverley in 1873. Accordingly similar lists were issued by Liverpool, Salford and Westminster. In this respect, as Pius admitted in his introduction, it was *as much* a response to pressure group activity from below as an initiative imposed 'motu proprio' (by his own authority) from above.

Plainchant from Solesmes

The Plainchant Pius had in mind was that propounded by Solesmes; something confirmed the following year by the decree *Col Nostro*. Solesmes would hand over the copyrights and other documentation. A new complete set of Vatican Typical Editions would

then be prepared for the whole Church by a Papal Commission headed by Joseph Pothier of Solesmes, using its Gradual of 1895 as a basis.[2]

It is uncertain whether Pius fully understood the implications. Earlier documentation, assembled by Hayburn, shows that his thinking was firmly settled by the 1880s, when Medicean Plainchant still held sway.[3] Solesmes chant is fundamentally different; and therefore breaks the link that had previously existed between Plainchant and Renaissance Polyphony. The basic system was worked out by Augustin Gontier, in consultation with Guéranger, which Pothier then proceeded to 'prove' by detailed historical research. This is inductive - not deductive – thinking, as many have assumed.[4] The key ideas are as follows:

- The concept of a single indivisible type of note, but deployed with a wider variety of neume combinations than those used in Medicean Chant.
- This, combined with a faster tempo, altered the meaning of 'the sing the chant as you speak' mantra. Chant was re-aligned with ecclesiastical Latin – always a problem with Medicean Chant, which was designed for Classical Latin.
- The whole would be delivered in an understated self-abnegating style, well suited to the ethos of an enclosed monastic community.

The research on which this depended began with thirteenth-century manuscripts supplied by Lambert and Laurence Shepherd, chaplain to the nuns at Stanbrook. More important though were documents dating from the eighth-tenth centuries. These were predominantly North European, not Roman. It was therefore essential to forge connections between these and the chant known to Gregory the Great. The answer was first, to argue that the simpler the chant, the older it must be; second that you could arrive at a definitive master melody by comparative research of different sources. This suited Ultramontane thinking, but both ideas are intellectually dubious.

Another difficulty concerned script. The earliest manuscripts used staveless neumes. These do not give exact pitches, are hard for singers to use, and were beyond the capacity of printers to reproduce. Pothier therefore used a standardised fourteenth-century form of type developed by Désclée of Tournai. This was a remarkable technical achievement, but it raised questions of authenticity.[5] His answer was to trace 'the development of the neume' between the two periods in his book *Les Mélodies Grégoriènnes.*[6] This though failed to convince the doubters; so his follower André Mocquéreau responded by producing photographic facsimiles of entire manuscripts in his *Paléographie Musicales* series, which carried the day.

Victory though had a hidden price. Medicean chant had been imposed by Papal fiat that *declared* it to be liturgically and aesthetically appropriate. Not so Solesmes chant. This was authenticated by scholars, not high Ecclesiastical authority. Pius was taking advice from self-appointed experts who might, at the drop of a hat, come up with something different.

This is exactly what happened. No sooner had the Vatican Commission got to work than Mocquéreau unleashed his concept of *Le Nombre Musicale Grégorien*,[7] arguing that Plainchant rhythm consisted of 2-3 note units with a natural impulse (Arsis) and relaxation (Thesis), signalled by special rhythmic signs. Furthermore the system applied to whole phrases and indeed the whole piece. At once the tension between musical and textual rhythm was re-introduced, undermining Pius' idea that music should support the text. Yet Mocquéreau could not be silenced. Solesmes had not relinquished the copyrights on the signs; so he could publish volumes of his own through Désclée, using other manuscripts as a basis. This was something Rome had to accept, but with bad grace.

The result was competition between two rival plainchant systems; and by the 1930s in England the balance heavily favoured Mocquéreau. Partly this was due to Désclée's superior marketing, thoughtfully including English rubrics in some editions. More important perhaps was the fact that between 1901 and 1923 the Solesmes community resided on the Isle of Wight after their expulsion by the French government. This made it easier to establish contacts with related communities such as Farnborough and the English Benedictine Congregation (EBC). It was in conjunction with them that Mocquéreau developed and then propagated his ideas, from where they then spread across the country.

