

‘An Idealist Touched by Practicality’:  
The work and influence of  
Richard Runciman Terry  
(1864–1938)

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*Colligite Fragmenta ne pereant.*  
John 6:12

### **Abstract**

Richard Runciman Terry resigned from Westminster Cathedral in 1924 after twenty three years as Director of Music. During his tenure, and for the previous four years at Downside Abbey, a substantial corpus of fifteenth and sixteenth-century music was recovered by Terry from a range of manuscripts, bringing a previously forbidden and neglected repertoire back to use and public notice. The consequences of this work were far-reaching, directly influencing the compositions of his contemporaries and simultaneously contributing to the reception of Latin into Anglican liturgy. This thesis examines Terry's significant contribution to music in the early twentieth-century and more broadly the shift in national cultural attitudes to the use of Latin in worship. The manuscripts which were the subject of Terry's palaeography are examined, with his work on the only surviving polyphonic Mass by John Merbecke presented as a case study. Terry's own compositional cycle is assessed and his work with carols, hymns and sea shanties has been considered. His relevance today is assessed in addition to the lost opportunities during his lifetime to secure a lasting legacy. The often justified criticism of Terry's working practices is examined, as well as the outright hostility to him personally from a small group of musicologists of the Anglican establishment. The present study has been achieved with extensive research of the Westminster Cathedral archives, Terry's own numerous writings and those of others shaping the reception of his work. The early twentieth century was a period of substantial interest in the music of the past. This study seeks to identify Terry's contribution to the fledgling early-music movement and contextualise his work within the conflicted history of English church music.

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**RISM Sigla**

GB-Ob	Bodleian Library, Oxford
GB-Lbl	British Library, Oxford
GB-WRec	Eton College, London
GB-Cgc	Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge
GB-Llp	Lambeth Palace, London
GB-Cp	Peterhouse College, Cambridge
GB-Ctc	Trinity College, Cambridge
GB-Lwca*	Westminster Cathedral, London

\* The collection of materials at Westminster Cathedral that pertain to the present study have, at the time of this dissertation, yet to be catalogued. These are preserved as follows

Terry Correspondence: In a dedicated box in the archive.

Westminster Chronicle: Annually bound and shelf-stored in the archive

Music Lists : These are bound into annual volumes and shelf-stored in the archive.

Terry Manuscripts : In dedicated boxes which contains both hand-written manuscripts and printed matter.

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Table 1	Contents of Terry's <i>Benediction Book for Choirs</i> by musical type
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## Abbreviations

DIAMM	Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music
ODNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
GMO	Grove Music Online
TCM	The Carnegie Trust publications of Tudor Church Music

## Preface

In Canterbury Cathedral on Saturday 26 October 1912, the anthem at Matins was Christopher Tye's *Laudate Nomen Domini*. Performance of this early repertoire was in itself unusual, since a relatively small number of pieces by Tye and Byrd had remained in use in Anglican services alongside works by Thomas Tallis and Orlando Gibbons though these were all set to English texts.<sup>1</sup> What makes this performance remarkable is that it was sung in Latin and is therefore indicative of a subtle shift in Anglican attitudes to the reception of Latin into the liturgy. There had been isolated occasions just after the Reformation where Latin had been used, such as the coronation prayers for James I, and some Oxford and Cambridge colleges had been given permission for its use by Elizabeth I.<sup>2</sup> This performance at Canterbury, however, is the first recorded at the mother church of Anglicanism since the Reformation, and in otherwise quite ordinary circumstances, yet until now its significance has essentially passed unnoticed.

Research of the Cathedral archives and Terry's extensive writing, reveal that for the previous twelve years at Westminster Cathedral and for four years before that at Downside Abbey, Richard Runciman Terry had been engaged in the process of recovery, editing and performance of Latin text early English choral music. These performances were well-atten-

<sup>1</sup> Suzanne Cole notes that these few works were 'treasured' items and that each composer's work enjoyed a different reception in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century: Suzanne Cole, "The Early Twentieth-Century Revival of Tudor Church Music: Research Report," *Context* 37 (2012), 130–31.

<sup>2</sup> For James I's coronation see: Matthias Range, *Music and Ceremonial At British Coronations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 34. For Elizabeth I's dispensation for Latin at university colleges see: Martin Lowther Clarke, *Classical Education in Britain 1500–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 46.

ded, publicised widely in the national press and attracted much commentary. He died almost within living memory in 1938 (having vacated his national platform at Westminster some fourteen years previously) and this, followed by a protracted and all-consuming war, eclipsed much of his work. There has been one biography of Terry, a sympathetic book which examines his work at Downside and Westminster, though unhelpfully, it is given to uncritical eulogising and contains several inaccuracies.<sup>3</sup> There have also been several papers examining his early music retrieval work, but no detailed study of the breadth of the repertoire he resurrected, or the influence of this work more broadly, including on his contemporaries such as Vaughan Williams, Howells and Holst.<sup>4</sup> The absence of substantial research into Terry's mindset and methods has resulted in oversight of his performer-scholar approach, which at the turn of the twentieth century in England was unusual. This approach was also key in his ability to expose this material to the public. Following the Carnegie Tudor Church Music debacle which resulted in Terry being ousted as Editor in Chief, his posterity was subject to the authorship of his fellow musicologists who were keen to press their own achievements. Understandably, these men have been credited for much of the early music recovery work during the first quarter of the twentieth century, since it was they who took the material into print. As a composer, Terry did not seek to copy early compositional writing in pastiche, but rather allowed his investigations into modal style to inform his own compositions. In hymns and secu-

<sup>3</sup> Hilda Andrews, *Westminster Retrospect* (London: Oxford University Press, 1948).

<sup>4</sup> Timothy Day, "Sir Richard Terry and 16th-Century Polyphony," *Early Music* 22, No.2. Iberian Discoveries II (1994). see also Elizabeth Roche, "Great Learning, Fine Scholarship, Impeccable Taste," *Early Music* (1988). and Benjamin Davies, "The Historiography of the Reformation, or the Reformation of Historiography," *Early Music* (2001). also Cole, "Tudor Church Music Revival."

lar music however, his language remained resolutely diatonic and some of these works are examples of his most enduring legacy.

### **The scope of the present study**

This study considers the broad influence of Terry's work and seeks to establish that his popularisation of the early Latin repertoire led to its acceptance more broadly in Catholic liturgy and later in concert performance. It was also one of the factors indirectly influencing the largely uncontroversial reception of Latin into Anglican liturgy in the early twentieth century, which represents a seismic cultural change. In addition, it examines his wider contribution to the fledgling early music movement, working as the choral music reflection of the instrumentalist Arnold Dolmetsch and the Catholic counterpart to Anglican clergyman, Edmund Fellowes. The ripple outwards from this work directly influenced the compositional style of his contemporaries with the early compositions of Howells and two significant works by Vaughan Williams cited as examples here. Performance practice (and Historically-Informed Performance in particular) is a substantial topic and therefore in this study it has only been possible to examine it in relation to Terry's work, with an assessment of the elements of performance he considered important when re-presenting early choral music. A full analysis of the history, continued composition and preservation of English Catholic church music from the Reformation to the mid-nineteenth century is a substantial topic requiring further research and regrettably therefore, only a summary of events in the key periods is given here. Whilst there is an examination of Terry's work on secular music, particularly sea shanties, the topic is too broad to include in greater detail in this study. His contribution to this genre makes it clear that his place in the history of the folk music revival in England is ripe for re-assessment. Similarly, Terry's work on carols, hymns and hymnals is noted, but his Catholic hymnary contributions are covered in considerable detail elsewhere by Thomas Erskine Muir, in light of which, it

was considered unnecessary to replicate that work here.<sup>5</sup> Terry's editing of non-conformist hymnals is also addressed briefly, but an in-depth analysis is beyond the scope of this document. The period prior to Terry's appointment at Downside, including his four years in Antigua is mentioned, but there is insufficient survival of detailed information to exact a thorough examination of his work.<sup>6</sup> The Anglican reception of Latin was not, it appears, a conscious and legislated decision taken by the church, but rather one which occurred by accretion and has therefore not been subject to detailed examination here.<sup>7</sup> The present study has sought to establish Terry's role in that rehabilitation and has found Latin in Anglicanism to be a topic where there is considerable scope for further investigation. This, in turn, opens avenues for future research about the associated manifestations of Catholicism in Anglicanism: of traditions of music; spirituality; and pious practice. A final area worthy of further study is the effect of media coverage on the public reception of early music as it relates to Terry and his wider circle. The national press played a significant role in disseminating details of the music sung by the choir, its historical background and the standard of its performance, leading to people from outside Catholicism to experience it. It is open to speculation how this public interest may have been more muted without such exposure.

<sup>5</sup> For a comprehensive examination of Catholic hymnology see: Thomas Erskine Muir, *Roman Catholic Church Music in England 1791-1914: A Handmaid of the Liturgy?* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2008).

<sup>6</sup> Indeed, when the author of this study contacted St John's Cathedral, Antigua, to research Terry's tenure there as organist, the Cathedral authorities had not heard of Terry and reported that no information from that period of the Cathedral's history survives.

<sup>7</sup> It is however mentioned incidentally in a study of the music at Canterbury Cathedral, see L Saint, "Choral Music in Canterbury Cathedral, 1873-1988: The Role of Service Settings and Anthems in the Regeneration, Preservation and Sustenance of Cathedral Worship," diss., Canterbury, Christ Church, 2011).

It has only been possible to examine much of the material for this study because of the generous access granted to the author by the Cathedral Administrator at Westminster and the archivist, for which acknowledgement is given above. The Terry archive is as yet uncatalogued, with the manuscripts in Terry's own hand and correspondence stored in sturdy card boxes alongside copies of correspondence both within and between Terry and those outside the Cathedral. Copies of the music lists which also reside in the archive are bound into annual volumes and are therefore open to access. (There is work in progress by the author of this study to make the contents of the music lists available in database format.) The *Westminster Chronicle* is also annually bound and similarly accessible.

## Introduction

The history of church music in England is long and complex. Often subject to political, social and theological upheavals, these have at times seen it used as an identifier by opposing denominational factions and weaponised in doctrinal disputes. It has been relayed in two dominant and often conflicting narratives: the Anglican historiography which argues that the English choral tradition begins at the Reformation with Byrd and Tallis, the first truly Anglican composers; and the Catholic perspective, which identifies a ‘golden age’ of centuries of uninterrupted development of English polyphony which were truncated by the Reformation.<sup>8</sup> There are key issues common to both narratives such as the politically charged matter of the use of Latin in worship, the claim for a national church music, patriotism, partisanism and the mutual suspicion which has beset both traditions. Since the Reformation, music has sup-

<sup>8</sup> For further information on the Anglican narrative see: John Edmund Cox, “The English, a Musical People,” in *Musical Recollections of the Last Half-Century (2 Vols)* (London: 1872). Also G. F. Huntley, “Our Cathedral Composers and Their Works,” *English music, being the lectures given at the Music Loan Exhibition of the Worshipful Company of Musicians held at Fishmongers’ Hall, London Bridge* London 1906: 2/1911 (1904). Further information on the growth of the Anglican choral tradition can be found at: Peter Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549–1660* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1967). And Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979). For more on the notion of a Catholic ‘golden age’ see: Hugh Benham, *Latin Church Music in England 1460-1575* (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1977). On Catholic life in England before the Reformation see: Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (Newhaven: Yale University Press, 1992). and on life for Catholics in the sixteenth century see: Eamon Duffy, *The Voices of Morebath* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003). Also Eamon Duffy, *Saints, Sacrilege and Seditious* (London: Bloomsbury, 2012). For Recusant music of Byrd see: John Harley, *William Byrd, Gentleman of the Chapel Royal* (Oxford: Routledge, 2016). And Joseph Kerman, *The Masses and Motets of William Byrd* (London: Faber and Faber, 1981). Also Joseph Kerman, “William Byrd and English Catholicism,” in *Write All These Down* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994). And Joseph Kerman, ““Write All These Down”: Notes on a Song By Byrd,” in *Write All These Down* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994). For more on Tallis see: John Harley, *Thomas Tallis* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016). And Paul Doe, *Tallis* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968).



ported the liturgy of these differing traditions but it has also functioned as a delineator of their histories.

Richard Runciman Terry was a hybrid of these two traditions. He had been born and raised as an Anglican, and his time at Oxford and Cambridge persuaded him that the pinnacle of choral excellence was located in the Anglican tradition, simultaneously repudiating that found elsewhere. Following his conversion to Catholicism, he sought to bring the very best music to Catholic worship, emulating Anglican choral style in order to perform music of the pre-Reformation era which he was researching. In doing so, he recovered a forgotten sound-world of music which had been rejected by the reformers of the sixteenth century whose new Anglican liturgies had rendered it otiose. This work placed him at the centre of an area of musical activity which for three hundred and fifty years had been subject to dispute, legislation and controversy and it is perhaps unsurprising therefore, that his endeavours attracted such polarised commentary.

After the legal restrictions on Catholics were lifted in the early nineteenth century, the church hierarchy was restored in 1850.<sup>9</sup> A programme of church-building followed and Catholics were once more admitted to professions and parliament.<sup>10</sup> The growth in the num-

<sup>9</sup> For more on the life of Catholics up to the restoration of the hierarchy see: Colin Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism in Eighteenth-Century England C.1714–1780: A Political Study* (Manchester, New York: Manchester University Press, 1993). And Denis G. Paz, *Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992). Also Ursula Henriques, *Religious Toleration in England: 1787–1833* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007).

<sup>10</sup> For more on the growth in Catholic church building see: Andrew Derrick, *19th and 20th-Century Roman Catholic Churches: Introductions to Heritage Assets* (Swindon: Historic England, 2017). Catholics were barred from enrolling at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge until 1896, see Brian Harrison, *The Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

ber of churches and the growth in the Catholic population, in part swelled by Irish immigration but also conversions from a swathe of intellectual Anglicans, necessitated a much expanded repertory of music for the liturgy.<sup>11</sup> The authorities at Westminster Cathedral sought to establish it as a national centre for Catholicism setting examples for all areas of worship, including music. Utilising his London platform at Westminster, Terry reached back beyond the Reformation to claim an English Catholic musical heritage which he would re-present in his own day, to the enthusiasm of the public who came into the Cathedral to hear it.<sup>12</sup> Such work made it plain that the English choral tradition began much earlier than the period of the Reformation and therefore ran contrary to the prevailing establishment historiography. As a result, he met stiff resistance from some fellow musicologists. He used his skills as a journalist however, to persuade the public that a treasury of pre-Reformation English national music

<sup>11</sup> Catholic sacred music continued to be performed in secret during the Penal Times and more publicly at the London embassy chapels where Catholic music and ritual could be experienced by the general public. Here a relatively limited musical diet was offered and which transferred to the parishes in the nineteenth century. For more on the embassy chapels see: Philip Olleson, "The London Roman Catholic Embassy Chapels and Their Music in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries," in *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Abingdon: Ashgate Publishing, 2000). And R. Darby, "The Music of the Roman Catholic Embassy Chapels in London 1765 to 1825," diss., University of Manchester, 1984). For first-hand descriptions of the services, repertoire of musicians and the resources available in the chapels see: E. E. Reynolds, *The Mawhood Diary: Selections From the Diary Note-Books of William Mawhood, Woolen-Draper of London, for the Years 1764-1790* (London: Catholic Records Society Publications, 1956). For more on the conversions to Catholicism see: Patrick Allitt, *Catholic Converts: British and American Intellectuals Turn to Rome* (Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 1997). And on Irish immigration see: Donald M. MacRaild, *The Great Famine and Beyond: Irish Migrants in Britain in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Newbridge: Irish Academic Press, 2000). Under Charles I and Charles II, the Chapels Royal of their Catholic wives were places where full Catholic ritual and music for the liturgy could be heard. For more on this see: Jonathan Wainright, "Richard Dering's Few-Voice Concertato Motets," *Music and Letters* 89 (2008), 165–94. And Peter Leech, "Musicians in the Catholic Chapel of Catherine of Braganza, 1662-92," *Early Music* 29, No. 4 (2001). Also Jonathan Wainright, "Sounds of Piety and Devotion: Music in the Queen's Chapel," in *Henrietta Maria: Piety, Politics and Patronage*, ed. Erin Griffey (Aldershot & Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate, 2008), 195–213.

<sup>12</sup> Terry researched a number of original manuscripts which are examined at 2.5 in this study. Westminster Cathedral is the Catholic Metropolitan Cathedral in London, constructed in the late nineteenth-century. Westminster Abbey is the former Benedictine abbey next to the Houses of Parliament, site of coronations and other royal and national events and celebrations.

which had been shunned by the reformers, could rival any found abroad and was certainly the equal of the likes of Palestrina, Victoria and Lassus. Public interest vindicated his efforts and the national press and a number of high-profile Anglicans encouraged others to go to the Cathedral to experience it.

The re-presentation of early English choral music places Terry amongst the leading figures of the fledgling early music revival movement in England, alongside Dolmetsch, Fellowes and others. Indeed, any history of the early music movement in England would be incomplete without reference to Terry's considerable contribution. The daily services at Westminster Cathedral over the twenty three years of his tenure delivered performances of a colossal repertoire from the early fifteenth century to works composed in his own time by figures such as Herbert Howells, Gustav Holst and Vaughan Williams. The diversity and complexity of this material is impressive, including complete performances of Byrd's *Gradualia*, volumes I and II, the complete *Cantiones* of Peter Philips, the complete Masses of Fayrfax and Taverner and double-choir settings of the *Nunc Dimittis* by many early twentieth century composers.

To date there has been no assessment of the broader effect of Terry's work, including the influence of the modal style of music regularly presented at Westminster on the compositions of his contemporaries. Gustav Holst attended the Cathedral during Holy Week each year when he was in London and encouraged others to do so. Herbert Howells ascribed his lifelong love of plainsong to his six years working alongside Terry at Westminster. Vaughan Williams' biographer directly claims influence on the composition of the Mass in G Minor

from the Tudor repertoire that Terry's choir was presenting.<sup>13</sup> These direct influences are remarkable enough. A more subtle and indirect influence however is the emergence of Latin in Anglican services. Whilst this will have been due to a range of complex factors including embryonic developments in the creation of alternative liturgies to those presented in the Book of Common Prayer, and a growing Anglo-Catholic movement, it is notable that on Saturday 26 October, 1912 at Canterbury Cathedral during Matins, the anthem was Christopher Tye's *Laudate Nomen Domini*.<sup>14</sup> This was the first recorded use of Latin at the mother church of the Anglican Communion since the Reformation and marks a subtle shift in the attitudes to using old English music with this text in the liturgy. Terry's daily presentation of this material at Westminster, its enthusiastic coverage in the national press and the number of Anglicans entering the Cathedral to hear it will have played a part in its rehabilitation.

Although he was well-known in his own time (he was knighted for services to music in 1922), the historical record of Terry's activities was eclipsed for a number of reasons: he left the Cathedral in 1924 which largely removed him from the public eye; he died in 1938 just a year before the outbreak of a long and all-consuming war; and once the smoke had cleared in the late 1940s, his contemporary musicologists were taking works he had unearthed into

<sup>13</sup> Terry expressed his hopes for new music written for Catholics in England when he wrote in *Music of the Roman Rite* 'England once was great in choral Church Music. She gave of the riches of her art to adorn the services of the Sanctuary. Her composers, steeped in the spirit of the Liturgy, trained in the cloister, under the shadow of our great cathedrals and abbeys, laid their gifts in love and loyalty at the feet of Peter. Is it too much to hope that with a revival of the liturgical spirit we may one day, in this England of ours, revive the ancient glories of the ages of faith when English choral music held the foremost place in Europe and when English Church composers were second to none?' Richard Runciman Terry, *The Music of the Roman Rite* (London: Burns Oates and Washbourne, 1931), 16.

<sup>14</sup> Saint, "Choral Music At Canterbury," 109. And Canterbury Cathedral Music Lists, 1912, CCA-U3-100/H/22.

print in their own editions, at the same time as making themselves the authors of the early twentieth-century revival history. The animosity that some of them felt towards Terry, a Catholic, politically liberal, and a non-establishment outsider, undoubtedly contributed to his relative obscurity following their authorship of his posterity. A number of papers and articles have appeared in recent years. These include: 'Great Learning, Fine Scholarship, Impeccable Taste' by Elizabeth Roche; 'The historiography of the Reformation, or the reformation of historiography' by Benjamin Davies; 'The Early Twentieth-century Revival of Tudor Church Music' by Suzanne Cole; 'Sir Richard Terry and 16th-Century Polyphony' by Timothy Day; and the two papers by Richard Turbet concerning the Carnegie Trust debacle 'An Affair of Honour: Tudor Church Music, The Ousting of Richard Terry and a Trust vindicated' and 'A Monument of Enthusiastic Industry: Further light on Tudor Church Music'.<sup>15</sup> These papers and other existing research shed light on individual areas of Terry's work, but have broadly overlooked the notion of placing his books, journalistic articles and academic papers alongside his musical choices in order to evaluate his reasoning and the motivations for the pieces he selected. There has been only one biography of Terry 'Westminster Retrospect' by Hilda Andrews, published in 1948. It is an uncritical, eulogising work which predominantly focuses

<sup>15</sup> For papers on Terry and his work see: Roche, "Great Learning, Fine Scholarship, Impeccable Taste." And Davies, "Historiography of the Reformation." Also Cole, "Tudor Church Music Revival." And Day, "Terry and 16th Century Polyphony." And also Suzanne Cole, "Who is the Father? Changing Perceptions of Tallis and Byrd in Late Nineteenth-Century England," *Music and Letters* 89, Vol 2. (2008). And Richard Turbet, "An Affair of Honour: 'Tudor Church Music', the Ousting of Richard Terry and a Trust Vindicated," *Music and Letters* 76, No.4. (1995). Also Richard Turbet, "A Monument of Enthusiastic Industry': Further Light on 'Tudor Church Music'," *Music and Letters* 81, No.3. (2000).

on Terry's successes at Westminster and his early years. It has, however, yielded some important information, including quotes of correspondence now lost.<sup>16</sup>

The motivations for Terry's work with early music are addressed in the present study. Clearly there was the practical requirement for repertoire to sing at the twice-daily services at Westminster. Also, his interest in this material had been nurtured and encouraged by the abbot at Downside Abbey, Edmund Ford, who was a Benedictine with a love of English music. This role of encouragement then passed to Cardinal Vaughan at Westminster. Vaughan saw great potential in Terry—a man who had trained as a teacher and possessed an obvious gift for communication—to join him in making the Cathedral a beacon for dissemination of the Catholic message. The message they transmitted was not restricted to matters of theology and music. It included the Catholic story, that of repression and recusancy in the Penal Times and of resurrection in their own time. This confident, muscular Catholicism sought to refute accusations of being a foreign, imported religion by boldly laying claim to its English roots, and music was a potent way to do this. The national aspects of the repertory being recovered became useful in the early decades of the twentieth century as the continent descended into war, with Terry's work for the Carnegie Trust on a project of the publication of English Tudor Church Music being championed as a monument of national pride. For Terry personally however, it represented a quiet humiliation and lost opportunity to ensure his lasting legacy.

This study marks a significant departure from previous enquiries into Terry's career in that it touches upon a number of topics: Terry's work with English early music recovery and

<sup>16</sup> Andrews, *Westminster Retrospect*.

the identification of key players in this activity; it examines aspects of the Catholic revival in the nineteenth century; religious and political social history; historiographical bias in the relating of the history of church music in England; the emerging trends in twentieth century English composition; and the indirect effect on Anglican services exerted by the popularisation of Latin–text works.

The Westminster Cathedral archives constitute a unique resource which has hitherto been largely untouched and uninvestigated, except for the few documents already identified by Hilda Andrews. They contain information about Terry and his associations, his working methods, and they shed light on the development of the Catholic reperotry in the early twentieth century. The music lists in particular yield a great deal of detail concerning not just the choir's repertoire and pattern of services, but also the extent of Terry's palaeography with early manuscripts. The manner of performance to which he aspired is indicated with surviving individual hand–written voice parts rather than full score music. In addition, correspondence between Terry and other key players at the Cathedral and outside have given greater insight into some of his activities, relationships with others, and the disputes and controversies in which he was involved. Terry's books and journalistic articles have yielded much about his attitudes, motivations, decision–making and philosophy, and this is particularly true of what is essentially an ego document, *Music of the Roman Rite*. Here he lays out what amounts to his philosophy of church music, musical practice, appropriate choices for the liturgy, and much about his personal faith. Other books by Terry have also been examined, including: *On Music's Borders*; *A Forgotten psalter and other essays*; *Catholic Church Music*; *Voodooism in Music*; two chapters in *Lives of the Great Composers*; *The Scottish Psalter 1635* and chapters and prefaces to hymnals

and collections of carols. Taken alongside the Cathedral music lists, the *Cathedral Chronicle* and his other articles elsewhere, the sum of these documents unlocks much of Terry's thinking. Indeed, they provide a thorough exposition of his interior character.

Terry was an avid writer, in part influenced by living earlier in his life with his uncle, James Runciman who was a journalist. Terry's articles are found in publications as diverse as: *The Tablet*; *Musical Times*; the *Daily Mail*; *The Chord*; *Downside Review*; the *Westminster Chronicle*; *The Times*; *The Caecilia*; *The Organist and Choirmaster* and *Musical Opinion*. Journalism was an important aspect of Terry's musical evangelism at Westminster, since he could reach directly to the public through his press articles and address matters that concerned him, often sparking public debate and controversy. This activity was entirely consonant with Cardinal Vaughan's hopes for the Cathedral, indeed he had bought the Catholic newspaper *The Tablet* himself, when he was a young priest of 36 to do the same thing on matters of theology and doctrine.

This study presents Terry's contribution in two broad groups: work at Westminster; and that carried out elsewhere. Westminster Cathedral was an appointment held for nearly a quarter of a century and marks the most productive, and at times controversial, period of Terry's life. As such it forms the largest section of this work. The beginnings of his interest in early music is investigated during his time at Downside and this follows a brief biographical timeline. Finally, the other work in which he was engaged is presented. It includes his own compositions, work on compilations of hymnals and collections of Christmas Carols, his secular music interests such as sea shanties and conducting and adjudicating at festivals and community singing events. An exhaustive list of Terry's published works is given in the appendices.



# Chapter 1

## Richard Runciman Terry

Richard Runciman Terry was born on 3 January 1864 in Ellington, Northumberland, a small fishing town on the north east coast of England.<sup>1</sup> During his early childhood Terry had two siblings according to the 1871 census, a sister named Jean and a brother named Walter.<sup>2</sup> (More siblings were born later, though two died in infancy, meaning he was the eldest of a total of eight children.) His parents Thomas Terry, a schoolmaster, and Marion Jane Ballard Runciman, were both amateur musicians. On Sundays the family attended their local church where Terry was exposed to solid Anglican hymn singing accompanied by the organ, and in the town he would hear singing from the fishermen, an experience that would later have bearing on his general musical aesthetic. Terry had organ lessons first with ‘Mr G. A. Higge, FRCO, the Tallis Gold Medallist of Trinity College, and subsequently he studied counterpoint and composition under Dr. Charles Chambers of this [Newcastle] city.’<sup>3</sup> Chambers was organist at Jesmond, and then All Saints, Newcastle, and finally St George’s Cullercoats. He was a composer of a concert overture, a cantata ‘The Redeemer’ and some songs and miscellaneous small liturgical pieces. He will have been the first formal musical influence on Terry

<sup>1</sup> Genealogical Society of Utah, ‘England Births and Christenings, 1538–1975’, Database, Family Search, Cresswell, Northumberland, FHL microfilm 1,564,658, *Richard Runciman Terry*, <<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1NFG4-RPJ>> (Accessed 6 December 2014). Note: His date of birth is commonly given incorrectly as 1865 possibly an oversight by his biographer, Hilda Andrews, which has simply been repeated and therefore unchallenged. T. E. Muir gives Terry’s birth year as 1866.

<sup>2</sup> Public Records Office, “1871 Census, Registration District: Alnwick, Northumberland, Ed: 9, Household Schedule: 48, Piece 5171, Folio 9,” 12.

<sup>3</sup> “In the Public Eye—sketches of Notabilities in the North - Mr R. R. Terry, Mus.doc,” *Newcastle Journal* (1917), 3.



studying at Cambridge that Terry met Charles Villiers Stanford who was Professor of Music at the University, and once acquainted, the two became life-long friends, with Terry commissioning compositions from him at Westminster. Whilst at Cambridge, Terry founded the University Musical Club in 1888, attracting more than a hundred students to weekly meetings and performances of chamber music.<sup>6</sup>

In 1890, without completing his degree, Terry left Cambridge to take up the position of Organist and Choirmaster at Bedford County School (often erroneously referred to as Elstow School, a name it acquired in 1907).<sup>7</sup> There is no record of why he left Cambridge before his studies ended, though it is possible his summons to court in June 1890 for riding a bicycle without a lamp in Milton at 10pm on 14th June, to which Terry pleaded guilty (being under the impression that a lamp was only required in a town) and was fined six shillings and costs, may be partly responsible.<sup>8</sup> Once established at Bedford, he expanded the choir's repertoire and worked on the sight-reading skills of the boys. In 1891, the boys' choir and a string orchestra performed Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater*, which was to be Terry's first public foray into the early music arena.

After two years teaching at Bedford, Terry was encouraged to take up the post of Organist and Choirmaster at St John's Cathedral, Antigua by Bishop Mitchison, Master of Pembroke College, whom Terry knew from Oxford. Writing in a periodical some years later, Terry

<sup>6</sup> "Music in the Universities," *The Chord* 4 (1900), 19–20.

<sup>7</sup> National Archives, "Bedford School/elstow School." *Discovery, National Archives* accessed 19 September, 2017, <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C3590684>.

<sup>8</sup> "A Student Summoned." *The Cambridge Independent Press*, 1890, 8.

described St John's Cathedral as a large building where the only sung service was held on a Sunday, though this was fully choral, and that he broke new ground obtaining permission to recruit local women to sing the top line, as well as creating a racial mix in the choir with both black locals and white settlers singing together; he remarked 'both sections of the community got on very well in the choir loft'.<sup>9</sup> St John's Cathedral possesses a large three manual organ built by English organ builder J. W. Walker in 1848, and this underpinned the musical programme in the English Cathedral Style which would have been familiar to Terry and which as a musician from England working in the Empire, is a tradition he would have been expected to replicate.<sup>10</sup>

Whilst in the Caribbean, Terry met an Irish Catholic priest, also based in Antigua, and the two men became friends socialising, engaging in theological discussion, and Terry borrowed from him books on church dogma and theology. This was to be the beginning of a process of formation, for on his return to England in 1894, (prompted most likely by a life-threatening bout of malaria) he took formal instruction with Father Bowden at Brompton Oratory on entering the Catholic Church. When he returned to England, Terry took a job teaching at Thanet College, Margate. Later he moved to St John's School, Leatherhead and then went on to St Dominic's Catholic Church, Newcastle as organist. It was here that he first encountered the regular use of plainsong, and began to develop skills in its accompaniment. There is no indication as to why, but on Wednesday 5th June 1895, the *Huddersfield*

<sup>9</sup> Andrews, *Westminster Retrospect*, 16.

<sup>10</sup> OHS, "St. John the Divine Anglican Cathedral, Antigua." *The Organ Historical Society Database* (2016): <https://pipeorgandatabase.org/OrganDetails.php?OrganID=19462>.

*Chronicle* reported ‘The Bankruptcy Acts, 1883 and 1890. Receiving Orders (By telegraph from last night’s London Gazette) Richard Runciman Terry, St John’s, Leatherhead, Surrey, formerly St Edward’s Passage Cambridge, Schoolmaster.’<sup>11</sup> Whether this was due to irregular employment, or that somehow Terry had overstretched himself financially with the spell in Antigua is unclear, but it will have been socially embarrassing.<sup>12</sup> Within a few months, following his instruction at Brompton, Terry was received into the Catholic Church and shortly thereafter in 1896, appointed first as an instrumental teacher and then Organist and Choirmaster at Downside Abbey. He began research almost immediately on music of the sixteenth century performing it with the choir, and it is during this period that he started to create editions of William Byrd’s *Masses for Three and Five Voices*.

Terry worked with the boys (who were familiar with Latin as part of their Catholic education) on the music of Palestrina. Some of the more musically able monks sang the lower parts enabling Terry to teach the choir much ‘new’ music. This polyphonic repertoire encouraged his interest in compositions from the same period, but written in England. During the holidays, Terry stayed with Francis (later Cardinal) Gasquet, a Benedictine who had been prior of Downside until 1885. These visits were fruitful and through his friendship with William Barclay Squire, a librarian at the British Museum who had taken charge of the music manuscript collection, Terry gained access to these manuscripts, editing them for performance.

<sup>11</sup> “Receiving Orders, the Bankruptcy Acts, 1883 and 1890.” *Huddersfield Chronicle*, 1895.

<sup>12</sup> He had clearly enjoyed his time in the Caribbean, buying a five-ton cutter to sail around the area investigating the islands in his spare time, leading on one occasion to his rescue by the Royal Navy when he encountered a storm and was stranded. Andrews, *Westminster Retrospect*, 15–16.

Terry was appointed as Master of Music at Westminster Cathedral in 1901. On 1st October that year, a choir school was established in Carlisle Place, and officially opened by the Cardinal. In these early days, the choir's musical diet consisted of a majority of polyphony from composers such as Palestrina and Lassus with a small proportion of English music by Byrd and Tallis. Cardinal Vaughan died in 1903 before the Cathedral had been consecrated. This was a blow to Terry. Not only had he lost a strong ally and supporter for the musical project, but the two men had become friends. The Cardinal left Terry his Breviary as a legacy; a highly personal gift. The Cardinal's Requiem Mass was the first major service in the almost complete Cathedral, with music by Palestrina and Byrd, followed in just six months by the enthronement of his successor Archbishop Bourne. Bourne, though less enthusiastic about music and the arts, would, at least initially, be supportive of the musical course set by his predecessor and Terry, having been told by Pope Pius X that he (the pope) was in strong approval of the polyphonic music and the chant sung at Westminster.<sup>13</sup> In 1911, Terry was awarded an honorary DMus from the University of Durham.

The years of the First World War were difficult at Westminster as elsewhere, and most of the choir men were drafted into military service leaving Terry with only one choir man by 1918, but he was creative and scored music for boy's voices in order to continue supporting the services. In 1922 at the dissolution honours, he was awarded a knighthood for his services to music, no doubt reflecting the strong personal relationship he had enjoyed with the Prime Minister, Lloyd George.<sup>14</sup> In 1923 the choir gave the first liturgical performance of Vaughan

<sup>13</sup> Andrews, *Westminster Retrospect*, 62.

<sup>14</sup> "1922 Dissolution Honours List." *The London Gazette*, 1922.

Williams *Mass in G minor* the high point of the Cathedral's practice of providing a platform for first performances of new music, much of it written for Terry's choir. This period was marked by a strain in relations between the Cathedral authorities and Terry, often because he was taking on too much work elsewhere and not devoting the time to matters at the Cathedral that the Cardinal and Chapter expected, sometimes being absent for weeks at a time.

An element in this unreliability, which as yet has not been considered in academic research of his work and life, is that of his family difficulties. Terry was married with two children, a son and a daughter. By the late 1920s he and his wife were estranged and it is likely that some cause for this was Lady Terry's mental instability. She had suffered with mental health problems for some time, which ultimately led to her suicide. She was found by a maid on the eve of her husband's birthday in 1932 'A verdict of "suicide during temporary insanity" was returned at the inquest, today, on Lady Terry, wife of Sir Richard Runciman Terry who was found dead sitting in a chair in the kitchen of her home on Saturday.'<sup>15</sup> The duration of her difficulties is not documented though it is likely to have been an intermittent condition over time. In any event, it will have impacted on Terry's capacity to work, his reliability, and, given the stigma attached to such conditions at that time, it would not be something easily discussed with those for whom he worked. Lady Terry was very involved in public life in the area where she lived, promoting work amongst local women, and this popularity, together with press releases, meant that her death was not a private affair.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> "Lady Terry's Suicide." *Lincolnshire Echo*, 1932, 1.

<sup>16</sup> "Died in Chair—sudden End of Lady Terry." *Hull Daily Mail*, 1932, 8.

At Westminster, the choir's resources were steadily downsized to a point where Terry would have struggled to maintain the tradition he had established. This, with the many conflicts with senior Cathedral clergy over his erratic attendance and arguments over money, came to a head leading to his departure before Holy Week in 1924. He was also known to be explosive with the choir if rehearsals were not going well. Following his departure from Westminster, Terry worked as an examiner, adjudicator of festivals and competitions in the UK and abroad, made a series of broadcasts for the BBC and some recordings of early music. He continued his work of editing and recovery of early music, publishing several books of carols and hymns and collections of sea shanties. He died on Easter Day in 1938.



## Chapter 2

### Revival, Recovery and Renewal

#### **2.1 Early Music Revival at the beginning of the twentieth century**

A contextual examination of developments in early music revival at the beginning of the twentieth century makes it possible to identify ways in which Terry was carrying out his work into largely uncharted areas. He was certainly not alone in taking an interest in music from before the eighteenth century, but he was breaking new ground in unearthing and crucially, performing early English Latin choral music in a liturgical context (an area which was outside acceptability and the law for religious reasons before the emancipation of Catholics). Both in England and abroad there were individuals and institutions recovering and editing early choral and instrumental repertoire; and this had been going on for some time.<sup>17</sup> In fact, the practice was widespread, and by the middle of the nineteenth century such activity was no longer to be confined to antiquarian collecting, liturgical religious use or for purely didactic purposes, though of course such practices did continue. The motivation for this interest in earlier composition had roots in the growth of the study of antiquity begun in the previous century and the development of historical musicology as an academic discipline.<sup>18</sup> Other factors were

<sup>17</sup> For more information about work in other countries on this topic, see Harry Haskell, *The Early Music Revival, a History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988). Also Katharine Ellis, *Interpreting the Musical Past: Early Music in Nineteenth-Century France* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

<sup>18</sup> For information on the history of musicology in the UK see E. J. Dent, "The Scientific Study of Music in England," *Acta Musicologica* 2 (1930), 83–92. And D. Fallows, A. Whittall, and J. Blacking, "Musicology in Great Britain Since 1945," *Acta Musicologica* 51 (1980), 38–68. The Musical Association (later the Royal Musical Association) was founded by John Stainer and others in 1874 'for the investigation and discussion of subjects connected with the Science and Art of music' M. Hughes and

growing national pride and self-assurance in the nineteenth century (particularly following the unification of the states of Italy and the birth of the German nation), a burgeoning interest in the Elizabethan era in England, and church music reform (worldwide) which included directives to use plainsong and Renaissance polyphony in the Catholic liturgy.

### **Terry and the Cecilians**

During the eighteenth century an increasing number of works composed for the Catholic liturgy in continental Europe adopted the characteristics of secular composition, with expansive Mass movements involving soloists and instrumentalists. In reaction to this as well as renewed efforts at codifying Gregorian chant, and a quest for the restoration of *a cappella* music in the liturgy, a movement to champion these ideals emerged. Focussed largely in France and Germany initially, it was a movement which would ultimately spread across the continent and later to the USA. A key moment in this development was in 1868 when a society was founded in Germany by Franz Xaver Witt (1834–1888) a priest and church musician, named *Allgemeiner Cäcilien-Verband für Deutschland*. This society promoted the use of plainsong and polyphony in the liturgy, encouraging the study of both, and it became engaged in the propagation through printing of early European choral music. In addition to this printing, the Cecilians published compositions in the style of the Renaissance masters but by contemporary musicians, believing the early works for the liturgy to be written in the most suitable style, and therefore to be

emulated. The printing of a vast quantity of this music did much to make inexpensive scores of early music available across the continent.

Terry was very much in sympathy with the broad aims of the Cecilian movement in the early years of his career. This began during his tenure at Downside where his interest in early music was inspired by an encounter with Karl Proske's *Musica Divina*, a collection of early European polyphonic works, many of which had not been in circulation in modern times before this publication. Terry's alignment with Cecilian activity was cemented further when he and Barclay Squire had to approach Breitkopf and Härtel in Germany to publish their edition of the Byrd *Mass for Five Voices*. It was a work which no English publisher would accept for print, fearing it to be of only niche interest. Terry himself promoted the study and use of plainsong in the liturgy, both for its own intrinsic musical and spiritual and liturgical value, but also as the foundational material for polyphony. He engaged in the recovery of early music from original manuscripts and saw to it that some of it was printed, especially in the Downside publications. Terry also composed, writing Masses in the early years at Westminster. These were largely in a contemporary idiom though the third of these (*The Short and Easy Mass*) displayed signs of the influence of chant on his compositional style and broadly followed the Cecilian principles for contemporary liturgical composition.

The initial influence of the Cecilians particularly on the use of chant was relatively short-lived however, because in 1903 Pope Pius X declared the Solesmes edition of 'medieval' chant to be the authorised version, at a stroke replacing all other versions of Gregorian melodies including those promoted by the Cecilians. Their work on renaissance polyphony however continued, simultaneously encouraging modern writers to compose in this style. It

was however the matter of modern composition in an *antico* style which ultimately forced Terry's break with the society. It is unrecorded at which point this break occurs, since he was happily engaged in the publication of lists of approved music for parishes in the diocese of Westminster, just as the society did elsewhere in Europe, and he continued to push for publication of works that he had uncovered and extolled the virtues of polyphonic choral composition to anyone willing to listen. Terry became highly critical however, of the quality of some of early-style modern material and resented the money being made by the German printers—to the exclusion of printers in France, Spain, Belgium and other nations (not least England, where due to a lack of interest in early English music, Terry had struggled to have material printed and had to resort to self-publication in the Downside editions). In an article in the *Musical Times*, he was trenchant in his criticism of this printing monopoly, which in spite of societies existing in the UK, USA and Ireland as well as much of Europe, saw rights to print exclusive to Germany 'with the 'richest results' for the pockets of the German publisher'. Written in 1915, the wartime context is made clear in his final remarks designed to stir support to his cause: 'the man in the street has been shaken up by the War, and cares a very great deal about things Teutonic. It is to him that my remarks are addressed'.<sup>19</sup> The article makes clear that Terry deplores the style of music being mass-produced, and he criticises the Cecilians for taking the credit for early music revival everywhere (including at home in England where he was leading the way) noting that people were looking upon 'church music reform and *Cecilianverein* as one and the same thing'.<sup>20</sup> This disenchantment with their business prac-

<sup>19</sup> Richard Terry, "Sidelights on German Art: The Great Church-Music Imposture," *The Musical Times* 56, No.870 (1915), 461.

<sup>20</sup> Terry, "Sidelights on German Art: The Great Church-Music Imposture," 458.

tices and in Terry's view, quality control, marks a break with his earlier sympathies for their aims that helped to shape his own early liturgical compositions, particularly the Masses.

### **Performing style**

In England, alongside the academic pursuit of the recovery of the material itself, there was a growing interest in the performing style of early music at the turn of the century. This began what can be best described as a quest for some kind of perceived authenticity which ultimately resulted in the twentieth-century studies into historically informed performance, the use of period instruments, straight-toned singing in choral music and investigations into resources that would have been available to the original performers.<sup>21</sup> Terry's work marked a shift in approach toward the conceptualization of early music, and he was seeking to establish new ways of practising scholarship in this area. He saw himself as both musicologist and performer, an unusual combination in England at this time and an approach that signalled a move away from the traditional academic presentation of antique manuscripts by contemporary musicologists, many of whom may never have performed the works they were studying.<sup>22</sup> He was clear that presenting this music in the context of the liturgy would increase its exposure to a wider audience. This in time would break down the historical bias of an Anglican view of the history of English choral music by removing its presentation from the hands of establishment musicologists.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>21</sup> On the birth of the early-music movement, see Haskell, *Early Music Revival*. See also B Sherman, *Inside Early Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

<sup>22</sup> Davies, "Historiography of the Reformation," 268.

<sup>23</sup> Davies, "Historiography of the Reformation," 263.

Terry's initial work in this area was unfolding against the backdrop of a thread of anti-Catholic rhetoric which had been woven through post-Reformation and post-Restoration music history. This profoundly impacted its reception as is illustrated by an article on English music published in 1872. Its author, John Edmund Cox (1812–1890) claims that with the Reformation came not only religious freedom from Roman influence, but also political freedom from foreign interference, though fails to point out that the 'march of mind' was confined to strict limits, particularly with regard to music in the liturgy:

Whether, however, even in progressive years the music of the church advanced or not, it is not easy to discover, but it skilfully extended very little, if at all, beyond the precincts of the sanctuary until the Reformation cleared off the long oppressive mists of superstition and error, and opened the path for the growth of intellect, the march of mind, and the advance of civil and religious freedom.<sup>24</sup>

The Reformation was portrayed as a triumph of independence and national pride which could not be overturned by foreign—especially Roman—interference, and the lack of music in circulation from before this period helped to support the view that English national music began in the middle of the sixteenth century. This was an age (according to the Anglican narrative proposed by figures such as John Richard Green (1837–1883) in his *Short History of the English People* of 1875) when England was self-sufficient, unattached to the international Catholic scene, forging a trading and later, independent imperial national style.<sup>25</sup> After all, Victorian historians assured the public that the finest music in English choral history began with Gibbons and Weelkes, was the territory of Purcell and Wesley, with even the elderly Tallis and Byrd there at the start, embracing the new order and lighting the path ahead for others to fol-

<sup>24</sup> Cox, "The English, a Musical People," 12.

<sup>25</sup> J. R. Green, *Short History of the English People*, quoted in Davies, "Historiography of the Reformation," 264.

low.<sup>26</sup> Such was the tide of bias against which figures like Terry were swimming. The long-standing anti-Catholic narrative, however, was soon to be challenged by the discovery of a rich repertory of pre-Reformation music to rival the finest found abroad, forcing musicians and commentators to re-appraise some aspects of English Catholicism. As Benjamin Davies recalled 'it took a Roman Catholic to return a plural, inclusive and considerably more complex English identity to that (paradoxically) most insular and distinctively English of traditions, the polyphony of the Sarum rite'.<sup>27</sup> The 'land without music', dominated by German musical influences throughout the nineteenth century was about to discover that it had always possessed a national music of its own, but due to religious and political sensitivities, it had remained hidden.<sup>28</sup> It is perhaps no coincidence that the period when the early music revival work of Terry, Dolmetsch and Fellowes, and the promotion of the new native style by figures such as Parry and Stanford, is named as the English Musical Renaissance, since the parallels with the fifteenth and sixteenth-century movement are quite clear. Indeed, Joseph Bennett, music critic at the Daily Telegraph made the first recorded use of the term in England in a review of Parry's Symphony in G, stating it was 'proof that English music has arrived at a renaissance period.'<sup>29</sup> Meirion Hughes and Robert Stradling note that the statue of Prince

<sup>26</sup> Davies, "Historiography of the Reformation," 264.

<sup>27</sup> Davies, "Historiography of the Reformation," 269.

<sup>28</sup> In 1914, just after the outbreak of the First World War, the German music critic Oscar Schmitz published a book titled 'Das Land ohne Musik' (The Land without Music) Oscar Schmitz, *Das Land Ohne Musik* (Munich: Georg Muller, 1914). as a general discussion of the English character, which given the outbreak of hostilities added to the rhetoric being exchanged by both sides. The quintessentially English composer Elgar, had studied German in his youth in the hope of travelling to Leipzig to study music, serving as an example for such a view. For an indicative study of the late nineteenth-century German influence on the English music scene, see Hughes and Stradling, *The English Musical Renaissance 1840-1940 Constructing a National Music*, 83.

<sup>29</sup> Bennett, Joseph, "Parry Symphony in G." *Daily Telegraph*, 1882.

Albert on the Albert Memorial has his figure clad in Elizabethan costume and likens the then widowed Victoria to the Virgin Queen of Elizabeth I.<sup>30</sup> The links with the first Renaissance could not be stronger, with Bennett explicit in the closing of his critique of the Parry symphony, describing it as ‘modern in spirit, it belongs to our own time, but has, all the same, intimate relations with the past’.<sup>31</sup>

The term ‘early music’ has meant different things to different people at different times. For Pepusch and his contemporaries at the Academy of Ancient Music in the eighteenth century, it was music written more than a hundred years earlier, for Brahms it covered the period from Praetorius to Handel. What is clear is that it is more than chronology and extends to music which is perceived to require an historically appropriate style of performance.<sup>32</sup> In England there was a collection of individuals, each working in their respective fields of interest, who began to experiment with and espouse attempts at what they saw to be authentic performance. Figures like Arnold Dolmetsch, Violet Gordon Woodhouse, and musicologists such as Edward Joseph Dent (like Terry, Dent had been an undergraduate at King’s College under Mann) and Edmund Fellowes, also took an interest in practical performance working with ensembles who would perform their edited works. Frederick Niecks of the University of Edinburgh, a late nineteenth-century musicologist voiced sentiments which succinctly illustrate this approach to early music and precisely agree with Terry when he wrote that ‘to read of old musical works is something, to see them in print or manuscript is more, but to hear them ad-

<sup>30</sup> Hughes and Stradling, *The English Musical Renaissance 1840-1940 Constructing a National Music*, 44.

<sup>31</sup> Bennett, “Parry Symphony in G.”

<sup>32</sup> Haskell, *Early Music Revival*, 9–11.



equately performed... is the only satisfactory mode of making their acquaintance.<sup>33</sup> Terry was certain that even people who lacked a musical education would, on hearing the music performed, be able to appreciate it for simply how it sounded without the need for explanation—hinting towards a philosophy of music consisting of more than simply the notes on the page that is only realised when it is performed. Alongside Terry, and sometimes collaborating with him there were others working at early church music revival, such as his friend Barclay Squire at the British Museum, Percy Buck, Fellowes and Gustav Holst (who conducted the first modern performance of Purcell's *Fairy Queen* in 1911).<sup>34</sup> At the end of the nineteenth century, John Stainer (1840–1901) had transcribed and edited early manuscripts he found in the Bodleian Library published as *Early Bodleian Music. Dufay and his Contemporaries*.<sup>35</sup> The volume contained fifty pieces composed between 1400 and 1440 which was published by Novello in 1898; and it is likely that both Terry and his contemporaries in the next generation of early music revivers were familiar with it.

### **Pioneer Revivalists**

The first significant figure on the English nineteenth and early twentieth-century early instrumental music revival scene was undoubtedly Arnold Dolmetsch.<sup>36</sup> He was born in Le Mans, France, (24 February 1858) where the family business was the manufacture of pianos and it is

<sup>33</sup> Frederick Niecks, "Historical Concerts," *The Monthly Musical Record* 12 (1882), 217, 244.

<sup>34</sup> Roger Savage, *Masques, Mayings and Music-Dramas* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2014), 248.

<sup>35</sup> John Stainer, *Early Bodleian Music: Dufay and His Contemporaries* (London: Novello, 1898).

<sup>36</sup> The most comprehensive study of the life and work of Dolmetsch remains that published by Margaret Campbell in 1975 Margaret Campbell, *Dolmetsch: The Man and His Work* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1975).

here that he first encountered the art of instrument-making which he would later employ at his own early instrument workshop in England.<sup>37</sup> He attended the Brussels Conservatory and then moved to London to complete his studies at the Royal College of Music. His first work in reconstruction of early instruments was a lute in 1893, and from here he progressed to keyboard instruments such as harpsichords and clavichords.<sup>38</sup> Dolmetsch was a natural showman and keen to enter fully into the spirit of the age of the music he was performing. He was often given to dressing in his interpretation of ‘period’ costume to perform—usually Elizabethan regardless of the repertoire he was playing—as did the other members of his family who regularly performed with him. His house became a locus of entertainment with a fashionable set of London Arts and Crafts Movement advocates including William Morris, Edmund Burne-Jones, George Bernard Shaw, Ezra Pound, William Butler Yeats and Percy Grainger; the latter gushed enthusiastically about Dolmetsch:

The work you are doing is so deeply beneficial to the cause of music, and, indeed, to the betterment of mankind that it ought to be blazoned forth as widely as possible... Your concerts are the most liberal musical education I have ever witnessed. Also they are the most enjoyable concerts I have ever heard.<sup>39</sup>

William Morris, Burne-Jones and their fellow artists were driven in part by nostalgia for a previous age. To accompany this idealism for a bucolic rural existence there grew an interest in the prose and music of the past and the flowering of madrigal societies performing a predominantly Elizabethan repertoire reached its zenith in the last quarter of the century.<sup>40</sup> The

<sup>37</sup> Campbell, *Arnold Dolmetsch*, 1–3.

<sup>38</sup> Margaret Campbell and Katherine K. Preston, “‘Dometsch, (Eugene) Arnold’.” *Grove Music Online* (2013): accessed 23 November, 2018.

<sup>39</sup> Campbell and Preston, “‘Dometsch, (Eugene) Arnold’.”

<sup>40</sup> For the growth of the madrigal societies and community music, see James Hobson and Rachel E. Milestone, “Three Madrigal Societies in Early Nineteenth-Century England, ‘a Melodious

handmade lute and the gentle sound of the clavichord correspondingly grew in popularity and Dolmetsch was therefore in increasing demand for bespoke early instrument design and manufacture.<sup>41</sup> It is likely that the interest in this repertoire (presented in seemly fashion over more lively music which was equally fit for revival) will have been sought as a welcome contrast to life in large towns and cities which were becoming increasingly noisy and expanding rapidly.<sup>42</sup> No less a figure than William Morris commissioned the first harpsichord from Dolmetsch for the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society. It was completed in 1896, just months before Morris' death.<sup>43</sup>

Despite his clearly eccentric exterior, Dolmetsch was a serious musician who strove to foster an appreciation for early music, being keen that its performance should be what he considered to be 'authentic' and as such set the agenda for those who came after.<sup>44</sup> George Bernard Shaw noted 'Now, for some time past Mr Arnold Dolmetsch has been bringing the old in-

Phenomenon' the Institutional Influence of Town-Hall Music-Making," in *Music and Institutions in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Paul Rodmell (Abingdon: Ashgate, 2012). Also, for a broader study of social music-making in England, see Eric David Mackerness, *A Social History of English Music* (Abingdon, New York: Routledge, 2007). There is an interesting short correspondence between Dolmetsch and James Joyce on the question of the manufacture of a lute, revealing interest in both the prose and music of the Elizabethan era, but also the position of Dolmetsch as the prime maker of reproduction early instruments. Lillian M. Ruff, "James Joyce and Arnold Dolmetsch," *James Joyce Quarterly* 6, No.3. (1969), 224–30.

<sup>41</sup> Haskell, *Early Music Revival*, 29–32.

<sup>42</sup> Jack Westrup, writing for the Daily Telegraph reviewed a Dolmetsch concert, writing 'music so tranquil and clear-flowing is a refreshment in a noise-ridden world' Campbell, *Arnold Dolmetsch*, 278.

<sup>43</sup> Kate Bowan, "R. G. Collingwood Historical Reenactment and the Early Music Revival," in *Historical Reenactment: From Realism to the Affective Turn*, ed. McCalman, Iain and Paul A. Pickering (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 140.

<sup>44</sup> The term 'authentic' is now of course a problematic one which attracts much discussion and criticism. In the early twentieth century however, it was considered an achievable ideal to which these early revivalists aspired.

strumental music to actual performance under conditions as closely as possible resembling those contemplated by the composers'.<sup>45</sup> Like Terry, the Dolmetsch agenda focussed on performance; a practical revival as opposed to paper-based musicology. Writing of her keyboard lessons with Dolmetsch in the 1920s, Elizabeth Goble recalled that he started her on Farnaby's 'Dream' from the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*.<sup>46</sup> She was amazed to find that such seemingly easy pieces were in fact profound, containing all the essential elements for good harpsichord playing, and noting Dolmetsch's strict guidance, wrote 'clean and bright ornaments and clear part-playing were insisted upon and the contrasting sections each given their prevailing 'Mood'.<sup>47</sup> Crucially, Haskell goes as far as to describe Dolmetsch as Terry's early music counterpart in the instrumental field.<sup>48</sup> Both men had begun working life as teachers, spending their spare time engaged in musical paleontology, delving into unknown territory in recovering early material. While there were some before them, following a similar path, these two men were the first in England to put the two disciplines together and attract a curious public to their endeavours as performer-scholars. In spite of this however, neither of them has enjoyed a just historical acknowledgement, surprisingly, since their emphasis on performance generated such public interest. Terry's work was the choral parallel to Dolmetsch and the latter's contribution was crystalized by Haskell, recording that 'no one before Dolmetsch had put

<sup>45</sup> Dan H. Laurence, *Shaw's Music: The Complete Musical Criticism of Bernard Shaw Vol. 3 1893-1950* (London: The Bodley Head Ltd, 1989), 178.

<sup>46</sup> It is likely Goble used the only modern edition available at that time Giles Farnaby, "Giles Farnaby's Dreame," in *The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book Vol II*, ed. J. A. Fuller Maitland and W. Barclay Squire (London and Leipzig: Breitkopf and Hartel, 1899), 260.

<sup>47</sup> Elizabeth Goble, "Keyboard Lessons With Arnold Dolmetsch," *Early Music* 5, No.1. (1977), 89.

<sup>48</sup> Haskell, *Early Music Revival*, 36.

all the pieces together and grasped the all-important link between the theoretical and practical aspects of reviving a lost performing tradition'.<sup>49</sup> A coincidental link between these came later in Dolmetsch's life in 1927 when Terry was approached to become associated with The Dolmetsch Foundation, an organization created by friends and supporters to assist the family financially, as they were often struggling to make ends meet. Terry agreed to join the council of the organisation, placing him alongside Walford Davies, Henry Hadow and (former Prime Minister) Lloyd George as members, pointing to Terry's significant standing in the music world by this date. A letter from The Foundation was published in the *Musical Times* on 1 January 1930 appealing for support. It noted 'the work of Mr Dolmetsch has been accomplished only by the unique combination in him of the scholar, the musician, and the craftsman, and it is our earnest desire to ensure that his learning in all its forms shall be preserved and handed on to posterity... for the study under Mr Dolmetsch of the construction and technique of the lute, viol, recorder, clavichord, and harpsichord'.<sup>50</sup> The letter declared that progress had been made in reviving the Elizabethan repertoire across choral and instrumental disciplines in the previous thirty years, though this revival had moved 'more slowly than the literature of the period'. Instrumental music however had been slower in revival 'because proper appreciation was impossible until it could be played on the instruments for which it was written in accordance with the technique proper to those instruments and to the time' in a clear statement of a quest for some form of historically informed performance.

<sup>49</sup> Haskell, *Early Music Revival*, 43.

<sup>50</sup> Robert Bridges et al., "The Dolmetsch Foundation," *The Musical Times* 71 No.1043. (1930), 61.

Violet Gordon-Woodhouse was a harpsichordist and clavichordist who made some of the first recordings and broadcasts of the harpsichord, bringing the instrument to prominence in the early twentieth century. Born in London in 1872, she studied piano with Oscar Beringer at the Royal Academy of Music, and in time, as a result of her association with Dolmetsch, she focused her work on early music and early instruments.<sup>51</sup> Like Dolmetsch, Gordon-Woodhouse was popular in a particular social stratum, mixing with the characters who in the modern day would be considered celebrities, such as the Sitwells, Thomas Edward-Lawrence, Thomas Stearns Eliot, Wilfred Owen, Pablo Picasso and Diaghilev, as well as contemporary composers such as Vaughan Williams, Delius and Ethel Smyth.<sup>52</sup> It is remarkable that a figure famous for the promotion of early music should be seen as part of this erudite and fashionable set, and says much of the rise in popularity of Elizabethan music in this period. Her lifestyle was unconventional, living with her husband and three other men in what became known as the ‘Woodhouse Circus.’<sup>53</sup> Alongside Dolmetsch, Terry, and the others promoting early music, Violet was interested in recreating the soundworld of earlier composers, and in a paper for the very first edition of *Music and Letters* she argues:

True, it is impossible to judge accurately of the original quality of an old and battered instrument, but, during the last few years many old instruments have been restored, new ones have been made, and the public is beginning to realize that the beauty and interest of old music can be fully appreciated only when it is played on the instruments for which it was written.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>51</sup> “Obituary, Mrs Violet Gordon-Woodhouse,” *The Musical Times* 89, No.1261. (1948), 93.

<sup>52</sup> Jessica Douglas-Home, ‘Woodhouse, Violet Kate Eglinton Gordon [nee Violet Kate Eglinton Gwynne] (1871-1948), *ODNB*, September 2004, <[www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001.odnb-9780198614128-e-67845](http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001.odnb-9780198614128-e-67845)> (Accessed 20 November 2018).

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>54</sup> Violet Gordon-Woodhouse, “Old Keyed Instruments and Their Music,” *Music and Letters* 1, No.1. (1920), 45.

The instruments on which she played were not always faithful to historical models however, and it was not until the middle of the twentieth century that efforts were made to reconstruct harpsichords along the lines of their historical forebears. Like Terry, her preoccupation was with performing the music so that it could be heard, meaning concern for historical accuracies and ‘authenticities’ were relegated. Her recorded performances remain available, as does a selection by Dolmetsch and Terry, giving an insight into their performance style. It is unfortunate that the restrictions on materials during the Second World War meant that she was unable to record the complete Bach *Das wohltemperierte Klavier* as she had planned.<sup>55</sup>

### **The public appetite for early music**

At the turn of the twentieth century the growing interest in music from the past was reflected in the number of events presenting this material and also the number of people wishing to experience it, ranging from local madrigal groups in parish halls to larger scale events in concert halls and cathedrals. Their expectations and underlying motivations ranged from simple curiosity to a desire to experience something from another age. For some, it was escapism from their frantic lives in the world outside, an exercise in time travel, for others it was the appreciation of something antique, akin to viewing a painting or fine sculpture.

The Purcell Bicentenary in 1895 was perhaps the first big event in this early music re-discovery in England and was celebrated with a service at Westminster Abbey, a performance

<sup>55</sup> Jessica Douglas-Home, ‘Woodhouse, Violet Kate Eglinton Gordon [nee Violet Kate Eglinton Gwynne] (1871-1948), *ODNB*, September 2004, <[www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/refodnb/9780198614128.001.0001.odnb-9780198614128-e-67845](http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/refodnb/9780198614128.001.0001.odnb-9780198614128-e-67845)> (Accessed 20 November 2018). A selection of recordings by Gordon Woodhouse can be found on a 1922 recording re-issued for CD in 1996, titled ‘Great Virtuosi of the harpsichord; Volume III’, GEMM CD 9242 Pearl.

of *Dido and Aeneas* at the Royal College of Music and a swathe of performances of Purcell's other works elsewhere.<sup>56</sup> There were large-scale festivals and annual events celebrating the music of Handel and Tallis (especially at Westminster Abbey) which were very popular.<sup>57</sup> At Westminster Cathedral, the choir was drawing attendance from Catholics and non-Catholics alike with the daily broadsheets reflecting this interest and examining the emerging repertoire. Terry also used his own journalistic skills (music journalism was his second career) in writing articles about church music performance, appropriate choices for the liturgy and reviewing concerts and performances around the country which helped to lift his and therefore his choir's public profile. Other journalists shared his enthusiasm for the music he was presenting, with Robin Legge from the *Daily Telegraph* in a less than subtle manner exhorting Anglicans to go to Westminster Cathedral in 1911 to hear the Spanish music being performed in Holy Week that year.<sup>58</sup> The *Daily Telegraph* in Christmas week 1906, published a review of music at the Cathedral announcing:

By now the Christmas Day celebrations have begun at the Catholic Cathedral, Westminster. Yesterday the glorious Magnificat for eight voices (Double Choir) by Luca Marenzio was sung, by what is accounted one of the most beautiful choirs in Europe.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Haskell, *Early Music Revival*, 36.

<sup>57</sup> Suzanne Cole, *Thomas Tallis and His Music in Victorian England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008), 38–39. An enthusiasm grew for all things Elizabethan and this was reflected in domestic architecture, with neo-Tudor buildings clad in timbers sporting a low-slung roof and dormer windows appearing in the English suburbs.

<sup>58</sup> 'To look at the matter from an entirely educational point of view, it is quite clear that a splendid opportunity is to be provided for hearing an immense amount of little-known Church music. That it will be presented under conditions as nearly as ideal as human beings can command is certain'. Legge, Robin, "'Musicus'." *The Daily Telegraph*, 1911.

<sup>59</sup> Andrews, *Westminster Retrospect*, 92. Quoting an article in the *Daily Telegraph* (undated).



It amounted to an encouragement to its readers to go and hear for themselves. The same newspaper reviewing Holy Week in 1907 continued in a similar vein ‘there comes to a close a week that represented wellnigh a best possible in the rendering of church music, and had presented many very great specimens of the world’s musical literature’ and the *Westminster Chronicle* for the period reports that the building was full.<sup>60</sup> The choir was invited to make recordings (six records of early music by 1912) as shall be seen later in this study, again reflecting the public interest in or at least curiosity of early church music. The *Tablet*, in an article from March 1924 summed up the measure of public interest in the revival:

When the twentieth century came in few of us would have made bold to predict that, before the first quarter of its course had been run, our great daily newspapers would be discussing unaccompanied polyphonic Masses and motets, with Latin words, as a matter of national importance... When the first Holy Week [at Westminster Cathedral] came round the present writer published in the secular press articles explanatory of the music, and declared that, whatever might be the programmes in the great concert halls, the narrow space of the Cathedral Hall would resound with compositions of far more artistic interest. By twos and threes the non-Catholic public ventured into Ambrosden Avenue to hear this strange music; and to-day it is firmly established among London's aesthetic institutions.<sup>61</sup>

This article utterly vindicated Terry’s work of over twenty-three years at Westminster. That Catholics were attending services where early music was sung is reasonably unremarkable, but ‘non-Catholics’, suggests that Anglicans and others were slowly over time enticed into the Cathedral by the prospect of hearing good performances of music written for a liturgy that no longer existed in their home churches. After more than twenty years of regular use and media exposure however, the repertoire in use at Westminster had begun to seep out into Anglican services, suggesting that London’s ‘aesthetic institutions’ did not merely refer to con-

<sup>60</sup> Andrews, *Westminster Retrospect*, 93. and “Holy Week Services,” *Westminster Chronicle* (1901), 69.

<sup>61</sup> “Et Cetera,” *The Tablet* (1924), 24.

cert halls, but the major Anglican churches also. Given the history of Catholic liturgical music in England, this was revolutionary. Centuries of neglect of this material and persecution of its composers, performers and owners were being overturned. Music was changing attitudes and quietly challenging prejudices, thanks to Terry, and as a result, music in English Catholic and Anglican churches would be changed henceforth. Gustav Holst, a friend of Terry's and someone who had written commissions for Westminster, also noted this enthusiasm for early choral music in a paper to the Musical Association when he wrote:

Sir Richard Terry's work at Westminster Cathedral in connexion with the use of sacred Tudor music has been carried on by him steadily for years. It is famous now; but in the old days only a few people knew about it and Terry said to me that it was the young English musicians who were attracted to the Cathedral, and came frequently to hear the newly discovered music. Nowadays every musician who is in London in Holy Week hopes to attend some at least of the musical services at the Cathedral.<sup>62</sup>

An endorsement of Holst's observation is to be found in the experience of William Gillies Whittaker (1876–1944) who was a member with Terry of The Dolmetsch Foundation and a friend. According to Borthwick, 'WGW's frequent trips to London... left him feeling 'artistically refreshed & invigorated' as he heard music never played in a provincial town. His most profound experiences occurred at Westminster Cathedral, listening to R. R. Terry's choir, where one Holy Week he attended every service.'<sup>63</sup>

By 1923, the year before Terry's resignation from Westminster, the Elizabethan fever was at its zenith and was brought to this point by the William Byrd tercentenary festival of 1923. Haskell comments on the surge in interest in local music-making and notes that 'the

<sup>62</sup> Gustav Holst, "The Tercentenary of Byrd and Weelkes," *Proceedings of the Musical Association* 49, No.1. (1923), 34.

<sup>63</sup> Mary Christine Borthwick, "'In the Swim': The Life and Musical Achievements of William Gillies Whittaker 1876–1944," diss., Durham, 2007), 21.

*Musical Times* apologized to its readers that the sheer number of events made it impossible to note, let alone review, all of them' and reported that there was a series of nationwide competitive festivals involving hundreds of amateur and professional choirs and ensembles between 1923 and 1926.<sup>64</sup> Charles Kennedy Scott performed Bach cantatas on a chamber scale rather than a chorus of hundreds with his Bach Cantata Club demonstrating that the appetite for early music had spread to compositions from the Baroque, and it was reported in the *Musical Times* that 'the rediscovery of old composers goes on steadily'. The terminology surrounding early music could cause confusion and *The Musical Times* joked with its readers quoting a fictional Scottish newspaper's article on a concert near Berwick. The concert apparently included works by 'Descant, Faux and Bourdon' leading *The Musical Times* to hope that their readers may soon be able to hear such neglected masters as 'Gymel, Organum and Diaphony', adding 'we think, too, that the time is ripe for a performance of the best works of Hocket'.<sup>65</sup>

A further reason for the demand for repertoire was practicality. The rapid expansion of church building in urban areas and the founding of new parishes and dioceses in both the Catholic Church and the Anglican Church meant that there was a requirement for music to accompany the liturgy, and in the case of most parish churches, this would have to be of a relatively straightforward style, accessible to amateur musicians.<sup>66</sup> Terry's editions, particularly in

<sup>64</sup> Haskell, *Early Music Revival*, 37–38.

<sup>65</sup> "Occasional Notes," *Musical Times* 70, No.1039 (1929), 807.

<sup>66</sup> For the expansion of Victorian church building in England see Chris Brooks and Andrew Saint, *The Victorian Church: Architecture and Society* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1995).

the Downside series comfortably met this need and they were not expensive, helping to ensure their popularity. In this way, the public interest in the early repertoire, the practical need for scores and their affordability were a happy coincidence of circumstances which played a part in promoting newly-edited early repertoire.

### **The French movement to revive early choral works**

On the European continent, there were similar movements pursuing an interest in early choral music and its performance, pre-eminent amongst which was a group in France, the Parisian 'Chanteurs de St Gervais'. This group was founded by Charles Bordes, a contemporary of Terry (and whose early music work to an extent matched that of his English counterpart) at the church of St Gervais in Paris where he was choirmaster and where he re-established the musical tradition.<sup>67</sup> Bordes had a keen interest in plainsong and early polyphony and directed his choir in performances of Palestrina, Josquin and Victoria, editing most of the music himself. They quickly attracted attention in the French music press and the notice of the composer Dukas, a music critic at the time.<sup>68</sup> Like Terry, Bordes was another performer-scholar striving to put early music before his audience and there seemed no shortage of appetite for it. In 1891 they sang Allegri's *Miserere* and Palestrina's *Stabat Mater* during the liturgy of Holy Week, and such were the crowds it attracted, that music journalists had to squeeze into con-

<sup>67</sup> For more on music in late nineteenth-century France, including assessments of the work of Bordes, see Robert Francis Waters, *Deodat De Severac: Musical Identity in Fin De Siecle France* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2008).

<sup>68</sup> Haskell quotes Dukas complimenting the Bordes' choir 'with a most remarkable rectitude of style and a vocal perfection worthy of all praise'. Haskell, *Early Music Revival*, 46.

professionals to be able to hear the service, as all other space in the building had been taken.<sup>69</sup> The comparisons here with crowds at the Holy Week services at Westminster Cathedral and their enthusiastic reporting in the London media are clear. Bordes was essentially a Cecilian, one of the group of musicians who promoted the use of plainsong and polyphony in church services and encouraged contemporary composers to write in an *antico* style to imitate the old repertoire. His engaging personality enabled him to enlist professional musicians to realize some of his projects, and to attract funding from wealthy Parisians and such was his success that he could take his choir around Paris and beyond to perform early music. Following this success, Bordes decided with his friends d'Indy and Guilmant to found a school to propagate his ideals of early music performance and called it the *Schola Cantorum*, though this and the fame which followed the work of his Chanteurs created animosity with the church authorities at St Gervais and in 1902 he was forced to resign.<sup>70</sup> Here was a progressive musician pitted against the vested interests of a comfortable and contented late nineteenth-century musical elite, as the critic Pierre Lalo wrote:

The day when the Chanteurs de St Gervais revealed this nobler and more sacred art to the Masses, the choirmasters sensed that their privileges and rights were in danger. Lassus and Palestrina seemed to them intruders and usurpers, and the resurrection of their music a treacherous plot. Since Palestrina and Lassus are out of reach, the choirmasters jealously attack the musicians who champion them.<sup>71</sup>

Clearly the popularity of Gervais' performers and more importantly, the quality of their repertoire was unsettling the French musical establishment. During the 1900 Paris Exposition for example, sixty thousand visitors had visited the replica medieval church where the Chanteurs

<sup>69</sup> Haskell, *Early Music Revival*, 45.

<sup>70</sup> Haskell, *Early Music Revival*, 46–47.

<sup>71</sup> Lalo, Pierre, "Le Temps." 1902, 13–15.

were performing every day for a period of six months, such was their popularity. Ultimately, neither Bordes's fortunes, nor those of the newly established *Schola* were undermined by his resignation, since fellow progressive musicians rallied to their support in resentment at the Conservatoire's grip on French music and its treatment of the Chanteurs. As Haskell notes 'the Schola... stood for a return of natural classicism against academicism' and Bordes calls for free speech in music were taken up by figures like Debussy who were also keen to break out of the confines of French musical tradition and seek new directions.<sup>72</sup> Debussy was an admirer of Bordes and wrote 'he is an accomplished musician in the fullest sense of the word, and his personality could be compared with that of one of those old musicians whose courage grew the more they were faced with danger'.<sup>73</sup> His observations about the audiences attending the Chanteurs performances, again provide a reflection of the phenomenon at Westminster:

It's a strange thing, but at the Schola, side by side, you will find the aristocracy, the most left wing of the bourgeoisie, refined artists, and coarse artisans. But there is little of that empty space too often found at the more famous establishments. One feels they understand... I don't know if it is because of the smallness of the room, or because of some mysterious influence of the divine, but there is a real communion between those who play and those who listen.<sup>74</sup>

The concert hall where Bordes' Schola performed seated approximately 500 people, small by concert hall standards but not insubstantial, and Debussy's observations suggest the popularity of Bordes, his musicians and their repertoire managed to fill it for performances.

### **Terry's Circle and the early choral music revival**

<sup>72</sup> Haskell, *Early Music Revival*, 48.

<sup>73</sup> Claude Debussy, *Debussy on Music* (London: Martin Secker and Warburg Ltd, 1977), 115.

<sup>74</sup> Debussy, *Debussy on Music*, 115.

Choral music in England was subject to a profound process of reform and re-fashioning during both the Reformation and the Commonwealth. The former spurred a new approach to liturgical composition, bringing strict rules for simpler homophonic music sung in the vernacular.<sup>75</sup> This was short-lived and quickly a new English polyphonic style was developed, particularly in the Chapel Royal where the desire for elaborate music persisted. The Commonwealth silenced church music altogether in cathedrals and greater parish churches for a period of years during which thousands of musicians lost their jobs and income.<sup>76</sup> This was a religious and cultural upheaval of a scale almost unknown amongst most other large European nations and yet, through the various groups of people who clung to it, a variety of manuscripts of pre-Reformation music survived. Some Latin text music continued to be performed outside the limits of the liturgy, in private family or social gatherings and for private devotional purposes. During the seventeenth century Latin works appeared recreationally, often as items of interest at venues such as Thomas Britton's upper room, or in societies such as the Academy of Ancient Music.<sup>77</sup> By the late nineteenth century, there was a re-emergence within the liturgy of both the Anglican and Catholic churches of many early works, though at

<sup>75</sup> The Chapel Royal musicians were granted greater latitude however, with figures such as Byrd and Tallis continuing to compose works in Latin and dedicated to Elizabeth I.

<sup>76</sup> Edmund Horace Fellowes, *English Cathedral Music From Edward Vi to Edward Vii* (London: Methuen, 1941), 1-9.

<sup>77</sup> Britton was a small-coal man, an enthusiastic musician and a collector of manuscripts and antique books. He played the viol da gamba in his own weekly concerts which began in 1678 and continued for forty years. Subscribers and performers at his concerts included Pepusch, Handel, Dubourg, Shuttleworth, Needler and Banister amongst others. The music performed was from a range of periods, including from old scores, choral music amongst them, that Britton had collected, and contemporary works by Handel with the composer at Britton's five stop pipe organ. Edgar Thomas, "Thomas Britton: The Musical Small-Coal Man," *The Musical Times* 63, No.952. (1922), 429-31.

first in Anglicanism, all of these were in English. Chief amongst the scholars re-evaluating these works were Terry, Henry Davey, Edmund Fellowes, Barclay Squire and Percy Buck.

The publication of a study of the most important Tudor choral music manuscripts by Henry Davey (1853–1929)—who was in fact the first English scholar to do so—began the process of incorporating pre-Reformation choral repertory into the English canon for purposes of scholarship. He also questioned the received historical narrative of Anglican supremacy over the Catholic legacy. His *History of English Music*, published in 1895, gives details both of the physical appearance and condition of the manuscripts and also their contents.<sup>78</sup> He observed that the Reformation had not liberated English musicians from the restrictions of Rome, but rather imposed a limit on the development of composition in England. At a stroke, this overturned the accepted narrative of the previous three hundred years, which was that Anglican choral music was the first truly English music. Davey's work also addressed the idea of *contrafacta* in texts, rebuffing the established notion of Latin/Catholic and English/Anglican. Instead, he signaled a link between pre-Reformation music and late sixteenth-century church music.<sup>79</sup> It is worth noting that Christmas Carols were not always in Latin, for example, and had their origins in the vernacular folksong of the Catholic laity.<sup>80</sup> Davey's assertions on language were comfortably aligned with Terry's theories. Davey wrote: 'the magnificent contrapuntal anthems of Elizabethan composers are really adaptations of Latin motets, in which the composer's skill had full play. This was certainly so in many instances, of which

<sup>78</sup> Henry Davey, *History of English Music* (London: Curwen, 1895).

<sup>79</sup> Davies, "Historiography of the Reformation," 265–66.

<sup>80</sup> See the "Trinity Carol Roll", (GB-Ctc MS O.3.58), in Trinity College Library, Cambridge. It is the earliest surviving source of English polyphonic music.



we still possess the original forms; and I believe it was the general rule, though the older Latin versions have usually disappeared.<sup>81</sup> In this assessment however, Davey overlooks the likely development of style following the highly restrictive choral idiom which immediately followed the Reformation, as composers became more comfortable with experimenting within their new boundaries. The situation was of course more nuanced than his analysis suggests, since the Chapel Royal functioned in an independent manner under the direct governance of the sovereign, and the use of Latin did not reliably indicate that a work was intended for Catholic worship. Davey's efforts at addressing these issues in academic scholarship were to be complemented by Terry's work with respect to performance of this repertoire, and clearly laid the ground for Terry's claims for some English text works, examined further below.

An Anglican clergyman and musical scholar born just six years after Terry was Edmund Fellowes (1870–1951). He studied music at Oxford and then entered the church, becoming a minor canon at St George's Chapel at Windsor Castle where he remained until his death in 1951.<sup>82</sup> Whilst at Windsor, Fellowes edited volumes of lute songs and madrigals and researched and edited choral works by Byrd and Gibbons. Holding a keen interest in music of the Tudor period, Fellowes was more musicologist than performer, and like Terry he wrote books and articles about sixteenth-century composers.<sup>83</sup> He was able to put some of his edi-

<sup>81</sup> Davey, *History of English Music*, 127.

<sup>82</sup> M. Humphreys and R. Evans, "Fellowes, Revd. Dr. Edmund Horace (1870-1951)," in *Dictionary of Composers for the Church in Great Britain and Ireland* (London: Mansell Publishing Ltd, 1997), 111.

<sup>83</sup> See: Edmund Horace Fellowes, *Orlando Gibbons: A Short Account of His Life and Work* (London: Calrendon Press, 1925). Also Edmund Horace Fellowes, *William Byrd* (London: Clarendon Press, 1923). And Edmund Horace Fellowes, *The English Madrigal School, a Guide to Its Practical Use* (London: Stainer and Bell, 1924).

tions into use, directing the choir at St George's from 1924 for three years, and later, with his own freelance ensemble The English Singers, though his performance opportunities were dwarfed by Terry's activities at Westminster. Fellowes described the difficulty in creating modern editions of old music, one of the chief obstacles being that hardly any contemporary scores exist, and that what does survive is to be found in single manuscript voice parts, which in themselves can be incomplete and often not found in the same location. An example he gave is illustrative of these problems:

My most encouraging experience of this kind of work came to me in dealing with Weelkes' splendid anthem *Hosanna*, now a universal favourite. It is written for six voices. I found five of the parts and after putting these into score I realized that it needed another treble part to complete it. To the best of my ability I reconstructed this missing voice part. It satisfied me well enough to permit its performance from my manuscript. A year later I found the missing part in another library, and I had the satisfaction of finding that, with one or two unimportant differences, I had reproduced the composer's text correctly.<sup>84</sup>

His success in recreating the missing part is unknown, since only the finished product survives in print as octavo score number nine in the Oxford University Press Tudor Church Music series (no longer in print). His long tenure at Windsor however, enabled him to complete a considerable body of work including the English output of William Byrd and collections of Elizabethan songs and madrigals, and he was eventually invited by Terry to join the editorial committee of the Carnegie Trust's volumes on Tudor Church Music.

Another dedicated musicologist who would assist Terry in his musical research was William Barclay Squire (1855–1927). He was educated at Cambridge where he met Charles Villiers Stanford and the two became friends, leading to a collaboration which was to be his only foray into contemporary music when he wrote the libretto for Stanford's opera *The Veiled*

<sup>84</sup> Edmund Horace Fellowes, *Memoirs of an Amateur Musician* (London: Methuen, 1946), 129.

*Prophet*. Barclay Squire's sister Charlotte married Fuller-Maitland the musicologist, through whom he met and befriended George Grove, placing him within the social circle of the leading musicologists in London.<sup>85</sup> He immersed himself in early music, aided by his contacts and position as head of the music department at the British Museum where he worked for thirty-five years, and to which he added many early manuscripts, discovery of which he shared with Terry. Their mutual interests will have made visits to the museum and access to manuscripts more straightforward for Terry. Barclay Squire co-edited some works with him, including the Byrd *Mass for Five Voices*, which was published by the German company, Breitkopf and Hartel in 1898, since every English publisher they approached considered the work of merely antiquarian interest and unlikely to be in demand for performance.<sup>86</sup>

During his period at Downside Abbey, Terry came to know and work with Percy Buck (1871–1947) an organist, composer, music educator and writer who was organist at Wells Cathedral, not far from Downside. Terry would often go to hear the choir sing Evensong and the two men shared an interest in early music. After Wells, Buck was appointed as director of music at Harrow School alongside which he taught at the Royal College of Music and was a professor of Music at Trinity College, Dublin. He wrote several books on music, about acoustics and music psychology as well as organ treatises.<sup>87</sup> He wrote for Terry's choir at Westmin-

<sup>85</sup> Hugh Cobbe, 'Squire, William Barclay (1855–1927), music librarian and scholar', *ODNB*, May 2006, <[www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001.odnb-9780198614128-e-36228](http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001.odnb-9780198614128-e-36228)> (Accessed 20 November 2018).

<sup>86</sup> Muir, *Roman Catholic Church Music*, 224.

<sup>87</sup> Buck's published works include: Percy Buck, *The First Year At the Organ* (London: Stainer and Bell, 1911). Also Percy Buck, *Acoustics for Musicians* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1918). And Percy Buck, *Unfigured Harmony* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1911). Also Percy Buck, *Psychology for Musicians* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1944). And Percy Buck, *A History of Music* (London: Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith, 1929).

ster as part of the programme of Masses employing works by contemporary composers that Terry had instigated and became chairman of the Editorial Committee of Tudor Church Music after Terry withdrew due to ill health. He also co-edited the *English Psalter* (1925) with Bairstow and Macpherson.<sup>88</sup>

## **2.2 Performance Practice of early choral music in the first quarter of the twentieth century**

Performance practice of early music in England has its roots in the work of the early twentieth-century practitioners. Terry along with Fellowes and others were some of the first musicians to consider how such music should be performed. Their work marked a fresh way of thinking about early repertoire that would further develop after their deaths. The confluence of different aspects of performance such as pitch, place, timbre, rhythm, tuning, compass, tempo, as well as the layers of time and accumulated experience and expertise, can make early music performance a fraught environment in which to perform. Indeed, musicians now tend to seek an historically *informed* route to performance since centuries after the event of composition, no performance of it can genuinely be called ‘authentic’.<sup>89</sup> As John Morehen argues, performers and scholars ‘have been understandably concerned to establish that a cer-

<sup>88</sup> M. Humphreys and R. Evans, “Buck, Sir Percy Carter (1871-1947),” in *Dictionary of Composers for the Church in Great Britain and Ireland* (London: Mansell, 1997), 47–48.

<sup>89</sup> There is much modern material on HIP of early music. See: Elitan Ornoy, “Between Theory and Practice: Comparative Study of Early Music Performances,” *Early Music* 34, No.2. (2006), 233–47. Also Sherman, *Inside Early Music*.

tain composer 'intended so-and-so' or had 'such-and-such conditions of performance in mind' or 'meant it to sound in this way or that'.<sup>90</sup> Performance practice can only realistically be an ideal, and often the most satisfactory approach is to let the music speak for itself, mindful of resources available at the time of composition, the place of original performance and any clear direction given by the composer in the score or associated writings. The Dolmetsch family took a particular approach to early music as has been seen, complete with costumes which they believed would provide a sense of context, ambience and atmosphere, creating an almost non-liturgical liturgy.<sup>91</sup> These revivalists did not see themselves as reactionary or backward-looking, but rather as the true progressive forces in the musical world at the time, 'they were convinced that the key to the future lay in the past, that modern music could only escape the cul-de-sac into which it had strayed by retracing the path mapped out by the old masters.'<sup>92</sup> The reaction to romanticism here is clear, yet this is also a reaction to modernism, since by retreating into an imagined time of agrarian living with thatched cottages, ale and courtly song, it was possible to escape the rigours and uncertainties of modern living in a period when industrial and technical advances were moving ahead at great speed.

Not all of these attempts at historically accurate presentation were successful of course and there were musicians who took no interest in any sense of an historically informed performance such as Mendelssohn, whose approach was very much that of a practical musician.

<sup>90</sup> John Morehen, *English Choral Practice, 1400-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), ix.

<sup>91</sup> For a thorough study of performance practice in the first years of the early music movement see Haskell, *Early Music Revival*.

<sup>92</sup> Haskell, *Early Music Revival*, 19.

In 1840 he wrote to his sister Fanny concerning his performance of the Bach Chromatic Fantasy and Fugue (BWV 903), noting: ‘I take the liberty of playing [the arpeggios] with all possible crescendos, and pianos, and fortissimos, pedal of course, and doubling the octaves in the bass.’<sup>93</sup> His language suggests that he knows his interpretation is just that and probably indicative of a mid-nineteenth-century interpretation of music of the baroque. It is an interpretation with which Terry would not concur. Indeed, he was quick to criticise what he saw as insensitive or poor performances of early music. Usually waspish in his criticisms, he was scathing about a performance of Handel’s *Messiah* conducted by Eugene Goossens at Crystal Palace in London, an event that had taken place annually since 1921, but was axed the year following Terry’s published critique. He lamented:

But when it comes to poor old Handel, what do we find? A triennial orgy at the Crystal Palace, when an impossible collection of impossible people meet together and try to perform him under impossible conditions; a more or less moribund “Handel Society,” whose attachment to “the Master,” until Goossens took them in hand, was but lukewarm – to judge by the number of other composers to whom they devote themselves at their infrequent public performances; a regiment of tenors who bleat “Kormafort ayee” on every possible occasion, and bellow “Evoree varley” in and out of season; a battalion of basses who bawl “Ho roddyer tharn the cherry” and persistently inquire “Whoy doo thor nations so furiously rage together?”; two or three songs which now and then stray in to the programme of a vocal recital. And that is all.<sup>94</sup>

There is more than humour here—and certainly a hint of snobbery. The people taking part in this performance will likely have been upper working-class or lower middle-class, indulging in amateur music-making in their spare time. Whether his barbs are class inspired or simply

<sup>93</sup> Harold C. Schonberg, *The Great Pianists* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1963), 130.

<sup>94</sup> Richard Runciman Terry, “A Forgotten Composer,” in *On Music’s Borders* (London: T. Fisher Unwin Ltd, 1927), 40–41.

mocking the standard of amateur musicianship is unclear, however it is likely to be indicative of his developing tastes in performance practice.

Early choral music was being performed in Europe and the United States to an audience for whom such material was almost completely unknown. At this point it is important to draw a distinction between the ‘performance’ of this music as a concert or presented work, and the ‘use’ of it in liturgy since the approach taken is likely to have been different. Terry was content for the performance of liturgical music in the concert hall, but insisted that this altered the character of the music for the listener, since it was a ‘performance’.<sup>95</sup> In its liturgical context he believed it held a different character, influenced by his notion of the early composers being imbued with the ‘spirit of the liturgy’.<sup>96</sup> This music was frequently performed in the recital rooms and concert halls often alongside madrigals or music for consorts of instruments, meeting an audience that it might not find in church. This was thanks in part to the ‘Elizabethan fever’ which erupted in England after the First World War.<sup>97</sup> Holst was taken aback to hear British soldiers singing the *Benedictus* of the *Mass for Three Voices* by Byrd walking along the road after a concert in Constantinople in 1918, claiming that ‘England—for the first time—is really learning her own music’.<sup>98</sup> It is possible that the singers mentioned in this anecdote had been engaged at Westminster Cathedral before the war.

<sup>95</sup> Terry wrote about the Vaughan Williams *Mass* which he had just performed at Westminster in the *Cathedral Chronicle* in 1923, noting ‘the Queen’s Hall rendering’ was ‘a performance’ a term which ‘did not apply to the rendering in the Cathedral’. Richard Runciman Terry, “Holy Week and Easter Music,” *Westminster Chronicle* (1923).

<sup>96</sup> Terry, *The Music of the Roman Rite*, 15.

<sup>97</sup> Haskell, *Early Music Revival*, 37.

<sup>98</sup> Andrews, *Westminster Retrospect*, 171.

A composer whose music had been known in England for some time, particularly in performances with the Academy of Ancient Music in the eighteenth century was Palestrina. His music featured regularly at Westminster and his skill at counterpoint had ensured he remained a subject of study by music theorists. It was however, this aspect of the approach to early music which Terry sought to address, since he was equally concerned with the sound of the music as well as its technical construction and the motivation that lay behind the notes, seeking what Dahlhaus has described as a quest for the lost age of ‘true church music’.<sup>99</sup> For Terry the motivating spirit, the whole purpose of the composition, that is to serve as a function of the Mass or other liturgy was what constituted true church music. He was sure that the unpopularity of music by composers such as Palestrina amongst performers in England had to do with the way it was experienced, and set out to make the first encounter of it altogether more engaging. In ‘Voodooism in Music’ he rails against what he describes as the ‘tyranny’ of the piano:

Our professors in the old days knew only one form of instrumental proficiency – on the pianoforte... For example, the sublime music of Palestrina and the rest of the polyphonic school sounds less than meaningless on the pianoforte... The professors of Victorian days never tried to discover what it sounded like on *voices*; they ‘played’ it on the pianoforte; the result was of course dreadful. So they voted it dull, antiquated and so forth, and until quite recent times the British citizen was starved of all that inspired music.<sup>100</sup>

Terry is pressing here for the music to be experienced as he believed it was intended by the composer, finding shortcomings with a merely paper-based study. The music of Palestrina and his contemporaries had not of course survived in the English liturgical repertoire since

<sup>99</sup> Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth Century Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 181–82.

<sup>100</sup> Richard Runciman Terry, “Canned Music,” in *Voodooism in Music* (London: Burns Oates and Washbourne, 1934), 40.



the use of Latin had been outlawed, and therefore tended to be experienced only in academic environments or for domestic or social consumption. Terry's first experiences of choral rehearsal were at the hands of Mann at King's College, where the boys were rehearsed unaccompanied, a method which he (Terry) adopted at Westminster. It was revolutionary for the time and promoted a culture of listening to the other voice parts for both pitch, tuning and entries which are easily obliterated by the use of the piano when rehearsing early *a capella* music. Use of a piano can be especially unhelpful, since it cannot sustain the longer notes within the vocal lines and can condition singers to wait for their lead from the piano, making unaccompanied performance hesitant.

### **Performance Practice at Westminster under Terry**

Terry considered that the most effective way to understand and experience hitherto unknown early music was for it to be heard. He was ahead of his time in this respect and as such can be considered one of the pioneers of early music performance practice. The practicalities of performing at Westminster were for this period in England unorthodox. The positioning of the choir for example was not consonant with Anglican practice—where a set of choirstalls are usually placed in the section of the chancel known as the quire—but rather in an apsidal space behind the high altar. Martin Baker explained the rationale for placing singers in this way:

The choir sings from a retro-choir at the east end of the Cathedral, raised and behind the High Altar. It is from this position that it is able to support the sacred actions of the Priest. The music connecting *logos* and *mysterium* comes literally from on high, a reminder perhaps of the celestial liturgy. Coming from behind the sacred action in the sanctuary, the music

provides illumination and assists communication between human and divine, since humans approach the divine liturgy through beauty.<sup>101</sup>

It is a position which the choirs in Roman Basilicas customarily occupy enabling the congregation to see the actions at the altar unimpeded by ranks of choristers filling the space between the laity and the liturgical action.

When preparing a piece for the Cathedral choir, Terry researched his material at the manuscript source, creating a full score for his own use in direction—he distributed only individual parts for each of the voices. In this manner, he attempted to replicate the earlier practice of the original composers which was in Terry's view the most likely approach to give what he considered the best performance. Using such a strategy, singers concentrated on the linear writing of the parts rather than viewing the music up-down from a full-score perspective. Choristers in trouble for their behaviour would often find themselves copying out individual voice parts as punishment, which is likely to have had accuracy implications.<sup>102</sup> In his writings, Terry was not given to using the potentially controversial term 'authentic' in respect of performance. (He did use it to describe the Solesmes version of plainsong in *Music of the Roman Rite*, noting 'we have now, for the first time, an authentic printed text, based on the original manuscripts of the period when Plainsong was a living art' and its use here is really a substitute for 'authorised' following the papal *imprimatur*.<sup>103</sup>) It may be that he was aware that it was impossible to create a truly authentic performance of early music, but unfortunately his

<sup>101</sup> Martin Baker, "The Role of the Choir in the Celebration of the Liturgy," *Vatican Conference on the second anniversary of Sacrosanctum Concilium* (2005).

<sup>102</sup> Day, "Terry and 16th Century Polyphony," 301.

<sup>103</sup> Terry, *The Music of the Roman Rite*, 20.

thoughts on this are not recorded. Terry wrote about the ‘strong, virile music of our early English composers’ suggesting a robust tone and a performance not given to an understated style at Westminster.<sup>104</sup> His approach to performance did not reflect early twenty-first-century ideas of historically-informed performance, and the results were therefore largely accidental: the repertoire was sung by an all-male choir (at the Cathedral anyway; his radio choir for the BBC broadcasts consisted of female sopranos and altos); this music could be experienced with its liturgical spirit when residing in the liturgy rather than the concert hall (which rendered it simply as a performance); and finally, unaccompanied performance. In terms of principles and deliberate performance practice, the fact that it was performed by a robed choir in the Cathedral was sufficient. Michael Kennedy describes Terry’s early music performances at Westminster writing that ‘the choir became a supple and perfect instrument’ suggesting his approach competently marshalled their performance.<sup>105</sup>

In addition to the score distribution mentioned above, his insistence on rehearsing unaccompanied with the boys who were from arrival at Westminster schooled in pitching at sight, is likely to have led to fairly testing rehearsals given the complexity and volume of the repertoire. Terry himself had not been a cathedral chorister and his ideas were therefore not formed at an early age but observed through others at university and by his own practical experience. This approach liberated him from convention, though his clear aim was to replicate the English choral sound found in Anglican Cathedrals, and to achieve this following his per-

<sup>104</sup> Richard Runciman Terry, “A Question of Idiom,” in *On Music’s Borders* (London: T. Fisher Unwin Ltd, 1927), 188.

<sup>105</sup> Michael Kennedy, *The Works of Ralph Vaughan Williams* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), 159.

sonal instincts.<sup>106</sup> His former choristers such as Edward Hutton in interviews and correspondence with Terry's biographer, recall his methods 'that boys as well as men should read a hitherto unseen piece correctly will be considered as beyond belief; such however was the result of Terry's method and the training pursued at Westminster.'<sup>107</sup> Dom Gregory Murray, a former chorister at the Cathedral under Terry was highly critical of his approach to rehearsal citing the under-preparedness of the choir for performance on occasion. His comments support Hutton's recollection, though his discomfort at shortened rehearsal time perhaps betrays an aversion to sight-reading. In his review of Hilda Andrew's biography, Murray writes 'we who were in his choir know only too well that the standard of performance often left much to be desired. He covered too much ground to allow time for adequate rehearsal, and he grew increasingly careless once his reputation was established.' Later 'the all-pervading "oo" (which ultimately degenerated into a permanent hoot) was said to be necessary owing to the vastness of the Cathedral, in which no one could reasonably expect to hear the words.'<sup>108</sup> Terry had set out to emulate the treble sound he had experienced at Cambridge under Mann, whose approach to voice production and disregard for vowels will have created an unusual quality.<sup>109</sup> Intelligibility of the text, especially in Latin polyphony has not always been a priority in Catholic worship and the likely priority for Terry in this situation will have been a smooth musical

<sup>106</sup> Terry made many references in his writing about the excellence of the English choral sound, placing it above all competition from abroad. Terry, *The Music of the Roman Rite*, 214.

<sup>107</sup> Andrews, *Westminster Retrospect*, 67.

<sup>108</sup> Dom Grgeory Murray, "The Westminster Choir," *The Tablet* (1948), 11.

<sup>109</sup> For more on Mann, see: Andrew Parker, 'Mann, Arthur Henry (1850–1929) organist', *ODNB*, May 2004, <[www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001.odnb-9780198614128-e-34851](http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001.odnb-9780198614128-e-34851)> (Accessed 20 November 2018).

blend and good tuning. Even in this criticism of the boys however, there is the recognition that, if as Murray says performance was ‘often’ poor, there were clearly plenty of occasions when it was not, and it is highly unlikely that newspapers such as *The Times* and *The Telegraph* would have been lauding shoddy renditions of unknown music.

Terry absorbed Mann’s choir training technique and was keen to employ it at Westminster Cathedral. Day writes of Mann (who was choir director from 1876–1928) ‘The echo in King’s College chapel Mann set out, if not to tame, at least to enlist as an ally; pace and style were dictated by that famous acoustic. Slow tempos were characteristic, and a great deal of pianissimo singing. He cultivated a round, guarded tone, as being best suited to the building, not caring if this distorted vowel sounds. If a choral scholar went to a singing teacher to learn to throw the voice forward he was promptly checked by Dr Mann.’<sup>110</sup> In addition to emulating Mann’s approach, Terry was an enthusiastic admirer of John Varley Roberts, organist at Magdalen College, Oxford, from 1882-1918 who had written a handbook for training choristers which Terry encouraged others to study.<sup>111</sup> The handbook encourages its readers to pursue sweet and pure tone qualities in a boy’s head voice and a soft approach to the chest voice, which was otherwise known as the ‘shouting register’.<sup>112</sup> Terry stated that he wished the boys to create a sound which was not emotional or in any way theatrical and which avoided the sentimentality he so disliked from some late Victorian singing. In *Music of*

<sup>110</sup> Day, “Terry and 16th Century Polyphony,” 302.

<sup>111</sup> In *The Music of the Roman Rite*, contained in a section devoted to tips for training a choir, Terry recommends the book (including giving the details of publisher and price) stating that within it the choirmaster will find ‘hints on the all-important subject of voice production, which, after all, is the “be all” and “end all” of choir training’. Terry, *The Music of the Roman Rite*, 70.

<sup>112</sup> Day, “Terry and 16th Century Polyphony,” 303.

*the Roman Rite* Terry notes ‘individual emotions are dangerous guides and the Church wisely recognises this. Hence, in the music which she gives us, the individual must sink his personality and become only one of the many who offer their corporate praise’.<sup>113</sup> The English Cathedral sound was his destination and the number of singers in the choir at Westminster was disposed towards an authentic balance of voices for the performance of some early music, though not all. Music of the fifteenth century, for example Dufay or Dunstable would have been performed by a large group that was slightly top heavy with falsettists joining boys on the top line, creating a much broader tone, and with some of the boys themselves being in their late teens this would have been a very robust sound. Correspondingly, there were fewer voices on the lower parts.<sup>114</sup> These were accidental conformities with early performance practice however, since with the exception of sections of the Mass, the Benedictus for example where solo voices would be employed, the whole choir sang everything. The issue of doubling voices with instruments or supporting parts with organ in music by composers such as Victoria or Lassus did not seem to trouble Terry, with most repertoire from this period seen as Renaissance and therefore sung unaccompanied.

A key element in performance practice is place. Modern musicians aspiring to historically informed performance will take into account the size of the ensemble for which a piece was originally composed, but also the location, since the same approach cannot be applied to an intimately designed Byrd *Mass for Three Voices* as Palestrina’s substantial eight voice *Stabat*

<sup>113</sup> Terry, *The Music of the Roman Rite*, 10.

<sup>114</sup> Paul Hillier, “There is No Such Thing as a Norm,” in *Inside Early Music*, ed. Bernard D. Sherman (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 103.