Mocquéreau's most important contacts were Laurentia McLachlan at Stanbrook and Heinrich Bewerunge at Maynooth, Ireland. Mocquéreau discussed his rhythmic ideas with McLachlan, who then proceeded to convert Bewerunge to her way of thinking. It is neatly summarised in her *Grammar of Plainsong* (1905), incorporating substantial input from the two men, who also provided French, German and Italian translations. Arguably it is the most influential early twentieth-century plainchant manual of the English speaking world.[8]

McLachlan also produced a complete facsimile of the Worcester Antiphoner in Mocquéreau's *Paléographie Musicale* series. Its purpose was not merely academic, but ideological. For Mocquéreau its alleged Anglo-Saxon antecedents going back through Benedict Biscop to Rome made it a weapon he could use to prove his theories and provided material for inclusion in the collection of plainchant books he was producing in competition with the Vatican Editions. For McLachlan it showed you could have a Roman *and* an English Plainchant. You could be Roman Catholic and British![9] The idea was popularised by her friend Vilma Little in her *Laudate Dominum* hymnale of 1936. The Plainchant here comes from predominantly English manuscripts, some supplied through Anglican contacts, others by McLachlan and Farnborough, but there are also some Roman samples. This concept could also be applied to Renaissance Polyphony, as we shall see.[10]

Nonetheless, for all these achievements competition between the two systems must have damaged the plainchant cause. Solesmes' understated monastic ambiance was unsuited for full-bodied parish participation; its notational system was complicated and abstruse, something that highly technical musical disputes could only make worse. By the 1920s the campaign to promote Plainchant had stalled.

It was kick-started again by Bernard McElligott, a monk from Ampleforth. In 1929, taking his cue from Pius XI's decree *Divini Cultus*, calling for more congregational Plainchant, he founded the Society of St Gregory (SSG). Summer Schools, mass open-air plainchant services, and Cecilian style intervention in Catholic schools backed by plainchant examinations would be the order of the day. It was the most determined attempt ever to prove that Plainchant could be a vehicle for congregational participation. Its most enduring monument was *Plainsong for Schools* in 2 vols (1930 and 1934). Edited by Dominic Willson, also from Ampleforth, and head of the Liverpool Diocesan Commission, with assistance from McLachlan, and equipped with Mocquéreau's Rhythmic Signs, it was the *Vade Mecum* for a whole generation of Catholic schoolchildren.[11]

Yet acute observers soon noted that this was only a partial success. An early symptom was Little's *Cantate Domino* of 1933. Its purpose was to supply a series of hymn settings in English for use at Benediction. These were culled from a variety of sources – Protestant and Catholic, British and Continental – as a bridge between modern styles and Plainchant. The same idea surfaced with Mass music in the 1950s by Laurence Bévenot, another Ampleforth Monk. The conception is utterly original. Each Mass was organised on an A + B = C principle; so you had two settings, which could either be sung separately or combined to form a third rendition. Modal harmony was used, and the melodic lines owe much to Plainchant.[12]

It was no good. In 1950 Anthony Gregory Murray, a Downside Monk and major Mocquéreau protagonist in the 1930s, released what later became his first *People's Mass*, two million copies of which were eventually sold. The preface is a proclamation of defiance. It states the obvious. The sophisticated Carolingian Plainchant handed down by Solesmes was designed for highly trained singers; so to ask English laity to sing it was absurd. What they needed was four-square hymnody of the sort Murray had recently been editing for the revised *Westminster Hymnal*. That was what he provided here. By doing so he turned his back on the Ultramontane concept of musically insulating Catholics from the outside world through Plainchant. An original four-part hymn tune forms the basis for each element of the Ordinary. It can be sung with or without SATB choral backing and keyboard accompaniment; and once one part has been learned, the rest is easy to pick up. This was the template adopted in a range of English Masses immediately after Vatican II.[13]