*Mater*. Such considerations however were not present in the early twentieth-century performances of these works because the compelling motivation was to perform the music in order for it to be heard. In this context, the grand Palestrina Masses and motets performed at Westminster were wholly appropriate, written as they were for great spaces in Rome such as St Peter's Basilica or *Sta Maria Maggiore*, whereas much of the music of Lassus for example—also a staple of Terry's musical diet at the Cathedral—was written for the more intimate setting of the Ducal chapel in Bavaria.<sup>115</sup> There was in short a tendency to lump together all of the Renaissance repertoire with the expectation that it would likely be performed in the same way, and with the lack of scholarly investigation underpinning many early performances this is not surprising.<sup>116</sup> Place in the Cathedral played a part in performance, since as has been seen, unlike the Anglican Cathedral choirs that Terry was keen to emulate, his singers were placed in the apsidal space behind the High Altar described by Martin Baker above. This position, with a wall at their backs gives great clarity to the singers and enables better hearing of their fellow choristers, but is also likely to have led to 'pushing' the sound in the early days. To singers inexperienced in such a position, being out of sight might also mean harder to hear!

### **Early recorded performance examples**

A valuable aide in assessing performance practice of early choral music in the early twentieth century is the small number of recordings, particularly from England and Germany which

<sup>115</sup> Muir, *Roman Catholic Church Music*, 238–39.

<sup>116</sup> For more on performance practice of early music see John Butt, *Playing With History: The Historical Approach to Musical Performance (Musical Performance and Reception)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

appeared in the first twenty-five years of the century. Haskell describes the four discs of music by Byrd to celebrate the composer's tercentenary and recorded in 1923 'with one voice to a part, (these) have a presence that most choral recordings of the period lack.'<sup>117</sup> It is notable that as early as 1923, musical directors were bravely performing early music with one voice per part—an approach that still arouses controversy when it is applied to certain earlier compositions today—replicating the likely performance conditions of recusant musicians. He goes on to describe a recording made in the Vatican, 'The muddy recording of Palestrina's *Confitebor tibi* that Raffaele Casimiri and the Sistine Vatican Choir made at roughly the same time illustrates the difficulty of performing complex polyphonic music with a large group.'<sup>118</sup>

It is fortunate that some recordings of Terry directing early music survive enabling an assessment of his approach and to measure this against media commentary at the time. The experience of the Terry recordings in contrast to the Vatican's record is generally one of clarity, despite the numbers of performers involved and a fairly brisk tempo, especially in the recording of Palestrina's *Missa Papae Marcelli*, though this dates from the years after he left Westminster. (It is sung not by the Cathedral Choir but by a group of adults with women singing the treble line.) There are recordings from his Westminster days, the earliest of which is titled 'Vespers and Compline' and dates from 1907.<sup>119</sup> The medium is a 78 single-sided record and the performance is revealing both of the tonal quality of the singing but also the performance practice including dramatic expression and sharp dynamic changes. Tuning is excellent

<sup>117</sup> Haskell, *Early Music Revival*, 116.

<sup>118</sup> Haskell, *Early Music Revival*, 116.

<sup>119</sup> Richard Runciman Terry and Westminster Cathedral Choir, *Vespers and Compline*, 1905, A Gramophone Concert Record, GC 4874.



throughout and the boys sound quite mature, some undoubtedly in their mid-teens, and when they sing full-throttle it is a considerable wall of sound. It is not apparent from the recording or any other source exactly where it was made but the rather poor quality of the recorded sound and lack of reverberation suggest a studio or smaller space (singers gathered around the recording horn) rather than the nave of the Cathedral. The recording begins with ‘*Deus in Ad-jutorium*’, the opening words of Vespers and continues with cantored plainsong sung by the men—occasionally joined by the boys—and short sections of fauxbourdon, both of which are largely *piano* with occasional expressive swells to a greater volume. There is some *portamento* from the men, especially in the plainsong but they approach it in a gentle manner with no obvious individual voices.<sup>120</sup>

Also from this period is a recording made in 1909 of the Sanctus of Palestrina’s *Missa Aeterna Christi munera*.<sup>121</sup> This begins with the ‘Sursum Corda’ and continues with either a priest or gentleman of the choir singing the Preface which is followed by the Sanctus. It is difficult to be certain, as there is no documentary assistance and Terry used boys with deeper lower vocal ranges to sing with the countertenors on the alto line, but this record sounds to be performed by the men alone. Tempo of the polyphony is brisk, much as it might be heard today and there is good tuning throughout. The plainsong is sung quite quickly with elongations at the end of phrases placing emphasis on lengthened syllables at the end of a sentence (Terry cherry-picking from the Vatican and Solesmes style, a topic discussed below). The brisk

<sup>120</sup> Richard Runciman Terry and Westminster Cathedral Choir, *Vespers and Compline*, 1905, A Gramophone Concert Record, GC 4874.

<sup>121</sup> Richard Runciman Terry and Westminster Cathedral Choir, *Responses and Preface with Sanctus from Mass Aeterna Christi munera*, 1909, Gramophone Monarch Record, 04783.

tempo is notable, since plainsong recitation at the end of the nineteenth century was generally slow, which in turn led to slower performances of polyphony, because the *cantus firmus* was taken as the tempo indicator. Also in 1909, the Cathedral choir collaborating with the baritone Robert Radford recorded *The Palms* by Fauré on which the choristers provided a chorus, directed by Terry.<sup>122</sup> This was a popular record which was accordingly re-released in 1911 and again in 1920. By the time of this 1909 recording, Westminster Cathedral under Terry had already made more records than any other choir in the world.<sup>123</sup>

A further recording was made in 1911 with the Gramophone Company in their studio (which was a rented basement of the Cockburn Hotel) in Henrietta Street, London. There will have been no more than ten singers standing around the recording horn, since this was the maximum number that could be reliably recorded under such conditions. The track was an old English Carol, titled 'To us a child is born' which the record says was arranged by Terry. It is accompanied by what sounds like a harmonium, possibly played by Terry himself and the performance is clear and the choir's tuning is very good.<sup>124</sup>

There is a later set of recordings, including of the *Missa Papae Marcelli* mentioned above, which the EMI Archive of Recorded Music gives as 1928—four years after Terry left the Cathedral, and under circumstances which would have made a return to make a recording impossible—but which is labelled on the disc as being conducted by Terry. Some musico-

<sup>122</sup> Robert Radford with Westminster Cathedral Choir, directed by Richard Runciman Terry, *Gabriel Fauré, The Palms*, 1909 Gramophone Co. Ltd, 02541.

<sup>123</sup> The Archive of Recorded Church Music presents all of these recordings. See <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vBB9kcM7WYk>>.

<sup>124</sup> Richard Runciman Terry and Westminster Cathedral Choir, *To us a child is born: Old English Carol arranged by Terry*, 1911, Gramophone Concert Record, G.C. 4923.

logists (Timothy Day in ‘Sir Richard Terry and 16<sup>th</sup>-Century Polyphony’ for *Early Music* in 1994 for example) have erroneously ascribed this to his successor and to the Cathedral choir. This performance however is directed by Terry and performed by a group of adult singers, including female sopranos with which Terry recorded a series of discs for Columbia titled ‘History of Music by Ear and Eye, Volume I’ and is available online.<sup>125</sup> This series (a set of eight records) covered music from plainsong through to the seventeenth-century composers Weelkes and Gibbons. Not all of the material was choral, with some discs featuring Rudolf Dolmetsch playing the harpsichord in pieces by John Bull and Giles Farnaby. There were also tracks featuring the Dolmetsch family group playing viol consort music by Weelkes and John Dowland. The first three discs were recorded by Terry and his radio choir and the final three by Edmund Fellowes and the St George’s Singers. Fellowes strayed into Terry’s territory with an anonymous thirteenth-century choral piece before performing works by Orlando Gibbons, Weelkes, Thomas Morley, John Farmer and Francis Pilkington.<sup>126</sup> It is still possible to find these records, often in complete sets available in auctions and specialist record sales, suggesting quite a wide circulation at the time of manufacture.

<sup>125</sup> Westminster Cathedral Choir directed by Richard Runciman Terry, *Sanctus from ‘Missa Papae Marcelli’*, 1920, Columbia History of Music, Columbia 5712.

<sup>126</sup> The BBC Radio Choir directed by Richard Runciman Terry, Columbia Records, Columbia History of Music, *A programme of medieval music and plainsong*, 1930, A9379/A9380, A9381/A9382, A9383/A9291.

### 2.3 Music at Downside Abbey

Downside Abbey is where Terry's early music revival work began. The four years he spent there enabled him to hone his skills as an editor and choirmaster, and the contacts he made with Gasquet and Ford helped to shape the future direction of his work. It was during this period that he revived three important works of the English sixteenth century: the *Lamentations* by Tallis, and the Byrd *Masses for Three and Five Voices* all of which are now recognised landmarks of the choral repertory. The printing facilities at the abbey enabled early dissemination of this material and other works, establishing a repertoire for choirs which Terry would build upon in his years at Westminster.

The Benedictines had settled at Downside in 1814 and completed the monastery in 1876. The Abbey Church was in a state of construction on Terry's arrival in 1896 and a small two-manual organ had been erected in the south transept to accompany the liturgy.<sup>127</sup> Terry inherited a nearly defunct musical tradition at the school which both he and the monks were keen to resurrect. *The Raven*, the Downside school magazine, reported: 'The lack of music at Downside is noticeable in many ways and the want of it is keenly felt... from the figured Masses we have come down to continual plain chant, sung listlessly, sung mechanically, sung inaccurately.'<sup>128</sup> Abbot Ford, who had appointed Terry to the post and was himself a keen musician, shared his sympathies for and interest in English music of the Reformation and pre-Reformation, and through this, encouraged Terry in his rediscovery of an English Catholic

<sup>127</sup> On the history and building of the abbey, see Dominic Aidan Bellenger, *Downside Abbey: An Architectural History* (London: Merrell Publishers Ltd, 2011).

<sup>128</sup> "Music At Downside School," *The Raven* 43 (1896), 24.

identity in the music of the liturgy. Writing some years after he had left Downside, Terry noted of Ford:

He [Ford] realised that the church music of Tye, Tallis, Byrd and their contemporaries was fit for better things than occasional performance as concert items. He realised that it was as true an adjunct of public worship today as it was in the sixteenth century... It was at Downside—before Westminster Cathedral had even been opened—that the first recorded performances took place of such works as Byrd's Masses for five and three voices, Taverner's *Western Wynde* the *Gradualia and Cantiones Sacrae* of Byrd and Philips... It is not too much to say that the present revival of Tudor music owes its origin mainly to the vision of Abbot Ford and that Downside may be regarded as the cradle of that revival.<sup>129</sup>

So it is here at Downside that Terry found his first inspiration in the person of Ford, just as at Westminster it was Vaughan who continued to encourage him. Both men essentially gave him free rein to pursue his instincts in music recovery.

Terry worked on the music of Palestrina with the boys, whose familiarity with Latin as part of their Catholic education was invaluable. Some of the more musically able monks sang the lower parts, enabling Terry to teach the choir this 'new' music. Performing the continental polyphonic repertoire prompted Terry's interest in compositions from the same period but written in England, and which he imagined, must still survive in spite of the upheavals of Reformation and Commonwealth. Travelling to London during school holidays, Terry lodged with Gasquet, the head of the Benedictine order in England who by the late 1890s was working as part of a pontifical commission in London just before being appointed librarian of the Vatican Library.<sup>130</sup> His association with Terry is significant, since he (Gasquet) had a particular

<sup>129</sup> Andrews, *Westminster Retrospect*, 34.

<sup>130</sup> For more on Gasquet see: Dominic Aidan Bellenger, 'Gasquet, Francis Neil [name in religion Aidan] (1846–1929), cardinal and historian', *ODNB*, May 2006, <[www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001.odnb-9780198614128-e-33350](http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001.odnb-9780198614128-e-33350)> (Accessed 20 November 2018).

interest in Reformation and Elizabethan England. Terry's work on archival research consumed much of his free time, and importantly, he then set about performing it.

I used to spend nearly all my holidays at the British Museum, digging up and scoring the work of such masters as Tye, Tallis, Whyte, Shepherd [sic], Mundy, Byrd and Phillips, which had never seen the light since the Reformation. We performed as much of this music as was possible, both in the monastery church and in the school.<sup>131</sup>

Terry was certain that English composers were employing polyphony before Palestrina was born. He wrote that the earliest known examples of this idiom of 'figured music' were the works of John Fornsete of Reading, and John Dunstable. According to Terry, these two pioneers would lay the foundations for the flowering of English Renaissance composition at the end of the fifteenth century, which was sadly to be extinguished by the Reformation.<sup>132</sup> The library at Downside held a copy of *Musica Divina* by Canon Proske, and it is likely Terry became familiar with it, possibly acting as a catalyst to his work in the recovery of earlier English scores.<sup>133</sup> The Abbey possessed its own printing facility, which enabled some of Terry's editions to be published.

The 'new' music that he was editing and performing is recorded in the Downside Review of 1899. It is set out in two lists, one representing Terry's editions of music of the pre-Reformation era, and the second showing compositions from existing publications:

It will perhaps be of interest to record here some of the music sung in the church since last September. We congratulate Mr Terry on the quality and quantity of the music, as well as the quality of the choir.

<sup>131</sup> Andrews, *Westminster Retrospect*, 39.

<sup>132</sup> Richard Runciman Terry, "Our Church Music," *The Tablet* (1901), 7.

<sup>133</sup> For more on Proske and *Musica Divina*, see chapter four of: James Garrett, *Palestrina and the German Romantic Imagination: Interpreting Historicism in Nineteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

List A (Sung for the first time since the Reformation)

Byrd: *Mass for Five Voices*; *Mass for Three Voices*; *Passion Music*; *Iustorum Animae*

Philips: *Hodie*; *Sanctus*; *Benedictus*

List B (Old Composers)

Tallis: *Mass*; [Missa Sine Titulo] *Bone Pastor*; [A Latin contrafactum set to the music of *If ye love me*] *O Vos Omnes* (a motet incorrectly ascribed to Tallis here since it is by Duron)

Tye: *Rorate Coeli*; *Si ambulem*

Farrant: *O sacrum*; *Sana me Domine*

Byrd: *Civitas Sancti tui*; *Deus in nomine*

Palestrina: *Peccantem me*; *Salvator mundi*

Calahorra: *Lauda Sion* (unpublished)

If the music erred on the side of severity at any rate we were listening (on Exhibition Day 1899) to some of the noblest music that has been written by English composers. We are learning to understand and to appreciate... Mr Terry is enabling us to do this and we owe him a debt we can never repay.<sup>134</sup>

The list of his ‘discoveries’ of Byrd and Philips is small but already demonstrates the direction of travel, ultimately leading to his editing and performing all of Peter Philips’ works and performing the complete corpus of Byrd’s Latin compositions at Westminster. The work extended to preparation of scores for publication, marking the beginning of his attempts to set out a recommended repertoire for Catholic choirs. Music by both English and continental composers were included and appropriately enough titled the *Downside Masses* and the *Downside Motets*. These were a collection initially published by the Abbey in the last months of the nineteenth century using their own press, and subsequently by Cary and Co. in 1905, extending the distribution opportunities and therefore the reach into the parishes. The Masses were all by foreign composers, scored for four voices making them readily accessible for parish choirs

<sup>134</sup> “New Music At Downside,” *The Downside Review* (1899).

of moderate ability. The collection consisted of: Heredia, *Mass for Four Voices*, Lassus, *Quinti Toni Mass*, Hassler, *Dixit Maria Mass*, Viadana, *Missa L'Hora Passa*, and two works by composers of a later period whose writing style was sufficiently *antico* to merit their inclusion following Cecilian principles, namely, Casciolini: *Mass for Four Voices*, and Lotti: *Simple Mass for Four Voices*.<sup>135</sup> The Motets included Terry's re-editions of some Italian music, however six volumes were comprised entirely of English compositions from the sixteenth century. It was a significant step forward in the rehabilitation of this music, especially since Terry had achieved no success in securing an English publisher for the Byrd *Mass for Five Voices* on which he had collaborated with Barclay Squire in 1898. Terry understood that many of the English works, originally in Latin, had been quite deliberately adapted to English texts for use by the Church of England, a practice which steadily saw memory of their Catholic origins and theological meaning obliterated. Writing in the preface to volume five of the Downside Motets, he noted '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'.<sup>136</sup> Such a collection enabled Terry to support his argument that the music of the pre-Reformation English school had been too long overlooked because the texts did not suit the liturgy of the Established Church, leading to a diminution of the perceived quality and complexity of English composition before the mid-sixteenth century.

<sup>135</sup> Muir, *Roman Catholic Church Music*, 224.

<sup>136</sup> Richard Runciman Terry, "Downside Motets," 5 (1905), Preface.



Terry's choir at Downside numbered eighteen men and twenty boys which made it sufficient for substantial works to be performed with relative ease, matching the resources of many Anglican Cathedrals. His demanding rehearsal regime was not always popular with the boys, with one quoted in the school magazine blaming the complexity of the music for keeping them awake at night to learn notes, claiming that Byrd's music must have 'precipitated, if not caused, the Reformation' such was his irritation.<sup>137</sup> The sound which the boys made (there is unfortunately no recorded example) was attracting interest, particularly from the Catholic press, and on 26 November 1899 the choir was invited to sing for the opening of the new Benedictine Abbey Church at Ealing in London.<sup>138</sup> Terry performed here some of the music he had edited and first aired at Downside, taking Byrd's *Mass for Five Voices* to be sung at the dedication Mass.<sup>139</sup> At Benediction, there was music by Allegri, Philips and Palestrina. James Runciman, Terry's cousin, attended the services and reported:

I had then never heard the Mass in D minor [Mass for Five Voices]. But in the latter part of 1899 Mr R R Terry, the organist of Downside Abbey, and one of Byrde's [sic] latest editors, invited me to the opening of St Benedict's Church, Ealing, where the Mass in D minor was given; and there I heard one of the most splendid pieces of music in the world adequately rendered under very difficult conditions.<sup>140</sup>

<sup>137</sup> "Rehearsals At Downside," *The Raven* 49 (1899), 169.

<sup>138</sup> Kennedy, *The Works of Ralph Vaughan Williams*, 159.

<sup>139</sup> The Mass (co-edited by Terry and Barclay Squire who styled themselves 'Gulielmus Barclay Squire et Ricardus Terry' in the manner of Byrd and Tallis) was to be published by Breitkopf and Härtel and was performed in a concert performance in Birmingham under Hans Richter, with sections of the Benedictus and Agnus Dei set for solo voices. It was not met with great critical acclaim, with a review suggesting the music was more suited to the student than the concert hall. Suzanne Cole, "Birmingham Cathedral, Royle Shore and the Revival of Early English Church Music," in *Music and Institutions in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Paul Rodmell (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012), 205.

<sup>140</sup> John F. Runciman, "William Byrd: His Mass," in *Old Scores and New Readings: Discussions on Music and Certain Musicians* (London: Unicorn Press, 1901), 9.

In spite of the unspecified ‘difficult conditions’ the music left an impression on James Runciman and others present, including Cardinal Vaughan, the new Archbishop of Westminster who commented that this was the music he wanted for his new Cathedral.<sup>141</sup> The Pall Mall Gazette was effusive about the Byrd Mass ‘William Byrd... appears as the master of a lofty musical expression, and as the possessor of a magnificent musical emotion that belong to the very best things of musical art’. It continues to speak of the work that Terry had undertaken at Downside to resurrect it ‘we understand that Downside is making a genuinely serious effort towards such a restoration; and this is a movement which has our warmest and heartiest sympathies.’<sup>142</sup> This marked a breakthrough for Terry's work, now receiving press acclaim in the capital and enlarging his public profile.

Returning to Downside the choir rehearsed two pieces by Tallis that Terry had recently edited: *Lamentations*; and a *Mass for Four Voices*, which had just been published. Work also began on Palestrina's eight-part masterpiece, *Stabat Mater*. The media interest in Terry's work was growing, and in June 1901 an article in *The Saturday Review* read:

On Sunday the *Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus, Benedictus and Agnus Dei* were by Tallis (for four voices), and the Credo by Palestrina. For the Offertory a five part motet by Byrd, one of the most glorious things in music. In the evening a motet by Duron (*O Vos Omnes*) an *O Salutaris* by Palestrina, *Adoramus Te* by Orlando di Lasso, *Tantum Ergo* by Palestrina, and a quite suitable *Adoremus* from Mr Terry's own pen... If Downside continues in its present course it will become the authority on all matters of Church music.<sup>143</sup>

<sup>141</sup> D. Molloy, “Richard Terry and the Remaking of an English Catholic Tradition,” *Church Music Quarterly* (1996), 19–20.

<sup>142</sup> “Byrd At Downside.” *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 1899.

<sup>143</sup> “Music At Downside.” *The Saturday Review*, 1901.

In this selection of music, the first hints of what might appear later at Westminster are given. It was during these last two years at Downside that Terry began the practice of loading Holy Week services with substantial early works. This was to become the musical high point each year at Westminster. The *Lamentations* by Tallis in Terry's edition were initially scheduled for 1900 but were not quite ready so he held them back for a year, giving their first performance in 1901, and in spite of criticism that they were lengthy, they were generally well received.<sup>144</sup> They were included in a programme for a concert—the last Terry was to give at Downside that year—which also featured: the Benedictus from the Tallis *Mass for Four Voices*; the Agnus Dei from Tye's *Euge Bone Mass*; Byrd's motet *Laetentur Coeli*; a motet by Peter Philips, *Hodie Sanctus Benedictus*; the anthem by Gibbons, *O Thou the central orb*; Blow's *Salvator Mundi* and Purcell's motet *Jehova quam multi sunt* all of which were to feature at Westminster in the following years.<sup>145</sup>

Terry's role at Downside came to an end in 1901 when he was appointed to Westminster Cathedral. There is a piece of farewell correspondence from Abbot Ford confirming that he and Terry had been working together in a concerted effort to re-establish pre-Reformation music at the abbey. In August of 1901, Ford wrote to congratulate Terry on his appointment in London:

If any work is to be done people and things must move on, and I had long felt that if the music succeeded here you would have to move on to somewhere more in touch with the public. The 'platform' of the Cathedral is a fine one, and if you can succeed there you will do an im-

<sup>144</sup> Roche, "Great Learning, Fine Scholarship, Impeccable Taste," 232.

<sup>145</sup> Sydney Grew, "Sir Richard Runciman Terry," in *Favourite Musical Performers* (Edinburgh: T. N. Foulis Ltd, 1923), 155–56.

mense deal for the Catholic choirs... here it was experimental; now the position of the music is established.<sup>146</sup>

Ford saw the potential for Catholic music if this recovery work could move to London and receive the attention he considered it deserved. His mentoring role with Terry now ended, Terry was to commence a close and fruitful working relationship with Cardinal Vaughan, for whom he had immense respect. Ford was correct, because within a few years the national press would be talking of the music at Westminster and Terry's influence on Catholic church music would become considerable.

## **2.4 Music at Westminster Cathedral**

Westminster Cathedral Choir enjoys an international reputation for choral excellence. This reputation has been established for more than a century and was begun by Terry in 1901 following his appointment as the first Director of Music. In addition to its status as the mother church of Catholicism in England, it quickly attracted attention for the hitherto unknown music performed as part of the liturgy in the early years of the twentieth century. This extended the Cathedral's influence beyond its parishes to Anglicanism in England, and outside the nation to Rome itself. The twenty-three years that Terry worked at Westminster saw English early choral music enjoy a revival to match that of instrumental music in the same period and extend an unexpected influence on the musicians who encountered it.

<sup>146</sup> Andrews, *Westminster Retrospect*, 53.

### **The Foundation**

The Archdiocese of Westminster bought a plot of land, formerly a prison, in Westminster in 1884. Cardinal Manning hoped events would move quickly in order to establish a visible London focus for the Catholic Church in England. However, it would not be until 1895 that work began on the new Cathedral, taking eight years to reach completion. John Bentley was the chosen architect, working with Cardinal Vaughan to create a byzantine structure the like of which would be unique in London.<sup>147</sup> The style was selected both for originality and for speed, since it was possible to build quickly and decorate at greater leisure.<sup>148</sup> Initially, Cardinal Vaughan had planned to settle a community of Benedictine monks at Westminster drawn from either Downside or Farnborough with responsibility for the day to day running of the building and the staffing of services. This would have provided lower voices to enable the singing of polyphony. However, the prospect of an English missionary Benedictine community amongst diocesan clergy risked causing friction, so Vaughan made an offer to the community at Solesmes which also caused disquiet, being seen as an insult by the English Benedictines, with their President, Aiden Gasquet writing to Vaughan refusing to countenance such a move.<sup>149</sup> These failures were a blow to Vaughan's ambition for re-establishing a community of Benedictines at Westminster which he hoped would be a tangible reversal of the actions which had swept them away from Westminster Abbey in the sixteenth century. In ad-

<sup>147</sup> For more on Bentley, see: Paul Waterhouse and Peter Howell, 'Bentley, John Francis (1839–1902) Architect', *ODNB*, 2004, <[www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/97801986144128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-30721](http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/97801986144128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-30721)> (Accessed 20 November 2018).

<sup>148</sup> J. Browne and T. Dean, *Westminster Cathedral, Building of Faith* (London: Booth-Clibborn Editions, 1995), 26.

<sup>149</sup> Patrick Rogers, *Westminster Cathedral, an Illustrated History* (London: Oremus, 2012), 36–37.

dition, he had envisaged a house of prayer where the Offices and liturgy would be celebrated throughout each day, operating as a Benedictine spiritual powerhouse at the establishment heart of the nation as it had in the past both in Westminster Abbey and at the Benedictine community at Canterbury.<sup>150</sup> Ultimately, Vaughan was forced to turn to the diocesan secular clergy (those not affiliated to a religious order, such as Benedictines or Franciscans) in order to staff the Cathedral, a commission they readily accepted and it was, therefore, decided that to meet the musical needs of the liturgy the Cathedral should recruit a choir of salaried men and boys.

Vaughan took advice from Charles Tindal Gatty (1851–1928), a Catholic convert who was an antiquarian and historian but also a musician (he was co-editor of *Arundel Hymns* with the Duke of Norfolk). Gatty was a vocal campaigner for Catholic rights and very much the political activist. Vaughan had asked for suggestions about the establishment of the choir and there is a letter in the Cathedral archives which is undated but certainly pre-1901, which outlines Gatty's advice. He assessed the required duties of the choir and made it plain to the Cardinal that the director of music, whom he terms the Precentor, should ideally be a priest, expert in plainchant and to whom an organist and conductor would be answerable. After working out his thoughts on paper in the letter, he amended his ideas and suggested a layman, either Terry or H. B. Collins should be approached to take on the whole job whilst making it plain that the person appointed would need to see the role as an all-consuming full-time position and one it would be impossible to balance with other work.<sup>151</sup> It is unrecorded if Vaughan

<sup>150</sup> Peter Doyle, *Westminster Cathedral 1895-1995* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1995), 18.

<sup>151</sup> Letter from Gatty to Cardinal Vaughan, 1901, Terry Correspondence, GB-Lwca, London. The financial situation was assessed by the Administrator who submitted a schedule of costs for the first year

approached Collins, but Terry was not his first choice to lead the Music. Charles Santley (1834–1922), a professional opera singer with a high public profile, who was directing music at Our Lady of Victories in Kensington (the pro-Cathedral until Westminster was completed), was approached, but he declined. Cardinal Vaughan remembered the Ealing Abbey consecration in 1899 and the music provided from Downside. He accordingly invited Terry to take up the post.<sup>152</sup> Terry was appointed as Master of Music at Westminster Cathedral in 1901 and on 1<sup>st</sup> October that year, a choir school was established in Carlisle Place, officially opened by the Cardinal. It was a fitting and perspicacious fulfilment (since it was in advance of its publication) of the instruction from Pius X in the *Motu Proprio* issued in November 1903, exhorting principal churches to restore the ‘*Scholae Cantorum*’. Terry’s appointment conditions are unrecorded and it is therefore unknown whether the Cardinal mentioned the key point in Gatty’s paper about the all-encompassing nature of the role, as this would become a point of contention with Vaughan’s successor when, as the years passed, Terry accrued more external responsibilities.

The vacant plot of land next to the Cathedral which was originally to house the Benedictines was repurposed as the site for a choir school, though it would be 1905 before this was completed, the boys being housed in dormitories in Archbishop’s House in the interim. An endowment was established providing for seventeen scholars and eight exhibitioners who in addition to their choir and general musical training would receive a full general education.

to Cardinal Vaughan. See: Cathedral Administrator, *costings for the musical foundation*, 1901, Terry Correspondence, GB-Lwca, London.

<sup>152</sup> Doyle, *Westminster Cathedral 1895-1995*, 53.

The school was staffed with the Rector (Rev. Dr Francis Aveling (1875–1941) as the first in this role), two assistant teachers and a matron. Vaughan was clear from the outset just how vital the musical element of worship at Westminster was to be, and he made this clear to the first cohort of boys who were welcomed in October 1901, when, walking into the Cathedral Hall to greet them, he said ‘*You* are the foundations of the Cathedral!’<sup>153</sup> In the same month, a letter came from Vaughan to Terry confirming music requirements for services and enquiring about singing resources:

My own notion is that the Matins, Lauds and Prime might be recited... by six or seven priests... The Little Hours and Mass, vespers and Compline being sung by you and your men. How many more men than you have would you require as a minimum?<sup>154</sup>

At this early stage, it was clear that the demands on the choir would be considerable, as these were not weekly service requirements, but daily, and with such a programme a great deal of music would be needed. In 1901 there were nine salaried choir-men who were paid £75 each per annum. There was, in addition, a body of 28 boys to sing the daily services (making it a group substantial enough to handle large scale works for double choir) and Terry, whose initial salary was £250.<sup>155</sup>

Terry recommenced the work of editing early scores begun at Downside, determined that the liturgy at the Cathedral should possess a particularly English musical character. This push for English music reflected a general desire at Westminster for a reclamation of the roots

<sup>153</sup> Winifride de L’Hopital, *Westminster Cathedral and Its Architect* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1919), 302.

<sup>154</sup> Andrews, *Westminster Retrospect*, 53.

<sup>155</sup> Cathedral Administrator, *costings for the musical foundation*, Terry Correspondence, GB-Lwca, London. The costings also list the twelve benefices that would be attached to the Cathedral Chaplains (the singing priests) at annual salaries ranging from £40 to £150.



of Catholicism in the nation of which music was to be a key constituent. The Anglican narrative had portrayed Catholicism as a foreign, imported faith, reflecting Catholics' loyalty to the Pope. It was a narrative which supported the Anglican church's desire to be identified as the national, native church to the exclusion of all else. Vaughan was keen to make clear that Catholicism was England's foundational Christian faith and therefore not something imposed from abroad. This was to be demonstrated in a number of ways, including the dedication of chapels to the patron saints of the constituent countries of the nation and a gathering of precious items from Penal Times as a demonstration that Catholics had never really disappeared. At the consecration service, following their exposition in the Cathedral Hall, there was a solemn procession of the relics of saints to each of the altars in the building, beginning the process of their hallowing. Each casket contained relics sealed in a silver casket, with three grains of incense and a small parchment scroll giving the names of the saints enclosed. The High Altar relics were those of four English saints, St Boniface, St Thomas of Canterbury, St William of York and St Edmund of Canterbury. During this ceremony, and to underline the English nature of the Catholicism being restated, the choir sang Byrd's *Justorum Animae*. At a stroke, this returned to the liturgy a piece of music written in the Penal Times, with clear reference to persecuted Catholics who had died during that period 'the souls of the righteous are in the hand of God and there shall no torment touch them'.<sup>156</sup> The Cathedral quickly became endowed with sacred items from English Catholic history including a twelfth-century mitre which belonged to Thomas Beckett; a communion pyx from the reign of Charles I (which

<sup>156</sup> de L'Hopital, *Westminster Cathedral and Its Architect*, 318. This book is a study of the work of the author's father, Bentley, the architect of the Cathedral. It includes much detail on the internal furnishings of the building, the types of stone and marble selected for its embellishment, and a whole chapter on the consecration ceremonies.

would have been carried in secret by a recusant priest to administer the Sacrament to the faithful); processional crosses and vestments from centuries before the Reformation; monstrances and other church plate, some of which were treasured possessions of old recusant families, now restored to public use; prayer books and primers—one dating to Mary Tudor's reign, and which was her personal copy; and a fragment of silk from the tomb of Edward the Confessor, rescued when it was dismantled at the dissolution.<sup>157</sup> The final, and in many ways most moving 'relic' in this long procession of items, was music. It was powerful, because it presented the Catholic soundworld of the pre-Reformation and recusant periods in the present. This music had been hidden for safety over centuries gaining iconic status and it now once again accompanied the other relics to enrich the public liturgy. All of this served to underline the powerful philosophy of continuity: a manifestation of the Apostolic Succession in more than just Holy Orders. (Years later, in another example of music linking with the past, Terry researched the plainsong chants used at the enthronement of pre-Reformation Archbishops of Canterbury, which the choir performed for the first time in the modern era at the consecration service for Archbishop Bourne at Westminster in September 1903.<sup>158</sup>) Perhaps the most obvious sign of continuity with the pre-Reformation church was the location of the Cathedral, built within sight of Westminster Abbey, its Benedictine predecessor, a short walk from the seat of Government and therefore at the heart of the nation. Vaughan's dreams for the future of his Cathedral were on a grand scale. He envisaged the choir becoming a fertile bed of vocations to the priesthood (a dream fulfilled in the early decades) and wished for the

<sup>157</sup> Browne and Dean, *Building of Faith*, 200–23.

<sup>158</sup> Andrews, *Westminster Retrospect*, 70.

clergy attached to the Cathedral to become examples to their brother priests across the country. It should be a ‘Catholic Arsenal’ sending out lecturers and missionaries as well as a central meeting place for all Catholics and library for scholars of theology.<sup>159</sup> Given this philosophy, Terry’s work with music recovery and commissions is revealed to be a cultural and religious imperative and one which enmeshed historical English Catholicism with the modern, just as the music and liturgy are inextricably bound. He did not view this activity in terms of limiting expenditure on buying printed music, or simply finding an easy resource for filling the music schedules. As Martin Baker wrote in 2005 ‘from the foundation of Westminster Cathedral in 1903, liturgy and music have been deliberately fostered and maintained in practice to the highest possible standards. Indeed, rather than viewing these as separate entities, the music is an integral part of the liturgy’.<sup>160</sup>

### **The establishment of a musical tradition**

The establishment of a music tradition at Westminster might have followed one of several routes: a purely monastic arrangement with chanted Mass and Offices; a monastic basis with a boys choir to enable harmony; a voluntary choir based on the parish model, but larger; or the arrangement which Cardinal Vaughan finally selected—a professional choir of men with an attendant choir school. Given this *tabula rasa* and complete trust from Vaughan, his Director of Music, chose to form a foundation based on the English choral model. His respect for this style of singing is well documented and there was little from continental Catholic choral

<sup>159</sup> Doyle, *Westminster Cathedral 1895-1995*, 20.

<sup>160</sup> Baker, “Sacrosanctum Concilium.”

foundations that attracted him ‘on the continent, it is largely in the hands of amateurs. In Germany there are some good church organists, and in France some excellent ones, and in both countries as well as Italy there are some good male-voice choirs, but whenever and wherever boys are employed it is safe to say that the tone is raucous and horrible. In America things are little better’.<sup>161</sup> The other reason for choosing to emulate the English (Anglican) choral tradition—perhaps equally important to Terry as the sound—was proving to the Anglican establishment that a Catholic foundation could easily match their standards of performance, and then go further by performing English music that pre-dated their Anglican repertoire. It was an audacious project and one in which Vaughan clearly saw value.

Beginning full time at Westminster in January 1902 Terry rehearsed the boys in both voice training and learning repertoire, constructing the new choral foundation. The first significant event for the choir was Ascension Day 1902, which was also the first public service to be held at the new Cathedral. It was held in the Chapter Hall (which was laid out to replicate the shape and furnishing of the Sistine Chapel) because the Cathedral church remained unfinished. Terry chose Byrd’s *Mass for Five Voices*, the piece that had attracted Cardinal Vaughan’s attention at the opening of Ealing Abbey, and the motet was Palestrina’s *Tu es Petrus*.<sup>162</sup> The Palestrina (‘Thou art Peter and upon this rock I will build My Church’) was not the appropriate text for the feast of the Ascension, and seems a strange choice, but it was in fact a bold and defining statement of the re-establishment of English Catholicism in its new

<sup>161</sup> Richard Runciman Terry, “Why is Church Music So Bad?,” in *A Forgotten Psalter and Other Essays* (London: Oxford University Press, 1929), 105.

<sup>162</sup> Rogers, *Westminster Cathedral, an Illustrated History*, 38.

primary church. On 11<sup>th</sup> June, the choir took part in a musically mixed concert in the Cathedral. The idea was to raise as much money as possible to make the choir financially secure, including funding the choir school (unique amongst Catholic cathedrals in England at this time), and also to fund purchases of music.<sup>163</sup> A further function of the concert was to test the acoustics of the building as a music-making space and to do this, a full range of styles were performed, including unaccompanied voices, organ and orchestra. Bentley's daughter, Winefride de L'Hopital, writing about this concert in the book on her father's work at the Cathedral observed:

The Cardinal, surrounded with bishops, monsignori, and other persons were present. The building, absolutely bare and undecorated, had been cleared of every trace of scaffolding, and the result, awaited in an attitude of keen expectancy, was all that could be desired. This concert proved that the building was endowed with rare acoustic properties, not only with the true cathedral quality of increasing the beauty of sound and endowing the human voice with unwonted splendour and beauty, but—and this was more vital—with an absolute freedom from echo and a perfect conductivity of tone.<sup>164</sup>

Considerable forces were assembled for the event, with an orchestra of one hundred players and a large chorus comprising the choirs of the Cathedral, Brompton Oratory and a number of other singers to bring the total to two hundred. The concert was in two sections: the first primarily choral sacred music, and the second, secular compositions. It opened with Wagner's *Das Liebesmahl der Apostel* (listed in the programme as 'Holy Supper of the Apostles'—presumably sung in English) for orchestra and men's voices and went on to include Purcell's *Té Deum* (1694). The programme included Palestrina's *Surge Illuminare*, the Sanctus and Agnus Dei from Byrd's *Mass for Five Voices*, and Blow's *Salvator Mundi*. There was an untitled organ solo of some

<sup>163</sup> Rogers, *Westminster Cathedral, an Illustrated History*, 44.

<sup>164</sup> de L'Hopital, *Westminster Cathedral and Its Architect*, 312.

Bach played by Edward D'Evry, Assistant Organist at Brompton Oratory, followed by Beethoven's Fifth Symphony with full orchestra. An introductory note to the concert explained that: 'the primary object of this performance is to test the acoustic properties of the Cathedral (by a rendering of music of every period) before the building is put to any ecclesiastical use'.<sup>165</sup> The event was a success, with an audience of three thousand in attendance. Daily services continued in the Chapter Hall while the final construction work was completed, with the first service in the new building finally being held on 19th March 1903.<sup>166</sup>

The first London performance of Elgar's *Dream of Gerontius* was performed at the Cathedral on 6th June 1903 and Vaughan clearly saw the value to Westminster of a concert written and conducted by the nation's leading Catholic composer. The performers included the Symphonic Orchestra of Amsterdam, numbering one hundred players and which was on a tour of England at the time. Terry was at the organ and the choruses were sung by the North Staffordshire District Choral Society, with semi-choruses directed by Mr J Whewall. *Gerontius*, was sung by the tenor Dr Ludwig Wullner, who had performed the role in Dusseldorf in May 1902, and the Angel was sung by soprano Muriel Foster, with Ffrangeon Davies as the baritone who 'impersonated the priest and the Angel of the Agony with great earnestness and religious intensity'.<sup>167</sup> The tickets for the concert were expensive, raising significant funds for the Cathedral and its music. They ranged from five guineas to 10s, 6d for reserved

<sup>165</sup> Concert Programme, Westminster Cathedral, 1902, Terry Papers, GB-Lwca, London.

<sup>166</sup> Administrator, "Fundraising Concert," *Westminster Chronicle* (1903).

<sup>167</sup> de L'Hopital, *Westminster Cathedral and Its Architect*, 314. She describes the concert as a great success.

seats, to 5s for unreserved and 2s, 6d for general admittance.<sup>168</sup> Sadly, Vaughan having set up this event became gravely ill and was by the date of the concert dying in Archbishop's House next door. Indeed, the next time the Cathedral would be used was for his funeral a fortnight later.

Initially, the choir's musical diet for the liturgy consisted of a majority of polyphony from the great Continental writers such as Palestrina and Lassus, with a small proportion of English music by Byrd and Tallis. (Stanford, who had been Terry's lecturer at Cambridge and was now at the Royal College of Music would encourage his students to catch a bus to Westminster Cathedral to hear 'Palestrina for tuppence'—the price of the fare from Prince Consort Road.)<sup>169</sup> This continental music imbalance demonstrated how little early English music was available in print and also the amount of work Terry had yet to do. He was keen however to perform Continental polyphony, reflecting that European aspect of Catholicism with which he was convinced the English musical tradition was united. Terry understood Palestrina to be a truly great liturgical composer writing to complement the liturgy, not to dominate it. In *Lives of the Great Composers* he reveals much about himself and his approach to the performance of liturgical music as well as Palestrina:

I was gradually to learn that music such as Palestrina composed was but a background to something else which 'took the stage'. Unlike that of Mozart or Beethoven (supremely beautiful though it is as *music*) it was not something imported into the service from outside. It was not music which hampered the orderly progression of the ritual acts. It was not music in which the individuality of the composer dominated the ceremonial by focusing attention on itself rather than on the rite as a whole. The reason why he remains—as truly today as in the sixteenth century—the ideal composer for the Roman Rite is that he was steeped in the spirit of the Liturgy. His was the larger vision of the liturgist as opposed to the rubrician... The rubri-

<sup>168</sup> Rogers, *Westminster Cathedral, an Illustrated History*, 44.

<sup>169</sup> Kennedy, *The Works of Ralph Vaughan Williams*, 159.

cian is a man of book-learning who makes no mistakes; the liturgist's unerring instinct derives from a habit of mind, a cast of character... When to the inherent 'rightness' of the liturgist is added the gift of music, the result is a Church composer as distinct from the composer who writes music for the Church.<sup>170</sup>

The notion of 'rightness' and 'fitness' is a recurring theme with Terry running through much of his writing on liturgical music and is something about which he sought to educate parochial musicians in his diocesan music lists and treatises. The reference to the rubrician as one who makes no mistakes is telling, because Terry was later to be criticised for cutting corners with rehearsal and scholarship. He clearly self-identified as the liturgist in this quote, working in the spirit of the liturgy and gifted with performing abilities. He juxtaposed this with the notion that the academic musicologist is the rubrician, more concerned with accuracy and referencing material, unable in Terry's view, to see the bigger picture.

During Terry's tenure there was a definite shift in the proportion of early polyphony in the schedules and the turning point for this is 1909 when the lists include works such as Byrd's *Passion* and *Mass for Five Voices*, Palestrina's *Stabat Mater* and eight-part *Magnificat*, the sets of *Lamentations* by Tallis and White and music by Anerio and John IV of Portugal.<sup>171</sup> The Holy Week music lists show that over the succeeding years, polyphony was not restricted to the *Triduum Sacrum*, but systematically displaced plainsong in the first half of Holy Week, with works by Mundy, Sheppard, Heredia and Guerrero. By 1921, pieces by Ludford, Fayrfax and Aston had joined the Holy Week repertoire alongside three Masses 'Upon the Square' by

<sup>170</sup> Richard Runciman Terry, "Palestrina," in *Lives of the Great Composers* (London: Gollancz, 1935), 426–27.

<sup>171</sup> Westminster Cathedral Music Lists, 1909, GB-Lwca, London



Mundy (two Masses) and Whytbroke.<sup>172</sup> The statistics are quite remarkable, not least when set against the gradual diminution of his choir by the Cathedral authorities and the ravages of a protracted war. For example, in 1920 there were over one hundred pieces by Renaissance composers of which twenty two were Masses, and of these, fourteen of the composers and fifty four of the works were English.<sup>173</sup>

The Liturgy was sung by the choir, with congregational plainsong. There were organ voluntaries, and some choral music was accompanied by the organ. Initially, the only instrument the Cathedral possessed was a small three-manual organ which was sited in the Cathedral Hall to accompany the very first services, though Rogers comments that it was never actually used as it was hideously out of tune and ineffective, so it was quickly dismantled and disposed of. The next instrument acquired for services was a one-manual instrument by *The Positive Organ Company* of Mornington Crescent, built in 1902, which was placed on a trolley and wheeled into place wherever it was required to accompany the liturgy. Another instrument was moved from a nearby parish in Horseferry Road and placed in the Lady Chapel, though this was moved to one of the tribunes and eventually sold.<sup>174</sup>

A temporary instrument was erected for Elgar's *Dream of Gerontius* on 6<sup>th</sup> June 1903 by Norman and Beard. A three-manual organ, it was placed in the gallery and remained there until it was returned to the builders in 1907.<sup>175</sup> Terry designed a two-manual organ

<sup>172</sup> For an explanation of the term 'Upon the Square' see Benham, *Latin Church Music*, 10–11.

<sup>173</sup> Westminster Cathedral Music Lists, 1921, GB-Lwca, London.

<sup>174</sup> Rogers, *Westminster Cathedral, an Illustrated History*, 50.

<sup>175</sup> Rogers, *Westminster Cathedral, an Illustrated History*, 51.

which was built by T C Lewis, and installed in 1907. This was fashioned to accompany the choir and given its size, fell short of the necessary heft to lead the Cathedral when it was filled. It remained the only instrument in use until 1910 when Terry, again in consultation with Lewis devised a plan for a large organ divided between the Apse and Tribunes. As early as 1903 a specification for a grand organ had been commissioned from Harrison and Harrison, but at the steep cost of eighteen thousand pounds and at a time when the Cathedral was servicing debts for building and furnishing work, it could not be realised. An ongoing lack of money meant that it was not until 1920 that the first contract for a larger organ was signed, with the first stage of this work blessed by Cardinal Bourne on 14 June and inaugurated by a recital from Marcel Dupré on 2 July 1922.<sup>176</sup>

### **Conflict and Criticism**

The end of Terry's tenure at the Cathedral significantly disrupted his contribution to the revealing of early choral music to the wider public and his work with the emerging composers in writing for the liturgy. To understand the significance and causes of this interruption it is necessary to examine the background of the difficulties at Westminster and the web of personalities involved. The appointment of Cardinal Bourne in 1903 following Vaughan's death ushered in a new regime, and one which inherited grand schemes and visions for the future, but crucially, lacked the funds to facilitate them.<sup>177</sup> One casualty of the constant drive for fun-

<sup>176</sup> Rogers, *Westminster Cathedral, an Illustrated History*, 52.

<sup>177</sup> Aidan Bellenger describes Bourne in his biography of Gasquet as 'the somewhat colourless Francis Alphonsus Bourne' Dominic Aidan Bellenger, "Cardinal Gasquet (1846–1929): An English Roman." *Cambridge Core. British Catholic History online edn.* 24, Issue 4 (1999): accessed 20 November 2018,

draising and cost-cutting was to be music and it became therefore, a source of perpetual tension between Terry and the Cardinal whom Terry—always sensitive to perceived criticism—believed did not value music. In an obituary just after Terry’s death, the broadcaster and music critic, Alec Robertson who knew Terry, wrote:

In all my talks with Terry one name never failed to appear—the name of Cardinal Vaughan. Of him he spoke with a touching reverence and devotion, and his greatest treasure was a set of the Cardinal’s breviaries [bequeathed to Terry on Vaughan’s death]. Terry had realized Cardinal Vaughan’s vision of Westminster Cathedral as a great musical centre. During the greater Feasts of the Church, and, indeed, at all times, musicians of all creeds and of none had gathered to listen and to learn. Countless thousands had been inspired by what they heard. Vaughan’s successor, in spite of great qualities, had little understanding of the musical temperament and little love for music.<sup>178</sup>

As Robertson observes, the two Cardinals were very different personalities. Vaughan was bookish and in the eyes of some, a slightly aloof character. He possessed great vision, however and was hugely respected for his piety, as a result of which no doubt he was given his Cardinal’s hat within a year of his appointment to Westminster. Within a few years of his appointment he bought *The Tablet*, a Catholic newspaper, seeing this as an opportunity to set the agenda for Catholicism in England and no doubt to control the message. He came from an old English recusant family, where his five sisters became nuns and six of his seven brothers were also ordained.<sup>179</sup> This recusant background gave an authenticity of lineage which will have chimed with Terry’s class-consciousness and view of Catholic continuity. The closeness between them was clearly cemented by Vaughan choosing Terry as Master of Music. Archbishop Bourne also came from an English family, though he had to wait eight years for his el-

[www.cambridge.org/core/journals/british-catholic-history](http://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/british-catholic-history), 552.

<sup>178</sup> Alec Robertson, “Richard Runciman Terry (1865-1938),” *The Musical Times* 79, No.1143. (1938), 344.

<sup>179</sup> Doyle, *Westminster Cathedral 1895-1995*, 14–26.

evation to Cardinal after his appointment to Westminster, and at times he found himself at odds with Catholic popular opinion in England on a range of political issues. From exchanges between the two men it appears that there was a power struggle in play, and since both Bourne and Terry were equally intransigent, the dynamics will have been further skewed by Terry having been at the Cathedral first (before it had opened), and it is likely therefore that he viewed Bourne as a parvenu.

Finances became a thorny issue, with disputes about payment of salaries and pay rates. The maintenance of the musical tradition that had now been established, along with the Choir School, required a significant outlay. The choristers were each costing £40 per year and with only a third being able to afford their fees, this became a significant pull on the Cathedral resources at a time when construction of the Cathedral was continuing and the costs of furnishing the interior had to be met. Contracts were drawn up for the nine men of the choir in 1903 with an annual wage bill of £800. Two years later their number had risen to fifteen with an inflated annual wage bill of £1,250, and when added to Terry's salary of £350 (it had risen by £100 in the first two years), the total cost of the choir in that year was £1,975. There was argument between Terry and Bourne over the precise figure, but whichever view is taken it exceeded the £1,000 endowment set up by Vaughan, leaving the Cathedral to constantly seek benefactors to cover the shortfall.<sup>180</sup> There is a collection of correspondence between Terry and the Administrator (who handled the day-to-day running of the Cathedral and acted on these matters with the Cardinal's authority). It gives the impression that Bourne wished to keep Terry at arms' length, since Terry's letters were always ad-

<sup>180</sup> Doyle, *Westminster Cathedral 1895-1995*, 55.

dressed to the Cardinal, but the replies always came from the Administrator, a situation unlikely to have prevailed with Vaughan.<sup>181</sup>

The College of Chaplains, the singing priests, were a source of particular friction.<sup>182</sup> Whether Terry was rude towards them or dismissive of them is open to conjecture as no sources of direct correspondence survive. There are however, telling remarks in correspondence between the Administrator and Terry that would suggest a regular delivery of information about Terry and the music department to the Administrator from this group. They were the only people with such close and regular access to the choir and witnesses to its functions who would be able to provide the information about which Terry is constantly challenged. Phrases such as ‘it has come to my attention’, ‘I discovered quite by accident’, ‘the criticisms that reach me on every side’ evidence a supply of information from others.<sup>183</sup> The criticisms levelled at Terry were in part no doubt justified, since he was spending an increasing amount of time away from the Cathedral on external work adjudicating competitions and examining across the country. He did this in addition to visiting libraries and other collections of manuscripts to gather material for the choir, thereby placing a strain on those deputising for him. The Administrator opened his letter to Bourne in Trollopean manner ‘I ask his Grace to believe that I am actuated only by a real devotion to the Cathedral, and deep anxiety for its interests’ and continues ‘I have taken counsel of the most prudent adviser I can think of and he

<sup>181</sup> See: Westminster Cathedral, Terry Correspondence, GB-Lwca, London.