Richard Terry and the campaign to recover Renaissance Polyphonic repertoire

With Renaissance Polyphony the trajectory was different; for with one hand Pius took away what he gave with the other. He insisted on its compatibility with Plainchant, he endorsed its status just below it, and he urged the formation of boys and men's choirs for its performance. However, by adopting Solesmes-style chant he undermined the alliance

between the two. By a chance irony in 1903 – the same year his Motu Proprio was issued – the Irish Cecilian Society collapsed.[14]

Nevertheless in Britain determined efforts were made to foist Cecilian imitations on choirs. They failed. By the 1920s, with a few exceptions, they had disappeared from the repertoire.[15] Undoubtedly one factor was the dislocation caused by the Great War, since German publishers could not market their products in England. The more common explanation though is that Cecilian music was dull and inspired.[16] In itself this is suspect, because it depends on subjective aesthetic judgement. However, the enduring popularity of Classical Viennese music could have had an effect; as there is evidence that choirs resisted attempts to discard it.[17] People like what they know; and in the outside world Haydn, Mozart and their successors stood at the top of the musical canon.

Choirs then had to be offered a deal. The inherent difficulty teaching congregations Plainchant meant that the Church depended on unpaid volunteer choirs for its performance. For a start the removal of women was unrealistic, since most choirs could not survive without them.[18] Furthermore, by definition, *any* choir has a distinct *esprit de corps*. It occupies a specified place, it has special rehearsals, and its members can sing parts from sheet music. Asking it to just act as a 'cheer leader' for Congregational plainchant monody is uninspiring, to say the least. Choirs need something special to do. If they were not allowed to sing Haydn and Mozart something else with equal status – such as Palestrina - had to be offered instead.

The chief protagonist for this strategy was Richard Terry, Master of Music at Westminster Cathedral between 1901 and 1924. This was a new building; so he started with a *Tabla Rasa*. Moreover, just like at St Chad's fifty years before, he had a salaried choir of singing men with boys trained at the attached Cathedral Choir School, the first of its kind in Catholic England. Terry then seized the opportunity to perform genuine Renaissance Polyphony on a large scale; revealing to startled contemporaries the extent of a largely unknown repertoire.[19]

This included music by English Masters (especially Tallis, Byrd and Phillips), something he had pioneered before at Downside. This was new, but permitted by Pius X. Like McLachlan with Plainchant he was therefore making an ideological statement. English Renaissance Polyphony was Catholic, *and* it was part of a great Continental 'Roman' tradition. You could be English and Papal. [20]

One result was that Westminster Cathedral became the flagship for Catholic music in Britain; a status maintained by Lancelot Long and George Malcolm thereafter. Moreover, just like in Embassy Chapel days, non-Catholics attended the show. 'Palestrina for Tuppence' was Stanford's cry to his students at the Royal College of Music. Holy Week especially became a mammoth undertaking; a policy imitated by more ambitious Catholic choirs across the country.[21]

To serve this new market Terry edited for publication numerous simpler pieces from the Polyphonic repertoire; and over the next few decades these were added to by Henry Collins and Henry Washington at the Birmingham and London Oratory, Bruno Turner and George Malcolm. In addition, like any good Cecilian, he promoted his own music. This was practical, and designed for Parish use; so, unlike with other Cecilian music, it acquired a firm place in English Catholic repertoire, especially his six Masses.[22] However, he was not completely selfish, for he also commissioned music from contemporary professionals, such as Vaughan Williams' *Mass in G Minor*.[23]

Similar policies were pursued by George Malcolm in the 1950s, major figures being Edmund Rubbra, Benjamin Britten and Lennox Berkeley. What is significant though is that their output was not taken up in other Catholic churches, despite becoming part of the Classical Canon. The reverse happened to Malcolm's successor - Colin Mawby. His *Contemporary Church Music* series *can* be found in Catholic collections; but cut no ice outside them, perhaps because the contributors were too little known.[24]

The Westminster Hymnal

Terry's work did not stop with Renaissance Polyphony; it extended to Carols and Benediction music, his *Benediction Choir Music* becoming standard issue for larger choirs alongside Hasberry's revision of Tozer's *Benediction Manual*.[25] His most important remaining publication though was *The Westminster Hymnal*.[26]

This began with *The Book of Hymns,* compiled by the bishops in 1910 to impose a standard repertoire of master texts on the country; removing all non-Catholic material. Terry hitched on to this by offering to edit the music, from which non-Catholic elements too would be excluded. The whole would be published by R. and T. Washbourne, but only on condition that it was designated as 'The only collection authorised by the Hierarchy of England and Wales.' This enabled it to compete with *Arundel Hymns*, which had also eliminated non-Catholic texts and music and been endorsed by Pope Leo XIII. The link between Ultramontane policy and publishers' attempts to establish virtual monopolies is therefore clear.[27]

The procedure was the same as with the Vatican Plainchant Editions. Terry did the actual editing; but a music committee headed by Edmund Ford, Abbot of Downside, was supposed to vet the work. His methodology was Solesmesian, in that by comparative analysis in each case a standard tune would be arrived at. The preface though shows that, compared with Solesmes and *Arundel Hymns*, it was amateurish to a degree – no wonder, given the shortage of time and Terry's other commitments. Furthermore the anti-Protestant bias was undermined by the refusal of Boosey to give copyright permissions. This should have been foreseen, as Boosey was one of *Arundel Hymns* publishers. The gap was therefore plugged by several German Early Modern hymn tunes of mixed Catholic-Protestant parentage. Like all previous Catholic hymn editors Terry did not scruple to add

tunes of his own, often alongside existing 'Catholic' tunes that he deemed substandard but dared not remove due to their enduring popularity. The result was that, whereas the texts show a straight development from what had been accumulated before, with the music there is a considerable break.[28]

Nonetheless, despite these deficiencies, *The Westminster Hymnal* was a major success; running through four editions by 1918. Even Terry though admitted that it was 'work in progress'. Consequently in 1931 *A Daily Hymnal* was launched as a replacement. Edited by Lancelot Long, Terry's successor at Westminster, this was a much more considered effort; but it was not a success, although it was reprinted in 1948.[29] Accordingly, in 1936 Terry began work on a new version of *The Westminster Hymnal*. He died before this had got very far; so it was completed in 1940 by William Bainbridge and Murray; the texts being handled by a committee headed by David Matthew, auxiliary bishop of Westminster.

This amounted to a substantial overhaul; and it built on trends set by the *Daily Hymnal* and the magnificent series of *Cantionale* prepared for Jesuit establishments by John Driscoll in the 1920s and 1930s. Unlike in 1912 none of the melodies rise above a top 'e'; so this is specifically congregational. Of its 276 items only 59 texts, 35 tunes and 8 plainchant melodies come from Terry's original. The plainchant section was tripled to 38 items, including two Sarum melodies; and unlike Terry, who relied on the Vatican editions, Murray harmonised these according to Mocquéreau's rhythmic principles. He also added seven eighteenth-century Gallican specimens culled from La Feillée's plainchant edition of 1782, correctly using diatonic note-for-note block harmony accompaniments. As for texts, contributions by Carswall and Faber were reduced to 18 and 17 apiece, the gap being filled by 46 new translations and 5 original texts by Ronald Knox. Similarly there are 22 new melodies and 110 new harmonisations by Murray, as opposed to 6 and 24 by Terry. Most revealing was the appearance of 9 translations by John Mason Neale and 29 Protestant tunes, diluting the purist Catholic line taken in 1912. Clearly Murray subscribed to Driscoll's dictum: 'a tune is just a tune, and nothing more, good or bad'. [30]