<sup>182</sup> A group of diocesan clergy with Mass responsibilities who were trained in singing and undertook celebration of the daily services.

<sup>183</sup> Westminster Cathedral, Letter from the Cathedral Administrator to Archbishop Bourne, 1911, Terry Correspondence, GB-Lwca, London.

has encouraged me warmly to approach his Grace'. There follows a list of complaints about Terry and his methods for running the choir. The list includes: the employment of men to sing who are not Catholics and the late payment of fees for their services; occasional delegation of the directing and supervision of the choir to an assistant whilst mentioning Terry's 'generous salary' (which, it should be noted was more than twice that of any of the Chaplains) and that the assistant had no control over the boys; there were complaints about the boys' competence 'that there are only now three or four boys of the 25 who are capable music readers'—a claim which is undermined by the daily changing repertoire and which would suggest a highly competent level of music reading (the boys it is worth noting, were schooled in music theory at the choir school and not by Terry); the letter continues 'I discovered quite by accident the other day from a boy who has nearly completed 4 or 5 years of service that he has never had a lesson in Plain Chant [underlined for emphasis] but has picked up what he knows by tradition'. Given the volume of music sung, it is not an unreasonable way to proceed, since boys would be arriving and leaving every year, meaning the majority would be confident and support the new boys as they learn, in much the way that a Cathedral choir operates today. He goes on to suggest that a 'radical change [be] made in Dr Terry's authority' and that he must 'be made directly and practically responsible to some person for his discharge of his duties and that his attendance at these duties must be checked' which, given that the Administrator is responsible for the running of the Cathedral would, coincidentally, be himself. Finally, he strikes at the heart of his disquiet in commenting 'as it is, the expenditure of some £2000 a year on the choir shows in reality no adequate result to put it mildly', directly contradicting the Cathedral magazine, the national press and the views of music critics

and clergy (not to mention hordes of non-Catholics visiting) from outside the Cathedral.<sup>184</sup> As a result of this missive, Terry received a short letter from Bourne enclosing a list of rules, which included placing Terry under the direction of the Administrator.<sup>185</sup> Terry's growing disquiet with this treatment under Bourne is perhaps not unreasonable.

Earlier correspondence dating from 1907 demonstrates that the issue of finance was a running sore both in the overall cost of music to the Cathedral and in the simmering rivalry over remuneration between the different members of its staff. This correspondence also demonstrates that Terry was constantly required to justify the investment in music in addition to his role and that of the choir. A letter dated 4th February 1907 from Terry to Bourne seeks to protect the hours spent rehearsing the boys each day following a complaint to the Archbishop. This complaint is most likely to have originated with the Chaplains, since only they had knowledge of the time spent rehearsing in the closed Cathedral. It was something which clearly caused irritation, as some of them were in the habit of turning off the lights in the Cathedral if they felt practice had been over-long, leaving the choir in darkness, with a considerable and perilous walk up stairs to switch them back on again. It had been suggested to Terry that the boys would benefit from more school work and less singing (they rehearsed for two hours a day) to which he replied 'since the boys are here primarily for Cathedral work, if anything is to be crowded out, it ought not to be at the expense of the Cathedral services' and continued 'so long as your Grace is satisfied with the school work, it is no one else's concern

<sup>184</sup> Westminster Cathedral, Letter from the Cathedral Administrator to Archbishop Bourne, undated (but the reply to this letter dates it to October 1911), Terry Correspondence, GB-Lwca, London.

<sup>185</sup> Westminster cathedral, Letter from Archbishop Bourne to Terry, 10 October 1911, Terry Correspondence, GB-Lwca, London.

should it fail... to come up to the standard aimed at by the headmaster. My work on the other hand, has to stand the test of a public examination twice every day, before a congregation which constantly includes the first musicians in the country, to say nothing of continental visitors and hostile critics'. Finally, Terry invokes a higher authority (at which point it is possible to imagine an explosion of Bourne's irritation) when he writes 'His Holiness has expressed to Mgr Wallis [the Papal Master of Ceremonies] his satisfaction at the Cathedral music having taken its place on the same plain as the great protestant establishments and has expressed a wish that it should continue to do so. His *Maestro* (Don Perosi) has asked to be furnished with our Cathedral music lists, and has managed to visit England this year with the express object of hearing our music and studying the working of the choir.'<sup>186</sup> There is no reply recorded, though the matter escalated a couple of months later when it was proposed that the number of men in the choir should be reduced.<sup>187</sup>

Two suggestions were made to lower costs: to restrict the men's attendance to Sundays and festivals only; or reduce the number of singing men altogether. The problem with the first proposal was that this would undermine the initial policy laid down by Vaughan that it should be a place of *daily* prayer and services of the finest liturgy available, and so the decision was taken to reduce the number of men to nine in 1906 and later, to six in 1912 (a number that was further reduced by the effects of the First World War).<sup>188</sup> This prompted correspondence from Terry in which he listed the exact payments made to the men and for sheet music

<sup>186</sup> Westminster Cathedral, Letter from Terry to Archbishop Bourne, 4 February 1907, Terry Correspondence, GB-Lwca, London.

<sup>187</sup> Doyle, *Westminster Cathedral 1895-1995*, 56.

<sup>188</sup> Doyle, *Westminster Cathedral 1895-1995*, 56.



bought through the year. It included how much money remained in hand, contradicting the accusation that he had used up all of his budget and as part of the payments list, he noted that he had personally funded scores used at the Cathedral, stating at the top ‘List of Masses recently provided for [the] Cathedral by R R Terry, free of cost’ and proceeded to name five Masses and fourteen motets.<sup>189</sup> No reply is recorded.

The constraints on musical forces tightened further a few years later, when during the First World War a reduction in the number of available men to sing became a source of sadness and frustration to Terry. It is easy to imagine how after more than a decade of successful growth and development, often in the teeth of opposition, the steady decline of resources in a short space of time must have been demoralising. Terry however did not abandon the project, but rather adapted to suit the conditions in which he found himself. He wrote in the *Westminster Chronicle* in 1918 about these difficulties and the actions he took to ameliorate the effect of the small forces available:

A study of the Cathedral music lists in war time... might easily give the impression that our choir has been less hardly hit than others, though this is far from the case. Of the fine body of men who formed the choir when war broke out only one remains. The alto parts are now taken by boys, and the acoustics of the building are so perfect that the casual weekday visitor, hearing a five-part Mass being sung would hardly realise that the effect was obtained by a single tenor and two basses, in conjunction with the boys.<sup>190</sup>

He continues, writing of how the character of the music itself makes performance with small forces possible, going on to describe what are some of the few performances in modern times

<sup>189</sup> Westminster Cathedral, Letter from Terry to Archbishop Bourne, 5 April 1907, Terry Correspondence, GB-Lwca, London.

<sup>190</sup> Richard Runciman Terry, “Music At the Cathedral During the First World War,” *Westminster Chronicle* (1918).

(certainly before the 1923 Byrd festival recordings mentioned above) by an English ensemble performing early choral music with one voice per part:

Polyphonic music does not suffer, (depending as it does, less on purely dynamic or harmonic effects, and more on the melodic freedom of each voice) nearly as much as modern music when the number of voices is reduced to such a minimum... Even a great work like Palestrina's six-part *Missa Papae Marcelli* sounds quite effective with only one voice to each part. True, one misses the broad and massive effects which only a larger body of voices can give, but the difference is only one of *volume* and not of *character*.<sup>191</sup>

Terry's departure from Westminster was an event precipitated by several issues. Firstly, finance and the battles with Bourne about steadily reducing resources. Then there were the ongoing hostilities with the Administrator and Chaplains, particularly over paperwork and administration which Terry found tedious. Terry's willingness to take up duties away from the Cathedral, adjudicating at festivals, conducting community singing events and examining for various bodies across the country also consumed a great deal of his time. Finally, two elements not considered in other studies on his work, are his domestic situation and his general health, including the bout of double-pneumonia 'that long illness which in the year 1922 distressed the musical world'.<sup>192</sup> These issues clearly impacted upon his ability to function effectively.

Following his departure in 1924, the post was divided into two. In Terry's obituary, Robertson commented on the degradation of musical resources 'With Terry's resignation in 1924 from a choir starved in numbers and hampered with difficulties the spirit that had made the music at Westminster Cathedral second to none in the world burnt fitfully; and it is not to disparage the brave efforts made by his successor, under impossible conditions, to say that it

<sup>191</sup> Terry, "Music At the Cathedral During the First World War."

<sup>192</sup> Grew, "Sir Richard Runciman Terry," 160.

still awaits revival.<sup>193</sup> Appointing two successors is likely to have been an effort on Bourne's part to reduce the amount of responsibility in the hands of one person and to dilute the authority such a person might wield in his Cathedral. Terry was, after all, Vaughan's appointment and given his successes with music, Bourne had no other option but to work with him. Cardinal Bourne decided to appoint two priests to run music at the Cathedral: Father Russell as Master of Music and Father Lancelot Long as Choirmaster. Both men had worked with Terry, Russell as his organist and assistant, and Lancelot Long, who had been in the first cohort of Terry's boy choristers. Bourne must have assumed that the music was in safe hands with these appointments and would provide some sort of continuity. The two men being priests spared the Cathedral the expense of an extra salary and their appointment was likely to limit friction with the chaplains in the future.<sup>194</sup>

Long's tenure was marked by continuity, with the music schedules for Holy Week in 1927 and 1928 being almost identical to those of 1910-11 'but it appears to have been in some respects a routine repetition, lacking in life and energy. Perhaps this is just to say that his successor was not as great a choir master or musician as Terry had been; perhaps, too, as a priest he was more under the control of the authorities and more hedged about by financial and other restrictions.'<sup>195</sup> Changes were made to the routines of the men and their number however, a change that Terry had resisted forcefully during his tenure, but whose departure left the Cardinal with the opportunity to make reforms: their number was set at six for week-

<sup>193</sup> Robertson, "Richard Runciman Terry (1865-1938)," 344.

<sup>194</sup> Doyle, *Westminster Cathedral 1895-1995*, 59.

<sup>195</sup> Doyle, *Westminster Cathedral 1895-1995*, 59.

day services and nine on Sunday; they were formally contracted with a month's notice on either side; there were rules for the use of deputies, fines for unauthorised absence, and they were required to attend all daily services and rehearsals including a specified list of extra services for major feasts. Finally, it was decided that all choir men engaged in the future would be Catholics, a requirement that would not have been possible in the early days, since Terry was necessarily drawing on men whose skills had been honed in Church of England foundations. The diet of music remained broadly similar, however English composers were not represented in the Mass settings during Holy Week by 1928 because they had been used to a greater extent during the rest of the year. Writing in the *Westminster Chronicle*, Fr Long reported:

The novelty of the Tudor school has now disappeared. Taverner, Shepherd [sic], Ludforde, Fairfax are now familiar names to all who regularly attend the Cathedral... What strange and diverse creatures mingle together in the common cause of music! Palestrina and his admirer Victoria; his pupil Anerio and Nanini the Roman; Di Lassus the Belgian; Handl the German; Philips and Dering the (English) exiles; Johnson the Scotsman; and Goudimel the Frenchman. In the English school, Tallis and Byrd, loyal to the Old Faith; Tye and Taverner, strong for the new.<sup>196</sup>

This litany of composers and the prominence of English music during the year is a sure sign that Terry's philosophy lived on after his tenure and examination of the current Cathedral music schedules demonstrates that it remains so.<sup>197</sup>

<sup>196</sup> Director of Music, "Music for Holy Week and Easter," *Westminster Chronicle* (1928).

<sup>197</sup> The Music Schedule at Westminster for Sunday 6th May 2018 lists motets by English composers Taverner and Philips (pieces that Terry first edited, though now in modern editions) at Mass and Anerio and Clemens non Papa at Vespers, all of which have appeared from the earliest years at the Cathedral. Westminster Cathedral, Music Schedule, May 2018, GB-Lwca, London.

## 2.5 The recovery of early English polyphony

Music is an art form which exists on the page as an historical document, but as soon as it is performed it is brought to life and ceases to be purely a reflection of a past action. Performance that brings music to life and attempts to be historically authentic however, is at risk of becoming an indulgence in historicism. Taruskin has suggested that attempts to re-create early music by historicist performers will often produce the sound of ‘now’ rather than ‘then’ since their performance will unconsciously reflect the taste of the re-creator.<sup>198</sup> This much can be said of some of the early attempts to revive old choral music, from Stainer accompanying Tallis responses on the organ at St Paul’s Cathedral (most likely using Thomas Oliphant’s 1841 edition of the *Full Cathedral Service as used on the Festivals and Saints’ Days in the Church of England*), to Mann’s idiosyncratic performances of early repertoire at King’s College Cambridge.<sup>199</sup> Terry’s performances will have been similarly affected, in spite of his intention to connect with the pre-Reformation liturgy through sound. To achieve this, he embarked on the recovery of what he believed to be a national Catholic identity through music. It was work which would mark out his choir at Westminster from other choral foundations in England and which undoubtedly reflected his personal taste both in sound and performance as much as it did the material which he found available. Although this work could be aligned with broader

<sup>198</sup> Sherman, *Inside Early Music*, 17.

<sup>199</sup> Thomas Oliphant, *The Full Cathedral Service as Used on the Festivals and Saints’ Days of the Church of England Composed By Thomas Tallis* (London: C. Lonsdale, 1841). E. J. Dent writing about Terry’s time at Cambridge, commented on Mann’s use of early music, ‘It was the regular custom to have an unaccompanied service (all through) on Wednesday afternoon—but Bow Thine Ear (Byrd) and some Gibbons is all that I dimly remember. The only Palestrina ever sung in my time was Adoramus Te Christe, and as Tuesday was the usual day for a Latin anthem, Adoramus Te came along on a Tuesday; and to my surprise was accompanied by Dr. Mann on the organ ‘because Wednesday is the day for unaccompanied services’. I asked him, and that was what he said. There was no arguing anything with him’. Andrews, *Westminster Retrospect*, 10.

movements of nationalism in music, it was not Terry's prime motivation. Rather, it was a process of the re-appropriation of a lost repertoire and the righting of the wrongs (as he saw it) brought about by the termination of this tradition at the Reformation. The national movements in music emerging in France, Germany and Italy at the end of the nineteenth century were not simply cultural re-awakenings, but were at times (particularly in the case of Germany) manifestations of chauvinism which sought to promote the national culture at the expense of those of its neighbours. Terry did not subscribe to this national chauvinism. Writing about medieval music in the *Westminster Chronicle*, he noted 'what appeals to us in the medieval outlook upon life is: first, the idea of mankind as a brotherhood transcending racial and political divisions, united in a common quest for truth'.<sup>200</sup> Terry's sense of nation was better characterized as patriotism than nationalism, with a particular strain of European ecumenicalism. This is evident in his writings on Christmas carols and in an article he wrote for the *Westminster Chronicle* in 1921:

What appeals to us in the medieval outlook upon life is: first, the idea of mankind as a brotherhood transcending racial and political divisions, united in a common quest for truth, filled with the spirit of mutual charity and mutual helpfulness, and endowed with a higher will and wisdom than that of the individuals who belong to it; secondly, a profound belief in the superiority of right over might, of spirit over matter, of the eternal interests of humanity over the ambitious and the passions of the passing hour.<sup>201</sup>

Terry sought to place the early English composers amongst their European, Catholic counterparts in order to demonstrate that far from being isolated, England was always engaged with Continental music development (and indeed in many respects had led it) prior to the Reform-

<sup>200</sup> Richard Terry, "Medieval Music," *Westminster Chronicle* (1922), 134.

<sup>201</sup> Richard Runciman Terry, "Christmas Carols," *Westminster Chronicle* (1921), 134.

ation.<sup>202</sup> There was another motivating factor in Terry's scheme of recovery, and that was the pressing need for repertoire to fill the music schedules of a busy cathedral. Daily Mass and Vespers, all fully sung, required a substantial volume of music, and since the faith was being restored in a very public way, why not restore the music which had sustained it prior to the Reformation? Seeking to rally Catholic opinion on this repertory he enthused:

All the best of this early music... is Catholic in spirit, and Catholic in origin; written by Catholics for the services of the Catholic Church. It is our heritage—our birth right; and the fact that our claims to it have lain so long in abeyance does not make it any the less ours, or its revival any 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>203</sup>

The period of the Penal Times cast a shadow over English Catholicism which it struggled to shake off, and just fifty years after the restoration of the hierarchy (in 1850) Terry's sentiments will have resonated within the Catholic community. The sense of injustice and victimhood was profound (in living memory Catholics had been admitted to parliament and the universities, in 1829 and 1871 respectively) and at the time of his writing it remained a live issue on the island of Ireland. Westminster Cathedral quickly became the national focus for English Catholics just as Cardinal Vaughan had hoped, and they looked to it for guidance and example. To recover this lost heritage was a gesture which could redress the balance. Work began on the research and recovery of old manuscripts during Terry's years at Downside and it is from this period that his scoring (in collaboration with Barclay Squire) of the Byrd *Mass for Five Voices* comes.<sup>204</sup> Muir contends that he was not a pioneer in this work, but built upon

<sup>202</sup> Terry, *The Music of the Roman Rite*, 213.

<sup>203</sup> Richard Runciman Terry, *Catholic Church Music* (London: Greening, 1907), 192.

<sup>204</sup> Andrews, *Westminster Retrospect*, 40–41.

the work of earlier musicians with a Cecilian outlook, particularly John Moore Capes (1812-1899) and James Burns (1808–1871), and it was only thanks to his position at Westminster that Terry enjoyed a higher profile.<sup>205</sup> Burns was a Catholic convert from a Scottish Presbyterian background who was responsible for some plainsong and polyphony publications in the 1850s and 1860s, employing Capes as a co-editor for the polyphony.<sup>206</sup> All works represented in these publications were Italian or were written by other Continental composers with Italian connections, but none was English. To say that Terry was not a pioneer therefore is true to a point, but is not the complete picture. Where Terry advances beyond the work of these other men is that he sought out and edited a much larger volume of works, stretched further back historically than the early sixteenth century (the fifteenth century and earlier in fact), and was working on English repertoire which these earlier musicians had neglected. Crucially, he put his work into performance so that it could be heard. It is this final element which is his most important legacy. Since, without performance, knowledge of these compositions would have been restricted to musicologists and would not have reached its wider audience, including the media. It is the hearing of this music in performance that ultimately influenced the likes of Herbert Howells, Gustav Holst, Charles Wood and others with the ripple outwards of modal style and plainsong foundations that characterized some of their compositional output. Muir suggests that Terry was essentially a grandstanding musician using the Westminster platform as a vanity project.<sup>207</sup> Such a hypothesis does not withstand scrutiny when the evidence is ex-

<sup>205</sup> Muir, *Roman Catholic Church Music*, 223.

<sup>206</sup> Muir, *Roman Catholic Church Music*, 111.

<sup>207</sup> Muir, *Roman Catholic Church Music*, 223.



amined, much of which is in Terry's own hand in volumes such as *Music for the Roman Rite* and the many essays and articles written for the national press and *Westminster Chronicle*. Terry was undoubtedly a man with an unclouded view of his own importance and rather impressed with his own abilities, and frequently took the opportunity to promote himself. However, he was driven by the conviction that here was music fit for the liturgy, suppressed and then neglected for too long, and in his view, this was the time to liberate it. He was that mix of a practitioner of music, an untrained but honed-by-experience scholar, and a man of profound faith, and it is this final aesthetic and religious element that underpins the other two, for to see him in purely musicological terms does not enable a proper understanding of his motivations and ultimate goals.

For access to manuscripts at the British Museum, Terry relied on his contact with Barclay Squire who quite possibly gave assistance in the interpretation of old notation and the orientation of the part-books. Since Terry was not a trained musicologist it is likely that in the early stages of his work he had to rely on such help. Barclay Squire, who gave the first public London airing of the Eton Manuscript in modern times in 1898, was enthusiastic about early music, but less so about its likely public reception. Speaking of the Eton Manuscript he told the Society of Antiquaries 'To a musical historian... the collection is of infinite value and interest, and it is most sincerely to be wished that some means could be found of scoring and publishing it... That this music would sound beautiful to our ears is extremely improbable.'<sup>208</sup> Squire was voicing a common view and his comments highlight the clear division between

<sup>208</sup> William Barclay Squire, "On an Early 16th Century Ms. Of English Music in the Library of Eton College," *Archaeologia or Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity* 56 (1898), 102.

those who performed and those who studied. Terry was a hybrid: he was not trained as a musicologist, but with the help of Barclay Squire and others, he self-taught the skills of interpretation of old notation, editorship and scoring for performance. He was a prolific performer. With a schedule like that in place at Westminster, Terry was gifted with the ideal opportunity to test this unfamiliar repertoire, both in terms of public reception, but also in terms of performance practice and opportunities for editorial trial, error and correction. In this sense he was a pioneer, since musicians in the shape of a performer-scholar were rare if not unknown at the opening of the century. Terry consulted documents at Lambeth Palace and Buckingham Palace as well as the University of Oxford. The bulk of his research was from a core group of manuscripts: The Old Hall Manuscript; The Lambeth Choir Books; The Caius Choirbook; The Eton Choirbook; The Forrest-Heyther Partbooks; The Gyffard Partbooks and the Sadler Manuscript; and the Peterhouse Partbooks.<sup>209</sup> He also consulted the Christ Church Manuscript (Sarum Missal), held in the Bodleian. These documents had survived as either collector's copies or as is the case of the Eton Choirbook, simply remained on a library shelf, largely forgotten.<sup>210</sup> For Terry they represented a treasure trove, the contents of which would add significantly to the repertoire at Westminster. He was keen to link back to the pre-Reformation era, to essentially perceive the Reformation and the Commonwealth as an *interruptus* in the English Catholic continuum; the performance of this music in the Cathedral liturgy would demonstrate this thinking in a unique way. Secondly, Terry was keen to establish

<sup>209</sup> Terry writes in more detail about these manuscripts in the chapter 'The English School of Church Music' in *Music of the Roman Rite*. Terry, *The Music of the Roman Rite*.

<sup>210</sup> Magnus Williamson, *The Eton Choirbook, Facsimile and Introductory Study* (Oxford: DIAMM Facsimiles, 2010), 12.

the notion of an English equivalence with, if not pre-eminence over continental styles in choral music written before the sixteenth century. The quality of the music he found in these manuscripts, which represented some of the finest musical writing of the period anywhere, amply demonstrated this.<sup>211</sup> Finally, he wanted the British public to be educated about their musical history by challenging the prevailing opinion that English choral music began with Byrd and Tallis to the exclusion of their contemporaries and forbears.<sup>212</sup> For Terry, these composers were towards the end of a Catholic musical history rather than at the beginning of the Anglican musical story. In performing music that had not been heard in over four hundred years he was attracting attention from the press. He was therefore assured of public curiosity, and ultimately, acclaim for his efforts.

It is likely that Terry saw the performance of the Tallis and Byrd works as an opportunity to liberate this music and bring it into the daylight once more, for it to be experienced as the rich and profound musical contribution to the liturgy that he believed it to be. There was a veiled reference to the Penal Times in these choices and the fact that this repertoire could now be heard and performed in its intended forum, out from the necessary secrecy surrounding recusancy. Still, revival of this work met with criticism. In *Music for the Roman Rite*, Terry writing of his earliest performances of Tallis's Latin text music 'When he [Terry] stated (after experience of both) that Tallis's Latin compositions were superior to his English ones he was accused of partisan bias.'<sup>213</sup> There was also an element of preservation and conservation

<sup>211</sup> Terry, *The Music of the Roman Rite*, 218, 220–221.

<sup>212</sup> Terry, *The Music of the Roman Rite*, 223.

<sup>213</sup> Terry, *The Music of the Roman Rite*, 228.

at play here. Once the repertoire had been revealed for public hearing and had become popular, it was more likely to remain in use, ensuring its preservation not merely as a library score in the nature-reserve safety of a university college, but as a living component of Catholic worship.

Whilst working on the partbooks and older manuscripts, Terry's only authoritative source for comprehension of the medieval notation was Morley's *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to the Art of Practicall Musick*, which had been published in 1597 and its chronological proximity to the original score offered help with the unfamiliar mensural notation.<sup>214</sup> The criticisms of Terry's work by some musicologists will be examined later as Muir points to deficiencies in Terry's editions.<sup>215</sup> Yet as Long comments using Fellowes as an example, the musicologist's work when researching from choirbooks which were incomplete, or sets of partbooks which may be scattered across the country, was also made very difficult by missing parts which, in order to complete a work would have to be reconstructed.<sup>216</sup> There were also thorny issues such as text underlay. The convention in many of the early manuscripts was for the composer to write the beginning of the text then simply leave the singer to apportion the rest of the words to the music as he saw fit.<sup>217</sup> Le Huray illustrates the underlay problem in a study of an anthem by Edmund Hooper '*Behold it is Christ*', where in a selection of only four bars from the

<sup>214</sup> Andrews, *Westminster Retrospect*, 121.

<sup>215</sup> Muir, *Roman Catholic Church Music*, 240.

<sup>216</sup> Kenneth R. Long, *The Music of the English Church* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1971), 53.

<sup>217</sup> Long, *The Music of the English Church*, 54.

surviving tenor part sources there are no fewer than eleven underlay discrepancies.<sup>218</sup> Another tricky area was the issue of pronunciation, which was not uniform or standardized with, for example, words like ‘patience’ having either two or three syllables, and ‘temptation’ potentially containing three or four. *Musica ficta* was notoriously troublesome and continues to divide opinion. Singers were sometimes (though not always) guided by accidentals written in the score, though these were often inconsistent. At any rate, a late fifteenth-century or early sixteenth-century singer of experience would through Guidonian principles be accustomed to sharpening or flattening at his discretion and according to the mode or the hexachord and its extensions within that mode.<sup>219</sup> This material was difficult to navigate, and Terry was working to tight timescales in order to prepare pieces for events in the Church’s calendar. Such pressure will have resulted in editorial errors. The fact that boys at the Cathedral were used as copyists for their own voice parts must have jeopardized accuracy. Also, rehearsal time was minimal, resulting in a stressful, hothouse environment for this ‘new’ music.

Collins, the musicologist and director of music at Birmingham Oratory wrote a paper on early choral music to which Terry testily replied illustrating his view that this music was not merely of antiquarian or musicological interest:

Mr Collins made some remarks on ‘false relations’, ‘archaisms’, ‘harsh dissonances’, and ‘harmonic crudities’ in the work of our old composers. I hope that in years to come, when our descendants study the *Proceedings*, these remarks will not be read in the same spirit in which we today read Burney on Dr Blow’s crudities’ or Horsley on the ‘false relations’ of William Byrd. Tallis and Byrd and their contemporaries were not bunglers. They were not immature composers struggling with their technique. They did not write ‘false relations’ by accident or through helplessness. They were no less sensitive to beauty of effect than we are today... We should not listen to sixteenth-century music with the ears of the twentieth [or] apply to six-

<sup>218</sup> Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 106.

<sup>219</sup> Long, *The Music of the English Church*, 53–54.

teenth-century writers ‘rules’ which only began to be formulated in the eighteenth century... As in literature, a grammar must be based upon the literature and not vice versa.<sup>220</sup>

Terry displays an awareness of historically informed performance here. He was keen to preserve the essential character of the music and as such would not entertain the notion of modernising it by removing dissonance or adding thirds to open-fifth chords. Like his contemporaries however, he was unafraid of inserting interpretative suggestions such as tempi and dynamics (suggesting he considered such directions did not alter the essential character of the music). His view that performance can inspire historical knowledge and assist analysis of the music was certainly revolutionary for his time, since most late nineteenth and early twentieth-century musicology was executed on paper. Terry was very much a man in a hurry in this work. A brief examination of each of the manuscript sources reveals the scale of the task.

### **The Manuscripts studied by Terry**

The Forrest-Heyther Partbooks (GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. e. 376-81) are a collection of six volumes, constituting the largest source of English Mass cycles and which were copied around 1530 by William Forrest with other works added later in the century.<sup>221</sup> The set passed to John Baldwin at Windsor in 1581, then to William Heyther (d.1627) who donated them to Oxford University Music School in 1626 from where they passed to the Bodleian in 1885.<sup>222</sup> There

<sup>220</sup> Davies, “Historiography of the Reformation,” 268.

<sup>221</sup> John D. Bergsagel, “The Date and Provenance of the Forrest-Heyther Collection of Tudor Masses,” *Music and Letters* 44, No.3. (1963), 240–43.

<sup>222</sup> ‘The Forrest-Heyther Partbooks’, *DIAMM Tudor Manuscripts*, <[www.Diamm.ac.uk/sources/2285/#/](http://www.Diamm.ac.uk/sources/2285/#/)> (Accessed 28 April 2018).

are eighteen Masses including John Taverner's *Missa Gloria Tibi Trinitas* and ten others by him which Terry transcribed and edited for use at Westminster.

Image 1. Opening of the Gloria from the manuscript complete with a sketch which is believed to be Taverner.



The first page of the Gloria in Terry's conducting score has markings in the margin with reference to the Tenor part in bars six and seven. He notes, 'A slip on Taverner's part. There should be no ligature if words are to fit'. And, later in the document in a reference to frustrations with underlay he comments: 'Can't get away from the fact that during this period English composers did insert rests in middle of both words & syllables'.<sup>223</sup> The score also shows Terry's *Musica ficta* suggestions. See Image, 2 below.

<sup>223</sup> Richard Runciman Terry, 'Gloria' from *Missa Gloria Tibi Trinitas* by Taverner, Hand-written score, Westminster Cathedral, Terry Scores, GB-Lwca, London.



Image 2. Gloria from Taverner's *Missa Gloria Tibi Trinitas*.

In addition to the Masses by Taverner, Forrest-Heyther is the unique source of a Mass by Merbecke, the *Missa Per arma justitiae*, a work in five parts and one of only four surviving pieces of Catholic polyphonic writing by Merbecke. It is examined here in more detail below.



The Gyffard Partbooks (GB-Lbl Add. MSS 17802-5), compiled c.1540 to 1580, contain 94 works in total including 12 Masses, 48 motets, 5 Magnificats, together with a selection of Propers and processional music. They are a remarkable survival from the period, being the most important record of Tudor church music from the sixteenth century.<sup>224</sup> A rich resource of small scale works by Taverner, Tallis, Sheppard and Tye, Benham speculates that the collection was put together under Mary Tudor, whose short reign would explain why the books have seen little use.<sup>225</sup> They were copied for use at St Paul's Cathedral, London in the 1550s following which they were owned by Philip Gyffard and finally purchased by the British Museum at Puttick's sale in 1849.<sup>226</sup> Terry worked on these manuscripts for over twenty years (Barclay Squire is the likely conduit for access since these were lodged at the British Museum from 1849) and was close to the point of completing his editions for publication when he died. Many of the works were performed at Westminster Cathedral and some appeared in print in the Carnegie Trust project titled *Tudor Church Music* (hereafter abbreviated to TCM) volumes in 1924. Terry writes of his work on Gyffard in *Music of the Roman Rite*, making it clear that this was in his view possibly the most important manuscript he had edited:

Perhaps the best indication of the state of English Church music in the middle of the sixteenth century is furnished by a manuscript in the British Museum, most of the contents of which have become familiar during the past quarter of a century through frequent performance at Westminster Cathedral, but which (save for a limited number of items) has not yet been printed. Up to the time of my making its acquaintance, in 1899, it had attracted the notice of only two historians – Nagel and Davey. Its importance is due not so much to its length – it extends to about a thousand pages – or the number of compositions it contains (they run to just under a hundred, and twelve of them are complete Masses), but to the fact

<sup>224</sup> David Mateer, "The Compilation of the 'Gyffard' Partbooks: Composers, Owners, Date and Provenance," *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 28 (1995), 21–50.

<sup>225</sup> Benham, *Latin Church Music*, 25–26.

<sup>226</sup> 'The Gyffard Partbooks', *DIAMM Tudor Manuscripts*, <[www.Diamm.ac.uk/sources/1873/#/](http://www.Diamm.ac.uk/sources/1873/#/)> (Accessed 28 April 2018).

that every composer of note from that period is represented. It is also an invaluable document not only from the number of items bearing the names of composers almost unknown to us, but also from the insight it gives us into the special treatment which the Liturgy received from English musicians of the time.<sup>227</sup>

Following Terry's performances at Westminster, it would be another sixty years before many of the works in this collection reached a wider audience through early music choral ensembles in the 1980s.

The Eton Choirbook (GB-WRec MS. 178) is a sizeable volume—almost three feet wide when opened—and contains the work of twenty-five composers, from Browne, Lambe, Cornysh and Davy who provide the most impressive works, to more obscure writers supplying one piece each.<sup>228</sup> The music is laid out in groupings for vocal forces. The basic grouping is for five voices: treble, mean, bass and two mid-range men's voices which are most likely a tenor and a falsettist which stray into each other's territory.<sup>229</sup> The first page is an index listing the vocal compass for each piece followed by the opening words of the work, the composer's name and the folios on which the piece begins. Of the original contents of 93 works, 43 have survived complete. It was compiled between 1470 and 1510 and the music consists of motets in honour of the Blessed Virgin and Magnificats, but no Mass music. It is richly illuminated, with one piece in particular, the nine-part *Salve Regina* by Robert Wilkynson featuring a group of angels, each bearing a scroll signifying the heavenly order to which it belongs, identifying the voice parts: Seraphyn—Quatriplex; Cherubyn—Triplex; Troni—Medius; Domina-

<sup>227</sup> Terry, *The Music of the Roman Rite*, 223–24.

<sup>228</sup> Benham, *Latin Church Music*, 74.

<sup>229</sup> Benham, *Latin Church Music*, 62.

tiones—Primus Contratenor; and so forth to Archangeli—Secundus Bassus.<sup>230</sup> On 17<sup>th</sup> February 1898 William Barclay Squire presented a paper to the Society of Antiquaries in what was to be the first public discussion about and scholarly analysis of the Eton Choirbook since it had fallen into desuetude at the Reformation.<sup>231</sup> Whilst it is clear from the attendance record that Terry was not present at that meeting, he must have been alerted to the manuscript by Barclay Squire, since shortly after this date he began the process of scoring pieces from Eton for performance at Westminster Cathedral. Indicative of the complexity involved, it was to be a period of years before any of this material appeared in the music schedules. Terry was particularly fascinated by the setting of the *Passion* by Richard Davy (Master of Magdalen College Choir in 1490), a work first performed at Westminster in Holy Week of 1921.<sup>232</sup> Hilda Andrews quotes an article by Terry in *The Daily Telegraph* shortly after the performance:

Davy's is possibly the earliest example of Passion Music by an English composer. As readers probably know, a liturgical Passion only means a musical setting of the speeches and cries of the mob, the rest of the gospel account being chanted by three deacons to plainsong. There are instances of Italian composers having set the speeches of individuals to music for the choir, but Davy's Passion is curious from the fact that in addition to the cries of the mob, he sets the unusual precedent of writing choral music exclusively for the speeches of Pilate and his wife. The first three choruses are missing from the MS.; but it has been found possible to supply music for them from other portions of the work, without altering any of Davy's notes. From the four choruses which follow, the treble and tenor parts are missing. These have been supplied by the present writer, in the contrapuntal style of the composer of the period.

To those who accept the popular definition of that period as 'crude', Davy's work will come as a surprise. It is smooth, easy, and flowing... It is in every way individual and original. A striking feature is the treatment of the words 'Vere Filius Dei erat iste!' This exclamation of the centurion and the watchers has usually been set by other composers in awe-stricken accents, but the Eton composer makes it ring out as a triumphant confession of faith.<sup>233</sup>

<sup>230</sup> Barclay Squire, "Eton Ms," 91.

<sup>231</sup> Barclay Squire, "Eton Ms," 89.

<sup>232</sup> Westminster Cathedral, Music Lists, Holy Week 1921, GB-Lwca, London.

<sup>233</sup> Andrews, *Westminster Retrospect*, 121–23.

Davy's *Passion* is the earliest surviving setting by an English composer. Before choral settings appeared, a sung rendition would usually feature three solo voices: a tenor as the Evangelist; a bass as Christ; and a higher voice, perhaps a falsettist who would sing Pilate's speeches and the words and phrases of the crowd, a tradition which ultimately led to the Bach Passions with similar voice distributions. Earlier composers on the continent had set music for the crowd, such as Victoria, Guerrero, Lassus, and in England, Byrd, but Davy is the earliest example of an Englishman to do this. Terry was confident enough in his editorial scholarship to reconstruct missing areas from the existing music. The extended time over which he worked on the material however, is a hint that he did not find this an easy task, or perhaps one on which he could spend as much time as the work required. A letter sent to Montague Rhodes James, Provost of Eton (and formerly a don at King's College Cambridge when Terry was an undergraduate) on 25 May 1920 demonstrates this and is indicative of a problem that seemed to afflict Terry for much of his working life, one of insufficient time:

My Dear Provost, I fully realize that by this long delay I have forfeited any further claim to the Eton MS. If I saw any prospect of being able to finish it this year I would ask for an extension of time. But I am booked up with work beyond Christmas.

It is my tragedy never to have known a student's leisure. My research has been done in sporadic spells snatched from a very strenuous professional life. Just now it is my fate to have on my hands several important MSS. On the point of completion, but with no spare time for the task.<sup>234</sup>

He goes on to ask that if after such a lengthy period of time working on the manuscript, he could be permitted to publish just one piece from it:

I should like however to make one request: since I was the first person to score and perform publicly any of the contents of the Eton MS. might I be allowed to publish at least Davy's *Passion according to St Matthew*? It is incomplete in the MS. but I 'supplied' the missing parts with counterpoint of my own for our performance of the work at Westminster Cathedral.

<sup>234</sup> Andrews, *Westminster Retrospect*, 128–29.

My scoring of the Eton MS. was a labour of love, hence my desire to leave some of it on record, and the Davy *Passion* affords greater scope for critical notes than most of the other compositions... I feel confident that the publisher who has accepted my edition of the Gyffard would be willing to publish the Davy *Passion* if he had the formal consent of the Provost and Fellows.

It is unclear from the correspondence that survives in the Cathedral archive whether Terry was granted permission by James, but no publication was ever made, suggesting that Terry found insufficient time to complete the work. Though he did not attend the first presentation of the manuscript by Barclay Squire in 1898, Terry was present at a lecture and demonstration of the music in Eton on 22 February 1927 (after his departure from Westminster). It was given by Dom Anselm Hughes to the body which was to become the Royal Musical Association at an event intended to reflect scholarship on Eton in the years since it was first unveiled.<sup>235</sup> The record of the meeting reveals that the lay-clerks of Eton College conducted by Henry Ley sang the *Ave Maria* by Cornysh, and a *Magnificat* by Stratford from the manuscript. Immediately after the lecture was opened to discussion, Terry made some critical remarks about the presentation and went on to speak of textual underlay in the manuscript. He then took issue with the lecturer's assessment of the Davy *Passion*, which had been compared to the style of Victoria. Terry pointed out that Victoria wrote his chorus sections in 'block harmony' whereas Davy uses free flowing counterpoint and treats the text differently, writing music for the speeches of Pilate and his wife, rather than the usual practice of this being chanted by a single voice. His closing comments stake his claim to authority on the matter:

In view of the authorities quoted by the lecturer in connection with this Eton music, my intervention in the discussion is perhaps an intrusion. If I have any claim at all to speak on the subject it is only this humble one: in the days when I had a choir of my own I happened to be

<sup>235</sup> Dom Anselm Hughes, "The Eton Manuscript," *Proceedings of the Musical Association* 53rd Session (1926), 67–68.

the only person in this country who had ever given a public performance of any of the compositions now under discussion this afternoon. My choir revived the Davy Passion some years ago, and it remained in our regular repertoire afterwards. In view of these facts, my remarks may perhaps be considered not altogether superfluous.<sup>236</sup>

In a further endorsement of Terry's contribution to the scholarship of Eton (and for him more importantly its performance) the editors of the recently published DIAMM (Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music) edition of the manuscript write of the 1927 presentation:

The listeners... included Sir Richard Runciman Terry who, as choirmaster of Westminster Cathedral (1902-24), had introduced Richard Davy's Passion into the choir's pioneering repertoire of Renaissance polyphony in 1921.

Terry could therefore speak with some authority on the manuscript, having directed the first public performance for nearly three centuries of music from a manuscript which he knew at first hand.

Terry's early departure from Westminster, however, has deprived us of a permanent memorial to his visionary achievement as a choir-trainer: had he remained in post a year or two longer, the discography of ETON may well have begun in the 1920s rather than the 1950s.<sup>237</sup>

It is likely that Terry's work would have been better known had he survived in post at the Cathedral a short while longer, with his work on Eton tantalizingly close to reaching completion.

Both the Lambeth Choir Books (GB-Llp MS 1) and the Caius Choirbook (GB-Cgc MS 667/760) are of a similar size to Eton and both are the work of a single scribe, Edward Higgons, dating to the 1520s.<sup>238</sup> Both books are generously illuminated and Terry thought they were comparable to the Eton manuscript 'of equal importance are the Lambeth Palace

<sup>236</sup> Hughes, "The Eton Manuscript," 80–81.

<sup>237</sup> Williamson, *The Eton Choirbook, Facsimile and Introductory Study*, 84. This volume gives a thorough analysis of the contents, compilation, provenance and ownership of the Eton manuscript, as well as colour photographs of each page including the lists of contents and the covers.

<sup>238</sup> 'Lambeth and Caius Choirbooks', *DIAMM Tudor Manuscripts*, <[www.Diamm.ac.uk/sources/225/#/](http://www.Diamm.ac.uk/sources/225/#/)> (Accessed 28 April 2018).

and Caius College, Cambridge MSS. They belong to the period of Fayrfax and it seems probable that both are in his handwriting' though he was clearly unaware of the identity of the scribe.<sup>239</sup> Each book contains substantial works by Nicholas Ludford (1485–1557) and Robert Fayrfax (1464–1521).<sup>240</sup> It is unclear when Terry first encountered these manuscripts, but he scored them for their first modern performance during Holy Week of 1918 when they were performed by Westminster Cathedral choir alongside two Masses by Hugh Aston (1485–1558) that Terry had scored from the Sadler manuscript (GB-Ob Mus.e.1–5). There seems to have been some recognition of Terry as an authority on Fayrfax, presumably as a result of this editorial and performance work, because in 1921 St Alban's Abbey, where he (Fayrfax) had been organist and where he was buried, there was a four-hundredth anniversary celebration of his life and work. Terry was engaged to give a lecture on the composer as part of the festival following a performance of some of his music by St Alban's Cathedral choir. He spoke about Fayrfax's work and influence, and the suitability of its compositional style for buildings like St Alban's. He also spoke of the Magnificat the choir had just sung: 'its smoothness and freedom from those harmonic clashes in which English composers of the polyphonic period so frequently indulged'.<sup>241</sup> Terry edited the rest of Fayrfax's known works at that time, a com-

<sup>239</sup> Terry, *The Music of the Roman Rite*, 220. For a more recent view on this manuscript, see David Skinner, "Discovering the Provenance and History of the Caius and Lambeth Choirbooks," *Early Music* 25 (1997), 245–66.

<sup>240</sup> Geoffrey Chew, "The Provenance and Date of the Caius and Lambeth Choir-Books," *Music and Letters* 51, No.2. (1970), 107–17.

<sup>241</sup> "Church and Organ Music, Robert Fayrfax Celebration At St Alban's," *The Musical Times* 62, No.946. (1921), 853–56.

poser whose style he admired, and by 1921 his complete works had been performed at Westminster Cathedral.<sup>242</sup>

The Old Hall Manuscript (GB-Lbl Add. Mus 57950) dates to the end of the first quarter of the fifteenth century and is a collection of work which represents the only Mass music surviving in England from before 1500. It is also the first collection of English music to include the names of the composers.<sup>243</sup> The works are early, ranging from 1370 to c.1420, and include music by ‘Roy Henry’, presumed to be Henry V of England, and works of several other English composers. It also includes two foreign writers, Mayshuet and Zacar.<sup>244</sup> The music is arranged in groups of liturgical category: Kyrie, Gloria, Sequence, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus Dei and settings of isorythmic motets often sung at the end of Mass. It is essentially a working Polyphonic Mass Book, arranged in the order in which it would be used.<sup>245</sup> The manuscript originated in the chapel of Henry V, moved to Winchester Cathedral in the sixteenth century, then passed to John Alcock (d.1806), Rev'd John Parker (d.1812), was bought by John Stafford Smith in 1813 and after his death was gifted by one of his family to the school and seminary at Old Hall Green, Ware, Hertfordshire.<sup>246</sup> Barclay Squire brought this manuscript to light in 1901 and loaned copies of material from it to Terry to transcribe and edit for performance at Westminster, its first practical revival. Terry noted the curiosity that performance

<sup>242</sup> Westminster Cathedral, Music Lists, 1902-1921, GB-Lwca, London.

<sup>243</sup> Margaret Bent, “The Old Hall Manuscript,” *Early Music* 2, No.1. (1974), 2.

<sup>244</sup> Bent, “Old Hall,” 3–5.

<sup>245</sup> Bent, “Old Hall,” 4.

<sup>246</sup> ‘The Old Hall Manuscript’, *DIAMM Tudor Manuscripts*, <[www.Diamm.ac.uk/sources/210/#/](http://www.Diamm.ac.uk/sources/210/#/)> (Accessed 28 April 2018).



of its contents generated in the 1916 *Westminster Chronicle* ‘the performance last Holy Week of several musical items from this MS. aroused much interest, and brought so many inquiries of: “What is the Old Hall MS?”.’<sup>247</sup> Terry worked on the Benedictus settings by Typp and Roy Henry as well as Leonel’s *Ave Regina* and Chirbury’s *Agnus Dei*, all of which were pushing at the boundaries of the public’s tolerance for very early music. It was unlike anything else they had heard.<sup>248</sup> Indeed, as Andrew Gant writes ‘The music of the Old Hall is tough meat’ noting that it ‘can sound more like the work of a twenty-first-century modernist than part of the sound-world of the Renaissance.’<sup>249</sup> In 1915, the Cathedral choir performed Dunstable’s *Veni Sancte Spiritus* and Leonel Power’s *Ave Regina*, and the Sanctus and Benedictus ascribed to Roy Henry were sung during Holy Week of 1916 in what was the first public hearing of these works in over four hundred years.<sup>250</sup> Later that year, pieces by Roy Henry, Typp, Chirbury, Cooke and Power were included in the music schedule, though they did not reappear. It is likely that the early fifteenth-century style was somewhat indigestible for the congregation at Westminster, since pre-echoing Gant’s comments Terry wrote:

Modern ears will no doubt find the constant recurrence of bare fifths rather disconcerting... the superficial inference being that the ears of these old composers were less highly cultivated than ours. But bare fifths in a resonant building have a dignity and beauty all their own, by reason of the harmonics they generate which are keenly felt by the acute ear. The ancients, trained on the natural scale, undebauched by ‘tempered’ keyed instruments, could hear all these resultant tones. The modern critic needs to have every note sounded or sung... and is deaf to these harmonic effects.<sup>251</sup>

<sup>247</sup> Richard Terry, “The Old Hall Manuscript,” *Westminster Chronicle* (1916).

<sup>248</sup> Roche, “Great Learning, Fine Scholarship, Impeccable Taste,” 234.

<sup>249</sup> Andrew Gant, *O Sing Unto the Lord, a History of English Church Music* (London: Profile Books Ltd, 2015), 39.

<sup>250</sup> Westminster Cathedral, Music Lists, Holy Week 1916, GB-Lwca, London.

<sup>251</sup> Richard Runciman Terry, “Holy Week Music,” *Westminster Chronicle* (1916).

*The Times* made emollient noises, writing ‘The mistake has been in the past of judging such music from the standpoint of the harmony exercise, but its strength lies in its melody. Take a part and sing it, and it at once springs into life’.<sup>252</sup> The music by Typp survives in Terry’s original conducting score and also in the slips of paper for the individual voice parts from which the choir sang in order that their approach to the music might replicate that of the early performers. These survivals are unique in the Westminster Archives as the only other scores in Terry’s hand are his conducting manuscripts.<sup>253</sup> Following a literal bonfire of music by one of Terry’s successors, George Malcolm (1917–1997) early in his tenure at Westminster, and other unfortunate disposals, few of Terry’s scores now exist, though Merbecke’s *Missa per arma Iustitiae* and Taverner’s *Dum transsisset Sabbatum* remain, along with Parsons’ *Ave Maria*, William Mundy’s *O Lord the maker of al thing* and the heavily annotated scores of the Byrd *Masses for Three and Five Voices*.<sup>254</sup>

The Peterhouse Partbooks are an important collection in two parts, one Henrican (GB-Cp MS 31–32, 40–41) and the other Caroline (GB-Cp 31–53 excluding the Henrican listed above). The Henrican set dates from between 1539 and 1541, is likely to be a collection rather than a performing set, consisting of books for Triplex, Medius, Contratenor and Bassus, with the Tenor book missing. It was acquired by John Cosin who was Master of Peterhouse in 1634 and then donated to Cambridge University Library.<sup>255</sup> This set contains three

<sup>252</sup> ‘Early Music At Westminster Cathedral.’ *The Times*, 1916, 11.

<sup>253</sup> Westminster Cathedral, Typp, *Sanctus* and *Benedictus*, choir parts, Terry Manuscripts, GB-Lwca, London.

<sup>254</sup> Westminster Cathedral, Parsons, *Ave Maria*; Byrd, *Mass for Three Voices*, *Mass for Five voices*; Mundy, *O Lord the maker*, Terry hand-written conducting and choir scores, Terry Manuscripts, GB-Lwca, London.

<sup>255</sup> ‘The Peterhouse Partbooks’, *DIAMM Tudor Manuscripts*, <[www.Diamm.ac.uk/sources/1421/#/](http://www.Diamm.ac.uk/sources/1421/#/)>

Masses by John Taverner: *Sine Nomine*; *Mater Christi*; and *Small Devotions*, which Terry edited for use at Westminster during Holy Week of 1921 (presenting all eight of Taverner's known Masses in that season together over the eight days).<sup>256</sup> The work of providing a Tenor part was deputed to Percy Buck who Terry described as having 'already proved himself, par excellence, the most able person for work of this nature' and credited him for doing so in the *Westminster Chronicle*.<sup>257</sup> The Carnegie TCM project produced ten volumes of which the first, all music by John Taverner, was edited by Terry, giving clear examples of his editorial skills. The first reward for this editing work came in 1911, when Terry was awarded an honorary degree of Doctor of Music from Durham. Sir Henry Hadow heaped praise on Terry:

A musician of great learning, of fine scholarship, and of impeccable taste, he has devoted the last fifteen years of his life to discovering and bringing to light these forgotten masterpieces... he has made them once more a part of our common heritage and in so doing has earned the grateful recognition of all who care for the dignity and renown of English music.<sup>258</sup>

Examination of the surviving scores of Terry's editions show that his 'fine scholarship' was at times compromised by expediency, since there are fairly obvious errors which it can be presumed only came to notice during rehearsal, as the scores are hastily amended in pencil or scratched through in ink and re-written. For all his self-proclaimed sympathy with the early composers, Terry was at pains to direct tempi with metronome marks and expression, even in Byrd's *Mass for Five Voices*. It bears the marking 'Nobilmente' at the *et unam* in the Credo as well as a *fortissimo* and *Allegro Moderato* for the opening of the *Gloria* (complete with metronome

(Accessed 28 April 2018).