It was in this form then that *The Westminster Hymnal* dominated the Catholic market until 1963. Superficially it upgraded and consolidated the genre; but underneath more independent currents were stirring. Look, for example, at *The Redemptorist Hymn Book with Tunes* of 1947. Out of 38 items only 16 texts and 9 tunes come from *any* edition of *The Westminster Hymnal*. However, the *Leeds Catholic Hymnal* is much more conservative. 74 of its 94 texts come from *The Westminster Hymnal*; and it ran through twelve editions between 1954-63. Yet in the Preface the editor – Bishop John Heenan (later Cardinal of Westminster) betrays a certain anxiety, noting that attendance at Devotions had fallen off since the War. Musically speaking he made the wrong diagnosis, attributing the decline to Catholic reluctance to learn new hymns; therefore old familiar repertoire should be reinstated, ignoring the fact that Benediction music by this stage was pretty ossified. Benediction attendance *did* nose-dive after 1963; but simultaneously there was an

explosion of new Catholic vernacular hymnody *at Mass*, as Heenan himself admitted in 1971.[31]

The threat of atrophy

To summarise, there is little doubt that Terry reinvigorated Renaissance Polyphony, hymnody and much else besides early in the century. It is also clear, though, that this achievement was flawed, and its weaknesses not fully corrected by his successors. By the 1950s, as with Plainchant, the campaign was losing vitality. Indeed it was a victim of its Ultramontane character for, once an appropriate uniform repertoire had been established, there was little left to do except maintain it. This is revealed most clearly by the symbiotic relationship between Ultramontanism and the music publishing industry, especially after the passage of the 1911 Copyright Act.

Copyright *did* exist in the eighteenth century; but until the introduction of mass printing it was usually not worth enforcing. However, from the 1840s Clownes' improved musical type made it possible to supply the entire national market, especially when combined with long-term warehouse storage. Copyright protection then became valuable; hence the passage of the Lytton-Bulmar Act in 1844. Reciprocal treaty arrangements between countries then led to the 1911 Act, which gave it international scope. Publishers responded by establishing overseas offices, or by making agreements with foreign companies. Carys for instance had just such an arrangement with McLaughlin and Reilly in Boston, Massachusetts. Fischer of New York penetrated the British Catholic market through Rushworth and Dreaper, in Liverpool.[32]

Copyright creates a closed market; and usually that suited Ultramontanes. This was because it guaranteed a fixed uniform approved repertoire, as illustrated with *The Westminster Hymnal*. In such conditions all publishers needed to do was supply it with what they had already. There was little incentive, once the catalogue had been assembled, to add new items. After all tiresome composers had to be paid royalties or bought out; and there was always a risk that a new composition would not 'take', especially if the author was unknown. It was much safer to expand by rediscovering and editing 'ancient' music by established names. This was out of copyright and the necessary preparation could be done by in-house editors. Once completed that edition itself was protected by copyright.

Hence the 'Start-Stop' nature of Catholic music publishing. You have a surge of new publications as new firms build up their catalogues followed by a longer period of consolidation amounting almost to atrophy. This had already happened once before with Novellos; now it recurred with Carys, the dominant player in the Catholic choral market. Between 1890-1914 they published a good deal of new music and, thanks largely to Terry, they built up a substantial catalogue of 'ancient' rediscovered music. Thereafter they produced relatively little new music – notable exceptions being C.H. Kitson's Masses in the late 1930s, followed by the limited *Contemporary Church Music* and *Praise and Prayer* series

in the early 1960s. Instead they concentrated on reprinting old or revamped editions. Plainchant Mass settings in their range of 'Cards for Congregational Use' is a good example. Based on the Vatican editions, and 'translated' into modern notation by Terry in 1906-7, they were still on sale in the 1950s, albeit with accompaniments made by Donald Edeson in the 1930s.[33]

A copy of Turner's *Mass of St Cecilia*, belonging to St Wulstan's church, Great Harwood, Lancs. shows the process in detail. Turner died in 1897, but this edition refers to the 1911 Copyright Act; and there are identical copies without this notice but the same date. The typeface and editing were therefore done then. However, in the back page catalogue Murray's *Second People*'s *Mass* is advertised. This was published in 1957; so obviously St Wulstan's bought their copy *at that time*.[34] This sort of thing can be found over and over again if you know what to look for. For example, if a copy is secured with an anvil type stapler, you know it cannot have been made before 1941, when that design was patented.[35] The game can also be played in reverse. If a 1900s edition has been bound with sellotape then you know it has remained in use at least till 1937, when that product was invented. Biro, of course, is even more damning!

The implications are startling. For a start it shows that St Wulstan's were still singing Turner Masses despite Pius X's fulminations against music of this sort. So, in this case Ultramontane wishes have *not* been sustained by publishing policy. However it does reveal a mutually reinforcing conservatism. Publishers fail to publish new music; so customers buy tried and tested material. Customer purchases then convince publishers that there is still a market for such music. The result is that music that once may have been the latest thing gets out-of-date. By the 1950s Turner's Masses were at least 60 years old! And it gets worse. The Ultramontane predilection for Renaissance Polyphony and Plainchant is deliberately archaising. This would have been fine in the first flush of excitement when such music was recovered; but reprinting old editions ensures that this eventually wears off. Furthermore, with 'Ancient' music performance practices in one period are then foisted onto musicians decades later through the editing. An original sixteenth-century 'score' does not have time-signatures, dynamics, tempo markings, articulations and other modern paraphernalia; so these have to be added. Thus a 1950s choir performing Renaissance music from the 1905 *Downside Mass* series could easily end up singing it Terry's way, missing the effects of subsequent musical research and changing taste, although no doubt this might be equally suspect. In this way performance style, as well as repertoire, becomes atrophied, especially with an ageing choir, as was often the case.

Dissolution!

Yet by the 1950s the outside world *was* changing, for all the outside stability. Murray's *People's Mass* was an early symptom of trouble. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, he then became the main publicist for Gelineau Chant in this country; adapting it to English using the 1963 translation prepared by The Grail – just in time for the new vernacular

liturgy![36] Meanwhile, from the 1940s onwards a movement to promote a more vernacular participatory liturgy gathered pace; with inevitable implications for music;[37] and at the same time the cosy copyright-protected world of publishing was being undermined by changing technology. The growing availability of Spirit Duplicators, Gestetner Machines and Photocopiers meant that short runs could be quickly produced by parishes to meet local requirements.[38] Initially they were used to provide extra copies at short notice; consolidating existing repertoire.[39] However soon local musicians would make special adjustments to suit particular needs; and if speed was the essence procedures for getting copyright permission might prove too cumbersome. So they would be ignored. After that they might start composing their own music, and without much reference to high ecclesiastical authority. Thus, not only was the power of a London-centred publishing industry predicated on long print runs and warehouse storage weakened; Ultramontane concepts of uniformity would be at stake.

The introduction of vernacular liturgy after Vatican II suddenly brought matters to a head. It reoriented English Catholic music from Rome to the United States. At a stroke an entire Latin plainchant and polyphonic repertoire was rendered largely redundant; and with it an Ultramontane-style musical-Papal connection. Simultaneously there was a vast demand for new vernacular music; and the emphasis would be on comprehension rather than mystery; popular modernity rather than the ancient. Catholics would no longer be insulated from the outside world, even if *Sacrosanctum Consilium* endorsed older styles.[40] Existing companies, lulled into a false sense of security, could not respond quickly enough; so new entrepreneurs filled the gap. They needed composers – fast! Production had to be cheap, quick and flexible. In this respect Kevin Mayhew and Joan McCrimmon were just like Vincent Novello and Alphonse Cary. The 'Start-Stop' cycle would begin again.

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[Written by some of its major protagonists within the SSG this provides a useful picture of how liturgical change before and after Vatican II was thought to have underwritten the musical revolution that followed Vatican II]

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[This provides a detailed picture of Curial thinking at that time].