<sup>256</sup> Westminster Cathedral, Music Lists, Holy Week 1921, GB-Lwca, London.

<sup>257</sup> Richard Runciman Terry, "Peterhouse Partbooks," *Westminster Chronicle* (1921), 50A.

<sup>258</sup> Andrews, *Westminster Retrospect*, 107–08.

marks).<sup>259</sup> These directions give an insight into the likely performance of the work, as these were his conducting scores and demonstrate a clear desire to control the performance. This manner of prescribing the performance style was not unique to Terry. The *Forty Elizabethan Songs* edited by Edmund Fellowes and published in four volumes during the 1920s exhibit similar approaches to presenting this early repertoire to a modern audience. In *Come again, sweet love doth now invite* by Dowland, Fellowes opens the song with a tempo direction 'Moderate Speed' and with a *mezzo forte* dynamic suggestion, continuing with 'hairpins', *diminuendo* and *crescendo* markings. His preface states that 'the original accompaniments, designed by the composers for the lute, are here exactly transcribed in modern notation for use on the pianoforte' illustrating that expediency and a commonsense approach to presenting this early music was required in order to satisfy the largely amateur performing target-audience.<sup>260</sup>

<sup>259</sup> Westminster Cathedral, William Byrd, *Mass for Five voices*, hand-written score, Terry Manuscripts, GB-Lwca, London. Terry's edition of the Mass was published by Curwen in 1935 and carries the exact expression and tempo indications found in his manuscript from Westminster, except that the Gloria opens *Vivace* in the printed edition. William Byrd, "Mass for Five Voices," (1935).

<sup>260</sup> Edmund Horace Fellowes, *Forty Elizabethan Songs* (London: Stainer and Bell, 1925), Preface, 3.

Image 3. William Byrd, *Mass for Five Voices*, edited by R R Terry, Credo.

### **Introduction of these works at Westminster**

Music at Westminster in the early years followed a fairly predictable pattern of pieces which were readily available, largely from the sixteenth-century Italian and Spanish repertoire. Since the choir was assembled from scratch there was also the matter of training the boys, but progress on this was achieved quickly, and steadily the Italian and Spanish works were displaced by his own editions of 'new music' from the manuscripts. The weekly music lists lodged in the Cathedral archive are a valuable resource since they are often completed in Terry's own hand and record the choir music for each service, every day. There are a few gaps, particularly in 1906 when the High Altar *baldacchino* was built, proving so disruptive that music in services was suspended for a period. The music list for September that year bears a hand-written note at the top 'During the erection of the Baldacchino, the ordinary weekday music is suspended and Mass and Vespers are sung in the Nave entirely in Gregorian' indicating an undiluted diet of plainsong.<sup>261</sup> This is followed by some blank sheets and patchy information for much of the rest of the year as the disruption, it must be presumed, continued. In spite of the building work, on Sunday 14<sup>th</sup> October the choir sang Palestrina's *Missa Ecce Ego Johannes* for six voices and Robert Parson's *Ave Maria* at Mass, Adrian Willaert's *Magnificat Sexti Toni*, a hymn (presumably a chorale) by J. S. Bach, a *Nunc dimittis* to Terry's own 'Falsobordone' and a Marian anthem by Peter Philips. Here, it is already possible to see a mix of established Continental polyphony, a piece of early English music (Parsons), a setting of Terry's own composition

<sup>261</sup> Westminster Cathedral, Music Lists, September 1906, GB-Lwca, London.

around the plainsong mode for the *Nunc dimittis* and another English anthem by Peter Philips, which will have been in Terry's edition.<sup>262</sup>

Examination of the music lists between 1901 and 1924 show the percentages of continental choral repertoire and English pre-Reformation music reverse as these newly edited works became available. At the same time, Terry was introducing music by composers such as Richard Dering and Peter Philips.<sup>263</sup> In 1907 the Cathedral choir performed the complete *Cantiones Sacrae* by Philips, a collection of five-part motets to the Blessed Virgin Mary, in what was likely to be their first hearing in England since Philips fled into exile in the Low countries in 1590. In *Music for the Roman Rite*, Terry notes:

By the gracious permission of His Majesty King Edward VII, the writer was enabled to copy and score the whole of the *Cantiones Sacrae* from the Buckingham Palace partbooks, and as the work progressed, the wonder to him was that such admirable music had been left so long neglected... Philips' music stands in strange contrast by its breezy resilience to the grave sweetness of Tallis and Byrd... there is a certain sameness of construction about all his motets; his counterpoint is less intricate than that of Tallis or Byrd, but there is an indefinable charm in his buoyant self-reliance which irresistibly carries one along with it.<sup>264</sup>

Five of Philips' motets from this collection were published in Terry's editions as part of the Downside Motets series, and by the end of his tenure at the Cathedral, the choir had performed Philips' fourteen double choir motets, all scored by Terry.<sup>265</sup>

Terry was certainly breaking new ground but he was clearly not doing so entirely alone. As Suzanne Cole says 'Terry was just one manifestation, albeit the most prominent, of

<sup>262</sup> Westminster Cathedral, Music Lists, week beginning 14 October 1906, GB-Lwca, London.

<sup>263</sup> Terry, *The Music of the Roman Rite*, 232–33.

<sup>264</sup> Terry, *The Music of the Roman Rite*, 232.

<sup>265</sup> Westminster Cathedral, Music Lists, 1902–1924, GB-Lwca, London.

a renewed interest in pre-Reformation English music that began in the early 1880s' and continues to speak of Rockstro, Squire, Collins and Arkwright.<sup>266</sup> There were other musicologists working elsewhere on similar revivals, but what distinguishes Terry from his contemporaries is that he presented the music in regular performance, something that only Fellowes amongst his contemporaries achieved and even then on a much smaller scale. The volume and broad date-range of the material Terry uncovered was unmatched by any of his contemporaries. Though he was engaged to provide music for a set of recordings and broadcasts by the BBC and for a group of records for Columbia titled 'Columbia History of Music by Ear and Eye', his tenure at Westminster unfortunately preceded the age of regular recordings.<sup>267</sup> Had his unique performances been given in an age of electronic recording, his evangelical enthusiasm for this particular music is likely to have reached a far larger audience; in addition, the effects on the advancement of early choral music recovery and its performance may well have been brought forward by several decades.

<sup>266</sup> Cole, "Tudor Church Music Revival," 130–31.

<sup>267</sup> For details of these recordings, see Appendix 3.



## 2.6 John Merbecke's *Missa per arma Iustitiae*: A Case Study

### Background

John Merbecke (1505–1585) was probably born in Beverley, Yorkshire and it is possible his musical life began as a chorister at the Minster. (His surname has enjoyed a variety of spellings, including Marbeck and Merbeck. This study employs that in most common use, which is printed in his 1550 *Book of Common Praier Noted*.) He was employed as a lay clerk at St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle having sung there since he left Beverley, as he notes in the preface to his *Concordance* of 1550 addressed to Edward VI, he was 'altogether brought up in your highness College at Wyndsore'.<sup>268</sup> He is best known for setting the Edwardine English liturgy to music in *The Book of Common Praier Noted* elements of which remain in use in the Anglican liturgy.<sup>269</sup> His protestant zeal was well-known even during the reign of Henry VIII, leading to his trial, imprisonment and capital sentence for heresy in 1543 along with three others. His companions were executed at the stake two days after sentence, but remarkably, Merbecke was granted a Royal Pardon. He subsequently returned to his musical role at Windsor. Merbecke's work on the English liturgy is well known and it is his extant Catholic compositions, particularly the Mass, which will now be examined. There are four works in total: two large-scale antiphons, *Ave Dei Patris* and *Domine Jesu Christe*; 'A Virgin and Mother', which is a likely *contrafactum* of a Latin text. All of these pieces are undated but evidence of his

<sup>268</sup> David Mateer, 'Marbeck [Merbecke], John (c.1505–1585?), composer and writer', *ODNB*, September 2004 <[www.oxforddnb.com/view/10/1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-18026](http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10/1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-18026)> (Accessed 20 November 2018).

<sup>269</sup> John Harper, *Music for Common Worship* (Dorking: Royal School of Church Music, 2000), 70–71.

reformist writings and sentence for heresy would suggest the 1530s; and the five-part Mass *per arma Iustitiae*, which dates to approximately 1530. Terry gave the first modern performances of all four works at Westminster from his own editions. The Mass appeared in print in 1929 when it was published in Volume X of the TCM series, edited by Edmund Fellowes.<sup>270</sup>

It is perhaps Merbecke's profile as a reform-hungry Protestant that has led to the eclipse of his polyphonic music, particularly since any acknowledgement of his Catholic output would sit uncomfortably with the protestant historical narrative about this leading reformer, who in an exercise of Damascene conversion eschewed his former, Catholic musical activities. His views on choral music shifted dramatically once he had set his mind to reform, describing the pursuit of singing as a 'great losse of time' and that such singing results in the 'utter undoing of Christen mens soules, which live not by singing and piping'.<sup>271</sup> In addition to his own rhetoric, Catholic material written early in the sixteenth century, including Merbecke's, ceased to be useful in the worship of the Church of England and as such faded from memory. Most modern commentary on Merbecke gives analysis at length of his work for the English liturgy but makes only passing reference to the Latin polyphony. Hugh Benham is quite dismissive, writing 'Mass *per arma justitiae* (on the antiphon at Terce in the first week of Lent)... and his antiphons *Ave Dei Patris filia* and *Domine Jesu Christe* are competent and craftsmanlike, but of little positive interest.'<sup>272</sup> Like Benham, David Wulstan devotes one sentence to all four pieces 'of his few surviving works, the Mass 'Per arma justitia' [sic] has some fine passages;

<sup>270</sup> Robert Stevenson, "John Marbeck's "Noted Booke" of 1550," *The Musical Quarterly* 37, No.2. (1951), 220.

<sup>271</sup> John Merbecke, *A Book of Notes and Commonplaces* (London: 1581), 754.

<sup>272</sup> Benham, *Latin Church Music*, 160.

the antiphons ‘Ave Dei patris’ and ‘Domine Jesu Christe’ show several signs of modernity, notably in their close-knit imitation.<sup>273</sup> Merbecke’s entry in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography acknowledges that the work exists but gives no qualitative judgement.<sup>274</sup> Similarly, Dennis Shrock comments ‘The Mass, *Missa per arma justitiae* for five voices, which contains no *Kyrie* and which has an abbreviated *Credo* text, is based upon the antiphon of the same name for the Office of None on Mondays during Lent.’<sup>275</sup> In summary, apart from a general description and disagreements as to which of the monastic Offices has supplied its theme, this is a work which has not received widespread attention apart from a 1951 paper by Robert Stevenson who considers Merbecke’s polyphonic output alongside his English language settings, in which he gives a brief analysis of the Mass and motets.<sup>276</sup>

*Per arma justitiae* is based upon the antiphon of the same name which is sung at Terce during the season of Lent. Throughout the Mass the antiphon’s melody is predominantly set in the second tenor, moving to upper voices in passages where the tenors are tacit.<sup>277</sup> That it is one of only four surviving works of polyphony by Merbecke is perhaps unsurprising, since he recanted his Catholic compositions in his later, Protestant life and it is thought he destroyed much of his previous output. A hint of this appears in the preface to his *Concordance*, (the first in English to cover the entire bible) where he regrets that he ‘consumed vainly the greatest

<sup>273</sup> David Wulstan, *Tudor Music* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1986), 269.

<sup>274</sup> David Mateer, ‘Marbeck [Merbecke], John (c.1505–1585?), composer and writer’, *ODNB*, September 2004 <[www.oxforddnb.com/view/10/1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-18026](http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10/1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-18026)> (Accessed 20 November 2018).

<sup>275</sup> Dennis Shrock, *Choral Repertoire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 150.

<sup>276</sup> Stevenson, “John Marbeck’s “Noted Booke” of 1550.”

<sup>277</sup> David Skinner, “John Merbecke, *Missa Per Arma Iustitiae*,” *CD Sleeve Notes* (1996).

part of my life' as a musician in the Catholic Church engaged in 'the study of Musike and playing the organs'.<sup>278</sup> The Mass survived in the Forrest-Heyther part-books (GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. e. 380), the only source, and that from which Terry extracted other music. As noted above, Terry spent considerable time with the manuscript and it became a particular favourite and focus of his work. The manuscript can be found in the Bodleian Library at Oxford and is a resource for a large proportion of the Masses of John Taverner which are known to exist along with the Tye *Missa Euge Bone*.<sup>279</sup>

### **Terry's analysis and the Merbecke Mass at Westminster**

The Mass was first performed at Westminster in Holy Week of 1917 and received a positive welcome, to the extent that the choir repeated it the following year 'by popular request'.<sup>280</sup> The final appearance at Westminster during Terry's tenure was on Holy Wednesday in 1923 at the 10.30am Mass, when it was coupled with a motet by Robert Whyte *Quid ergo miserimus*, reflecting the growth in English music choices for Holy Week.<sup>281</sup> The Mass is one of the very few scores (though incomplete) of Terry's editions which survive in the Westminster Cathedral archive in his own hand, consisting of most of the Gloria and his setting of a Kyrie created using the music of the second Agnus Dei. Most other surviving works are fragmentary. The

<sup>278</sup> David Mateer, 'Marbeck [Merbecke], John (c.1505–1585?)', *ODNB*, September 2004 <[www.oxforddnb.com/view/10/1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-18026](http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10/1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-18026)> (Accessed 20 November 2018).

<sup>279</sup> John Taverner, "Missa Euge Bone," *Forrest-Heyther Partbooks*, 19–24.

<sup>280</sup> "Holy Week At Westminster Cathedral," *The Times* (1918). Westminster Cathedral, Music Lists, Holy Week 1917, and Holy Week 1918, GB-Lwca, London.

<sup>281</sup> Richard Runciman Terry, "Holy Week Music," *Westminster Chronicle* (1923).

complete Mass does exist in another hand, presumably that of one of his assistant organists who were often engaged in copying and scoring for Terry, though this score is marked as 'edited by R R Terry' at the top left-hand corner suggesting it is his unaltered work.<sup>282</sup> It would be interesting enough to have the score of a portion of Terry's work in his own hand and with his own notations made during performance. In addition however, a useful guide to his musicological thinking and approach is found in a paper he gave on the Mass to the Musical Association in 1919. In it he explained his editorial process and at the same time presented live performance of sections of the work to the assembly with the help of an unnamed choir. The great effort involved in gathering a choir demonstrated his philosophy that early music needed to be heard and not merely seen on paper. His analysis suggests a strong musicological skill and understanding of the construction of early choral music and its notation, in addition to a clear comprehension of the practicalities of modern performance.

According to this paper, Terry is convinced that Merbecke must have written more polyphonic music: 'the technique shown in those compositions of Merbecke which have come down to us is so advanced that one cannot believe he was other than a prolific composer. But in spite of the most diligent search, I have been able to find nothing of his beyond the following'.<sup>283</sup> He goes on to list the four works known to survive, together with their manuscript

<sup>282</sup> Westminster Cathedral, John Merbecke, *Missa per arma Justitiae* [Terry's spelling], hand-written conducting score, Terry Manuscripts, GB-Lwca, London. Paul Spicer, the Herbert Howells biographer was contacted with images of the score in order to ascertain whether in fact the script might be by Howells since the date of copying would perfectly align with his score work for Terry. However, Spicer is confident that this is not in Howells' hand and we must therefore conclude that it is an unnamed assistant from c1917.

<sup>283</sup> Richard Runciman Terry, "John Merbecke, (1523(?)-1585)," *Proceedings of the Musical Association* 45th Session (1918), 88.

sources, noting that the motet *Ave Dei patris* is missing the tenor part and ascribes the source of the plainsong *cantus firmus* in the Mass to an antiphon for None in Lent, which he suggests ‘is better known in its setting to the words of the first Antiphon at Lauds and Vespers of Trinity Sunday.’<sup>284</sup> Terry describes the melody as a ‘fine, bold tune in the 1st Mode’ which held a fascination for English composers, ‘Taverner founded one of his six-part Masses on it, and it also forms the *canto fermo* of that form of composition to which English composers were so much addicted under the title of “In Nomine”.’<sup>285</sup>



Image 4. Plainsong Melody of *Per arma justitiae* on which the Mass by Merbecke is based.

<sup>284</sup> Terry, “John Merbecke, (1523(?)-1585),” 89.

<sup>285</sup> Terry, “John Merbecke, (1523(?)-1585),” 89. The ‘In Nomine’ derives from the *cantus firmus* which is the basis of the Benedictus in Taverner’s *Missa Gloria Tibi Trinitas*. This Mass movement utilises the plainsong antiphon of the same name which is set as the first psalm at Lauds and Second Vespers on Trinity Sunday. Terry seems to confuse this with a similar sounding chant which is used at None on the third Sunday of Lent ‘*Cum Immundus Spiritus*’.

There are seven movements of the Mass: Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, Benedictus, Agnus Dei I, Agnus Dei II, and Agnus Dei III. There are three Agnus Dei movements, one setting for each of the three petitionary elements: (1) *Agnus Dei, qui tolis peccata mundi, Miserere nobis.* (2) *Agnus Dei, qui tolis peccata mundi, Miserere nobis.* (3) *Agnus Dei qui tolis peccata mundi. Donna nobis pacem.* Each of these three settings is complete in itself. There is no polyphonic setting of the Kyrie as was common with many pre-Reformation English Masses, since it was customarily sung to plainsong, though Terry departs from modern musicological practice by suggesting that one of the three settings of the Agnus Dei (the second) could be adapted to make a Kyrie. The first page of his arrangement is given below. A possible reason for this is hinted at by Martin Baker, writing of the spiritual and cathartic potential for the laity on hearing the Kyrie sung in polyphony, he suggests:

The implication and meaning of the words of the *Kyrie* is profound and not readily grasped by those present if spoken. These intricacies are all the more difficult to comprehend whilst trying to remember a sung response, endeavouring to sing accurately and read from an order of service. Furthermore, a simple recitation of the text, whether spoken or sung, allows little or no scope for interior contemplation of the mystery and is effective only on the level of 'external activism'... so, the tradition of singing a polyphonic *Kyrie* expounds the sentiments of the text whilst allowing the time necessary for full absorption of its implications by the faithful.<sup>286</sup>

Terry justifies his actions by suggesting that the singing of three Agnus Dei settings 'would prove unduly long nowadays' and so proposes creating a Kyrie using one of these movements to prevent the service being extended, whilst simultaneously ensuring that none of Merbecke's music is omitted. Currently, adaptations of music and text in this way would be considered to go against the principles of historical performance practice, though it is possible that Terry shared the view espoused by Martin Baker above and saw this as a religious and not a musical

<sup>286</sup> Baker, "Sacrosanctum Concilium."

imperative. Evidence suggests that those involved in the earliest modern performances of this music did not feel bound by many of the tests of score authenticity which a modern scholar would apply, indeed, Fellowes in spite of his at times pedantic approach was equally content to provide alternative texts to works written in Latin, as were Buck and others, indicating Terry was not alone in such practises.

The Mass is scored for five voices: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Baritone and Bass. Terry writes that ‘like many of Tallis’s compositions, it implies basses of an extraordinarily low range, which one does not usually meet with nowadays excepting in Russia’ and goes on to explain his rationale in transposing the work ‘I have, therefore, found it necessary in performance to transpose the music up a minor third, and even then it constantly takes the basses down to low F’.<sup>287</sup> It seems that the trend for transposing early choral music up a minor third, a practice often attributed to the generation of musicologists such as David Wulstan, began rather earlier. Fellowes, in his edition for TCM, places the work in the original key, with the bass part continually bumping along on (a very low) D, rendering it fairly impractical for performance.<sup>288</sup> Pitch at the time of composition was a variable constituent of performance with choir directors usually governed by the vocal range of the singers in front of them, though it remains an issue that continues to generate discussion and disagreement amongst musicologists and performers.

Merbecke uses imitation in an unusual way for English composers of the period. Opening phrases in the voices rarely imitate each other, but the mid point of a phrase is

<sup>287</sup> Terry, “John Merbecke, (1523(?)-1585),” 89.

<sup>288</sup> *John Merbecke, Missa Per Arma Justitiae* (London: Oxford University Press, 1929), 165–99.



where he uses this device and even then it is subtle. In his paper, Terry makes comparison with the Masses of Taverner from the Forrest-Heyther manuscript including one based on the same theme and makes mention of contrasts between the two composers: ‘Taverner gives us much more precise “points of imitation”; he gives us longer and more clearly defined melodic phrases in the separate parts. Merbecke does not employ the canonic form to the same extent as Taverner, and his phrases in the single parts are constantly interrupted with rests, giving them a rather jerky and scrappy appearance. His parts lack the broad sweep and distinctive character of Taverner’s.’ Terry again hints at the notion of hearing the music and allowing it to reveal itself rather than simply analysing it on paper:

As I proceeded with the scoring (comparing it with my still fresh memories of Taverner), I was inclined to think that the music might not prove supremely interesting in performance. This is only one more instance of what one continually comes across in the works of the old English composers, and shows that however well one may think one has grasped the idea of a piece of music on paper, one is continually being surprised by its coming out better in performance than one could have imagined.<sup>289</sup>

He makes comparisons with other sixteenth-century composers, commenting that Merbecke was a master ‘in the art of marshalling great masses of tone, but he also had—like them—the same keen and subtle instinct for vocal tone-colour’ and criticises modern composers for a lack of comprehension of how music written in two parts can be highly effective. He supports his criticism by noting the common device employed by the early composers who wrote very beautiful passages for two voices alone, achieving vocal colour by the grouping of those voices. ‘At one time it would be the three highest voices that were singing, at another the three lowest, thus giving the effect of a double choir; at another the highest, the lowest and the

<sup>289</sup> Terry, “John Merbecke, (1523(?)-1585),” 89–90.

middle one... In all these subtle effects Merbecke is a master'.<sup>290</sup> Stevenson describes the Mass as being 'overladen with melismatic passages of great beauty' and the 'contours of the melodic lines are extremely shapely' with 'unprepared passing dissonances on principal beats'.<sup>291</sup> Terry notes that a particular skill of the composer is to be found in one of the Agnus Dei settings, where one part 'sings throughout in what we should now call 6/8 time, while the others are singing in what we should now call 3/4 time'.<sup>292</sup> He continues, observing that there are clear voice groupings in the Mass, aside from the obvious movements such as the Gloria and Sanctus, and that these divisions are made by alternations of full choir and smaller groups of voices. This occurs for example in the Credo: which after the intonation up to *Et terre* is full; from *Visibilium* to *Invisibilium* is TBarB; then *Et in unum* is set for SA; and afterwards Full to *de Celis*; *Et incarnatus* is scored for SAT; *Crucifixus* is SAB and *Et resurrexit* for TB then STB to the end. He adds, 'following a common English practice, the words from "Et in spiritum sanctum" to "remissionem peccatorum" are not set to music'.<sup>293</sup> Only by Byrd had Terry been so emotionally moved hitherto, but here he described the 'gorgeous breadth and sonority of the Sanctus' and then holds in comparison the 'tender beauty' of the Benedictus, adding 'I was not prepared for the almost ravishing beauty of this number until I heard it sung in a large building by boys voices'.<sup>294</sup> Clearly an admirer of Merbecke's work, Terry rounds off his paper with an examination of the composer's technique, describing it as showing 'great freedom

<sup>290</sup> Terry, "John Merbecke, (1523(?)-1585)," 90.

<sup>291</sup> Stevenson, "John Marbeck's "Noted Booke" of 1550," 232.

<sup>292</sup> Terry, "John Merbecke, (1523(?)-1585)," 90-91.

<sup>293</sup> Terry, "John Merbecke, (1523(?)-1585)," 91.

<sup>294</sup> Terry, "John Merbecke, (1523(?)-1585)," 92.

and skill in the use of the measurable theory of his period', adding that though 'his phrases are often scrappy and detached... the ensemble is always broad, dignified, harmonically strong and satisfying'. He continues to observe that although his key characteristic is 'massive strength, he can be very tender' and notes that 'it may well be to us a matter of regret that a writer of such power should have apparently abandoned his art in favour of pamphleteering' in a reference to Merbecke's religious conversion to Protestantism and subsequent publications of tracts and other documents.<sup>295</sup> At the close of the meeting at which the paper was presented, Sir Frederick Bridge led a vote of thanks to Terry and the choir, noting 'the paper... will be extremely valuable, and will serve to make the records of this Association as important in the future as they have been in the past. To prepare such a Paper must have been an immense labour; the result, however, is a great contribution to the history of Church music.'<sup>296</sup>

<sup>295</sup> Terry, "John Merbecke, (1523(?)-1585)," 93.

<sup>296</sup> Terry, "John Merbecke, (1523(?)-1585)," 96.

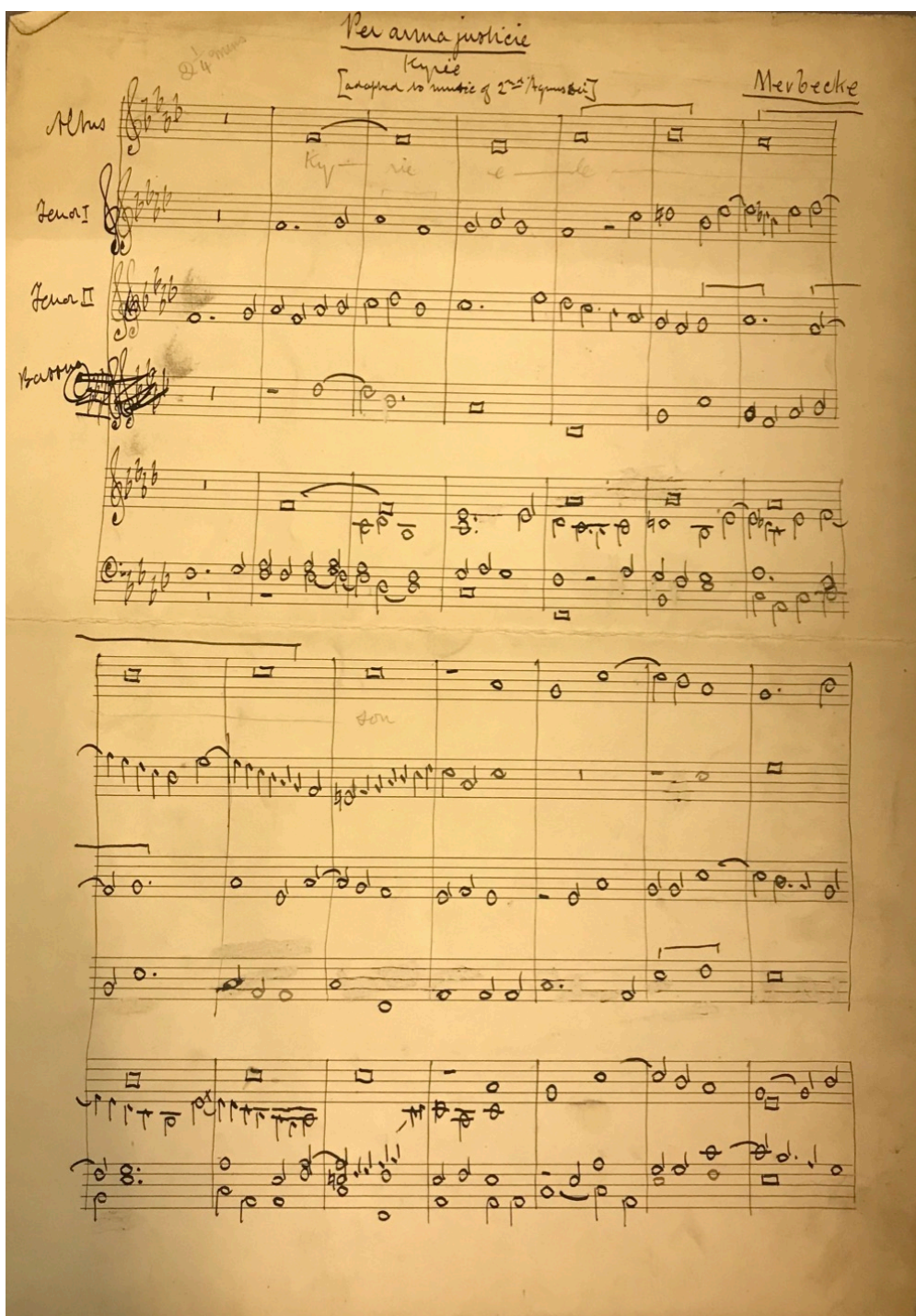


Image 5. Kyrie, adapted from Merbecke *Missa per arma Iustitie* in Terry's hand from his conducting copy held at Westminster.

Terry's hand-written edition of the full score shows that he transcribed from the individual voice parts using the same notation as the original: breves, semi-breves and minims, creating an essentially white-note score. This may have been for purposes of speed and accuracy, though it is worth noting that hymnals of this period continued to use the minim as the tactus as did the first editions of early music, rather than the crotchet which later became common practice. The Gloria (in Terry's hand) scores the choir as Triplex, Medius, Contratenor, Tenor and Bassus, in the appropriate clefs and with a reduction at the bottom which remains completely blank throughout. Whether this is to illustrate that the work should be unaccompanied, or that he ran out of time in completing it is unclear, though the fact that so much effort was undertaken in writing it in, complete with bar lines, would tend to exclude any other explanation save perhaps the opportunity to write in any difficult passages for ease of reference when directing. On the second page, when compared with the original part score, there are two immediately obvious errors. The Triplex part in the fourth bar of the second page begins in Terry's score with a *dl* at the bottom of the staff whereas the original has *fl*. Then, the Medius, just three bars later at the double bar on the syllable of 'tis' from *voluntatis* ends with an *f* which the original score gives as a *g* to make a clean chord of C major. These would surely have been obvious when it came to performance, particularly the latter error. This is most likely illustrative of hurried work, or poor light, or possible interruptions at the desk in his office at Westminster. Clearly such errors led to accusations of sloppy scholarship from some of his detractors.

It is interesting that the Mass was well received at Westminster leading to further performances. The style of writing with its long phrases and slow-moving harmonic progressions

is clearly a significant step away from the perhaps more familiar later styles of Palestrina and Tallis, and yet it was popular. It is possible also—like the choice of the Tallis *Lamentations* at Holy Week and the Byrd motets with religiopolitical protest ambiguity in the text—that Terry chose the Merbecke to rehabilitate the composer's Catholic origins which Merbecke had so vehemently recanted when he embraced Protestant Anglicanism and 'pamphleteering' in its cause. As with many of the pieces which Terry edited and scored, the Merbecke Mass is unlikely to have entered the public arena until much later without his work. Indeed, Fellowes was only made aware of its existence by this edition and its performances at Westminster, enabling him to include it in Volume X (1929) of TCM.<sup>297</sup> It is but one, though a key example, of Terry's influence in the field of early music recovery in the early twentieth century.

<sup>297</sup> Richard Runciman Terry, "Merbecke, Mass Per Arma Justitie," in *Tudor Church Music, Volume X* (London: Oxford University Press, 1929), 167.

## **2.7 Plainsong: The bedrock of polyphony, and its revival at Westminster**

### **Background and aesthetic characteristics**

Before considering the revival of plainsong at Westminster and more widely in the Catholic Church at the end of the nineteenth century, an examination of its aesthetic qualities and the Church's perceived value of its use will enable a clearer understanding of its significance. It is necessary to ask why it is that so many writers and thinkers since the earliest times have been moved by plainsong, and why it is that in spite of real revolutions in the idioms of secular composition that have fed through to the sacred, the Church keeps returning to this music?

In the present day, plainsong has enjoyed a popular interest hitherto unseen. Monastic houses and groups of nuns have released CD recordings of the Offices of the Church, or 'favourite plainsong hymns and sequences', which are reaching probably the widest (numerically speaking) audience than at any time in the music's history. It is seen as relaxation music, music to aide contemplation, music to escape the clamour of modern life—immersing oneself in the atmosphere of another age.<sup>298</sup> One of the reasons for the attempts at revival at the end of the nineteenth century is reaction to technological advances, the industrial age and the comfort sought from the certainties of an earlier time. It has even formed the backing for popular music releases. Beyond religious observance, the otherness of the experience of hearing uncluttered melody, and, what for many are obscure and almost mystical Latin texts, in

<sup>298</sup> Popularity of this music has led to publications such as Gerard Garno, "Ancient Chant Hymns for Guitar," (2002). This book contains a brief history of the music, notes on the structure of the melodies, and an easy-access guide to enable playing it on the guitar.

uplifting or sombre modes, gives the listener an aesthetic experience they might struggle to articulate. The irony in the early twenty first century, is that plainsong is enjoying greater exposure in the world of Popular Music than in its natural home, the Church. The transcendental nature of this music means that regardless of context, for many, an encounter with it remains potent. Even without text, or if the text is unintelligible, plainsong may still speak to the soul as a paradigm of wordless communication, and in this way, becomes an ideal vehicle for worship, crossing boundaries of language and culture.<sup>299</sup>

In the early twentieth century, Joseph Kelly wrote, ‘Music as a religious art finds its sublimest expression in what is known as Plain Chant... Both in rhythm and in melody it conforms to the natural speaking voice, so that it becomes the medium of the greatest expressive power.’<sup>300</sup> Kelly’s idea of plainsong conforming to the speaking voice and therefore having natural qualities is interesting. As a musical style its characteristics are relatively simple, and stripped of interpretative ornament it can be very easy to perform. No physical aids or instruments are required, simply the body and the will to sing. Mocquereau writing in *The Art of Gregorian Music* extends the notion of the simplicity of plainsong. He observes that plainsong is a unison music form, and therefore whether it is sung by one person or by a group of people, this form removes the possibility of cadence or discord and the intended effects such devices employed by the modern composer will have. Instead, because of the conventions of modes and chant construction:

<sup>299</sup> For more on transcendental nature of plainsong and its place in the secular world, see Jonathan Arnold, *Sacred Music in Secular Society* (London and New York: Routledge, 2014).

<sup>300</sup> E. J. Kelly, “Plain Chant, the Handmaid of the Liturgy: A Challenge and a Prophecy,” *The Musical Quarterly* 7, No.3. (1921), 344–50.



Plainsong is capable of expressing the most tremendous truths, the strongest feelings, without departing from its sobriety, purity and simplicity. Its frank diatonic tonality and the absence of chromatic intervals... seem to render plainsong incapable of expressing anything but the perfection of beauty, the naked truth.<sup>301</sup>

Earlier theorists have written of the concept of singing as a natural expression of emotion and the self, exploring the idea of cantillation—the music lifting the singer and the listener. This term, borrowed from the Jewish tradition, links prayer to the music in monasticism, so that in lifting the notes from the page when singing the Offices, the singer’s soul is lifted with them. Ficino saw the arts as inspiring virtue in humanity, he also understood that musical interaction with the soul opened a communication with the divine which channelled prayer heavenwards and divine inspiration earthwards:

But remember that song is a most powerful imitator of all things. It imitates the intentions and passions of the soul as well as words; it represents also people’s physical gestures, motions and actions as well as their characters and imitates all these and acts them out so forcibly that it immediately provokes both the singer and the audience to imitate and act out the same things. By the same power, when it imitates the celestials, it also wonderfully arouses our spirit upwards to the celestial influence and the celestial influence downwards to our spirit.<sup>302</sup>

The location in which this music is sung, may also determine the experience for both performer and listener. A recent study in Italy looked into why church buildings seem to best enable the singing of plainsong:

In a different way from verbal communication, whose main necessity lies in the correct comprehension of a transmitted message, there are two principal demands in Gregorian chant that need to be satisfied: performing chant is a means of exalting words, therefore the acoustic space in which it takes place has to be comfortable; aesthetic-spiritual, in the sense that Gregorian chant is a prayer, and its aim is to raise the human soul towards God. These remarks clearly indicate how a large and reasonably reverberated environment (which is typical

<sup>301</sup> Dom Andre Mocquereau, “The Art of Gregorian Music,” in *The Value of Sacred Music: An Anthology of Essential Writings 1801-1918*, ed. J. L. Friedmann (Jefferson: MacFarland and Company, 1980), 112.

<sup>302</sup> “Marsilio Ficino,” in *Western Esoteric Masters*, ed. Angela Voss (Berkeley: North Atlantic Books, 2006), 155.

of a church) could favour ideas of mysticism, in function of the most intimate features of the chant itself.<sup>303</sup>

A listener who identifies with plainsong as ‘the very sound of Catholicism’ for example, would no doubt find the location in which they hear it a key component in the experience they gain from it.<sup>304</sup> David Hiley sees location and environment as key in the potential for transcendental experience when he talks of the ritual of the liturgy being far removed from everyday life—special, set apart in a specific place, enhancing the role music plays in a synthesis of religious experience:

The rituals attached to the Christian religion are particularly rich in form and content, not least in their musical components. When trying to understand the ritual of which Gregorian chant is a part, it should be remembered that music is not its only non-verbal component... architecture and stained-glass windows, images and church furniture, the dress of the performers and the objects they hold and use, the bells and the incense. It is fair to say that these things have a stronger cumulative impact than the Latin texts being recited.<sup>305</sup>

Given the phenomenological potential and the aesthetic value of this music, it is perhaps no surprise that the church has valued it and nurtured its performance over many centuries. Until the first attempts at organum, descant and then polyphony, it was the only vocal music found in the liturgy. As such it provides a thread of continuity through the developments of liturgical practice, the missionary advances into other lands, and as a familiar certainty in changing and often hostile political environments. Plainsong is also the thread that binds polyphonic composition together through the *cantus firmus*, whereby, in spite of the technical advance on primitive music that polyphony embodies, it remains tethered to that earlier form. It

<sup>303</sup> R. Vitale, “Why Does the Acoustic Space of Churches Exalt Gregorian Chant? A First Step Towards Acoustic Characterization By Means of the Modulation Transfer Function.,” diss., M Publishing, University of Michigan Library, 2005).

<sup>304</sup> James MacMillan, “Introduction,” *Musica Sacra* (2013), 4.

<sup>305</sup> David Hiley, *Gregorian Chant* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 4.

is therefore little wonder that with the advances in technology brought about by the arrival of the industrial age, in the late nineteenth century the church sought once again to reinforce its ancient music and find ways to make it relevant anew.

### **Plainsong Revival**

As the very sound of Catholicism, at the turn of the twentieth century the Catholic church sought to breathe new life into the performance of plainsong and promote its use in parishes and cathedrals. On a purely practical level it is a musical style which requires little professional assistance in performance. Clergy were made familiar with much of the plainsong repertoire through their seminary training, making experience available in almost every parish, and it was a sonic link with the times of the saints. The Papal *Motu Proprio* of 1903 was keen to emphasise the link between plainsong and polyphony, the former providing the building blocks for the latter, presenting the music of the liturgy as an interwoven entity, entire in itself. Initially envisaged as a Benedictine house of prayer, Westminster sought to revive the daily use of plainsong, and Terry wished to illustrate the foundational link between this music and the polyphony being sung by the choir. There were competing visions for the performance style but Terry and Cardinal Vaughan adopted an adaptation of the Vatican method, making it the Westminster 'house style'.<sup>306</sup> The regular singing of plainsong in Catholic liturgy had become less common and where it did occur its performance was turgid and usually accom-

<sup>306</sup> Asked by Dr Ralph Dunstan at a Musical Association meeting where he was presenting a paper on Merbecke 'am I right in saying that he [Terry] is not using the Vatican edition in equal notes, but the Solesmes edition with rhythmical notation?' Terry replied 'I am using the Vatican edition, but it has been issued from various printing presses, and there are some with, and some without rhythmic signs.' Whether this is indicative of confusion about interpretation by Terry, confusion from the listener due to Terry's hybrid approach, or an implied criticism is not clear, but this is the most definitive comment from Terry on the style used at the Cathedral. Terry, "John Merbecke, (1523(?)-1585)," 95.

panied. It was to be an uphill task to resurrect it, and according to Terry writing just before his death:

No branch of musical art has suffered such unmerited misrepresentation as plainsong. The musical historian has dismissed it as a crude and barbaric attempt at music, only interesting as an antiquarian survival. To the ecclesiastically-minded layman it has remained a sacrosanct mystery, criticism of which were impious. The musician has looked upon it as a complex subject which no professional man could hope to find leisure to study. To the average music-lover it has meant a mere curious and uninteresting anachronism, with no particular bearing on the art of music.<sup>307</sup>

It is a bleak assessment of the esteem of plainsong in the minds of the general public, written as part of an unfinished book about medieval music which remains in manuscript at Westminster. Since his arrival at Downside in 1896 and throughout his appointment at Westminster, he sought to revive its use and to further its appreciation as a cornerstone of the Western musical tradition. Towards the end of his tenure at the Cathedral, Terry was ‘too deeply engrossed in his other pursuits to study the subject as it deserves’ according to Dom Gregory Murray, who also questioned Terry’s Vatican performance credentials, writing ‘in so far as “Terry’s plainsong is dead” [quoting from Hilda Andrew’s biography of Terry] we have suffered no great loss.’<sup>308</sup> It was a harsh judgement. Murray became an authority on plainsong during his life (his interest ironically sparked no doubt by his experiences of it under Terry at Westminster) and took a scholarly view of its performance, preferring the Solesmes method, and this sat uncomfortably with Terry's hybrid interpretation.

This revival at Westminster was part of a worldwide Catholic programme on liturgical music. Parallel to these early efforts in London in June 1901, Pope Leo XIII sent a letter to

<sup>307</sup> Westminster Cathedral, Richard Runciman Terry, *Medieval Music*, an unpublished and unfinished book held in the Terry Manuscripts, GB-Lwca, London.

<sup>308</sup> Murray, “The Westminster Choir,” 11.

the churches in the city of Rome exhorting them to improve music in the liturgy, and this was followed by his successor Pope Pius X issuing an Instruction on Sacred Music, *Motu Proprio*, to the whole Catholic world on the feast of St Cecilia, patroness of musicians, in 1903:

Sacred music... contributes to the decorum and the splendour of the ecclesiastical ceremonies...its proper aim is to add greater efficacy to the text, in order that through it the faithful may be the more easily moved to devotion and better disposed for the reception of the fruits of grace. Sacred music should consequently possess, in the highest degree, the qualities proper to the liturgy. These qualities are to be found, in the highest degree, in Gregorian Chant, which is consequently the Chant proper to the Roman Church, the only chant she has inherited from the ancient fathers. The above-mentioned qualities are also possessed in an excellent degree by Classic polyphony, especially of the Roman School, which reached its greatest perfection in the sixteenth century. Classic Polyphony agrees admirably with Gregorian Chant, the supreme model of all sacred music. The Church has always recognized and favoured the progress of the arts... Consequently modern music is also admitted to the Church, since it, too, furnishes compositions of such excellence, sobriety and gravity, that they are in no way unworthy of the liturgical functions.<sup>309</sup>

This document titled *Tra le Sollecitudini* (which acquired the soubriquet ‘The Pope’s Tra La’) was the culmination of nearly a century’s work to revive the music of the Church, and restore simplicity and beauty to services which had by the end of the nineteenth century become over-blown with lengthy large-scale Masses. These Masses very often obscured the text, and in the opinion of senior clergy, were of dubious musical quality. Not only would this *Motu Proprio* herald a renewed interest in chant for its own sake and for the greater participation of the faithful at Mass, but also a better understanding of the composition of polyphony, since the modes in which plainsong is written form the bedrock upon which polyphony is built. It would also serve to reinforce Roman authority on the church across the continent in matters of music specifically, and liturgy more broadly.

<sup>309</sup> Pope Pius X, “Tra Le Sollecitudini,” (1903).

The musical vision set out by Pope Pius in the *Motu Proprio* was one with which Cardinal Vaughan wholeheartedly agreed, and it was one which found a strong resonance with Terry. Writing in 1907, he noted ‘it is now nearly four years since His Holiness, Pius X., issued his historic pronouncement on Church Music. That it was necessary, no one could deny.’<sup>310</sup> He wrote at length about the ‘fitness’ of music for the liturgy, finding polyphonic compositions rooted in plainsong almost divinely inspired whilst considering much written by nineteenth-century composers unsuitable.

There is an essential difference between the old music produced by the Church from within, and the later music written by secular musicians from without. It is less a question of which is *the finest* music, than a question of which is the *fittest*... And what is it that constitutes *fitness*? Summed up briefly as the interpretation of the Church’s Liturgy in the Church’s spirit, the old music fulfils that condition absolutely.<sup>311</sup>

This view necessarily excluded the grand concert Masses by nineteenth-century composers which some had attempted to import into liturgy, making services very lengthy and in Terry’s opinion, reducing the Mass to prayers wrapped around a concert work. Efforts to restore the use of plainsong or at least improve its performance in the liturgy by the Church were not new. In 1577 Palestrina was engaged in efforts to revise the chants in liturgical use, a task which remained incomplete at his death. Since the Reformation there had been no national or diocesan coordination of music in England. Treatises by the embassy chapel organists attempted to set down compendia of recommended music including plainsong, which were broadly adopted as the widespread building of parishes during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century began. In 1820, Charles Butler (1750-1832), a Catholic lawyer, had been

<sup>310</sup> Richard Runciman Terry, “Church Music and the “*Motu Proprio*,”” *The Tablet* (1907), 21.

<sup>311</sup> Terry, *Catholic Church Music*, 26.

involved in discussions with Novello and Samuel Wesley about a commitment to promote plainsong. He made a plea for its inclusion in the liturgy:

The only legitimate object of music composed for the church – *There*, let that music, and that music only be performed, which is, at once, simple, and solemn, and which all can feel, and in which most can join. Let it be strictly confined to pure melody; let the congregation be taught to sing it in exact unison, and with subdued voices; let the accompaniment be full and chaste, never overwhelm the voice; and, if it can be managed, in chaunting [sic] the psalms, let the trebles and tenors sing alternately... A service thus performed, will excite the finest feelings of piety, promote rational devotion, and, in time, equally satisfy the scientific and the unlearned.<sup>312</sup>

Such sentiments and efforts at renewal were unsuccessful however, as only three years after Butler wrote these words, an anonymous reviewer of Novello's article titled *Evening Service* noted that the only parts of the Mass retained as plainsong were 'the responsaries' (the *Sursum Corda*) and the parts sung by the priest at the altar.<sup>313</sup>

During his first years at Westminster, Terry began a drive to improve the liturgical music of the whole Catholic Church in England, including plainsong, both through his own performances and through his articles and treatises. In an article for *The Tablet* he commented: 'bad music... may be of two kinds: (a) Music which is artistically worthless and bad in itself; (b) Music which is merely unsuitable for ecclesiastical use... either by its uneclesiastical character, or its secular association.'<sup>314</sup> Such strong views led to a volume of letters to national newspapers by people who disagreed with him, but this usefully sparked debate and brought the issue of music standards in church to national attention. The *Motu Proprio* was quite clear

<sup>312</sup> Charles Butler, *Historical Memoirs of the English, Irish and Scottish Catholics* (1820), 359.

<sup>313</sup> Olleson, "The London Roman Catholic Embassy Chapels and Their Music in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries," 107.

<sup>314</sup> Terry, "Our Church Music," 7.

in its directive for choirs to sing chant in the liturgy, noting its basis for polyphony. This point was quite easily understood, since the performance of plainsong in the nineteenth century was slow, making the relationship between a *cantus firmus* hidden in the tenor part for example, and its plainsong origin far easier to comprehend in a polyphonic work. Countless styles of plainsong interpretation and varying versions of common melodies had evolved at different religious centres across Europe over the centuries. These were studied, and attempts were made to codify them. This was achieved by sending monks to the great monastic houses where copies of key melodies were collected and brought back to France for comparison with the aim thereby of establishing a pure or original form of the chant. From this exercise (which was very much Cecilian in philosophy) it was hoped that the definitive version would be recorded. As Joseph Kerman suggests however, their results are to early music what a pre-Raphaelite work is to early painted art.<sup>315</sup> The very best that could be achieved was a unified style based on the best guess at the original melody. These researched chants were then published by the monastery of Solesmes and laid down with Papal authority (a decision that would be popular with English Ultramontanes as it bore the *imprimatur* of Rome) and published in the *Liber Usualis*. A key problem with this approach however, was that it had been presumed that an unadulterated version of the chant dating back to the time of Pope Gregory I had undergone embellishment at the hands of the European religious communities in the intervening centuries. It is doubtful however, if an ‘original’ ever actually existed, as David Hiley notes ‘the manuscript tradition is too variable for a single ‘authentic’ reading to be de-

<sup>315</sup> Joseph Kerman, “A Few Canonic Variations,” in *Write All These Down* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 47.



duced even from a small group of the earliest sources.<sup>316</sup> Despite the shortcomings of their approach however, the Solesmes work was the first officially recognised attempt to establish a reliable and uniform plainsong canon, and since it had the confidence of Rome, it remains one of the most respected methods of interpretation in use.

In the city of Rome itself, in spite of previous exhortations from the Vatican, there remained particular discomfort about the quality of music in the liturgy, with a sense that its ancient musical tradition was being lost. A document from the Papal Household, *Regulations for Sacred Music in Rome*, was sent to the parishes and oratories of the city in February 1912 giving clear instruction on the use of plainsong and how it should be sung and accompanied. The letter sought to establish a common direction for all music in church, giving instruction about which singers should be employed in choirs, offering guidance on organ building, the location in church where a choir should be positioned for services, and encouraging parishes to work with a newly commissioned *Italian Association of St Cecilia* which would guide their work.<sup>317</sup>

### **Plainsong at Westminster Cathedral**

Terry was self taught in chant, having gained some experience in Newcastle, and at Downside where the Benedictine monks would sing the daily Offices. There, the Mass was also infused with chant. He adopted the Vatican method as has been seen, though with Westminster flexibility. Terry believed this was a common sense approach. Alec Robertson commented on it in Terry's obituary:

<sup>316</sup> David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 628.

<sup>317</sup> Terry, *The Music of the Roman Rite*, 281.

Plainchant under Terry at Westminster Cathedral, as I first heard it, knowing nothing of this or that theory, was far more interesting and vital than his critics allow... It must, of course, be remembered that in those days the accent-hammering which now so distorts the chant was not at all pronounced. I think Terry possessed every book about the chant, and every edition of it ever published. He was always ready to learn. He wrote to me about a new Solesmes book, 'I'm all agog to see it.' What he rightly loathed and fought against was obscurantism, fanaticism, and half-educated musicianship of the neo-Solesmes school, which were a drag on the liturgical movement that he had so much at heart.<sup>318</sup>

In light of such adaptations in the performance of chant at Westminster, the irony of Terry railing in the press at other Catholic musicians for not adopting the *Motu Proprio* in its totality, but rather being selective and interpreting it for local use, obviously passed him by:

It is not difficult to see how the Pope's wishes must clash with the personal tastes of those who are wedded to a different style of music, but it is difficult to understand how, in the face of this decree, they can argue (as they unfortunately too often do), that the *Motu Proprio* is merely the expression of His Holiness's personal wishes, and is not binding on Catholics.<sup>319</sup>

Terry's approach to plainsong was aesthetically driven, and he (like James MacMillan) described it as the 'Church's song' whose peculiar characteristics were indicative of Church style, just as one would describe particular types of architecture, furniture or painting, 'why should there be found anyone to disallow it in music?' he asked.<sup>320</sup> Writing in 1901, he claimed, 'Whether we like it or dislike it, we cannot get away from the fact that it is the Church's authorised song, and that where its rendering is possible the omission of Introit, Gradual &c., is indefensible' leaving little room for dissent or discussion.<sup>321</sup> Terry had been stung by comments from laity at the time of his appointment, declaring that plainsong and

<sup>318</sup> Robertson, "Richard Runciman Terry (1865-1938)," 343-44.

<sup>319</sup> Richard Runciman Terry, "The Cathedral and Its Music February 1907," *Westminster Chronicle* (1907), 25.

<sup>320</sup> Richard Runciman Terry, "The Cathedral and Its Music March 1907," *Westminster Chronicle* (1907), 22. Also MacMillan, "Introduction," 4.

<sup>321</sup> Terry, "Our Church Music," 8.

Palestrina would result in an empty church, suggesting the laity wanted to hear melodies from Mozart, Haydn and Rossini instead. He characteristically decided to go against that advice, advising that people could hear these great composers in the concert hall, playhouse, or ballroom.<sup>322</sup> To his satisfaction his work proved the critical voices wrong. Terry was pleased to find sympathetic voices in the Anglican tradition and quotes an article from the *Morning Post* of 1905 which enthuses about plainsong, though from an Anglican perspective. It supported much of his manifesto for a plainsong revival:

One fact only has saved the musical part of the Roman service from becoming a mere affair of the circus. In most of the churches and in all the monasteries, abbeys and convents, the old Plain Chant has survived. It links the present to the past as with bonds of steel; it is the full and perfect expression of the words to which it is set and with which it grew up; it prepares us for the change which is now coming over the services with the reintroduction of truly devotional music. Its melodies are lovely beyond description in words, often they are sublime, and in them the sincere spirit of an earlier day is incarnate. We are aware that many of us Anglicans, especially if we have been accustomed to what are called 'bright and cheerful' services, find these tunes dull and meaningless; and so much the worse for us. 'Bright and cheerfulness' have their place in religion, but there are solemn moments when they are not wanted and suggest only buffoonery. Much of the Plain Song is cheerful enough, but its cheerfulness is that of a stained-glass window, not of a cut in a comic paper; its subject is religious. It is the music on which Catholicism must depend more and more as it brings back its services into some sort of relation with its innermost spirit.<sup>323</sup>

In addition to Anglican endorsement, Terry was to receive encouragement from the Vatican. Cardinal Bourne had travelled to Rome for an audience with the Pope in early November 1903, just days before the *Motu Proprio* was promulgated, and the Pope expressed clear approval for the method of chanting and the plainsong use at Westminster.<sup>324</sup>

<sup>322</sup> Terry, "Church Music and the "Motu Proprio"," 22–26.

<sup>323</sup> Terry, *The Music of the Roman Rite*, 9.

<sup>324</sup> Westminster Cathedral, Archbishop Bourne, *Summary report of audience with Pope Pius X in Rome*, 1903, Terry Correspondence, GB-Lwca, London.

Plainsong had continued (at least nominally) to be sung with varying enthusiasm and skill by Catholics in England since the Reformation, and Terry therefore expected the congregation to be familiar with it. Certainly it had been sung at the private House-Masses, in the Catholic Chapels Royal and in the London Embassy Chapels from where there is evidence that the majority of liturgical music in the first half of the eighteenth century had been plainsong accompanied by the organ. The Portuguese chapel employed an organist and organ-blower and its 1739 and 1748 inventories of liturgical items list ‘un psalterium pour le choeur’, an antiphonal and a pair of missals, and ‘two books of plainchant, one for the morning, one for the afternoon’, for Mass and Vespers therefore.<sup>325</sup> In 1782 a plainsong treatise was published by J. P. Coghlan with editorial input by Samuel Webbe the elder titled *An Essay on the Church Plain Chant* which contains instructions on the manner of reading and singing plainsong as well as resources for the liturgy, suggesting that it was very much in use at that time in the century. At Westminster, many of the congregation were content for the choir to carry the load and were therefore more reluctant to sing.<sup>326</sup> Music lists at the Cathedral show that in 1907 the Propers at daily Mass were sung to chant (those sections of the Mass often replaced by hymns in the post-conciliar liturgy: Introit, Gradual, Offertory and Communion), and the Ordinary of the Mass (Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, Benedictus and Agnus Dei) to polyphonic settings.<sup>327</sup> The choir sang Vespers daily and the psalms were chanted antiphonally

<sup>325</sup> Olleson, “The London Roman Catholic Embassy Chapels and Their Music in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries,” 105–06.

<sup>326</sup> For more information about the plainsong traditions in England, see Bennett Zon, *The English Plainchant Revival* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

<sup>327</sup> Westminster Cathedral, Music Lists, 1907, GB-Lwca, London.

between the clergy and the choir, with polyphony used for the Anthem to Our Lady and the Magnificat. Occasionally if it was a feast day there would be the addition of what Terry described as *Falsobordone* in the psalms, which was a simple four-part harmonisation of the chant with the melody in the tenor, which were often his own compositions or editions of older works. At Compline most of the service was sung to chant, with a Marian anthem sung to polyphony at the end. It cannot have taken long with this volume of chant for the choir to have become fairly proficient at singing it, and it was therefore perhaps inevitable that a 'house style' would become established. The singing of chant was particularly enabled by the design of the Cathedral, one which Bentley and Vaughan hoped would sustain this musical ideal.

At Westminster, there were criticisms that Terry did not, despite his quoted references to the contrary, promote congregational plainsong and some felt that he was simply paying lip-service to the notion of their participation. This is a tangled argument, as woven carefully between the apparent desire to sing plainsong from some individuals, there was from others the claim that the choir was too dominant and singing far too much polyphony. He did indeed promote the use of plainsong and was enthusiastic about congregations singing much of the Mass to it. The Cathedral historian noted:

Terry was very strongly in favour of congregational singing and felt that for many churches this would be far better than trying to get a choir together which would never be able to perform well. The congregation's technical ability was not important, nor even the quality of what they were singing; as he said, 'One's critical faculty refuses to exercise itself in the presence of so mighty a thing as a corporate outburst of praise'. He was sure that plainsong was ideal for congregational performance, and saw no reason why both the Proper and the Ordinary of the Mass should not be sung regularly by the people. It was to help to develop this ap-

proach that he wrote his various books and manuals to help and encourage Catholic choirmasters and teachers.<sup>328</sup>

Terry's enthusiasm for congregational plainsong was aimed at parishes and parish services held at the Cathedral however, since he had always maintained that the main Mass would be led by the choir. Doyle goes on to question whether Terry could have done more to promote congregational singing at the Cathedral, citing criticisms that he should have spent more time rehearsing the congregation than working with the choir. This may be so, however it also suggests a dissatisfaction with choral music in the liturgy and a feeling that the choir dominated it. Terry did not exert himself in the pursuit of congregational rehearsal, broadly because he was too fully occupied with other musical activity and therefore did not make himself available. He had held rehearsals with the congregation after Benediction on Tuesdays to learn new material, (mostly new hymns for Benediction) but not the settings of the Mass which Terry either expected would already be known, or that the people should learn them by experience as they had historically. Terry saw the Saturday evening Mass as an important opportunity for the laity to learn plainsong repertoire to enable them to partake more fully in the liturgy.<sup>329</sup> Catholic congregations as has been seen, spent a long period either in hiding or at least discreetly out of sight, meaning that there had been a reticence about singing from the people (an explanation still used today for poor congregational participation in Catholic parishes) and it is likely that when met with this reluctance Terry simply gave up and concentrated on the choral repertoire. The Tuesday rehearsals fell away fairly quickly, perhaps due to

<sup>328</sup> Doyle, *Westminster Cathedral 1895-1995*, 56–57.

<sup>329</sup> Doyle, *Westminster Cathedral 1895-1995*, 57.

a lack of enthusiasm and engagement, though this is undocumented as is the precise material that Terry rehearsed with them. To a modern, early twentieth-century congregation, this approach was at best, insufficient.<sup>330</sup>

In summary, Terry could have done much more to encourage congregational participation in singing plainsong. To balance this view however, it must be recognised that there were other agendas circulating at Westminster that may well have used this criticism as a cover for broader unhappiness with Terry and with the general musical direction. The Cathedral was by now being hailed as an exemplar in fine choral singing, which had taken time to cultivate, so it was perhaps inevitable that some in the congregation thought this was being achieved at the expense of their participation.

### **Plainsong education**

In addition to his work on the choral tradition at the Cathedral, Terry was concerned for the state of liturgical music in parish churches. He has been criticised for imposing his will and opinion on the parishes through approved diocesan music lists and thereby stifling innovation, but his approach was legitimised by Cardinal Vaughan's aim of making the Cathedral the central point of learning and dissemination for Catholics in England, including music.<sup>331</sup> Terry is quoted addressing a Catholic audience at a lecture, noting: 'I used to wonder at one time why plainsong was not popular amongst Catholics until I went round some of our

<sup>330</sup> Doyle, *Westminster Cathedral 1895-1995*, 57.

<sup>331</sup> Muir, *Roman Catholic Church Music*, 235–236, 251–252. Muir suggests that the music lists played into the hands of the Ultramontane set, leading to uniformity and rigidity, creative stagnation and closed minds unreceptive to modern musical style.

churches and heard it sung. Then I knew. There was too much of the “plain” and too jolly little of the “song” about it.<sup>332</sup> He consequently set about reforming the manner of its performance. Terry advised that chant should be unaccompanied in churches where choir singing was strong, and gently accompanied with organ where singing is weaker, in smaller churches for instance. His accompaniments survive in editions of plainsong Masses published between 1906 and 1933, and in the *Benediction Manual for Choirs* and many of these remain in use today. (See Image 6 below.)

Jesu dulcis memoria I MODE I

1. Je-su dul - cis\_ me\_ mo-ri - a, Dans ve-ra cor-dis gau - di - a:  
 2. Nil ca - ni - tur\_ su - a - vi - us, Nil\_ au-di-tur ju - cun - di - us,  
 3. Je - su spes\_ poe - ni - ten-ti - bus, Quam pi-us es pe - ten - ti - bus!  
 4. Nec lin-gua\_ va - let\_ di - ce - re, Nec\_ lit-te - ra ex - pri - me - re:  
 5. Sis Je - su\_ no - strum\_ gau-di - um, Qui\_ es fu-tu-rus prae - mi - um,

Sed su-per mel et\_ o - mni - a, E - jus dul - cis\_ prae - sen-ti - a.  
 Nil co-gi - ta - tur dul-ci - us, Quam Je - sus De - i\_ Fi - li - us.  
 Quam bo-nus te quae-ren-ti - bus! Sed quid in - ve - ni - en-ti - bus?  
 Ex-per-tus\_ pot-est cre-de - re, Quid sit Je - sum di - li - ge - re.  
 Sit nos-tra in te\_ glo-ri - a, Per cun-cta sem-per\_ sae - cu - la. A - men\_

Image 6. Terry's accompaniment for the plainsong melody *Jesu dulcis Memoria*.

<sup>332</sup> Andrews, *Westminster Retrospect*, 71.



Terry gave very clear instructions about which organ stops should be used, cautioning against reeds and four-foot pipework, advising sparing use of pedal accompaniment and also which chord progressions (especially perfect cadences) should be avoided. Organists should become familiar with modes, and not disrupt the natural rhythmic flow of the chant. They should support the melody sensitively, and avoid leading singing by pushing the melody along with the instrument, though his published accompaniments for plainsong do just that, with emphasis on the first note of phrases given by a solid chord of accompaniment rather than just the melody for the first one or two notes, and then introducing supporting chords beneath (see figure above and note the written out rhythm towards the end of the first line).<sup>333</sup> This style followed the lead of the Vatican which had published such accompaniments and since they found their way into his Holy Week publications, which in turn appeared on the diocesan music lists, they became an entrenched style.<sup>334</sup> On Saturday evenings the Mass in the Cathedral was sung to a Gregorian setting appropriate to the season, *Missa Deus Genitor Alme* in Lent, *Missa de Angelis* on feasts, with Terry at the organ improvising modal accompaniment to the melody from a chant book to support the congregation.<sup>335</sup> He put accompaniments for Mass settings and Gregorian hymns into print, helping to establish the Westminster style and disseminate his teaching to parish organists and choirs. Though a style peculiar to Westminster based on the Vatican edition was being formed, it elicited praise from Dom Gatard from

<sup>333</sup> Terry, *The Music of the Roman Rite*, 85–91. There are many examples of this style of accompaniment by Terry in *The Complete Benediction Book for Choirs*. Richard Runciman Terry, *The Complete Benediction Book for Choirs* (London: Burns Oates and Washbourne, 1933).

<sup>334</sup> Muir, *Roman Catholic Church Music*, 219.

<sup>335</sup> Westminster Cathedral, Music Lists, 1902–1908, GB-Lwca, London.

Solesmes: ‘happy to say that the true Gregorian melodies can now be heard in the Chapter Hall at Westminster, where the Divine Office is celebrated every day until the new Cathedral is opened’ which is in contrast to the comments made by Dom Gregory Murray on the subject and quoted above.<sup>336</sup>

The modes in which plainsong exists and the counterpoint that flows from them were an overlooked key component in music education according to Terry. He pressed for students to learn skills in sixteenth-century counterpoint, noting that a child would as easily learn the modal structure of music as it would the major and minor keys. (A possible reason for the neglect of the study of modes in the years since the Reformation was their association with Catholic liturgical music, with modal studies being seen as a popish pursuit.<sup>337</sup>) In 1911, Terry was President of the Union of Music Directors in Secondary Schools and by 1913 visiting lecturer at the University of Birmingham. In both capacities he promoted these ideas. He also petitioned the Council and the Secretary of the Royal College of Organists on the inclusion of modal knowledge as appropriate study but at the same time underlined the difficulties in doing so:

Until our colleges and conservatoires recognize Modal Counterpoint as part of the curriculum, I don’t see where students are to learn anything of the subject, and until there is some consensus of opinion on the part of the Council as to what we must understand by Modal Counterpoint, I don’t see how we can formulate a system of examinations. You can teach a student to write in the style of Palestrina, Vittoria, di Lasso, Tallis, Byrd or Bach, but you would have to have a separate textbook of rules for each of them. To begin Modal Counterpoint with these polyphonic writers is equivalent to beginning harmony with Debussy, Stravinsky and Scriabin and telling the student nothing about the major and minor scales, the common chord or the dominant seventh... if one begins at the very beginning (viz. Plainsong and Folksong) the transition from modes to keys becomes intelligible, logical and luminous.

<sup>336</sup> Andrews, *Westminster Retrospect*, 70.

<sup>337</sup> P Hauge, “English Music Theory C.1590–C.1690: The Modal Systems, Changing Concepts, and the Development of New Classification Systems.,” diss., City University of London, 1997), 12.

The student who begins Modal Counterpoint from its source (viz. Plainsong) finds the thing easy because his studies follow the same road as the art itself did... I am afraid we have come to look upon such matters as esoteric mysteries, too deep for the busy modern man to acquire. They are nothing of the kind. I find choir boys quite capable of learning all the technique of plainsong that would be required in order to begin Modal Counterpoint and I have also found that from the point of view of hexachords they sing polyphonic music easily and from that of scales and keys with some difficulty. The truth is there is no mystery about these things whatever... I happen to know of a very sound musician who is preparing a textbook on Modal Counterpoint based on the English composers... Would it not be well to wait till his book comes out?<sup>338</sup>

The letter met a positive reception and Andrews goes on to quote a private communication from Reginald Owen Morris (1886–1948), the author of *Contrapuntal Technique of the Sixteenth Century*, who ascribes much to Terry's influence:

At Oxford and Cambridge sixteenth-century counterpoint is now a compulsory subject and has completely routed the old Fux-Cherubini-Rockstro stuff, in the B.Mus. examinations. In the London B.Mus. and F.R.C.O. examinations it is an optional subject. This result is gratifying as far as it goes, and much of the credit of it must be given, undoubtedly, to Terry's pioneering efforts.<sup>339</sup>

Morris suggests that the choir performances of newly uncovered early music at Westminster was just as influential on students, sparking a study of the music's modal foundations and marking a partial success for Terry.

## 2.8 The work to improve standards in church music

Throughout his career and up to the last months of his life, Terry strove for improvement in standards of music in church, a topic on which he would speak to anyone willing to listen and on which he wrote at length, but also in which he was heavily involved at a practical level. As Timothy Day writes, 'his Catholic faith was the sure foundation on which his attitudes to-

<sup>338</sup> Andrews, *Westminster Retrospect*, 113–15.

<sup>339</sup> Andrews, *Westminster Retrospect*, 116.

wards his fellow beings and his art could develop, and provided the focal point round which his aesthetic, moral and spiritual pre-occupations could revolve.<sup>340</sup> Terry's faith demanded of him the very best that could be offered; there was therefore, no space for what he viewed as sub-standard music in the liturgy. Writing in *Our Church Music* he declared 'let us further assume that it is our bounden duty to offer Almighty God, for the services of His sanctuary, only of our best whether it be music, painting, sculpture, or architecture.'<sup>341</sup> His strongly held views on this topic underpin his work and writings, and they became something which ensured frequent appearances in the newspapers. In an essay titled *Why is Church music so bad?* originally published in a periodical that eventually formed part of his book of collected writings, *A Forgotten Psalter and other essays*, Terry writes:

That church music is in a bad way all the world over will not, I think, be denied by anyone whose opinion matters. In England it is perhaps better than elsewhere, but that is not saying much... It is safe to say that the best boys' singing in the world is to be found in the English cathedrals and the larger parish churches, and Anglican cathedral organists can hold their own as executants with any of their continental confreres.<sup>342</sup>

He proceeds to discuss each of the three church music types prevailing in his time in England (Anglican, Catholic and Nonconformist) with a broad view of their strengths and weaknesses. Since the present study involves the Catholic aspects of Terry's work, his observations on the Anglican and Nonconformist traditions are not included here. Of Catholic church music, he laments the influence of the Viennese School Mass settings by Mozart and Haydn whose 'Princely patrons kept a stud of opera singers and players who were turned loose into the church on Sundays, to perform music identical in character with that which had occupied

<sup>340</sup> Day, "Terry and 16th Century Polyphony," 301.

<sup>341</sup> Terry, "Our Church Music," 7.

<sup>342</sup> Terry, "Why is Church Music So Bad?," 105.

them during the week in the Opera House.<sup>343</sup> The Viennese Masses performed in the new Catholic cathedrals and some of the larger parish churches had been introduced to the Catholic repertoire in the late eighteenth century and had not been eclipsed by any subsequent compositions. By Terry's day these were viewed by some as outdated and overblown. They were also outside the reach of modest parish choirs who formed the majority of Catholic music practitioners nationwide. Some of the strongest opponents of this material were the leading Cecilians who wished to see the Viennese Masses replaced with revived older compositions. Terry's description of the Cecilians in this essay is unflattering and is further evidence that he sought to distance himself even if he shared some of their aims and even though some of his activity would seem to fit their profile. He characterises Cecilians (in typically direct language) as enthusiasts who were not musicians and who produced music which was 'invariably dull, barren and uninspired; and the bulk of it... is amateurish to the last degree.'<sup>344</sup>

On poor standards of Catholic music in England, he was sure that much of the malaise was due to the 'dark shadow of the penal times', when churches were usually built hidden in back streets of towns and cities with congregations not wishing to draw attention to themselves with rousing singing, and he noted that 'there was no machinery for carrying on music on adequate lines'.<sup>345</sup> On hymn-singing Terry rails against the Victorian sentimentality of the hugely popular Father Faber and 'the good old Catholic tunes... the answer to this is that

<sup>343</sup> Terry, "Why is Church Music So Bad?", 108.

<sup>344</sup> Terry, "Why is Church Music So Bad?", 109.

<sup>345</sup> Terry, "Why is Church Music So Bad?", 110. see also Terry, "Our Church Music," 8.

they are not good, they are not old, and they are not always Catholic.<sup>346</sup> The cure for this malaise in Catholic church music came in several forms in Terry's view: a renewed interest in plainsong and its performance; the recovery of the glories of the polyphonic tradition—a work already underway at Westminster; and the reinvigoration of hymnody, aided by the publication of the Westminster Hymnal in 1912 of which he was editor. Writing an article for *The Tablet* in 1901 he outlined the causes of bad church music performances, which he said were: bad music; lack of a proper tradition; unsuitable music choices, including music unsuitable for worship; poor voice technique arising from poor choir training; and what he described as the 'tyranny of the organ'.<sup>347</sup> On this last point, he was unhappy at the prevalence of organists leading singing, and in some cases utterly consuming the sound that the choir made, whereas Terry felt they should be seeking to support singing with 'artistic self-restraint'. On the matter of appropriate choices for music, there are the first signs that he believed there were people directing choirs who simply had no idea of what to choose to support the liturgy: 'Does it so subordinate itself to the liturgy as to draw the thoughts of the worshipper towards the ritual acts in progress, rather than to itself' and it is here that we see the first signs of a justification for the drawing up of suggested or approved music lists.<sup>348</sup> Terry set about involving himself in education committees, became secretary of the Society of St Cecilia in 1906 (a body which sought to promote church music along the lines established by the Pope's *Motu Proprio*) and he took action on his criticism of poor music choices in the parishes by organising approved dio-

<sup>346</sup> Terry, "Why is Church Music So Bad?", 116.

<sup>347</sup> Terry, "Our Church Music," 8.

<sup>348</sup> Terry, "Our Church Music," 8.

cesan music lists which were published and sent to each parish in the Archdiocese of Westminster, suggesting just what material was suitable for the liturgy.

The first of these was produced for the Westminster Diocesan Commission in 1907 and it included four hundred and eighty-four Masses. The works of Mozart, Gounod and Haydn were conspicuous by their absence but notably the list included music by Tye, Tallis and Byrd. The diocesan music lists were rooted in the Cecilian philosophy of unaccompanied Mass music in the ancient style, or original compositions newly edited for modern use. Terry and other music leaders sympathetic to Cecilian principles therefore, sought to wrest control of such projects and this led to them imposing their choices on parishes. These lists were not solely a vehicle for the revival of older compositions, since they included many Cecilian composers such as Perosi and Terry, and their influence was felt in parishes right up to the Second World War. In promoting an unknown repertoire Terry was meeting resistance from some parish clergy and musicians, and their congregations did not universally enjoy being sung to by a choir, even though in many instances they themselves refused to sing. There was resistance also to the promotion of plainsong, the singing of which many congregations found too difficult. In addition, the diocesan lists naturally suppressed larger scale works, since most Catholic choirs did not possess the skills to sing them and at best could muster an SATB choir which meant much of this substantial repertoire was outside their reach. Also, convents and other Religious would tend to have only upper or lower voice resources meaning that four-part polyphony was for them impossible. Finally, they failed in their purpose, since some of the lists (though not those for the diocese of Westminster, which Terry compiled) included Vi-

ennese and other largescale repertoire that the Cecilian movement sought to eliminate from the liturgy.<sup>349</sup>

Hymns were a topic on which Terry had gained a great deal of knowledge, partly through his work on the *Westminster Hymnal*, but also his editions of *Calvin's Psalter*, *The Scottish Psalter of 1635* and *Hymns of Western Europe*.<sup>350</sup> He was also a keen composer of hymn tunes, many of which remain in the repertoire of choirs across the world, of all Christian denominations.<sup>351</sup> He attempted to address the perennial problem of reluctant congregations in the Catholic church, many of whom flatly refused to participate in hymn singing, a difficulty still encountered by organists today. Terry, in tune with Cardinal Vaughan's notion of the Cathedral holding an educational brief for Catholics in England, set out to improve the laity's church music literacy with treatises and articles, as well as his hefty introduction to the Westminster Hymnal described below. His primary concern was that hymn tunes should be suitable, particularly in terms of compositional style. He was also—if pedantically—keen to iron out any inconsistencies in the way particular tunes were sung, seeking to eliminate any local variations and ensure a uniform approach.<sup>352</sup>

The success of Terry's efforts to improve church music standards are impossible to assess, since no objective measure was taken before his writings and lectures on the topic began

<sup>349</sup> Muir, *Roman Catholic Church Music*, 235–38.

<sup>350</sup> See: *Old Westminster Hymnal* (London: R. & T. Washbourne, Ltd, 1912). Also “The Scottish Psalter 1635.” *Glasgow Herald*, 1935. And David Lloyd George, *Hymns of Western Europe* (London: Oxford University Press, 1927).

<sup>351</sup> See Appendix 5.

<sup>352</sup> *Old Westminster Hymnal*, preface.



to be aired, and none was made immediately after his death. Moreover, his work at Downside and Westminster coincided with a rapid expansion in church building from all denominations in England (in the Anglican church alone between 1877 and 1927 eighteen new dioceses were created, each with new choral foundations) accompanied by a growth in musical provision.<sup>353</sup> What can be stated with certainty is that there was an explosion in demand for choirs and choir music from the last quarter of the nineteenth century to the end of the first quarter of the twentieth. In Catholicism (Terry's focus for his work, though not uniquely) parish choirs were essentially a novelty. The forces were often limited, not just by numbers of people willing to engage, but also by the skills of those taking part and the leaders of music in those parishes. This fact assists in understanding the real need for diocesan music lists, regardless of other more subtle reasons for their introduction. The sheer number of reprints of the Downside series of motets and Masses, lifting their influence on repertoire and performance into the second half of the twentieth century, suggests his work in this area had considerable reach. The Westminster Hymnal, reprinted several times (including after Terry's death) and its global circulation has meant that his hymn tunes and others from the volume are still to be found across the world today. Finally, the recordings which made Westminster the most recorded choir in the early twentieth century had an influence beyond that of local parish churches by reaching into the homes of those who purchased them. It cannot in summary be claimed that Terry succeeded or failed in his mission though he expended great effort in achieving his aim of improving standards, and the influence this brought to bear was considerable.

<sup>353</sup> Alan Mould, *The English Chorister, a History* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007), 215.

## 2.9 Carols and Hymns

Alongside the work on liturgical polyphony, Terry spent time researching carols and hymns collecting both undiscovered material and also incorporating research by others, particularly texts. Both musical forms fascinated him and there is no doubt that his Anglican background was responsible for his interest in hymns, though on carols, he was keen to express the Catholic nature of much of the material he was presenting.<sup>354</sup> The singing of carols enjoyed a revival during the nineteenth century and early twentieth century (resulting in the publication of the *Oxford Book of Carols*), and Terry's work in this area reflected and promoted that growth of interest.<sup>355</sup>

### Carols

During his tenure at Westminster Cathedral (and ahead of the establishment of the annual service of Nine Lessons and Carols in 1918 at King's, Cambridge, his *alma mater*) Terry founded Christmas Carol Festivals, reflecting the trend set in motion in the Anglican Church by Benson at Truro Cathedral in 1880 and which quickly spread to other cathedrals. Terry's Carol Festival led to the publication of books of carol collections, particularly in the years after he left Westminster. In line with his views on the excavation of early polyphonic music, and continuing in a similar philosophical vein, Terry wrote in 1923: 'We are only slowly getting back to the real carol, thanks to the labours of those collectors who have devoted their

<sup>354</sup> Richard Runciman Terry, *Two Hundred Folk Carols* (London: Burns Oates and Washbourne, 1932), Preface.

<sup>355</sup> For more on the history of carols see Andrew Gant, *A History of Our Favourite Christmas Carols From Village Green to Church Choir* (London: Profile Books Ltd, 2014). Also Percy Dearmer, Ralph Vaughan Williams, and Martin Shaw, *The Oxford Book of Carols* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), v–xii.

time to the task. Consequently, we are still entertained both in and out of church with so-called carols that are only hymn tunes in disguise'.<sup>356</sup> Real carols for Terry were those with their origins in the folk idiom, or others found in old manuscripts, but not the Victorian hymn tunes (such as Mendelssohn's tune for *Hark! The herald angels sing*) which became popular Christmas melodies in the late nineteenth century. There were five carol publications by Terry in total: *Twelve Christmas Carols*, published whilst he was at Westminster in 1912; *Old Christmas Carols*, published in 1923; *Gilbert and Sandys' Christmas Carols*, published in 1931; *A Medieval Carol Book*, published in 1932 and *Two Hundred Folk Carols* published in 1933.

*Twelve Christmas Carols*, Terry described in the Preface as 'a humble attempt to suggest rather than reproduce the characteristics of the old traditional carols'.<sup>357</sup> It stands out from the rest of this group of publications in that all of the musical material is of Terry's own composition and is dedicated to his wife, 'in memory of Christmas 1909'. The words are of the fourteenth century and 'largely from the Sloane MS., A.D. 1396'.<sup>358</sup> When compared to his hymn writing there are similarities of structure and harmonic progression and style, though some of the collection follow a more folk-based idiom, such as 'Joseph and the Angel' and 'The King's Birthday'. His setting of the text 'When Christ was born' carries clear echoes of plainsong, whilst 'Tryste Noel' bears some characteristics of a medieval melody akin to the Agincourt Song. The collection gives the first appearance of his enduringly popular composition 'Myn Lyking' (which has often featured in the King's College Cambridge Nine Lessons

<sup>356</sup> Andrews, *Westminster Retrospect*, 148.

<sup>357</sup> Richard Runciman Terry, *Twelve Christmas Carols* (London: J. Curwen and Sons, 1912), Preface.

<sup>358</sup> (GB-Lbl Sloane MS 1396.) Terry, *Twelve Christmas Carols*, preface.

service, and as recently as 1996) and it is the only piece in the book which has an independent organ accompaniment.<sup>359</sup> Mention of Terry to church musicians in the present day will most likely invoke reference to this carol. In 2013 an article in *The Spectator* by Michael Henderson talks of Christmas Carols speaking of innocence and childhood, citing ‘Myn Lyking’ as the author’s favourite:

The most beautiful carol, to these ears, written anonymously, was enthroned in splendour by R.R.Terry, Sir Richard Runciman Terry, the director of music at Westminster Cathedral in the first two decades of the last century. ‘Lullay Myn Lyking’ does not always get an airing at King’s, for it is not one of the ‘greatest hits’. Yet, in its pureness and sparseness, it is more affecting than many of the better-known carols that people know by heart. Holst supplied a musical setting of this carol, which tells of Mary’s address to the Christ-child. So did Peter Warlock and, more recently, Sir David Willcocks and Sir Richard Rodney Bennett. But it is Terry’s haunting setting that takes the palm. He was versed in the music of Tallis and Byrd, and in this carol he wrote something glorious. This beautiful setting has also enjoyed a notable second life. Michael Powell used the carol in his 1947 film *Black Narcissus*, set in a convent in the Himalayas.<sup>360</sup>

Indeed, it remains popular due to its accessibility for choirs of all abilities, for its simple and memorable melody and partly because it is included in the popular *Carols for Choirs*, book two, as well as the more recent *One Hundred Carols for Choirs*.

*Old Christmas Carols*, published some eleven years later, is completely different to the first book of twelve carols. It is a collection which Terry describes as ‘a first instalment of the carols which have proved to be the most popular during Christmastide at Westminster

<sup>359</sup> Terry, *Twelve Christmas Carols*, 4–21.

<sup>360</sup> Michael Henderson, “The Splendour of the English Carol.” *The Spectator* (2013): [www.spectator.co.uk/2013/12/the-highlight-of-christmas-the-festival-of-nine-lessons-and-carols-at-kings-college-cambridge/](http://www.spectator.co.uk/2013/12/the-highlight-of-christmas-the-festival-of-nine-lessons-and-carols-at-kings-college-cambridge/).

Cathedral.<sup>361</sup> He recommends the pieces as suitable for congregational singing, since they can be sung as effectively in unison as in harmony:

For that reason they are specially suitable for congregational singing. In this connection the editor has had in mind the Continental custom of congregations assembling some little time before Midnight Mass on Christmas Eve to sing carols by themselves without any choir. He hopes this collection may do something to revive the custom in this country.<sup>362</sup>

This is a clear attempt to improve the singing of carols, and the collection is of largely traditional melodies harmonised by Terry, including ‘The First Nowell’ and ‘God rest ye merry Gentlemen’. An exception to this is the first carol in the collection, which is to words by Robert Southwell, a Jesuit priest (and hymnodist) martyred during the Elizabethan persecutions, set to an Irish traditional melody and harmonised by Terry.<sup>363</sup> There are acknowledgements to Vaughan Williams for use of the tune to ‘On Christmas Night’ which Terry notes was collected in Sussex and was published in Vaughan Williams’ own arrangement in 1919 by Stainer and Bell. Terry reproduced the melody in this volume to his own simple four-part harmony.<sup>364</sup> There is an interesting comparison to be made here with Terry’s recommendations of performance. In the preface he states that where a full choir is available they should sing verses alternately with the congregation to avoid it becoming ‘monotonous’ as it might be if verses were all sung in harmony, and goes on to suggest that some verses might be sung as solos or quartets. This, consciously or subconsciously would seem to replicate the traditions in

<sup>361</sup> Richard Runciman Terry, *Old Christmas Carols* (London: Burns Oates and Washbourne, 1923), Preface.

<sup>362</sup> Terry, *Old Christmas Carols*, Preface.

<sup>363</sup> Terry, *Old Christmas Carols*, 1.

<sup>364</sup> Terry, *Old Christmas Carols*, 49.

Germanic churches with Lutheran chorales and their performance in the liturgy, itself a post-Reformation adaptation of the antiphonal tradition in Catholic liturgy.

*Gilbert and Sandys' Christmas Carols* followed some nine years later in 1931 and contains a lengthy preface by Terry in which he explains that every carol to which the pair assigned a melody is represented in the collection. Terry's part in the collection is really one of collating and harmonising established melodies from a broad range of periods.<sup>365</sup> Carols such as 'The Lord at first did Adam Make' have two melodies, one by each of the collectors, and so Terry presents both with his own harmonisations in what he saw as a sympathetic style. He did the same with both settings of 'God rest ye merry gentlemen' (setting both the ancient Cornish version and the melody modern musicians would acknowledge as traditional) and harmonised them, being at pains to point out that the traditional melody was in the first mode.<sup>366</sup>

The compilation of *Two Hundred Folk Carols*, his last collection of such material to go into print, will have served to underscore Terry's credentials as an excavator of early music and though the title would suggest otherwise, it was intended to be a choir book with the pieces presented in four parts (to Terry's harmonies). In the preface he recommends performance of all but the polyphonic works could be as effective in unison or as solos as they might be if sung by a choir, and that they also would work just as well sung accompanied or unaccompanied. The collection consists of melodies from several European countries and is in eleven sections, each from a different region of Europe:

<sup>365</sup> Richard Runciman Terry, *Gilbert and Sandys' Christmas Carols* (London: Burns Oates and Washbourne, 1931), Preface.

<sup>366</sup> Terry, *Gilbert and Sandys' Christmas Carols*, 30.

Part I	English Traditional Carols
Part II	French Traditional Carols
Part III	Besancon Noels
Part IV	Bearnaise and Burgundian Noels
Part V	Provençal Carols
Part VI	Basque Carols
Part VII	Dutch and Flemish Carols
Part VIII	Italian Carols
Part IX	German, Alsatian and Polish Carols
Part X	European Medieval Carols
Part XI	English Medieval Carols

The music is drawn from a range of sources, including the incorporation of Gilbert and Sandys' collection, and Terry writes in the preface that in respect of the foreign carols, he has consulted the originals where possible and where this was not possible, he has consulted 'recognised collectors' such as Nicolas Saboly (1614-1675), choirmaster of St Pierre in Avignon and author of a number of Noels.<sup>367</sup> In an oblique reference to the break with ancient traditions at the Reformation in England, Terry comments that 'carol-singing in England had almost disappeared as a national pastime by the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, and the antiquaries who endeavoured to rescue its fragmentary remains from oblivion all spoke of carols as an interesting survival of a practice which had passed away for ever.' He then contrasts this with what he sees as the continental ideal: 'On the continent of Europe there has been no such break with tradition. Continental nations continue to sing carols as they have been wont to do since the earliest times. They are inheritors of a wealth of carol-music and carol-literature of which

<sup>367</sup> Richard Runciman Terry, *Two Hundred Folk Carols* (London: Burns Oates and Washbourne, 1933), vii-x.

England has only in recent years (seemingly) become aware<sup>368</sup> In a clear swipe at Anglican contemporaries, such as Fellowes, Terry writes:

It is a common thing to find English “translations” in which these references to St. Joseph – but more especially Our Lady – are eliminated and the doctrinal terminology watered down until its meaning is lost. It is open to any editor of the foreign carol to say: “We do not accept the theology of which this carol is the expression; we have therefore provided the tune with fresh words.” Such a proceeding would be quite honest. The same can hardly be said when the singer is left under the impression that the English “translation” conveys the sense of the original, when in reality it does nothing of the sort... To reject a verbal text in toto is legitimate... to tamper with a verbal text (so that it conveys a different meaning from the original) is not only disingenuous but unscholarly... This tampering seems to be peculiar to England.<sup>369</sup>

Just as with pre-Reformation liturgical music, Terry was pushing against an Anglican historical bias, seeking to impose a text removed from the original, stripping the work of its meaning and message. The collection includes Chesterton’s ‘The Christ Child lay on Mary’s lap’ and a melody by Vaughan Williams, as well as eight carols from the Trinity Roll.

*A Medieval Carol Book* was published in 1932 and consists of a collection of melodies from the Selden Manuscript (GB-Ob MS. Arch. Selden. B.26) and also from the Trinity Roll (GB-Ctc MS O.3.58). The Selden Manuscript—of which Sir John Stainer had written in 1901 in a volume titled *Early Bodleian Music*, which doubtless brought its existence to Terry’s attention—resided at the Bodleian where Terry consulted it and this provided him with twenty carols. The Trinity Roll is a fifteenth-century parchment in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge and this yielded eleven carols which Terry edited and harmonised. A few carols in Terry’s collection appear in both manuscripts. Finally, there are four carols from miscellaneous sources including the Cotton Manuscript (GB-Lbl Cotton MS Vespasian D XII).

<sup>368</sup> Terry, *Two Hundred Folk Carols*, vii–x.

<sup>369</sup> Terry, *Two Hundred Folk Carols*, vii–x.



Fuller Maitland and Rockstro had already compiled some of these four, but the majority of the collection as a whole were unseen until Terry's publication.<sup>370</sup> It is a volume which contains no preface as such but rather notes after each of the sections, which are: 'I. From the Selden Manuscript in the Bodleian Library, Oxford; II. From a 15<sup>th</sup> Century parchment roll in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge and III. Miscellaneous'. Of the five books of carols Terry published, this was the most interesting from an early music revival perspective, since, here he was attempting to put music which existed in some cases as melody only, into performable and therefore accessible editions for choirs of even basic attainment. The harmonisations are very much of an early twentieth-century 'pre-Raphaelite' interpretation of medieval style. It includes many works which now form part of the medieval carol repertoire, including 'Sing we to this merry company' and 'Nowel sing we both all and some'.

Terry's work with carols was not confined to these publications alone, with much of it transient in performance at Westminster and so it did not make print. Some did however appear in newspaper print. Andrews mentions 'the enormous popularity of his carol supplements published in various daily and weekly papers at Christmastime during the 'twenties, notably his own setting of words by R. H. Benson, 'On the Road to Bethlehem' in the Daily Mail in 1923'.<sup>371</sup> At this time other compositions of Terry's appeared including his 1927 setting of 'God Rest You Merry' in the Dorian mode and two other works: Richard de Castre's 'Prayer to Jesus' (not a Christmas text) and a setting of 'Personet Hodie'. It is interesting to

<sup>370</sup> Richard Runciman Terry, *A Medieval Carol Book: The Melodies Chiefly From the Mss. In the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge* (London: Burns Oates and Washbourne, 1932).

<sup>371</sup> Andrews, *Westminster Retrospect*, 150.

note that he encountered criticism for his decision to revive carols at Westminster in the early years (clearly, an unfamiliar experience in Catholic churches at the time) being accused of initiating a 'Protestant practice'.<sup>372</sup>

## Hymns

'Of all forms of church music, the one which seems to have wielded an influence out of all proportion to its intrinsic worth is the vernacular hymn.'<sup>373</sup> Terry, coming as he did from a hymn singing tradition, was arguably well-placed to make such an assertion, and in support of his hypothesis it is no surprise that some of the most enduring of his own compositions are his hymn tunes, most especially 'Billing' and 'Highwood' which feature in most contemporary hymnals.<sup>374</sup> In recent communications with Cathedral directors of music in England and abroad as part of the present study, those who responded said that these two tunes regularly featured in their music schedules, with several describing them as 'great' or 'outstanding' pieces of music.<sup>375</sup> The tune *Billing* is held in particular affection by Catholics, since it is set to the text 'Praise to the holiest in the height' from *The Dream of Gerontius* (1865) by John Henry Newman, himself a fellow convert from Anglicanism.

<sup>372</sup> Andrews, *Westminster Retrospect*, 151.

<sup>373</sup> Richard Runciman Terry, *On Music's Borders* (London: T. Fisher Unwin Ltd, 1927), 201.

<sup>374</sup> *Billing* appears in fifteen hymnals from the English-speaking world which are currently in print, in addition to old volumes no longer available, and *Highwood* in sixteen. Statistics from: [www.hymnary.org](http://www.hymnary.org), accessed 22 June 2018. Terry also contributed thirteen hymn tunes to A. E. Tozer's *Catholic Hymns*, published in 1898 along with the words to two hymns.

<sup>375</sup> See Appendix 5 where the correspondence received as part of the present study is given

The revival of Catholicism in England ushered in a period of growth in hymn composition and hymn singing in Catholic churches. The singing of hymns was not an entirely new development, since they had been in use by Catholics throughout. Many of these were remnants from the medieval period, translated from the original Latin into the vernacular after the Reformation by recusant Catholics and which continued to be sung to plainsong melodies until the middle of the nineteenth century. The strength of hymn-singing in the Anglican and free churches during this period with the production of hymnals in widespread use such as *Hymns Ancient and Modern* also made their influence felt in Catholic parishes. The pre-Vatican II liturgy gives very limited scope for hymns, and they would mostly be found in the Offices, at Vespers for example. It was here that worshippers would have latitude to sing devotional texts to well-known plainsong melodies, and Latin hymns translated into English were fairly widely known, since they had often been included in devotional books such as Primers designed for use by the laity during the recusant years. There was scope for modern vernacular hymns at other events however, particularly Eucharistic conventions, processions and other missionary activity, and in the late nineteenth century there was a considerable expansion in the number of these events. Another key factor in the development of hymns in the Catholic Church in the nineteenth century was the influx of Anglican converts.

The second half of the nineteenth century saw a new wave of material emerging from former Anglicans who had converted, bringing with them enthusiasm for the hymn singing tradition, and they began to compose texts which reflected Catholic spirituality and doctrine. Foremost amongst this group of former Anglicans who became Oratorians was John Henry Newman who in 1838 published *Hymni Ecclesiae*; Father Frederick Faber who wrote *The*

*Oratory Hymnal* in 1854 (which contained 79 hymns in total), and Edward Caswall who wrote *Lyra Catholica* in 1849.<sup>376</sup> These books initially enjoyed local circulation but quickly gained ground and became popular. Another book in use amongst the Catholic parishes was *The Crown of Jesus* which enjoyed popularity partly due to its endorsement by several bishops and its reach included England and Ireland. It began in three separately available parts, first published in 1864, and was supplemented by a fourth part containing Mass music by Samuel Webbe and a plainsong Requiem Mass.<sup>377</sup> Quantity, availability and quality did not necessarily coincide however, and there were musicians like Terry who believed that the late Victorian taste for sentimentality which infused the music written for some of these hymns was as inappropriate as the lengthy and weighty Mass settings being performed at cathedral and greater church services.

Terry wrote voluminously about the state of hymnology in the Catholic Church, with articles such as ‘Why is Our Hymn-singing so Bad?’ appearing in Catholic journals, and took aim at other denominations with ‘Why is Church Music so Bad?’ (quoted above). His polemical language was bound to agitate controversy and discussion and it is clear that Terry knew exactly what he was doing. He felt strongly that congregations were poorly served by a diet of tired Victorian music and that it was time they learned material more suited to the liturgy. There are clearly the first signs of the gathering clouds here of the liturgical and music-culture wars that have been waged in Catholicism since Vatican II. The idea that if you don’t get

<sup>376</sup> Thomas Erskine Muir, “Full in the Panting Heart of Rome: Roman Catholic Church Music in England: 1850-1962,” diss., Durham, 2004), 280–81.

<sup>377</sup> Muir, *Roman Catholic Church Music*, 140.

what you want, you end up liking what you get, holds now and was probably true in the early twentieth century. A board of bishops drew up a collection of texts and sought to commission a musical editor. The bishops' preface expressed their hopes that 'There can be no doubt that it will conduce very much to the devotion and decorum of extra-liturgical worship and popular services to have one common manual of Hymns... The Hymnal may be strongly recommended to the clergy and to all concerned.'<sup>378</sup>

When the *Westminster Hymnal* was first planned, Terry was appointed as musical editor for the volume which appeared in 1912 as the first hymn book to be officially approved for church use by the hierarchy of England.<sup>379</sup> Whilst it was the first book to receive official approval and promotion, it was by no means the first Catholic hymnal. Some of the religious orders had produced hymnals, such as the *St Winifred Hymn Book*, *The Oratory Hymn Book* and *Convent Hymns and Music*. There were national publications too, such as *Hymns by Frederick William Faber*, *Crown of Jesus*, *The Parochial Hymn Book* and *Catholic Hymns Original and Translated*.<sup>380</sup> Through the *Westminster Hymnal* Terry sought to improve Catholic hymn singing and to exclude the worst excesses of what he characterised as Victorian sentimentality found elsewhere. The bishops controlled the inclusion of texts, and Terry was to set these to suitable tunes which he duly harmonised or, as in many cases, composed the tunes himself. His 'Musical Editor's Preface' is worth quoting here as it succinctly lays out his intentions:

<sup>378</sup> John Cuthbert, Bishop of Newport, *Old Westminster Hymnal* (London: R & T Washbourne Ltd, 1912), iii.

<sup>379</sup> *Old Westminster Hymnal*, v.

<sup>380</sup> Muir, *Roman Catholic Church Music*, 138–39.

This collection contains a large number of entirely new tunes and a considerable quantity of older ones in use amongst Catholics on the Continent, which, after the test of centuries, are still popular today. Many other Catholic tunes have only been known in this country through their presence in Protestant hymnals. They are here restored to the worship of the Catholic Church in this country. The collection also includes all the popular tunes in common use amongst English-speaking Catholics. Some of these tunes are good, some are indifferent, and some bad. But it has been felt that since those of the last-named class have been – for one generation at least – bound up with the pious associations of so many holy lives, this is hardly the occasion for their suppression. They have therefore been retained, although this retention cannot be justified on musical or other artistic grounds. Alternative tunes have been provided to most of them, so that they need not be used by those to whom they are distasteful.<sup>381</sup>

At a stroke, Terry was, with the support of the church, selecting for congregations the hymns that they should sing at services and therefore in the process, suppressing others. In effect, he was imposing a musical style on English Catholics that was being justified under the auspices of uniformity. A generous interpretation of this work would suggest that he was continuing to work out the philosophy of his former employer, Cardinal Vaughan, who sought to set up the Cathedral as a beacon of the faith and a repository of theological writing and thought, as well as fine Catholic music. Crucial to this work in his mind was the mission element, and to that end the choir travelled around the country singing, and the clergy travelled around the country preaching. It was inevitable however, that such a book as the *Westminster Hymnal* would not be confined to England but likely travel to other parts of the Empire and so copies began to appear in the colonies, spreading this musical diet across the world. The book was not without its defects however, as with so much of Terry's work it was hurried to meet print deadlines and there were small but unnecessary errors.<sup>382</sup> He stated in the volume that the

<sup>381</sup> *Old Westminster Hymnal*, v.

<sup>382</sup> Muir, *Roman Catholic Church Music*, 157. For more detail concerning the Westminster Hymnal and other Catholic hymnals in circulation in the period under discussion, see Muir's comprehensive section on this topic.

book was 'designed for immediate practical use' at the same time acknowledging that there would be instances where there would be local variation to the melodies provided.<sup>383</sup> The hymnal was rapidly adopted and its popularity attested to by the necessitated reprints of 1913, 1916 and 1919 followed by a full revision and reprint after Terry's death in 1939 which was edited by Dom Gregory Murray.

Terry wrote an article on hymns for the American periodical *The Caecilia, Magazine of Catholic Church and School Music* in November 1933 titled 'Even Great Musicians Find Hymn Tunes Hard to Write' in which he listed the 'five essentials' as he saw them which constitute a 'good' hymn. These are: first the melody, which needs to be strongly and clearly defined, 'free from triviality, banality or trite cliches'; the second component is vocal harmonies or organ accompaniment, which must be bold, straightforward and diatonic; thirdly the rhythm, which should be 'broad and dignified', free from the vulgarity of 'patter', avoiding 'jerky', 'vague or rambling' patterns; fourth, phrases must be balanced, making sensible use of 'contrast', 'repetition' and 'rhyme'; and finally 'aesthetic or devotional appeal—two points so subtle in essence, so real in effect, so unsusceptible to definition, so compelling to the sense'.<sup>384</sup> His central thesis in the article is that a hymn tune is a simple form of music, but that this has often led to composers feeling the need to write an easy work, which resulted in 'weak melodies and saccharine harmonies' so prevalent in Victorian hymn tunes. He goes on to suggest that it is not possible for anyone, simply because they may be a renowned composer to pen hymn tunes,

<sup>383</sup> *Old Westminster Hymnal*, x.