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[5] Bergeron, K. *Decadent Enchantments: The Revival of Gregorian Chant at Solesmes*. Berkeley, London. University of California Press. 1998: 25-60 on which much of this thinking is based.
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[14] Daly, 1995: 146.
[15] Muir, 2008: 235-46. Ibid. 2004: 124-126.
[16] Muir 2008: 131-133, 235-238. For Terry's opinions see his 'Why is Church Music So Bad?' in *A Forgotten Psalter and Other Essays.* London, OUP, 1929: 110-111.
[17] Muir, T.E. 'Old Wine In New Bottles': Renaissance Polyphony in the English Catholic Church during the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries'. *Nineteenth Century Music Review,* 4/1(2007): 96.
[18] Muir, T.E. *'Full in the panting heart of Rome: Catholic Church Music in England*. Ph.D thesis, University of Durham. 2004: 124-126.
[19] Andrews, H. *Westminster Retrospect. A Memoir of Sir Richard Terry*. London. OUP. 1948: 223-226.
[20] Muir, 2008: 224-226.
[21] Andrews, 1948: 107. 109-110, 122-124, 126-127. For examples of this elsewhere see Stonyhurst, Farm St, St Dominic's Newcastle and Ampleforth programmes summarised in Muir, 2008: 35, 247-9. Muir, 2004:563-566 for some statistical analysis. Key sources for this are the *Westminster Cathedral Chronicle, Stonyhurst Magazine, Farm St Journal, St Dominic*'s *Parish Bulletin, Ampleforth Journal*. See also the programme of music for Salford Cathedral in 1904 (Salford Diocesan Archives, Casartelli Papers) and Cuthbert Cary Elwes' list of Holy Week Music in Wimbledon *Letters and Notices*. 1938.
[22] Muir 2008 : 226-235.
[23] Terry's principal editions are his *Downside Masses* (1905), *Downside Motets* (1905), *Music for Palm Sunday, Maundy Thursday* and *Good Friday (1909)* the later motets in the *Motets, Ancient and Modern* series, *Polyphonic Motets* (1931) all London, Cary and Co. See also Vol. 1 of *Tudor Church Music*, London, OUP and *Tudor Motets*, London, Novello and Co. 1934. Muir, 2008: 224-225. Other commissioned composers included Stanford (Terry's teacher), Howells, Holst and Bax. Andrews. 1948: 131-134, 136. For a full list of Terry's editions and compositions ibid. : 179-182.
[24] The most important items are Rubbra: *Missa In Honorem St Dominici* (1947), *Mass for Three Voices* (1958), *Tenebrae Motets* (1951-61), Britten: *Missa Brevis* (1959) and Berkeley: *Missa Brevis* (1960), *Mass for Five Voices* (1964) . Rubbra's output is Renaissance Polyphonic in inspiration; and to a lesser extent this is true with Berkeley; but Britten's approach is more modern, although he did some preparatory study of Plainchant. Muir, 2004: 367-382. In addition to their own music these series included music by Arthur Oldham (ex-chorister from Westminster Cathedral). Anthony Milner, and Mews.
[25] Andrews, 1948, 146-152 Muir, 2008: 181-182. Comp. Terry, R. *Benediction Choir Music*. London, Burns and Oates, 1933/R1938.
[26] Ed. Terry, R. (et al) *Westminster Hymnal*. London. R. and T. Washbourne, 1912.