<sup>384</sup> Richard Runciman Terry, "Even Great Musicians Find Hymn Tunes Hard to Write," *The Caecilia, Magazine of Catholic Church and School Music* 60, No.11. (1933), 339–40.

citing Handel and Mozart as having written only one or two which survive, and that Bach and Mendelssohn were expert at the fine harmonisations of other people's melodies. Finally, Terry states that 'we should rid ourselves of the 19th century illusion that hymns are meant for the choir' in a clear reference to the need to improve congregational singing and at the same time firmly establishing himself as being on the side of the congregation, against their being excluded from music in the liturgy. Muir has argued that much of the agenda with hymnals, diocesan lists and lectures about suitability of music for the liturgy is about control.<sup>385</sup> There is likely to be some truth in that, since the re-emerging Catholic church was keen to present a uniform house-style, but it would be inaccurate to suggest that this was Terry's only motivation. He held a profound conviction that only the very best was worthy of public worship, be that any branch of the arts and architecture, and this is best summed up when he wrote 'it is nothing short of sacrilege when the best is within our reach to offer Him of our second best, to say nothing of our downright worst, as is, alas, sometimes the case'.<sup>386</sup>

<sup>385</sup> Muir, *Roman Catholic Church Music*, 235–46. Contrary to Muir's negative view of control—in the work of drawing up music lists—there is the view articulated by Roger Williams in an article on poor music in Catholic services, who writes 'Words of the great composer, Vaughan Williams, seem particularly relevant: "It ought no longer to be true anywhere that the most exalted moments of a churchgoer's week are associated with music that would not be tolerated in any place of secular entertainment"... Unlike former times, when there was control over what music was permitted, it appeared that there were no standards now by which musical worth was judged. All sorts of settings were compiled and published... there was much incompetence and poor judgement, with music of an enervating facility'. Williams, Roger, "Music in the Catholic Church in Britain is in Great Difficulty, But There Are Signs of a Revival." *Catholic Herald*, 2013.

<sup>386</sup> Terry, "Our Church Music," 7.



### **Hymns beyond Catholic worship**

Hymns in a wider sense than Catholic liturgical use interested Terry, and his quite pluralistic approach meant that he was as comfortable working on Non-conformist or other Protestant material as he was music for the Universal Church. The work with hymns constituted an extension of Terry's early music revival endeavours, leading to his involvement at different levels in different publications. He wrote critical notes and edited a book by Ernest Benn in 1932, titled *Calvin's First Psalter*, but in 1935 published his own work *The Scottish Psalter of 1635* a book of metrical melodies to mark the tercentenary of its original publication for use in the Scottish Kirk. Hilda Andrew's quotes the Glasgow Herald in February 1935 in an article about the book:

Ironically enough, it has remained for a Roman Catholic, Sir Richard Terry, to recall Scotland to a sense of the value of its inheritance in the Psalter of 1635. He has spent years of research upon it and now in the year of its tercentenary we are promised the result of his labour in the book which he now has in the press... His admiration for these old tunes was equalled only by his indignation at the Scottish Kirk's neglect of them.<sup>387</sup>

Terry wrote of the recovery of the Scottish Psalter tunes, noting that the latest edition (in 1935) contained only 13 of the original 226 tunes, and these 'only in the mutilated form to which English hymn-books of last century had reduced them.'<sup>388</sup> He came to the conclusion that since the Scottish had abandoned the old tunes, this gave the impression that they were not worth preserving. His inspiration for the book came from an encounter with Herbert Wiseman, at that time Musical Director of the Edinburgh Education Committee, who showed Terry an 1864 edition of the psalter by Rev'd Dr Neil Livingstone. Livingstone was a

<sup>387</sup> "The Scottish Psalter 1635."

<sup>388</sup> Richard Runciman Terry, "A Forgotten Psalter," in *A Forgotten Psalter and Other Essays* (London: Oxford University Press, 1929), 2.

Free Kirk minister who produced what seemed to Terry to be a facsimile of the 1635 book with original notation, where the melody or ‘Church Part’ was to be found in the tenor with harmonies set around it. Having sourced an out of print copy for himself, Terry took it with him on a summer cruise in the Arctic in 1929, (working as a purser on a steam ship, exercising his long-held love of the sea and boats) and harmonized the whole psalter.<sup>389</sup> In the preface Terry explains the layout of the book, his reasoning for harmonisations and how these differ from the original volume: ‘the word “harmonies,” however, is a misnomer, since harmony – as we now understand the term – did not then exist. The correct term for the part-music of those days is “counterpoint.” The counterpoint of the 1635 Psalter was, almost exclusively, of that simple kind which is known to-day as “First Species” or “note against note.”’<sup>390</sup> The sources of the melodies are also given, ranging from the Anglo-Genevan Psalter which was compiled for use by English Protestant refugees fleeing persecution under Mary Tudor and who fled to Switzerland and the Netherlands, as well as material from the Huguenot Psalter and German sources.<sup>391</sup> Terry, in a comment clearly designed to encourage others to take his work forward, comments that he cannot pretend that the list is exhaustive, but ‘if it stimulates later students to further research it will have achieved its purpose’ (a sentence that would serve well as an epitaph for Terry in respect of all of his early music research, since most of his work in that field was eclipsed by that of those who followed and took it into print).

<sup>389</sup> Richard Runciman Terry, *A Forgotten Psalter and Other Essays* (London: Novello and Co, 1935), v.

<sup>390</sup> Terry, *Forgotten Psalter*, vi.

<sup>391</sup> Terry, *Forgotten Psalter*, x.

A volume that comes under the broad heading of music revival and more accurately preservation, is *Hymns of Western Europe* on which Terry collaborated with Henry Hadow, Walford Davies and the Prime Minister, Lloyd George. Terry had met Lloyd George in Wales several times whilst adjudicating at an annual Eisteddfod and then subsequently in London, the two men striking up a friendship. On Christmas Day in 1920, when Terry was attending an event at Downing Street, he was asked to cheer up the gathering by playing the piano (which included, at Lloyd George's request, some Nonconformist hymns) and the Prime Minister spoke to him about the need for a new national hymn book. Terry readily agreed, and when Lloyd George returned from a visit abroad, he invited Terry, Henry Hadow (Vice-Chancellor of Sheffield University) and Walford Davies (Professor of Music at the University of Wales) to be his guests in Criccieth for a weekend in June 1924. He approached them with his idea of compiling a book of hymns which would serve to improve the singing and selection of hymns for church services.<sup>392</sup> Lloyd George decided to take his three guests to the local chapel (only to be reminded by his wife that the only organ they could use was in the parish church as the local chapels all possessed harmoniums). The four men gathered a collection of 280 hymns and 20 anthems which were to be edited by Terry. In the preface, Lloyd George wrote:

There is evidently a growing dissatisfaction with the choice of hymns for Divine Service. The number and variety of our hymnals bear witness to the need of an accepted standard... A grave responsibility, therefore, attaches to those on whom it falls to select and present this part of the Service. Yet there is no part which, in current practice, is treated with more indifference and neglect... This collection is an attempt to show that the standard, which all would admit to be desirable, can in practice be realized. It is frankly a compilation: with one exception no

<sup>392</sup> Richard Wilkinson, *Lloyd George: Statesman or Scoundrel?* (London: I. B. Tauris and Company, 2018), 175.

tune by a living composer is included... The editors, in short, have been not originators but transmitters.<sup>393</sup>

There was, despite Lloyd George's claim, one piece by a living composer and that was Vaughan Williams' tune *Sine Nomine* set to the words 'For All the Saints' which appears at No. 55. There are plainsong melodies, such as *Aeterna Christi munera*, Bach chorales, melodies by Vulpius and Cruger, making this a truly international collection as might be found in current hymnals. It is odd however, that neither of the great Welsh tunes 'Blaenwern' or 'Cwm Rhondda' is included, or indeed any of Walford Davies' or Terry's own tunes in spite of them appearing (as with much of the rest of the contents of the book) in other hymnals. These simple omissions, together with the breadth of Christian traditions, the book sought to represent, meant that it was destined to obscurity and did not rival the other titles in print.

Whilst not strictly a hymnal, Terry's collection of non-Mass liturgical music *The Complete Benediction Book for Choirs* is in some respects a throwback to the days of *The Crown of Jesus* hymnal, in that it acts rather as an organist's or chorister's music manual, containing pages of numbered, harmonised tunes which can be used to accompany the set texts of the service.<sup>394</sup> The volume was first published in 1933, with a second in 1938. In addition to music for the elements of Benediction, there are settings of the Litany and other music suitable for the devotional Office and the table below lists the contents in their respective categories.

<sup>393</sup> Lloyd George, *Hymns of Western Europe*, Preface.

<sup>394</sup> Terry, *Benediction Book*.

<b>Number of Works</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Music Type</b>
60	O Salutaris Hostia	Metrical
60	Tantum Ergo	Metrical
20	Adoremus in aeternam	Choral, some with organ
31	Litany	Simple harmony and some polyphony
6	Litany to BVM	Simple harmony responses
28	Motet	Simple harmony/Metrical
17	O Salutaris Hostia	Plainsong
8	Tantum Ergo	Plainsong
7	Laudate	'Falsobordone'
36	Motet	Plainsong
5	Litany	Plainsong
1	Magnificat	Plainsong/Fauxbourdon
4	Antiphon BVM	Plainsong

Table 1 showing contents of the Benediction Book for Choirs

Terry has at times set an alternative harmonization of his own alongside the original, placing the melody in the Tenor part. In addition to these, the volume contains 28 of Terry's own original compositions, including hymn tunes, litanies and fauxbourdon settings.<sup>395</sup> Included amongst the settings of *O Salutaris* is one by Herbert Howells, believed to be the only source of

<sup>395</sup> Terry, *Benediction Book*, xi-xx.

this work. According to Patrick Russill of Brompton Oratory (where the manual continues in use at Benediction), it was most likely originally set to another text.<sup>396</sup>

<sup>396</sup> Patrick Russill, '*Sir Richard Terry*', email, 14 September 2017.

## Chapter 3

### Musicology and Composition

#### **3.1 Terry, the Carnegie Trust and Tudor Church Music (TCM)**

The TCM project on its own might have guaranteed Terry's legacy and reputation for posterity. Rather than being the inspiration for his choir's performances at Westminster, his involvement with this collection of Tudor music was the result of that work. The project could not have been more apposite given his zeal for sixteenth-century composition and the musical paleontological skills he had acquired since the early days at Downside. Evidence from copied letters held in the Westminster Cathedral archive (and from other research into the project), suggests that Terry's temperament and his erratic working practices, his character flaws—tetchy manner and stubbornness—all worked against him. The temperament of the musicologists he chose to assist him also meant that Terry was working in a milieu of intellectual prowess and musicological attention to detail that simply would not tolerate his shortcomings. This was a gathering of strong opinions, high personal ambition and a diversity of often petty agendas which engendered heated disagreement, squabbling, and, at times, personal attacks. In addition there was a barely-concealed prejudice from some of Terry's contemporaries about his background and faith. All of this meant his later ousting as editor in chief was, perhaps, altogether too predictable.

In 1916 the Carnegie Trust embarked upon the colossal project of printing a multiple volume set of English Church Music from the Tudor era. Terry was approached to assume the role of General Editor, though his involvement was to be brief. In the view of the Trust,

he had proved his credentials for the position with his work at Downside and Westminster, and he was to be assisted by an editorial committee of four fellow musicians: Edmund Fellowes, Percy Buck, Sylvia Townsend-Warner and Alexander Ramsbotham.<sup>397</sup> The music was to be collected into twenty volumes, each covering the major figures in English Church Music of the period from 1525 to 1625.<sup>398</sup> The resulting plan meant that Terry was expected to re-edit works he had researched and performed in previous years. As a consequence, from the very outset his enthusiasm was muted. Based on the surviving correspondence between the other editors, it is clear that there existed some resentment at Terry's appointment and a general unease amongst the group—which the TCM archive suggests was at times partly out of petty jealousy and snobbery.<sup>399</sup> It is also likely that there were rather too many large egos working on the same project. Terry's high profile in the press overshadowed some of the other members of his team (much to their irritation) but he was also a man in a hurry to complete performance of the early repertoire and this meant that his scholarship and reliability were at times questionable. He was engaged in a very busy role at Westminster while simultaneously researching and editing scores, adjudicating at music competitions, writing books and journalistic articles, as well as working as an external lecturer at Oxford University, Birmingham University and the University of Ireland. He also undertook the compilation of hymns and carols

<sup>397</sup> Turbet, "Affair of Honour," 593–600.

<sup>398</sup> Claire Harman, *Sylvia Townsend Warner: A Biography* (St Ives: Penguin, 2015), 38–39. Harman quotes Sylvia Townsend Warner's correspondence noting that she could be relied on 'not to fall out with Terry—indeed to get on very well with him'. She also notes that the TCM project gave Sylvia a salary of three pounds per week.

<sup>399</sup> The TCM archive is held at the Scottish Records Office, call-number GD 281/41/224-46. There is also a collection of correspondence surrounding TCM in the archives of OUP: CP/ED/001034; CP/ED/001035 and LOCA001170.



for numerous publications, all of which left little time for very much else. There is also the issue of class to consider. Terry had been educated with his family in South Shields and then in London at Battersea Grammar School before entering Oxford University on an organ scholarship and finally to Cambridge as a choral scholar (though he never graduated from either institution). Fellowes and Buck were both from public school backgrounds (Winchester College and Merchant Taylors' respectively) and Fellowes graduated from Oriel College Oxford, while Buck graduated from the Royal College of Music.<sup>400</sup> This class difference was further accentuated by Terry's Catholicism, which together with the intellectual sectarianism such an affiliation created, rendered him an outsider to some of his fellow editors.<sup>401</sup>

William Hadow, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Durham was the inspiration behind the TCM project. An educationalist and historian of music, he came from a clerical background (his father was a vicar in Gloucestershire) and took a keen interest in history and classics, as well as music, which he spent some time studying in Germany. He composed chamber music, songs and hymns and wrote studies of music—including its place in general culture. He published books on Viennese music, and involved himself in the promotion of national and folk songs in general education in schools. Clearly a cultured man, with a keen sense of national history and the potential for music to project English identity, Hadow saw TCM as an undertaking of national importance.<sup>402</sup> He quite outrageously claimed, 'I do not

<sup>400</sup> Humphreys and Evans, "Buck, Sir Percy Carter (1871-1947)." Also Humphreys and Evans, "Fellowes, Revd. Dr. Edmund Horace (1870-1951)."

<sup>401</sup> The parallels with Sir Edward Elgar here are clear.

<sup>402</sup> F. H. Shera, revised by David J. Golby, 'Hadow, Sir (William) Henry (1859–1937), *ODNB*, May 2006, <[www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-33631](http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-33631)> (Accessed 20 November 2018).

know whether it is quite realized that this is not a question of a mere Library Edition of a classic; it is the most important musical discovery ever made... If you could imagine that the Elizabethan drama had been lost and now rediscovered, it would not be an extravagant parallel.<sup>403</sup> His enthusiasm for this early repertoire no doubt distorted his sense of its place in the international canon, but in the midst of the First World War with morale-lifting propaganda seen as a vital tool (Hilda Andrews notes that Hadow held an informal position at the Ministry of Propaganda), doubtless such a project was viewed to be useful, and its aims would readily rally support from patriotic musicologists.<sup>404</sup> Hadow wrote to Terry inviting him to be the General Editor of the collection and in June 1916, the former wrote to the Clarendon Press suggesting Terry for the work, at the same time as extolling the virtue of the undertaking:

There exists a large amount of extremely fine English Church Music composed between 1540 and 1623. It is mostly in manuscript parts. Very little of it has ever been printed. A definitive edition of it would be literally the greatest English musical work ever published. The value of it is not only that of a historical monument, but that of a living and permanent art; the best work of our best period. Dr R. R. Terry of Westminster Cathedral has been engaged upon it for the last twenty years and has transcribed and scored a good deal of it (in MS.) for use at Westminster... The Trustees propose Terry as Editor—a proposal with which I entirely agree—he is a real scholar and knows more about this music than any other man alive.<sup>405</sup>

Hadow was an admirer, and was effusive in his congratulations and praise at Durham when Terry was awarded his honorary doctorate.<sup>406</sup> On 19 June 1916, the Secretary of Oxford University Press wrote to Terry ‘Sir William Osler and Dr. Hadow have brought before the Del-

<sup>403</sup> Andrews, *Westminster Retrospect*, 140.

<sup>404</sup> Andrews, *Westminster Retrospect*, 140.

<sup>405</sup> Westminster Cathedral, Letter, Sir Henry Hadow to Terry, 6 June 1916, Terry Correspondence, GB-Lwca, London.

<sup>406</sup> See footnote 274 for Hadow’s comments at the degree ceremony.

legates of the Press the suggestion that they should (after the war, probably) print and publish for the Carnegie U.K. Trust the corpus of early English music which you, we understand, are to edit... The Delegates are very ready to co-operate, as they would have the greatest possible confidence in the execution of the work, and appreciate the value of its publication to the musical world'.<sup>407</sup>

Royle Shore and Barclay Squire resented Terry's involvement and made this plain by writing frequently and at length to the Carnegie Trustees. They tried to undermine Terry and in the process shamelessly promote their own credentials, with Shore sending the Trustees copies of his own editions and additionally on 28 April 1917 sent an eleven-page letter outlining a feud with Terry.<sup>408</sup> Exasperated, Percy Buck, who did not wish the project to collapse and thereby jeopardise his own involvement with it, wrote to the Trustees imploring them to ignore the letters from these men. His language is revealing of himself, when he describes one of Shore's supporters in less than charitable terms 'Mr Collins—a poor little Grub-street man quite without value'.<sup>409</sup> Describing Shore as a 'charlatan' and Squire as a 'quack' and as rather 'a shameless one to boot' he implored, 'I am making bold, at the risk of being thought officious, to write and beg you to ignore Mr Shore and all his works'. He (Shore) 'has been written off by his enemies and friends alike as entirely a bore' who 'mustn't be allowed to undermine... the confidence of the Trustees in Dr Terry... there is no one alive at the moment who, for the actual and practical purpose now in hand, is within measurable distance of

<sup>407</sup> Westminster Cathedral, Letter, Charles Cannan to Terry, 19 June 1916, Terry Correspondence, GB-Lwca, London.

<sup>408</sup> Turbet, "Affair of Honour," 594.

<sup>409</sup> Turbet, "Affair of Honour," 595.

him.<sup>410</sup> This intervention saw off the trouble-making and a year later in 1917 Terry suggested that there should be an informal editorial committee, under his control. The names he put forward for this committee were Charles Wood, Godfrey Arkwright, Edmund Fellowes, Alick Ramsbotham, Percy Buck, Sylvia Townsend Warner (Buck's mistress), Sir John Stainer's daughter Cecilia, and Herbert Howells.<sup>411</sup> The proposal drew concerns about expense, since the panel would require remuneration; it was already evolving into an expensive project. Hadow wrote to the trustees on behalf of Howells (who had become ill and unable to continue his work at Salisbury Cathedral) declaring that he was amongst the most promising musicians of his generation and would add much to the project. The trustees agreed, appointing Howells on a remuneration of one hundred and fifty pounds per year for three years from 1 July 1917 in connection with editing Elizabethan and Tudor music. It was noted that 'Dr Terry would very much welcome the suggestion', indicating that during his five years at Westminster, Howells had gained Terry's trust as a reliable editor and musicologist.<sup>412</sup>

The Trust decided almost at the outset in 1916 to publish some octavo or leaflet scores which it was hoped would be popular, their sales helping to offset the likely losses of the folio, or library editions whose production costs were not expected to be met by sales receipts. Unforeseen at the time, the octavo editions were to become crucial in the dissemination of this repertoire to choirs across the country and the world, with many of them still in use today. As Suzanne Cole writes, 'These publications played a pivotal role in the revival of this repertoire:

<sup>410</sup> Turbet, "Affair of Honour," 595.

<sup>411</sup> Turbet, "Affair of Honour," 595.

<sup>412</sup> Paul Spicer, *Herbert Howells* (Bridgend: Seren Books, 1998), 56–57.

the volume devoted to Tallis's Latin music is, for example, still the only available scholarly edition... The music published in this edition forms the foundation of the repertoire of church choirs and secular choral societies around the world, and I believe that it continues to shape our perceptions of what constitutes English church music, and indeed early English music more generally to this day.<sup>413</sup>

Arguments about edited scores followed, with Terry being unwilling to re-edit music he had already edited and performed for years previously. Once persuaded to do so, he dragged his feet when pressed for printing copy for these octavo scores, so financially crucial to the whole project. However, by 1922 (in advance of the Byrd tercentenary celebrations of 1923) these octavo scores of Terry's editions began to appear, with four Byrd motets, the Taverner *Leroy Kyrie* and Philips's *Ascendit Deus*, in addition to Weelkes *Hosanna to the Son of David* which was edited by Fellowes.<sup>414</sup> Oxford University Press despaired of Terry's lack of communication and unfulfilled promises to submit more scores for publication. A letter from Terry to R. W. Chapman of Oxford University Press dated 8 May 1919 declared, 'Here is the first of the six motets'. He proceeded to promise more to follow and ask about notation in the edition: 'As we are going to make the crotchet the standard beat in the popular edition, instead of the minim, could you return me the volume of Byrd's Gradualia so that I can re-write the motet "Lumen" in that form. I'll send you a motet or motets each day until the number is completed.'<sup>415</sup> Chapman's reply dated 24 June implored Terry, 'Can we have some more? You

<sup>413</sup> Cole, "Tudor Church Music Revival," 132.

<sup>414</sup> Andrews, *Westminster Retrospect*, 141–42.

<sup>415</sup> Westminster Cathedral, Letter, Terry to R. W. Chapman, 8 May 1919, Terry Correspondence, GB-Lwca, London.

spoke of a motet or motets daily but returning after an absence of more than six days I find we are still not six motets but one motet. We cant [sic] wake the sleeping public with one note on the trumpet, so do send more.<sup>416</sup>

In a letter from Terry to Sir Humphrey Milford of Oxford University Press, dated 11 October 1917, Terry lays out the work that he has already done in editing scores of Byrd: 'I have scored Volumes 1 and 2 of Byrd's "Cantiones Sacrae", Volumes 1 and 2 of his "Gradualia", and also his Masses for four and five voices' and complains that he is finding time short between the daily services at Westminster to enable him to travel to the British Museum to access manuscripts 'I am anxious to revise my scores'. He goes on to ask Milford if he would approach the authorities at Lincoln Cathedral, as they have copies of both Masses and volumes of the *Gradualia* and *Cantiones* asking if they could be loaned to him 'as we have a fire and bomb-proof strong room at the Cathedral' (a reminder that this was written at a time of bombing in London during World War I).<sup>417</sup> Clearly the constraints of time and access to manuscripts was already a problem and it is easy to see how matters from this point could only deteriorate. It is unrecorded whether the manuscripts were loaned to Terry at Westminster or to the library at Lambeth Palace.

The sense of frustration within the Trust grew, and steadily Terry was circumnavigated in decision-making. There was a degree of disorganisation at Oxford University Press which led to some printer's oversights and these simply added to the difficulties amongst the

<sup>416</sup> Turbet, "More on Tcm," 434.

<sup>417</sup> Westminster Cathedral, Letter, Terry to Sir Humphrey Milford, 11 October 1917, Terry Correspondence, GB-Lwca, London.

editorial group. Fellowes made himself unpopular by criticising the printers and Terry (for whom his dislike was barely concealed), to the extent that Humphrey Milford (from Oxford University Press) described him in an internal memo as ‘a pestilent fellow’ and a ‘little toad’. A letter was sent from the Carnegie Trust Secretary to Milford stating that Fellowes had organised a *coup d’etat* and deposed Terry.<sup>418</sup> Matters had come to a head when Terry suffered a mental breakdown, probably due to stress and overwork, and he found it impossible to balance the numerous commitments he had accumulated, a long list as has been seen, that now included TCM. Sydney Grew, a close friend of Terry’s noted that ‘the illness... has considerably altered his former expression, particularly in moments of repose’ suggesting that what was described as a breakdown precipitated a significant deterioration in his general health.<sup>419</sup> A possible further factor mentioned earlier in the present study was his domestic situation.

Terry’s early life was unsettled by the death of infant siblings and his mother, which resulted in his being moved around between various family members to complete his upbringing. It seems his wife suffered from depression and his biographer hints at the end of her book that his home life was not always a happy one: ‘his home had to be the background from which he worked and to which he returned as a tired man; and though he was far from exigent it was unsuccessful in that this reposeful background was not provided, and he had no talent for grappling with the irritating fluctuations of domestic life.’<sup>420</sup> Lady Terry committed suicide in 1932 and it is not a stretch of the imagination to suggest that there were simmering

<sup>418</sup> Westminster Cathedral, Letter, Secretary of the Carnegie Trust to Sir Humphrey Milford, 20 November 1919, Terry Correspondence, GB-Lwca, London.

<sup>419</sup> Grew, “Sir Richard Runciman Terry,” 161.

<sup>420</sup> Andrews, *Westminster Retrospect*, 177.

difficulties at home for a protracted period of time due to her depression which will have impacted on his work. Terry was also criticised for his lack of business sense and ‘erratic accounting’, a feature perhaps underlined by his filing for bankruptcy some years earlier in 1895, and his lack of comprehension surrounding the need for financial constraints at the Cathedral.<sup>421</sup> All of this was further compounded by his administrative shortcomings and evidence seems to point towards his simply being unwilling to face the task in hand, ignoring correspondence and putting off providing manuscripts until the precipice had been reached. As Turbet notes, he was at the time of this delay in producing material, undeterred from extensive adjudicating.<sup>422</sup>

Meanwhile, Buck was put forward by the rest of the committee to write to Terry exploring some sort of decision. Turbet observes that there is an egotistical personality dynamic with Buck (who, having seen off Royle Shore and Barclay Squire, now turned on Terry also). In his correspondence and meetings, Buck did not shy away from pushing himself forward as the solution to the problems the project was facing. The options he offered Terry were: to resign; get the work done; or sack the rest of the committee and handle the consequences. The tone of the correspondence is harsh and perhaps surprising. It suggests either an end-of-tether frustration with Terry, or a clever manoeuvre by Buck, perhaps it was a little of each. ‘I wrote you a letter—the straightest I have ever written to anyone—saying plainly that your “reputation” was perilously near zero, that you were hazarding that of your colleagues, and

<sup>421</sup> Turbet, “Affair of Honour,” 596.

<sup>422</sup> Turbet, “Affair of Honour,” 598.



that you must pull yourself together.<sup>423</sup> Later he refers to some manuscripts Terry had supplied for printing of works by Taverner: 'You must forgive my saying the whole thing is most discreditable. It is your Final Text and would at once be pronounced, by any competent scholar, a disgrace to English scholarship.' Read with the letter to Shore as Turbet suggests, this correspondence demonstrates Buck to be manipulating the situation to his own advantage. Should Terry have sacked the rest of the committee it would have provoked a public spat and would have been in the interests of none of the parties involved. The Carnegie Trust, now exasperated by the protracted problems issued a letter of dismissal to Terry. Given his ill health, it was withheld from him by his wife. Eventually, Terry who was in Ireland and bed-ridden with double pneumonia (and presumably worn down by such correspondence), resigned on grounds of ill-health. A letter to Terry in the Cathedral archives from his cousin (Lord) Walter Runciman, from whom Terry had clearly sought advice on the matter, reads:

As far as I have been able to examine the case up to the present, I feel clear on four points:-

- 1). That you should make sure of being given full credit for all your Taverner work;
- 2). That provided this is assured, you should resign your membership of the committee on condition that your other work as well as this is fully acknowledged;
- 3). That your reason for doing so should be that after your illness you are taking some steps to reduce the amount of work undertaken by you in the future;
- 4). That you make no reference whatever to your remuneration and that you make up your mind to drop that altogether. As you will have no rent to pay at No.5, The Croft, you will actually be as well off as you were before, and can treat their miserable pittance with contempt.

I don't know that any of these arrangements can be made successfully, but I think I shall sound Buck on the subject, and will let you know later on what he says about these points.<sup>424</sup>

<sup>423</sup> Letter from Percy Buck to Terry, 2 June 1921, File 236, TCM archive, GD 281/41/234-8. Scottish Records Office.

<sup>424</sup> Westminster Cathedral, Letter, Walter Runciman to Terry, 21 June 1922, Terry Correspondence, GB-Lwca, London.

From this it is obvious that Buck had been nominated—or had nominated himself—to negotiate with Runciman, and it serves to illustrate his manipulation of the situation. Terry's cousin was attempting to salvage his reputation and ensure some acknowledgement of his contribution to the project. The letter also shows that there had been some disagreement on financial reward for Terry's work and this was a matter on which he would not yield until Runciman told him to back off, though he too was clearly unimpressed by the offered settlement. Terry's resignation was accepted on 13 July 1922 and the dismissal letter withdrawn.<sup>425</sup> In spite of his own self-undermining behaviour, his reputation and honour remained intact as a result, and in the preface to the volumes it read:

The work of rediscovery, trans-notation, and editing, was at first placed in the hands of Dr R.R. Terry, Organist and Director of Music, Westminster Cathedral. Dr Terry later on, finding the work beyond the scope of one editor, gathered round him an Editorial Committee, with whose aid he collected the great bulk of the material and planned the whole edition. Pressure of work, resulting in protracted ill-health, and culminating in a breakdown, necessitated an immediate withdrawal from many of his activities, and the work passed into the hands of the colleagues.

The Trustees deeply regret his retirement, and desire to place on record their appreciation of his pioneer work in the rediscovery of the forgotten music, and his services to the present edition.

It is in the confident hope that musical students and the general public of the United Kingdom will find in the recovered music not only great beauty and intrinsic charm but also a source of inspiration that the Trustees express their pleasure in having contributed towards the publication of the present edition.<sup>426</sup>

Ultimately there were ten volumes in the TCM series (the initial plan for twenty had to be scaled back because the editing work was so time-consuming), and the preface in each volume carried Terry's name. According to Turbet the first three volumes containing his edited

<sup>425</sup> Turbet, "Affair of Honour," 598.

<sup>426</sup> The Trustees, *Tudor Church Music, Trustees' Preface* (London: Oxford University Press, 1923), v.

works.<sup>427</sup> As a result of his successful manoeuvres, Buck succeeded Terry as General Editor.<sup>428</sup>

It was an unfortunate end to Terry's involvement with a project which should have enthused him and ensured his legacy in print, but ultimately the whole episode did nothing to enhance his professional reputation, especially amongst his peers. Within two years Terry had also resigned from Westminster Cathedral.<sup>429</sup>

TCM as a whole was largely a success, in spite of the editorial wrangling (it took fifteen years to complete only ten of the planned twenty volumes) and constant financial concerns (the project cost five times the original estimate), and it is unfortunate that the rest of the scheme would not find its way to print. There had been hopes in 1929 of an American sponsor for the remaining volumes, but according to Fellowes, the Wall Street Crash ended

<sup>427</sup> Turbet, "Affair of Honour," 598. In the Westminster Cathedral archive is a copy of a typed document, headed 'List of Works scored for the CARNEGIE U.K. TRUST by Dr R. R. Terry'. There is an equivalent list for Sylvia Townsend Warner and another for Edmund Fellowes (the latter being the longest). The works are listed according to manuscript source and occasionally by composer. Terry's list corresponds to Turbet's assertion that he edited works in the two Taverner volumes. If he had edited the first Byrd volume also, it would be a hefty total of thirty percent of the output. However, the Westminster copy lists also name works in other volumes. Whether this indicates that Terry edited more than Turbet suggests is unclear, though it seems co-incidental that the pieces listed on the Westminster document are all Latin text compositions, many of which appear in the Westminster Service Music Lists, such as Tallis, *Lamentations*, his Mass *Salve Intemerata* and ten further motets; two works by Byrd; Aston's *Te Deum*; and the Merbecke Mass *per arma Iustitiae*. Also worthy of note, is that volume two of the TCM series, which Turbet suggests is edited by Terry, consists of Byrd's English works including the *Great Service*, which given the fuss surrounding its editorship (see footnotes 476–486), suggests it must surely have been provided by Fellowes.

<sup>428</sup> The ten volumes were printed between 1922 and 1929 and are: Volume one, Taverner Part I, 1923; Volume two, William Byrd, 1922; Volume three, Taverner, Part II, 1924; Volume four, Orlando Gibbons, 1925; Volume five, Robert White, 1926; Volume six, Thomas Tallis, 1928; Volume seven, William Byrd, *Gradualia* I and II, 1927; Volume eight, Thomas Tomkins, Part I – Services, 1928; Volume nine, William Byrd, Masses, *Cantiones* (1575) and Motets, 1928; Volume ten, Hugh Aston, John Marbeck, Osbert Parsley, 1929. Further volumes in the series never materialised though clearly from volume eight for example, further work was still expected to appear during the project.

<sup>429</sup> It is worthy of note that away from TCM, 'Buck, Fellowes, Ramsbotham, Warner, Terry and Milford were all members of the Byrd Tercentenary Committee under the chairmanship of Hadow' with the meetings beginning in March of 1922, the very year that Terry was ousted. Richard Turbet, *William Byrd: A Research and Information Guide* (New York: Garland, 1987), 304–05.

any hopes of this coming to fruition.<sup>430</sup> There is some tantalising information in the TCM documents at the University of London Library which point to what might have appeared in the rest of the series, including works by Mundy, Parsons, Sheppard, Fayrfax and Ludford, as well as music from the Old Hall Manuscript which Terry had spent so long editing but died before he could complete.<sup>431</sup> The published scheme was a success in spite of the petty territorial squabbles, of Terry's administrative ineptitude and unwillingness to re-edit work he had already prepared for performance (Westminster cathedral choir had performed it, why did it need to be reworked more accurately?), and the ambitious jostling of some of the board's members. Turbet quotes his own research in arguing that Byrd is now the most frequently performed composer in cathedrals and major churches in the British Isles, and in anthems, Tallis comes second.<sup>432</sup> Ultimately therefore, the project was a success because it brought this repertory to a much wider audience than the original editors might have imagined possible. Primarily, this was because of the octavo scores, which delivered compositions by Tallis, Byrd, Taverner and others into the hands of parish choirmasters and cathedral organists across the world, inspiring the next generations of performers and musicologists.

<sup>430</sup> Fellowes, *Memoirs of an Amateur Musician*, 128.

<sup>431</sup> Turbet, "Affair of Honour," 599.

<sup>432</sup> John Patton and Richard Turbet, "Byrd in British Cathedrals 1986," *Musical Opinion* cxi (1988), 52–59. Richard Turbet, "Byrd Throughout All Generations," *Cathedral Music* xxxv (1992), 19–24.

### 3.2 The reception of Terry's musicology skills

Terry's musical legacy is to be found in his hymn tunes, the small number of other compositions, his larger number of arrangements, and in the surviving editions of early music. He once described the nineteenth-century music scholar Karl Proske as 'an idealist touched by practicality', something Sydney Grew noted could equally be applied to Terry 'except that Terry is more than "touched" by practicality'.<sup>433</sup> The only biography of Terry, *Westminster Retrospect, A memoir of Sir Richard Terry* by Hilda Andrews has been the single substantial source of information available about Terry's life since it was published in 1948 and Andrews' views have hitherto dominated how his character and work have been perceived.

Andrews was a friend of Terry and to judge from her style of writing was among his admirers, writing a largely uncritical biography which focussed on his positive reception. As is usually the case with large personalities and biographies, there are competing versions of 'the truth' and at least one other writer was ready to balance the record. In his review of 'Westminster Retrospect' Dom Gregory Murray was scathing of Andrew's contribution and published a refutation of it in *The Tablet* as a former chorister who knew the *real* story. Murray, who had served as a chorister from 1914–1920, criticised Andrews for her fawning style which presented a clearly biased picture; he makes the mistake, however, of trashing the whole volume for the sake of style and some inaccuracies. This is unfortunate, since a quantity of the detail is correct and it is the only resource for some information—even if the emotional slant and lack of genuine criticism at times obscures a balanced view. Yet Murray writes un-

<sup>433</sup> Grew, "Sir Richard Runciman Terry," 158.

generously and takes a diametrically opposed view to Andrews, rendering his testimony equally unbalanced. It is too voluminous to quote at length here, however some key extracts will give a flavour of his criticism. He opens (unpromisingly): ‘I can hardly imagine a less grateful task than the reviewing of this book’ and continues to drub it with accusations of Andrews relying on ‘the random reminiscences of those who see the past through coloured spectacles: an object-lesson in the unreality of the evidence of contemporaries which is not really contemporary.’<sup>434</sup> There is support however, for her account of Terry’s frenetic working and large-scale music recovery work: ‘When there are genuinely contemporary records to guide her, such as the Cathedral music lists, she is on firmer ground. She thus establishes beyond doubt the double thesis that the repertory of the Cathedral choir was enormous and that Terry must be credited with the lion’s share in rescuing our Tudor church music from oblivion.’<sup>435</sup> It is a remarkable claim: that beyond doubt, Terry was responsible for the majority of English Tudor music being recovered and restored to use. It is also an endorsement of Haskell’s description of Terry, along with Edmund Fellowes, being jointly responsible for ‘Elizabethan Fever’ in music.<sup>436</sup> Murray clearly harboured mixed views about his professional and personal relationship with Terry, though he held him in sufficiently high regard to quote the opening of the Gloria from Terry’s *Short Mass in C* (which is analysed below) as the opening melody of the Kyrie in his own work *A People’s Mass*.<sup>437</sup> In addition, Murray gave permis-

<sup>434</sup> Murray, “The Westminster Choir,” 10.

<sup>435</sup> Murray, “The Westminster Choir,” 10.

<sup>436</sup> Haskell, *Early Music Revival*, 37.

<sup>437</sup> Richard Runciman Terry, “Short Mass in C,” (1909).

sion for four of his works to be included in Terry's compendium of music for Benediction *The Complete Benediction Book for Choirs*.<sup>438</sup> Murray's formative years as a young musician were spent at Westminster and as John Rowntree recounts, the Cathedral 'offered an example to Catholic church musicians unequalled anywhere outside Rome itself. Standards were high and the repertory wide, revealing the great wealth of early English liturgical music... [Terry] must have been a remarkable inspiration to the young Anthony Murray.'<sup>439</sup> Murray went to Downside Abbey in 1923 as a monk and became a proficient organist, giving BBC broadcasts and writing treatises on plainsong and its accompaniment.<sup>440</sup> He also followed Terry in re-editing the Westminster Hymnal in 1939.

### 3.3 Recognition and Criticism

Terry's achievements were recognised with an honorary doctorate from the University of Durham in 1911, on which occasion Sir Henry Hadow commented on Terry's scholarship and learning. He also noted of the manuscripts Terry was recovering that 'most of them, when he began his work, existed only in part-books and other manuscript collections, their beauties wasted in disuse, their very titles unknown save to a few antiquaries and historians.

<sup>438</sup> Terry, *Benediction Book*, 13, 38, 31, 59, 60. *O Salutaris* No. 13, p.13, No.38, p.31, and *Tantum Ergo* No.19, p.59, No.20, p.60.

<sup>439</sup> John Rowntree, "The Compton Organ in St Peter's Gloucester." accessed 20 March, 2018, <http://www.stpetersgloucester.org.uk/documents/Organ.pdf>.

<sup>440</sup> See particularly: Dom Grgeory Murray, *The Authentic Rhythm of Gregorian Chant* (Downside: Downside Abbey, 1959). Also Dom Grgeory Murray, *Gregorian Chant According to the Manuscripts* (London: Cary and Co., 1963). And Dom Grgeory Murray, *Music and the Mass* (Stowmarket: Kevin Mayhew, 1977).

He has rescued them from their long neglect'.<sup>441</sup> Further recognition came in 1922, when Terry was knighted in Lloyd George's dissolution honours list. The citation read: 'For research work in early English manuscripts in music'.<sup>442</sup> This honour was widely welcomed, as Percy Scholes, musicologist and music critic at the *Observer* writing in 1922 noted, 'when Terry, whom musicians love, a week or two since became Sir Richard, we who know the variety of his useful activities looked in the Honours List to see which of them had been chosen as the public grounds for a well-merited expression of public gratitude'.<sup>443</sup> Here was a clear acknowledgement of Terry's unusually broad range of musical activities, any of which Scholes suggests might have been worthy of recognition. He continued, 'The 'research' has been done, is always being done, and will continue until all material is exhausted... But the activities do not rest there, since besides the research there has been the popularisation. Sir Richard has not merely dug up for us a mass of beauty... he has put it again into every-day currency'. This was a further endorsement of Terry's work to normalize the placing of the early choral repertoire in the wider church music lexicon. As has already been noted, this spilled out from Westminster Cathedral into Anglicanism and now (quite remarkably) the Catholic responsible for this quiet revolution was rewarded by the very establishment which had for three hundred years oppressed such material.

Terry's reputation during his lifetime was mixed. The Catholic press were effulgent in their praise, such as the *Catholic World's* column noting his knighthood: 'Sir Richard Terry con-

<sup>441</sup> Sir Henry Hadow, "Richard Runciman Terry," *Musical Times* (1911).

<sup>442</sup> "1922 Dissolution Honours List," 8016.

<sup>443</sup> The *Observer* article is quoted in Andrews, *Westminster Retrospect*, 144–45.



tinues to rule the musical destinies of the metropolitan Cathedral which have made it the most perfect exponent of the old church music of the English composers. The new Knight's honour is well earned, for no man has done more than he to rescue from oblivion the Masses and other musical masterpieces composed by the Catholic composers of the pre-Reformation period in England.<sup>444</sup> Others, such as Cecil Gray (1895–1951), the composer and Scottish music critic commenting on Terry's work with sixteenth-century music, described him as 'a pioneer and master of all subsequent workers in this field, and the greatest living authority on the subject.'<sup>445</sup> His work at Westminster earned him much positive coverage in other musical, ecclesiastical and national media and this was balanced by his polemical outbursts in newspaper correspondence with Royle Shore and others. Terry was sensitive to criticism and it is likely that this stemmed from his sense of being an outsider in a number of ways.<sup>446</sup> Firstly, he was a Catholic and therefore not a figure of the Establishment, which in the eyes of some of his detractors meant that he was not 'one of us'. This can be detected in some of the correspondence surrounding TCM. Examples of the establishment Anglican bias are commonplace in this period. Frank Howes, the former music critic of *The Times*, writing in 1966 about Terry's early life notes that 'he was converted to Catholicism during a period spent in the West Indies'. The expression 'he was converted' suggests it was something done to him, and the idea that it happened outside the country underlines the foreign nature of Catholicism in

<sup>444</sup> "Sir Richard Terry of Westminster." *Catholic World*, 1922.

<sup>445</sup> Cecil Gray, *Peter Warlock* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1934), 26.

<sup>446</sup> A typical example of this can be found in *The Organist and Choirmaster*, a monthly music journal published between 1893 and 1919, where in 1901 Terry took issue with a criticism of his view on the origins of Tallis's English contrafactum anthem 'I Call and Cry'. Richard Runciman Terry, "The Original Form of Tallis 'I Call and Cry'," *The Organist and Choirmaster: a mid-monthly musical journal* 9, Issue 99 (1901), 73–74.

this view.<sup>447</sup> In fact, Terry embraced Catholicism with enthusiasm, as his writings testify, and converted eight months after returning to England, having considered matters of faith for some time. He was not unforthcoming in demonstrating his family's lineage, hoping this gave him some social credibility amongst his peers, many of whom came from wealthy, Anglican and public school backgrounds—his knighthood in 1922 would have been welcome in this respect. Secondly, he left Cambridge without his degree and was not a trained musicologist. This is not to say he was not musically trained—he had been an organ scholar at Oxford and a choral scholar at Cambridge, before which he had received organ lessons and general musical training—though his skills in this area were learned through experience. Even his Fellowship of the Royal College of Organists was honorary, awarded after his appointment to Westminster, as was his doctorate from Durham.<sup>448</sup> Further, his manner of 'doing' musicology was very different from that of his contemporaries, believing it far more important to bring the music to performance than spend time on the scholarly editing of scores, and it is from here that much criticism by contemporary musicologists originates. Terry, a man who had not completed his formal education was working in their academic and intellectual domain with considerable success, leading to much favourable publicity and to his being appointed over their heads to roles such as the editor of the Carnegie TCM project. His social and professional advance created resentment amongst those who considered themselves, perhaps rightly, better qualified for such roles and these resentments frequently boiled over into public spats, not aided by Terry's behaviour which was at times arrogant. Finally, he was researching into

<sup>447</sup> Frank Howes, *The English Musical Renaissance* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1966), 95.

<sup>448</sup> It is possible that Terry's insecurity about his lack of formally-recognised education is the likely explanation for his aggressive and often rude outbursts in the media aimed at those who criticised him.

areas and periods that were unknown, performing such works as the Davey *Passion* and motets by early fifteenth-century composers. This work was often unprecedented, and his choir's performance of the *Mass for Five Voices* by Byrd on 26 November 1899 at Ealing Abbey for example, was the first modern performance of the work in three hundred years.<sup>449</sup>

The way in which public or official acknowledgment for his work could be diverted is illustrative of his outsider status and the Byrd *Mass for Five Voices* is a prime example. In 1937 the Preface to the published Coronation book credited his occasional rival Fellowes with single-handedly restoring music from the Tudor period and the Byrd Mass in particular. Noting that Bullock and Walford Davies had assembled a collection of music new and old to choose 'whatever will afford the most fitting setting to the ancient rite', the preface (written by Henry Cope Colles) states, 'Incidentally, their choice shows that musical scholarship has moved far in the last thirty years or so'.<sup>450</sup> Colles omitted to mention in his preface that it was thanks to Terry's work in bringing the old Catholic repertoire back into performance, that there was now a great deal more of it from which to choose, including the Byrd *Mass for Five Voices*. The preface continued, 'The Tudor music has been brought back into the light, and in that matter this book is particularly indebted to the research and editorship of Dr. E. H. Fellowes of Windsor'. There is no recorded response from Terry to this claim for Fellowes. He had been travelling in Australia adjudicating, meeting up with his friend Granville Bantock and when he returned home he was suffering from recurring and serious ill-health.<sup>451</sup> It can-

<sup>449</sup> Cole, "Royle Shore," 205.

<sup>450</sup> Henry Cope Colles, *Coronation of Their Majesties King George VI and Queen Elizabeth* (London: Novello and Company, 1937), iii.

<sup>451</sup> Andrews, *Westminster Retrospect*, 173.

not have been a welcome appropriation of credit for his work and reflects the prevailing reluctance to acknowledge a Catholic with something which performed a function so central to the Establishment. (It is also inconceivable that a fellow Anglican such as Buck would fail to be credited, had he borne some responsibility for the edition.)

A criticism levelled at Terry by some contemporaries and more frequently by current writers is that he could be guilty of picking up the work of others and having made minor adjustments to text or having inserted dynamic markings would present it for printing as his own work.<sup>452</sup> This was not an uncommon practice in these early years of early English music palaeography. As soon as old sources were uncovered, there followed a clamour from Buck, Terry, Fellowes, Shore and many others to have them published with the free exchange of language in the text to suit liturgical situation or commercial opportunity was practised by them all. Certainly, as Suzanne Cole says, other people's scores would sometimes provide the initial material for an edition, or there would be adaptations of others' work, 'a surprisingly large proportion of the series of 'Downside Motets' that Terry had published in 1904 fall into one of these two categories.' She goes on to list Tallis's *Bone Pastor* which was an adaptation of *If Ye Love Me* to a Latin text, and he did the same with Farrant's *Lord, for Thy Tender Mercy's sake* which was set to the text of *O Sacrum Convivium*.<sup>453</sup> In his editions of Byrd's *Ave Verum* and *Sacerdotes Domini*, Terry acknowledges that Barclay Squire had kindly provided the original score and that editorial dynamic markings or expression marks were his own. Set against the vast

<sup>452</sup> Cole, "Royle Shore," 213–14. Cole lists several works that had been produced by others and having inserted dynamic markings and general performance directions, Terry sent them to print as his editions.

<sup>453</sup> Cole, "Royle Shore," 213–14.

quantity of his discoveries and output, this small number of pieces is hardly indicative of whole-scale fraud, though they have provided cause for criticism. Clearly oblivious to his own practices, Terry did not hold back on criticising others for pillaging his work which often led to testy correspondence in the media.

### **Disputes with Royle Shore, Fellowes, and the Gibbons Controversy**

A regular critical correspondent with Terry was Royle Shore. Born in 1856 in Birmingham, Samuel Royle Shore was a solicitor and reasonably accomplished amateur musician, though he never held an official position as cathedral organist or a paid singer, he was briefly acting organist at Birmingham Anglican Cathedral for a few months in 1906.<sup>454</sup> Whether he was an admirer of Terry's work and wished to emulate the Westminster model in the Anglican Church, or whether he simply took shortcuts with other peoples' work is unclear, though his actions do suggest he set out on the former course. The dispute with Terry began when Shore created an arrangement of Tallis's *Lamentations* to an English text, which he performed at Evensong in October 1909. Terry had recovered the work himself while at Downside and had performed it liturgically at the turn of the century in what was the first performance in the modern era, but the work remained unpublished, sung from the hand-written scores of Terry's editions at Westminster Cathedral. Terry's claims that the work was unknown elsewhere are rejected by Suzanne Cole and she reveals this to be an example of Terry unnecessarily enlarging his reputation, when in fact the truth alone would have been enough to earn

<sup>454</sup> For more on Shore, including his conflicts with the Anglican church, enhancing his reputation as an epistolary agitator, see Tim Grass, *The Lord's Work: A History of the Catholic Apostolic Church* (Eugene: Pickwick Publications, 2017).

him plaudits.<sup>455</sup> Whilst the *Lamentations* were known elsewhere, it is also true that nobody else had performed them, and Terry's edition was kept in manuscript at Westminster Cathedral, and was not therefore readily available to anyone outside. Shore's performance of the work at Birmingham was both the first given in an Anglican service, but also the first in modern times not directed by Terry.<sup>456</sup> It is only possible to imagine Terry's surprise at the work appearing at Birmingham Cathedral in 1910, in Holy Week, in English (and therefore taken out of its original Latin), and in his musical edition. Terry, who had striven to have music in its original Latin text restored to use, would have seen this as a gross act of *cultura appropriata*. How he heard about the performance is unrecorded, though it is likely a review in the media alerted him. To compound his frustration, *The Times* ran an article on Church Music which pointed out that Tallis's *Lamentations* had now, importantly, been brought to Anglican worship.<sup>457</sup> Terry hurried a letter to *The Times* in which he damned Shore with feint praise: 'a brilliant lawyer, an enthusiastic amateur musician, and an equally enthusiastic adherent of the High Church party'. (Converts such as Terry viewed those in the High Church wing of Anglicanism with some derision, as pretend Catholics.) He obliquely accused Shore of stealing his work: 'his revivals of old English polyphony at Birmingham Cathedral deserve all praise, but the musical

<sup>455</sup> Cole, *Tallis in Victorian England*, 59–60. Cole points out that the first edition of Grove lists the Needler Manuscript (GB-Lbl Add. MS 5059) as containing the *Lamentations* and that there were other manuscripts in the British Library containing the work.

<sup>456</sup> Terry's tradition of packing Holy Week services with early music and latterly English early music, meant that the Tallis (which was clearly a favourite), appeared almost every year.

<sup>457</sup> Cole, *Tallis in Victorian England*, 210.

material he has hitherto used has been provided by the researches of others than himself.<sup>458</sup>

The matter did not rest there.