[27] (Bishops of England and Wales). *The New (Complete) Catholic Hymn Book containing the hymns prescribed and arranged by the Catholic Hierarchy with Latin hymns and Benediction Service*. London, 1910. Muir, 2008: 151-152.
[28] Terry, 1912: Preface. Muir, 2008: 152-158.
[29] Ed. Long, L. *A Daily Hymnal*. London, Burns and Oates, 1931/R1948.
[30] Ed, Bainbridge, W. *The Westminster Hymnal: New and Revised Edition*. London, Burns, Oates and Washbourne. 1940. For analysis see Muir, 2010: 133-134. Ed. Driscoll, J. *Stonyhurst Cantionale*. London, Manresa Press. 1936/1940R Preface. See also the *Wimbledon Cantionale*, Wimbledon, 1918, the *Wimbledon Cantionale* (1936), *Beaumont Cantionale* (1937), *Manresa Cantionale* (1937) and *Harlaxton Cantionale* (1947), all London, Manresa Press.
[31] Muir, T.E. 'Catholic Church Music in England: The 1950s' in ed. Collins, Paul. *Renewal and Resistance. Catholic Church Music from the 1850s to Vatican II.* Oxford. Peter Lang, 2010: 133-134. Ed. Anon: *The Redemptorist Hymn Book with tunes.* N.p. 1947. Ed. Heenan, J. *The Leeds Catholic Hymnal*. Farnworth, The Catholic Printing Press. 1954. See Heenan's Forward, dated 1971 – 'the hitherto silent Church is on its way to becoming a singing church' in ed. Ainslie, John; Dean, Stephen; Inwood, Paul: *Praise The Lord*. London. Geoffrey Chapman 1972 (the first edition of 1966 was edited by Wilfrid Trotman).
[32] See Wikipedia. org for a survey of copyright history. Accessed 3/7/24. This refers to an act of 1814, but not the Lytton- Bulmar Act of 1844.
[33] Ed. Trotman, W. *Prayer and Praise Series*. London, L.J. Cary, 1961.
[34] Special thanks to Teresa Channel, organist at St Wulstan's, Great Harwood, Lancs. for showing this to me.
[35] For further discussion and statistical data see Muir, 2008: 249-253; ibid, 2010: 145-146; ibid, 2004: 473-4, 479-481, 500.
[36] Muir, 2010: 139-142. See also Murray's introduction in The Grail: *The Psalms: A New Translation. Singing Version*. London, Collins, 1963: 11-14 and the back for the Psalm Tones. For an alternative system see Milner, A. and Bullough, S. *Vespers for Congregational Use: The Psalms newly rendered into English from Hebrew*. Hawkshead, 1955.
[37] Richards, M. 'Prelude: the 1890s to 1920', Crichton, J. '1920-1940: The Dawn of a Liturgical Movement', and 'The liturgical Movement from 1940 to Vatican II', Ainslie, J. 'Music before Vatican II', in Ed. Crichton, J. Winstone, H. and Ainslie, J. *English Catholic Worship: Liturgical Renewal in England since 1900*. London, G. Chapman, 1979: 1-78.
[38] Much of this technology was developed surprisingly early. The first Gestetner was patented in 1879, the Spirit Duplicator, Sellotape, Photocopier, and Anvil stapler date from 1923, 1937, 1938 and 1941. Wikipedia.org. Accessed 3/7/24.
[39] For example there are wet photocopies alongside original editions of Stadler's *Ecce Sacerdos Magnus* in the choir loft of St Hubert's church, Great Harwood, Lancs. The original publication details are London, Cary and Co. Motets Ancient and Modern No. 22 n.d. but c. 1900 as they were edited by Tozer. Some 'originals' though refer to the 1956 Copyright Act! Special thanks to David Cockett, the organist for showing these to me.
[40] Trans. Gallagher, J. in ed. Abbott, W. *The Message and Meaning of the Ecumenical Council*. 1966: 137-8. *Sacrosanctam Consilium*'s musical provisions are a virtual repeat of Pius X's *Tra Le Sollecitudini*. Plainchant (Vatican Typical Editions) held supreme place (cl. 115-117), followed by other kinds of music, 'especially polyphony' (cl. 116). Instruments other than the Organ were only allowed with permission from the bishop (cl. 120). Every diocese should have a music commission (cl. 153). However, bishops could decide how much of the vernacular could be used at Mass and the Office, starting with the Readings (cl. 36 and 101). Separate roles were assigned for the celebrating clergy, choirs and congregation (cl. 26-32,114, and 156).