A few months later a similar situation arose with another work. During the summer of 1910, Squire's edition of the Byrd *Mass for five voices* was performed at Birmingham. It was the musical score edited and published by Terry and Barclay Squire at the end of the previous century, but which Shore had set clumsily to an English text. Shore—presumably to give his adaptation some gravitas—gives thanks for the help of Granville Bantock and Frederick Bridge amongst others for their help and claims without a hint of irony that the edition 'has been greatly facilitated' by permission given to him by Terry and Barclay Squire to use their work. Very quickly a review appeared in the *Saturday Review* titled 'A Mangled Mass' which suggests that Breitkopf and Hartel are being humorous with Anglican music lovers by publishing Shore's edition. Damningly it says: 'We suggest to Messrs. Breitkopf that the joke has been carried far enough. Who Mr Royle Shore may be we do not know; but we do know the high reputations of Breitkopf and Hartel, and we do know also that that reputation will not be raised by the inclusion of Mr Shore's *jeu d'esprit*.'<sup>459</sup> In the same publication the following week Breitkopf gave notice that the edition had been withdrawn. The author of the article is anonymous, but the writing style suggests that it was Terry's uncle, Walter Runciman.

There was a further exchange of letters over a protracted period when Shore disagreed with Terry about the emergence of straightforward composition in the Anglican

<sup>458</sup> Terry, Richard Runciman, "Orlando Gibbons's Hosanna." *The Times*, 1910.

<sup>459</sup> 'A Mangled Mass: 'Communion Service in 5 parts' by William Byrde adapted from the Original Latin by S. Royle Shore', SR, 110 (20 August 1910), .237. Quoted by Cole, "Royle Shore," 212.

church under Elizabeth I. Terry had made a broad-brush comment about plain chord progressions being a hallmark of Anglicanism in that period and Shore disagreed with him. Unsatisfied with Terry's response, Shore wrote again and again in letters to *The Tablet* during 1912 to press his opinion.<sup>460</sup> Finally Terry, exasperated with this nagging correspondence in public wrote intemperately, accusing Shore of 'pertinaciously' attacking him. Shore continued, flattering Terry: 'I owe him so much for directing my serious attention to the English polyphonic schools of composition, for the inspiration which his infectious enthusiasm has been to me, and for so many kindnesses'. He went on, resurrecting the controversy with the Byrd *Mass for Five Voices*, stating that the publishers had in their preface exonerated him 'for the technical blemishes which appeared' making it clear that Runciman's scathing review had caused considerable discomfort. Compounding this already difficult situation Shore recommended that Terry go to the British Museum and study Barnard's collection of church music, suggesting 'his education would proceed very rapidly'.<sup>461</sup> It is perhaps hardly surprising that Terry was so irked by the tenor of Shore's correspondence, and this near-obsession with Terry was again manifest a few years later when the TCM project began.

Terry's friends would also loyally enter into argument on his behalf if they felt he was being overlooked or treated unfairly, and when things became heated it can have done little for his reputation. Philip Hesletine (Peter Warlock) wrote to Percy Scholes, the musician and musicologist, when Scholes penned an article in the *Radio Times* about Edmund Fellowes' discovery of the William Byrd *Great Service*. In an unpublished letter to the *Radio Times* of 14 June

<sup>460</sup> S. Royal Shore, "Letter to the Editor," *The Tablet* (1912), 28.

<sup>461</sup> S. Royle Shore, "'The Church Times' and Dr Terry," *The Tablet* (1912), 28.



1925, Heseltine took aim at Scholes in an attempt to undermine his article 'Permit me to suggest that, abandoning the pretence that you are in any way qualified to pass judgement on music, you would be much better employed in playing tennis than reporting concerts at any time, and that you would be still better employed in bugging yourself with a pair of exceptionally well-greased bellows'.<sup>462</sup> It is unsurprising that the letter never made it to print, and on this occasion, the dispute was on uncertain ground. Fellowes claimed responsibility for the research and publication of the *Great Service* in 1924 (he had performed it in one of the fairly regular slots on the radio that both he and Terry by this time individually were presenting).<sup>463</sup> At the heart of this misunderstanding was Heseltine, who in addition to the Radio Times correspondence, sent terse letters to Scholes admonishing him for claiming that Fellowes had 'discovered' the *Great Service*, when he in fact knew that it was Terry who had done so, because Terry had told him this was the case.<sup>464</sup> Whether Terry made a misleading, or casual remark to Heseltine about the work's discovery is unknown, though Heseltine felt himself to be on firm enough ground on the matter to write in complaint. It is worth noting that Scholes' letter to Fellowes bringing the correspondence from Heseltine to his attention notes 'he [Heseltine] is evidently serious. I mean that he is evidently not merely acting on impulse or mood, so that the proverbial appeal from "Philip drunk to Philip sober", so to speak, is not possible'.<sup>465</sup>

<sup>462</sup> Barry Smith, *The Collected Letters of Peter Warlock* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), 130–31.

<sup>463</sup> Perhaps more than any other exchange between Terry and Fellowes, this controversy best illustrates the difficulties with their relationship and how these differences were often enlarged at Buck's prompting. It is worth noting that the Carnegie and OUP correspondence mentioned earlier from people outside of this dispute had described Fellowes as an 'irritant' and a 'toad' and that Buck had been manoeuvring himself to lead the editorial team.

<sup>464</sup> Letter, Philip Heseltine to Percy Scholes, 16 November 1925, Fellowes Collection, MPP/F 2/1/46, Oriel College Archives, Oxford,

<sup>465</sup> Letter from Percy Scholes to Edmund Fellowes, 28 March 1925, Fellowes Collection, MPP/F

There ensued some correspondence from Buck to Terry and Fellowes agitating for Terry to withdraw any claim to the music and to publish an acknowledgement of Fellowes' rights to editorship. Buck opens his letter in characteristic style: 'My dear Terry, I do not like interfering in matters in which I am not directly concerned', but proceeds to do just that and to press Terry for a public retraction—of a claim which Terry had not publicly made.<sup>466</sup> The salutation in the letter to Terry is in contrast to his correspondence with Fellowes, where Buck addresses him as 'My dear Edmund', continuing to inform Fellowes that he has attempted to contact Terry by telephone 'asking him to meet us next Tuesday or Wednesday' completely undermining his claim of being disinclined to any interference.<sup>467</sup> Terry remained silent in public, though wrote to Buck privately saying that he had never laid claim to the work and the matter eventually evaporated, with Fellowes ultimately credited with the discovery and editorship. Percy Buck had involved himself, siding with Fellowes in a matter that was the latest in the succession of skirmishes set against the backdrop of the TCM skirmishes. The uneasy relationship between these men is illustrated further by the way that Buck seems to have constantly attempted to recruit Fellowes in criticism of Terry. For example, Fellowes and Buck jointly resented Terry's award of a knighthood (an award not bestowed on Fellowes). In a letter to Fellowes, Buck wrote, 'I agree with you that the Terry knighthood is disastrous—i.e. if it is going to give him a claim to our work in the eyes of the public'.<sup>468</sup> The Fellowes Collection,

2/1/45, Oriel College Archive, Oxford.

<sup>466</sup> Letter from Percy Buck to Terry, 1 May 1925, Fellowes Collection, MPP/F 2/1/52, Oriel College Archives, Oxford.

<sup>467</sup> Letter from Percy Buck to Edmund Fellowes, 22 July 1925, Fellowes Collection, MPP/F 2/1/53, Oriel College Archives, Oxford.

<sup>468</sup> Letter from Percy Buck to Edmund Fellowes, 15 November 1922, Fellowes Collection, MPP/F

held at Oriel College, Oxford contains a quantity of correspondence selected by Fellowes with many notable musicians of his age. There is one letter to Fellowes in the collection from Terry in which Terry informs him that he has spoken to the Dean of King's College, Cambridge—with whom he is 'great friends'—about a professorship at the university, and informed Fellowes that he had assured the Dean 'that you were the only person whom I considered fully qualified and equipped for the post'.<sup>469</sup> This would suggest that the animosity was not always two-sided.

The approach of both men to the music and person of William Byrd perhaps exposes the strength of feeling on the issue of the *Great Service*. Fellowes, a supporter of the Anglican historiography, claimed for Byrd a national musical heroism which he stated in the programme notes for the William Byrd tercentenary in 1923, writing 'he[Byrd] lived at that period when England stood among the musical nations of Europe, and Byrd himself stood first among that splendid group of composers who raised English music to so high a position'.<sup>470</sup> Terry too wrote of national pride, 'Englishmen may well be proud thus to claim kinship with one of the greatest master-minds in music', but he did not claim for Byrd the status of an Elizabethan Anglican giant of national music in the same way as Fellowes. Rather, he noted 'his music is that of a strong, patient soul, ready to do and suffer for the religion he held dear. Tenderly human as he could be, his music seems to speak to us from a serene spiritual

2/1/60, Oriel College Archives, Oxford.

<sup>469</sup> Letter from Terry to Edmund Fellowes, 3 June 1919, Fellowes Collection, MPP/F 2/1/60, Oriel College Archives, Oxford

<sup>470</sup> Byrd Tercentenary Celebration, Oxford Subscription Concerts, quoted by Laura J. Wiebe, "'Peopled With Invisible Presences": Oxford and the Tudor Revival, Ca. 1890–1939," diss., University of Iowa, 2011), 37.

atmosphere whose unclouded calm was unbroken by echoes from the world at whose hands he had suffered much'.<sup>471</sup> The contrasting views of Byrd held by these two men—between national hero and spiritual example—is striking.

Earlier, at the turn of the century, taking the lead from Davey, Terry sparked controversy with a claim for some English compositions from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century to have originally been written in Latin.<sup>472</sup> Whether this was a provocative reaction to the appropriation of Catholic music by Anglicans and its subsequent setting to unrelated English texts is unclear, but the reaction was swift and prompted a string of letters in the media including from Royle Shore. The most contentious claim concerns Orlando Gibbons' setting of *Hosanna to the Son of David*, a six-part anthem for Palm Sunday. Terry wrote of the origin not of the music, but of the text: 'I have no hesitation in describing Gibbons' *Hosanna* as an adaptation of the Palm Sunday antiphon, "Hosanna Filio David," so closely do its phrases fit the Latin ones, without dislocating a "quantity" or necessitating the alteration of a note. This can only be explained on the assumption that Latin was the original form—the genus of the two languages being so different'.<sup>473</sup> This thesis was supported by his belief that the text was not a direct biblical quote, but rather a translation of the Latin from the Catholic liturgy. He continued, 'a second reason for my belief is that the English words, although sup-

<sup>471</sup> Terry, *The Music of the Roman Rite*, 229–30. These two initiators of 'Elizabethan Fever', one Anglican, the other Catholic and each fulfilling their own partisan agendas, were equally responsible for building on the work of others before them in their endeavours to promote Tudor music, however this was something that neither of them was keen to acknowledge. Richard Turbet, "Three Glimpses of Byrd's Music During Its Nadir," *The Consort* Summer 2009 (2009), 18–28.

<sup>472</sup> Cole, "Royle Shore," 207.

<sup>473</sup> Richard Runciman Terry, "Anglican Church Music," *The Chord* 3 (1899), 22–23.

posed to be taken from Matt. Xxi, 9, are not (as they stand) to be found in any of the Gospels, but they do, up to the last sentence—an obvious tag—follow the Latin of the Roman rite'. Terry does not here venture to suggest that Gibbons was a recusant Catholic, but he does place him at the end of the line of 'the great ecclesiastical school', the last of the composers who were inspired by the spirit of the liturgy. He suggests that 'Gibbons (full of the spirit of his master Byrde [sic]) was the last flicker in the socket'.<sup>474</sup> There is an implication here that the relationship with Byrd in his formative years had some bearing on his religious outlook.<sup>475</sup> Gibbons has always been viewed as a staunchly Anglican figure, possibly as a result of the desire for truly Anglican music to emerge from the Reformation and as a counter to Tallis and Byrd's inconvenient Catholicism. Circumstantial evidence of likely Catholicism during the seventeenth century is not uncommon and is certainly not conclusive grounds for suggesting the subject is a Catholic. In the case of Gibbons Terry clearly felt that there were doubts about his religious affiliation, though that was not the thrust of his argument. Rather, he held that Gibbons extended the line of composers inspired by older Catholic material and who took compositional inspiration from the old liturgy by one more generation. So for Terry, the English Catholic choral tradition (or at least its impetus for composition) ends not just with

<sup>474</sup> Terry, "Anglican Church Music," 22–23.

<sup>475</sup> There are three keyboard pieces by Gibbons which he composed around three plainsong *cantus firmi*, an activity which might lend weight to Terry's claim. These are likely to be an experimental compositional exercise, but nevertheless, they are an interesting choice of basis for composition by someone born after the Reformation. For more on this see: Alan Brown, "Invented Plainsongs in Keyboard Settings Ascribed to Tomkins and Gibbons," *Music and Letters* 95, No.1. (2014).

Tallis and Byrd, but also Gibbons. Remarkably, as Cole notes, this assertion met with little argument from Anglicans.<sup>476</sup>

A further controversial claim by Terry is for the simple anthem by an unknown composer, long ascribed to John Redford (1486–1547) *Rejoice in the Lord alway*, to have originally been written to a Latin text. Terry notes, ‘Redford’s well-known “Rejoice in the Lord” is a strikingly good fit to the Latin Introit for the Third Sunday in Advent. Furthermore the date attached to it on the copies now in existence shows that Mary was on the throne.’<sup>477</sup> He continues to question why direct biblical passages have not been used for this and the other works he cites, claiming that English translations of the Latin Propers and other texts were employed. Terry sums up his argument:

In brief, the case against the English origin of these early anthems, of which we have no Latin versions is simply this, they are in the contrapuntal style of the old Catholic composers, which is as distinct from the “full chord” style of the reformers as anything can possibly be. Is it likely, then, that their authors should have written them for the services of the Established Church seeing that they are composed in a style which at that period was strongly denounced, and the use of which was specifically forbidden? No; the fact really is that they never made their appearance in English until the times had changed, and (mark this) every one of their composers was dead.<sup>478</sup>

It is worth noting the following details in respect of this controversy: John Redford died in 1547; Mary Tudor reigned from 1553–1558; the Mulliner Book was compiled between 1545 and 1570 (the majority of the work completed after Redford’s death), meaning some works are likely to have been copied in Mary’s reign; The Mulliner Book contains other works by Redford as well as pieces by Tallis and Blitheman, Taverner and Tye (not all Catholics); the

<sup>476</sup> Cole, “Royle Shore,” 207.

<sup>477</sup> Terry, “Our Church Music,” 9–10.

<sup>478</sup> Terry, “Our Church Music,” 9–10.

text of the anthem in that source (not the composers hand, but a copyist) is from the 1549 Prayer Book, two years after Redford's death. Given such details therefore, Terry's theory cannot be found conclusive, but neither does the evidence to the contrary prove him to be wrong.

### **The working relationship at Westminster Cathedral**

It would be inaccurate to claim that the authorities at Westminster Cathedral were of one mind in terms of the musical tradition that had grown up in the first quarter of the twentieth century. Cardinal Vaughan had set out his philosophy, had chosen Terry to spearhead the musical element of it, but had died very early. Bourne, who held differing views on music to his predecessor, also had to face the constraints of budgetary reality and this was a source of constant friction between him and Terry. It was not the only area in which the two disagreed however, and Terry faced criticism for elitism in pushing ahead with choral services which excluded the congregation.<sup>479</sup> This accusation was a potentially toxic mix for choral music—elitist and expensive—and it is a difficult argument to counter when preaching a gospel of charity and inclusion. Yet, Terry was sure of his ground and argued that in divine worship, only the best should be offered to God, and as the fulcrum of Catholic activity in England, Westminster Cathedral should be setting an example of how to do this. He contributed to a book *Lives of the Great Composers* with chapters on Palestrina and Byrd. In the Byrd contribution he speaks of the complexities of the choir's performances at Westminster, writing: 'Public performances were given from manuscript copies [at Westminster] as printed ones did not then exist... The work was carried out under great difficulties known only to the pioneers who ini-

<sup>479</sup> Doyle, *Westminster Cathedral 1895-1995*, 57–59.

tiated it'.<sup>480</sup> The 'great difficulties' must be taken here to refer to the ongoing disputes with the Canons and other clergy over his approach to his duties and absences outlined earlier in this study. The manuscript copies he refers to are the hand-copied parts from which the choir sang. On Palestrina, he tellingly wrote of the composer's 'interior nature' and his natural affinity for the liturgy, claiming that he was a victim of difficulty from jealous colleagues, in what was surely an allusion to his own turbulent relationships with the Cathedral authorities and some other musicologists.<sup>481</sup> In a history of the Cathedral, Peter Doyle alludes to this when he writes that there was conflict within the organisation over music: 'Terry frequently felt frustrated and let down by the constant battles which he had to fight with the authorities'.<sup>482</sup> He ascribes some of the blame to Terry, saying 'he found the detail of paperwork irksome and was not good at it. He was bitter about the reduction in the size of his choir, and put it down to a failure to stick to Vaughan's ideals. His case would have been stronger, however, if he had not given so much ground for complaint himself.' Doyle gives here a glimpse of some of the self-defeating behaviour that undermined Terry's cause.

The criticisms of a lack of congregational participation were perhaps more symptomatic of a small constituency at the Cathedral who did not like or did not understand the role of choral music in the liturgy, possibly since it was for them, an innovation. After a break of more than three hundred years in Catholic cathedral worship, this is hardly surprising. In the history of the Cathedral's first hundred years, Doyle gives a hint of this mind-set, betraying a

<sup>480</sup> Richard Runciman Terry, "Byrd," in *Lives of the Great Composers* (London: Gollancz, 1935), 147.

<sup>481</sup> Terry, "Palestrina," 435.

<sup>482</sup> Doyle, *Westminster Cathedral 1895-1995*, 58.



lack of understanding of the role of music in the liturgy that remains all too prevalent even today. He writes ‘one is perhaps tempted to think that there was a danger of the Cathedral’s becoming a musical museum’, and again, ‘there was occasionally an antiquarian air about the place, especially in the early war years when Terry was delving even further back, into pre-sixteenth-century music, some of which at least was of greater historical than musical interest’. Doyle then credits Terry with an instinctive dislike of elitism and a lack of academic musicianship for its own sake, observing, ‘but how many appreciated as he did the intimate link between the music of these early composers and the Catholic liturgy?’<sup>483</sup> Given the current of hostility to choral music in Catholicism during the twentieth century in England, often dressed in language of elitism, historicism and exclusivity, it is quite likely that there were people who could not, or would not, see the relevance of this early repertoire. Yet, the comments of contemporary musicians, the press coverage, the voluminous and hugely positive material in the Cathedral magazine the *Westminster Chronicle*, and the numbers of people flocking to services would suggest that a great many people did understand that link.

Terry’s last days at Westminster saw a steady reduction in the music department’s resources. On his departure, Vaughan Williams wrote to *The Times* imploring the authorities at Westminster to appoint a successor of equally high calibre to continue Terry’s work, asking them not to let the Cathedral ‘sink back to the state of degradation which characterised the music of whatever denomination up to the beginning of the century’.<sup>484</sup> He went on to note that whilst the Cathedral had satisfied the spiritual needs of the thousands who had heard

<sup>483</sup> Doyle, *Westminster Cathedral 1895-1995*, 58.

<sup>484</sup> Vaughan Williams, Ralph, *The Times*, 1924, 13.

music there, it had also gained an international reputation. Therefore the Cathedral had a responsibility to ensure that the torch was kept alight by a musician with the 'skill and knowledge for his task and the authority and personality to carry it out in the face of possible opposition' in what was a clear reference to the conflicts with the Cardinal and Cathedral authorities.<sup>485</sup> Ultimately, the Cardinal and his staff did not heed this plea from Vaughan Williams, appointing as Terry's successors two priests, Father Russell, who was made Master of the Music; and Father Long, who was appointed as choirmaster. Fr Russell was a trained organist, and had occasionally been an assistant to Terry; Fr Long had been a chorister in the early years of Terry's tenure.

### **3.4 Terry's musical aesthetic**

There are many facets, but two key elements to Terry's musical aesthetic: modal style composition, found in some hymns, carols, sea shanties, folksong, plainsong and polyphony; and the liturgy of the Catholic church together with all the spiritual and emotional perturbations that ritual creates. The combination of the two had a profound phenomenological impact on him and he believed this combination could be uniquely located in church music of the pre-reformation composers, imbued as he saw it, with 'the spirit of the Church's liturgy'.<sup>486</sup> He believed that the intrinsic aesthetic beauty of this music meant it was possible for anyone with an open mind, even those not educated in music, to be able to appreciate it once it had been heard, regardless of religious affiliation or political ideology. Terry also warned against the

<sup>485</sup> Vaughan Williams, 13.

<sup>486</sup> Terry, *The Music of the Roman Rite*, 15.

lure of nostalgia in seeking out old music, purely for the sake of its antiquity. Quoted by Grew, he warned ‘we must be on our guard against singing carols, or anything else, simply because they are old... Antiquarianism, the cult of age for age's sake, is the curse of many artistic movements.’<sup>487</sup> Timothy Day writes that in Terry’s view ‘the score or the edition could even conceal the true meaning of the music’ especially if it was robbed of its liturgical context.<sup>488</sup> This was a departure from previous musicological practice which had been concerned solely with the study of manuscripts, and as Benjamin Davies notes, Terry was pioneering an approach whereby the music should first be heard, equipping the listener with the necessary information to pass judgement.<sup>489</sup> Davies is clear that Terry’s attitudes to this music were pragmatic and therefore uncluttered by any sense of historical musicology. They were also formed without the political or religious bias of some of his Anglican contemporaries. Such a view from Terry, an early performer-scholar, led to the hurried creation of performable scores complete with errors, and also to under-rehearsed music at times appearing at Westminster. However, it also led to unknown works appearing for the first time in the liturgy—and in some cases in any context—for centuries, exposing worshippers at the Cathedral, and the wider public, to a sound world unfamiliar and (particularly with pre-sixteenth-century music), at times challenging. As Muir notes, this approach also had consequences for publications. Comparing editions of Haberl’s *Palestrina’s Werke* and Terry’s *Downside Motets*, he writes ‘the

<sup>487</sup> Grew, “Sir Richard Runciman Terry,” 181–82.

<sup>488</sup> Day, “Terry and 16th Century Polyphony,” 301.

<sup>489</sup> Davies, “Historiography of the Reformation,” 268.

former is designed for study in a library, the latter for practical performance by a choir'.<sup>490</sup> The reason Terry presented these editions in this way, with dynamic markings and tempo indications therefore was not for scholarly digestion, but rather for ease of access and to offer performance guidance to the emerging and small amateur choirs in Catholic parishes and elsewhere who had an interest in performing this type of material but who perhaps lacked the expertise in how to do so. There was also, characteristically, a hint of his need to control performance.

### **Early Influences**

During his childhood, Terry was exposed to a variety of music. Both of his parents were amateur musicians and invited friends to their house each week to sing glees and madrigals. He wrote in adulthood of the 'special concession' he was granted when his 'bedroom door used to be left open on those evenings, and even to this day I can never hear such old favourites as 'Here in cool grot and mossy cell', 'Hark, the bonny Christchurch bells', 'Come shepherds follow me', 'The chough and crow', 'In the lonely vale of streams', 'Strike the lyre', 'In going to my lonely bed', 'The silver swan'... without a return of something like the old childish thrill as the harmony from unseen voices stole mysteriously into my little room'.<sup>491</sup> He went on to speak of the unconscious influence of hearing sea shanties sung by the fishermen 'I used often to hear the crews of the sailing ships singing shanties as folk music. There was no Folk Song Society then and Folksong collecting had not begun; my interest in the songs and my love of

<sup>490</sup> Muir, *Roman Catholic Church Music*, 242.

<sup>491</sup> Richard Runciman Terry, "In the Days of My Youth," *T.P.'s Weekly* (1925).

them had not, therefore, one facet of interest which they now stimulate.<sup>492</sup> It is from these early influences that Terry absorbed the modal style of folk songs and shanties, whose effect on him he did not at the time recognise. These influences were carried into adulthood where they helped direct his musical taste for the liturgy later on. This is also evidenced by his returning to these forms of music later in life, when he edited and harmonised collections of sea shanties, carols and folk carols (and it is even detectable in his choices for inclusion in the non-Catholic hymnals). Formal listening, whether at concerts or through other media in his early years was mainstream ‘I had been brought up on the classics, Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven. Wagner and Brahms were not known in our family at all. Wagner was regarded as a dangerous revolutionary by my people’.<sup>493</sup> The earliest mention of Terry’s religious experiences and music in church come from his first encounters with playing the organ. He began when he was eleven years old:

I was allowed to play the organ in church at the weekly services during Lent. To this day, although I have gone in for a certain amount of ‘change ringing’, the sound of church bells always affects me strangely, for in those days when they stopped I knew the awful moment had arrived for the voluntary, and was invariably seized with stage fright.<sup>494</sup>

These comments demonstrate a thorough immersion into church life at an early age, building a liturgical awareness and instinct which would serve him well later.

<sup>492</sup> Terry, “In the Days of My Youth.”

<sup>493</sup> Andrews, *Westminster Retrospect*, 5.

<sup>494</sup> Andrews, *Westminster Retrospect*, 3.

### **Pre-Reformation Church Music and the liturgy**

By adulthood, Terry was driven by his religious convictions following his conversion to Catholicism, and he believed that the cultural context of pre-Reformation choral music revealed its functional identity and its meaning. This set him apart from his contemporary musicologists, most of whom viewed it with an antiquarian interest since it could not be included in the established church liturgy. This also meant that they did not share Terry's Catholic doctrinal convictions, familiarity with Catholic liturgy, or his notion of the 'devotional spirit'.<sup>495</sup> As Timothy Day writes 'For Terry the meaning of music could not be found in the notes themselves, but existed in what lay behind the notes; the music's meaning could only be divined from the sounds in their setting.'<sup>496</sup> Without this understanding of what lay behind the notes, a crucial dynamic would be absent and the original intentions of the composer would be lost. It is one of the reasons he complained in the press about old music being 'Englished' to alternative texts, since in his view such activity disrupted the bond between text and music, removing a layer of its integrity and undermining its theological meaning and doctrinal message. He was content to provide an English translation of a Byrd Mass he had edited, presumably to enlarge sales and extend its reach to include the possibility of Anglican performance.<sup>497</sup> For Terry, it was not appropriate for an Anglican to reach back to material that communion had once condemned, to theologically alter it and re-fashion it for purposes of expediency by setting an alternative text. Similarly, the performance of sacred music in a con-

<sup>495</sup> Terry, *The Music of the Roman Rite*, 12.

<sup>496</sup> Day, "Terry and 16th Century Polyphony," 301.

<sup>497</sup> Westminster Cathedral, *Byrd Mass for Five Voices*, edited by Terry (conducting score), Terry Manuscripts, GB-Lwca, London.

cert setting could mean the loss of theological meaning for Terry and as such impoverished the music being performed. On the matter of *contrafacta* he wrote:

High Churchmen will naturally say, ‘What if we did continue to use the old motets by translating the words into English? We are the same old Church which existed before the Reformation, and what you see now is only one more proof that we had no intention of breaking with the past. It is here that we must (in all charity) part with them. As Catholics, we welcome these appeals to the ‘Continuity’ Theory [but] if there is one fact which points more clearly than another to a complete break with the past – to a definite repudiation of the Mass and all that implies, it is this. That when the music of *sacramental* motets was adapted to English words, the custom of translating the Latin was abandoned and *different words were substituted*... There is not a single instance forthcoming of a sacramental motet having been Englished to its original words... There is no doubt that our Tallises and Byrds considered themselves to be writing not different styles of music for the same ecclesiastical body, but different styles of music for two different and distinct bodies.<sup>498</sup>

Text and music therefore, were in his opinion interlinked and inseparable, as was their liturgical context.

Terry was invited to write an article for the *Daily Courier*, the local Liverpool press in 1924 on the occasion of the consecration of the new Anglican Cathedral in Liverpool on ‘Cathedral music and how it differs from music of any other kind’.<sup>499</sup> He did not miss the opportunity to push his lifelong agenda of promoting Tudor music, writing:

Certain Cathedrals... are setting a fine example of the true function of music in public worship. There is a healthy revival of the works of the great Tudor composers; - not because they are antiquarian curiosities, but because it is being more widely felt that they create that impersonal and aloof atmosphere (call it formal if you will) that seems most fitting for ordered and orderly corporate acts. Reform is always difficult in old establishments... but at Liverpool, in a modern foundation unfettered by conventions... there would seem to be the greatest of opportunities for making its Cathedral a centre for church music of a type that would set a standard for the whole country and bring waverers into line<sup>500</sup>

<sup>498</sup> Terry, “Our Church Music.” On the matter of ‘Englished’ texts, in respect of the use of the Byrd *Mass for Five Voices* which was set to English by Fellowes and used at the coronation in 1937. See Chapter 3.4 of this study.

<sup>499</sup> Westminster Cathedral, Letter from H. Sanders, *Daily Courier* to Terry, 8 July 1924, Terry Correspondence, GB-Lwca, London.

<sup>500</sup> Westminster Cathedral, Draft article for the Liverpool *Daily Courier*, 11 July 1924, Terry

He had taken such opportunities himself at Westminster, equipping its liturgy with music inspired by his own aesthetic and creating the air of solemnity flowing from modal style of writing he alludes to in this article. Even in Anglicanism, he was keen that the Tudor repertoire should hold a position of permanence in the musical tradition.

### **Practical application of Terry's aesthetic**

Terry's enthusiasm for polyphony and the imposition of his aesthetic tastes onto the parishes by the drawing up of the diocesan music lists has not been universally welcomed.<sup>501</sup> His views were well-known, especially that grand nineteenth-century liturgical composition was simply too theatrical for church use. He considered that they dominated the liturgy rather than occupying a position subordinate to it, and this view ensured his reputation as a champion of Pius X's *Motu Proprio* on music in the liturgy. His counterpart in Rome, Don Lorenzo Perosi, was following a similar agenda, though the liturgical music 'abuses' in Italy were greater than anything found in England. Perosi's biographer reveals the scale of the problem:

It is well-documented that in the 1800s it was not unusual to go to Mass and hear the organist playing Rossini's *Gazza Ladra* or *Semiramide*, or hit tunes from Bellini's *Norma*, or Verdi's *Traviata* or *Ballo in Maschera*. Nor was it uncommon to hear the choir sing, "Deh, non mi abbandonar" from Verdi's *Forza del Destino*, with the words changed to *Et in terra pax hominibus*. Or "Mira, o Norma" changed into a *Tantum Ergo*. Or "Va, pensiero" changed into who-knows-what. Palestrina? You were not likely to hear one note of him. Even the now famous *Missa Pape Marcellae* [sic] had never been published, anywhere, until Haberl's edition.<sup>502</sup>

Correspondence, GB-Lwca, London.

<sup>501</sup> Muir for example, is highly critical. See Muir, *Roman Catholic Church Music*, 235–38.

<sup>502</sup> Leonardo Ciampa, *Don Lorenzo Perosi* (Bloomington: AuthorHouse, 2006), 196–97.



The drive for polyphonic music was not part of a broad trend in English Catholic church music at the turn of the twentieth century. In much the same way as Perosi in Italy, Terry was seen (and wished to be seen) to be pushing in this direction almost alone.<sup>503</sup> More importantly, repertoire sung at the Cathedral did not reflect what was being experienced in the parishes and not just in standards of performance, but in content. Plainsong sung in parishes would have been slow, almost metered and usually accompanied. Polyphony was not widely in use, but rather where resources allowed, compositions by Mozart and Beethoven, Gounod and Haydn were sung and these were essentially a continuation of the styles of composition from the London Embassy Chapels disseminated by the publications of Webbe and Novello to the parishes.<sup>504</sup> It was not clear that an appetite for polyphony existed at parish level, except for isolated examples where a parish priest held Cecilian views, or in city centre churches where the resources, both human and financial, might make it possible.

The choices of composers and repertoire in the early days at Westminster will no doubt have been governed by the availability of manuscripts, but Terry's selections from the British Library and elsewhere suggest a planned and thoughtful approach which has hitherto been overlooked. For example, it cannot be accidental that the first music he revived was that of Byrd and Tallis when the manuscripts of others were equally accessible. These two high profile English musicians, one a recusant and the other a Church Papist, were the last of the unbroken line of Catholic composers in England and were clearly a deliberate choice.<sup>505</sup> Byrd,

<sup>503</sup> See Terry's comments quoted above, where he self-identifies as a 'pioneer' Terry, "Byrd," 147.

<sup>504</sup> Muir, *Roman Catholic Church Music*, 11.

<sup>505</sup> Thomas Tallis did not appear in official records amongst the names of recusants, though his Catholicism is not in doubt. He was Byrd's choice as godfather for his son, Thomas, which as a recusant catholic himself would suggest some confidence in Tallis's religious orthodoxy on Byrd's part. Also,

in addition to his own obvious recusancy (leading to accusations of seducing protestants), also trod a risky path writing music for recusant gatherings and as such, with modern eyes, it is possible to characterise him as a protest composer.<sup>506</sup> Terry used these composer's compositions for dual hermeneutical purposes, both as an exegesis of the texts in the liturgy, and also to share the narrative of recusant (and now emancipated) Catholics. Such an exercise could not be mirrored in the Established Church, where the link between sacramental text and liturgy is less significant, besides which, centuries of persecution was not their experience. As an establishment outsider himself, (also, his political views were firmly on the Left setting him apart from many of his establishment musicological contemporaries) it is unsurprising that Terry identifies with Byrd and chooses him to lead in the music schedules with the *Mass for*

*Five Voices:*

Written at a time when the Catholic religion was proscribed and the Mass forbidden, we can well realise how strong was the faith that was in him when we hear that tremendous thunder-clap, *Et unam sanctam Catholicam et Apostolicam Ecclesiam*, followed as it is by the ineffable tenderness of *Confiteor unum baptisma*, and the calm, confident ecstasy of "*in remissionem peccatorum*". In the gorgeous splendour of the *Sanctus* we feel the great soul of a great man lifting itself up to heaven... Byrd's *Sanctus* is not inferior even to the *Sanctus* of *Missa Papae Marcelli*... Confidently and majestically it flows along, till it finds its fitting climax in the trumpet-call of *Hosanna in excelsis*. Palestrina himself never wrote anything more tenderly beautiful, more serene and peaceful than the *Agnus Dei*, as it rises from flight to flight of calm ecstasy. It has been said that this Mass of William Byrd is as noble and complete an achievement as the St Matthew Passion, The Messiah, the Choral Symphony, the G minor Symphony of Mozart or the Nibelun-

when Tallis died, he left a covered gilt cup in his will to his wife Joan. This was clearly a precious item and it is notable that Joan then bequeathed it in her will to their friend Anthony Roper, a wealthy recusant, thirty years younger than Tallis who lived very near their house in Eltham. Roper's house was a known recusant Mass centre and such cups were often used as Mass vessels (chalices) with the cover used as a patten. See: John Bennett, "A Tallis Patron?," *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 21 (1988), 41–44.

<sup>506</sup> For more on this notion, see Joseph Kerman, "Music and Politics: The Case of William Byrd (1540–1623)," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 144, No.3 (2000), 275–87.

gen trilogy. It is one of those works which are for all time, whose greatness and dignity the passing of centuries can never dim.<sup>507</sup>

Terry's fascination for this composer and his performances of the entire Byrd Latin output at Westminster was in no small part responsible for Byrd's revival more broadly leading up to the tercentenary celebrations of his death in 1923. Writing in the *Lives of the Great Composers*, Terry reveals aspects of Byrd's personality which attract him to his music:

He appealed to me... as the true mystic, particularly in his approach to mundane affairs. His secular music is luminous in that regard. Your true mystic is a man of vision... and I regard Byrd as none the less a mystic because to that quality he added yet another, which the pietist has a habit of belittling, but which is really one of the jewels in the mystic's crown—he was very, very *human*.<sup>508</sup>

If the protest aspect of Byrd's music fed Terry's aesthetic, the same could be said for the setting of the *Lamentations* by Tallis. This text about exile and desolation which had spoken so vividly of the difficulties for Catholics through and beyond the Reformation resonated with Terry. It was therefore incorporated into the schedules at Holy Week, appropriately, since this is a season drenched with themes of suffering, death and resurrection. Writing in 1900, just before his appointment to Westminster, he spoke of his preliminary performances of the work at Downside 'I have several times performed it [Lamentations] with a full choir, and so beautiful is its effect, so admirably does it reflect the prevailing mood of the text... The words are practically the same as Gounod has used for his "Gallia," but there all resemblance ends. No greater contrast to Gounod's cheap sentiment could be found than the pathetic dignity of

<sup>507</sup> Terry, *The Music of the Roman Rite*, 230.

<sup>508</sup> Terry, "Byrd," 151. During 1910 Westminster Cathedral choir sang the entire *Gradualia*. Terry's choice of these works which Byrd had dedicated to his patrons (the recusant families who took extraordinary risks to worship) further supports the notion of deliberate selection and performance at Westminster.

Tallis' lament'.<sup>509</sup> It is obvious from his reference to 'full choir' that Terry performed the work with boys and mens voices, so it is reasonable to conclude that *Lamentations* were performed up a minor third from the original pitch, where it was originally scored for men's voices only. He notes in the article that the work takes twenty two minutes to perform, placing him in the same tempo range as late twentieth-century recordings by The Taverner Consort and Winchester Cathedral Choir (and slightly faster than a 1966 recording by David Willcocks and King's College, Cambridge, at a lengthy twenty four minutes and forty seconds).<sup>510</sup>

Terry did not set out to revive old music merely for purposes of antiquarianism, or because such scores would provide an inexpensive repertory for his choir. Neither did he unthinkingly choose music which met needs of timing for spaces in the liturgy, or to match the broad theme of the Mass. The conclusion therefore must be that such choices as Tallis and Byrd were neither coincidental nor accidental. They evidence a conscious effort to utilise music which spoke as an interpreter of the liturgy and simultaneously narrator of the story of English Catholicism. In re-membering their music, Terry rehabilitated it to public notice and use, and he believed himself to be righting historical wrongs, reflecting the wider rehabilitation of Catholicism in England at the beginning of the twentieth century following the Penal Times. It would have been an easy choice to produce a corpus of new compositions. Arguments against this on grounds of cost (it would have been expensive to have new works printed, therefore copying out old music was essentially free) do not hold, since copied-out mod-

<sup>509</sup> Richard Runciman Terry, "Some Unpublished Tallis," *The Chord* 5 (1900), 65.

<sup>510</sup> *Thomas Tallis*, Winchester Cathedral, David Hill, 1989, Hyperion CDA66400. And: Tallis, *Latin Church Music*, Taverner Consort, Andrew Parrott, 1989, Veritas CD 5622302. Also: Tallis, *Lamentations of Jeremiah the Prophet*, King's College Choir, David Willcocks, 1966, Argo (2) 414 367-4.

ern music would have been equally cost-neutral as the editions of early music, which, with a handful of exceptions did not make it to print.<sup>511</sup> He was fulfilling the philosophy that Vaughan had established and to which Terry had wholeheartedly subscribed: namely that the Cathedral would be a beacon in all areas of the faith in England including music, with very deliberate efforts to reclaim the cultural ground which they believed to have been taken from Catholics at the Reformation. Ultimately, this aesthetic drive led to the arguments with Cardinal Bourne since it was something on which Terry refused to yield, regardless of cost, and it was something which had a profound effect on several of his contemporaries—most notably Howells, Vaughan Williams and Holst—whose works were influenced by the modal style of music which at that time remained unavailable in the Established Church.

An example of Terry's open minded aesthetic can be found when on Wednesday 9 September 1908 the Eucharistic congress was held in London. This was an international event with Catholics from all over the world in attendance, and Westminster Cathedral became the centre for events and celebrations. Asquith, the Prime Minister had blocked plans for a Eucharistic procession around the capital for fear of being seen to support popish triumphalism. As a result, the congress got off to a controversial start. There was a daily celebration of High Mass at Westminster and these services were accompanied with music from different Catholic nations. On Saturday 12 September, the Byzantine Liturgy was celebrated. It was to be sung in Greek, using the traditional Byzantine chant.<sup>512</sup> This service presented a

<sup>511</sup> This is an argument put forward by T E Muir. He suggests that Terry (along with others) was using material from old composers to save the expense of publishing new material. Muir, *Roman Catholic Church Music*, 251.

<sup>512</sup> Westminster Cathedral, Music Lists, Week Beginning 6 September 1908, GB-Lwca, London.

considerable challenge to Terry and the choir, since the technique for singing the chant required the ability to sing quarter-tones, a technique and repertoire unlike anything they had encountered in their seven years as an ensemble. Terry, who had no experience of this tradition but wished to present the liturgy correctly, sought help from a Greek clergyman on the proper intonation of the music, whilst supplying Latin chant to fill gaps in the liturgy for which there had been no orthodox music provided. His open-mindedness to such alien musical technique and style in 1908 is remarkable, as was his willingness to defer to others on the manner of performance: ‘I had a highly respectable Archimandrite to put me through the mill on the subject, and one or two Greeks from Constantinople. So, however ugly it may sound, I have the satisfaction of knowing—on the authority of people who ought to know: Dignitaries of the Greek Church—that it is the way they prefer it to be done.’<sup>513</sup>

A press report of Holy Week in the same year gives a detailed analysis of the music sung from Palm Sunday to Easter Day. Besides the impressive volume of works performed, there are indications of balance of styles and appropriate text selections, which point to Terry having a natural liturgical sense. The report lists music by Anerio and Allegri’s *Miserere* (though in what edition it is not explicit), performances of which will have been very rare in England at this stage.<sup>514</sup> Also listed, are works by Palestrina and Victoria, Tallis’s first *Lamentation*, and the third *Lamentation* by Robert Whyte (a sixteenth-century organist at Westminster

<sup>513</sup> Richard Runciman Terry, “The Music of the Byzantine Liturgy,” *Proceedings of the Musical Association* 35th Session (1908), 56.

<sup>514</sup> The first recorded performance in London was in the Crown Tavern by the ‘Thursday Vocal Academy’—later known as the *Academy of Ancient Music*—in 1734/5. Chrissochoidis, “London Mozartiana: Wolfgang’s Disputed Age and Early Performances of Allegri’s *Miserere*,” *The Musical Times* (2010), 87.

Abbey—surely no coincidence), compositions by Terry, and finally a Mass with organ by Reinecke, all on Holy Saturday. This was an eclectic mix blending English and continental polyphony with English and continental contemporary composition which proved to be popular. As the paper reported, ‘there must be many among the votaries of the metropolitan church who look forward, as the seasons sweep towards Easter to the Tenebrae music of Vittoria and Ingigneri and Tallis, the “Christus factus est” of Anerio, and Allegri’s “Miserere”.’<sup>515</sup> Indeed, Terry’s aesthetic instincts for this season proved extremely popular, evidenced by the press coverage and crowds attending the services. It is also notable that this tradition has continued almost unbroken after his departure.<sup>516</sup>

There are many examples in Terry’s books and articles which point to the musical styles that he sought for the liturgy, and music which more broadly satisfied his musical appetite and taste. He was excited by the mechanical intricacies of polyphonic composition such as imitation, and the frequent interplay between time signatures which governed different sections of larger works. He admired the spacing and close grouping of voices to create illusions of greater forces, and contrasts between thick and fine textures. Terry was keenly aware of the skill with which the composers of this music wove the plainsong *cantus firmus* through the work, understanding that this did not bind or hinder their compositional style, but rather liberated it within a flexible scaffolding to enable the most florid counterpoint to be constructed. He had little time for those who did not share his enthusiasm for early music, railing against Victorian musical snobs who held ‘an assumption of superiority, which still lingered, that we

<sup>515</sup> “Westminster Cathedral, Holy Week and Easter Music,” *The Tablet* (1908), 14.

<sup>516</sup> Richard Runciman Terry, “Westminster Chronicle,” (1901).

were on a higher plane musically than our ancestors. Those people whom we looked back upon as crude gropers in the dark were in many respects our superiors' he told the Nottingham Music Club.<sup>517</sup> Terry also saw clear parallels between liturgical worship and polyphony—neither was a solitary act, but a social one, which could only be carried out with others, *In Communio*. In this way for Terry, as for the recusant Catholics, the early musical scores he was handling and from which he was transcribing would take on near-iconic sacrality. Polyphony was also an exercise in equality, since no part was indispensable, and all received—more or less—even treatment by the composer to create a unified whole. Terry wrote of his admiration for this compositional style, enthusing 'each voice had an equal share in the united chorus of song and praise. It is this continuous flow of the individual parts now rising, now falling, interweaving in ceaseless movement, that gives to polyphonic music that sonorous strength which has never been surpassed in modern times.'<sup>518</sup> Polyphony was for Terry an artistically dynamic reflection of the worship of the Church Militant, which in his view, added to its mystical value and as such it was ideally suited to the liturgy. It was a view validated by his practical experience performing this material with the choir.

Of particular interest to Terry was John Taverner, having uncovered many of his Masses in the Forrest-Heyther and Peterhouse part-books.<sup>519</sup> Terry placed him amongst the finest of the English School:

<sup>517</sup> Richard Runciman Terry, *The Musical Times* (1926), 1002.

<sup>518</sup> Terry, *The Music of the Roman Rite*, 23.

<sup>519</sup> For more on Taverner, see Hugh Benham, *John Taverner: His Life and Music* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2003).



His music came to me as a revelation of virility and dignity unmatched by any other Englishman save Byrd. Taverner may lack the poignancy and pathos of Tallis, but his counterpoint is freer, bolder and usually more fluent. It rings out with a triumphant masterfulness to which few composers of his period attained. His actual themes are “modernist” enough to foreshadow the Bach of a later century rather than reflect the Palestrinas and Byrds of his own... If the contrapuntal rhythms of this virile composer seem to foreshadow a Bach, it is not unamusing to find him—all unconsciously—anticipating a yet more modern composer. Throughout the whole of one movement of a *Benedictus* he insistently hammers out a phrase which is nothing more or less than Wagner’s “Forge” motif.<sup>520</sup>

Taverner’s *Western Wind* (or *Wynde*) *Mass* as well as those of Sheppard and Tye intrigued Terry, not least because they were founded upon a melody of secular origin. Taverner’s *Mass* was the first example of this found in English sacred composition. The fact that these three *Masses* are the first example of a linked theme between three different English composers also intrigued him. In addition, Terry was drawn to Tye’s *Missa Euge Bone*. He sought Arkwright’s permission to edit his 1893 score of the *Mass* in order to publish a performing edition, which he did with Novello in 1912.<sup>521</sup> In *Music of the Roman Rite*, where he devotes a chapter to the ‘English School of Church Music’, in reference to works that he admires, Terry reveals that his appreciation of music by early composers was not limited to sound or religious purity, but also to its effect on the listener. He frequently uses what we would consider emotional terms such as ‘tender’, ‘beauty’, ‘devotional’, ‘splendour’, ‘dignity’ and ‘grace’ particularly in respect of Byrd, Tallis, Fayrfax, Taverner, Whyte and Tye. This was the sound-world that captured his imagination and his heart, and it is therefore no surprise that he focused his energies on its revival and performance.

<sup>520</sup> Terry, *The Music of the Roman Rite*, 223.

<sup>521</sup> Terry, *The Music of the Roman Rite*, 231.

Whilst Terry sought to restore English early polyphony to pre-eminence at Westminster, this was not to the exclusion of Continental music, with Palestrina, Lassus and Victoria, composers he ardently admired, featuring prominently in the music lists. As Appendix 4 illustrates, Palestrina's music dominated the Mass settings performed in Terry's early years with more than twenty in the choir's repertoire by 1909 and a total of some sixty motets by the end of 1923. Whilst these were slowly supplemented by English composition, they remained part of the regular musical diet. His intention was in part to enrich the liturgy at Westminster, demonstrating his Catholicity through universality, but also to make clear in addition that English compositions were of an equal quality by placing the works side-by-side through the year. In 1911, following the successful introduction of music from Portugal and Spain during the previous two years, the Holy Week and Easter schedule featured an exclusively Spanish repertory, including works by composers who remain little known today, such as Urban de Vargas, Diego Caseda, Alonso Juarez and Teodoro Ortells.<sup>522</sup> The choir performed a rich Lenten diet that year, including Victoria's *Tenebrae* responsories (of which the 1911 performance was the first in England—they remain a Holy Week staple at the Cathedral today), and Guerrero's *Passion*. These works and much of the other Iberian material presented by Terry is characterised by a serious, intense and at times emotionally visceral musical style with heavy use of dissonance and 'minor' modes which Tess Knighton suggests inevitably shaped the public's perception of Spanish music throughout much of the twentieth century.<sup>523</sup> The choice

<sup>522</sup> Tess Knighton, "A New Cathedral and the New English Singers: The Recuperation and Performance of Sixteenth-Century Spanish Music in England in the Early Twentieth Century," *Revista de Musicologia* 37, No.2. (2014), 547.

<sup>523</sup> Knighton, "Spanish Music in England," 546–49. Knighton's paper states that Terry and John Brande Trend were jointly responsible for the revival of early Spanish music in England. In a table she lists the works for Holy Week 1911 at Westminster, giving the sources consulted by Terry to create his

of Spanish music makes interesting comparison with the Tallis *Lamentations* for the same season in other years. It not only reflects an intensity of religious emotion in Terry, but demonstrates his European Catholic view, which could at times be masked by his relentless pursuit of an English repertory.

### **Terry and Secular Music**

Terry's interests were not limited to liturgical music but encompassed opera, emerging orchestral composers, song, folk music, piano repertoire and early keyboard music. Taking advantage of living in central London, he was an avid concert-goer and a published reviewer of performances. On 24 June 1913 with his friend Whittaker, Terry attended a performance of Mussorgsky's *Boris Godounov* in London by the visiting Russian Imperial Opera and Ballet. Borthwick records Whittaker and Terry's enthusiasm for the event, the former describing it as 'an absolute revelation, the striking, vivid music, the wonderful staging and colouring, the magnificent choral singing' and Terry's response: 'fancy that in Russia in the eighteenthies! Where were *we* then?'<sup>524</sup> His writings inform us that he also listened to music on the radio at home, his being the first generation to be able to take advantage of this new technology.<sup>525</sup> He especially admired the work of Havergal Brian, Vaughan Williams, Holst, Bax, Bliss and Delius, suggesting an 'English Pastoral' slant in his musical taste, though to balance

editions.

<sup>524</sup> Borthwick, "In the Swim," 22.

<sup>525</sup> In a letter to the *Daily Telegraph*, Terry wrote responding to a critical article containing listener's comments on a performance of Berg's *Wozzeck*, which had been titled "'Hyenas' from the BBC" and the tone of which was quite damning. He wrote of how he had listened to the broadcast at home in near darkness, in thrall to the tragic music which he considered to be a great work and an exhilarating experience to hear. Terry, Richard Runciman, "Letter." *Daily Telegraph*, 1934.

this, he became acquainted with and enjoyed the piano works of Scriabin.<sup>526</sup> His friendships with Peter Warlock and Grenville Bantock grew out of admiration for their music and the folk-inspired idiom in which they wrote, and he was invited to write the tribute to Warlock (Philip Heseltine) in Cecil Gray's posthumous biography.<sup>527</sup> Contrary to his image as a conservative reactionary—as some of his behaviour may have framed him—Terry was interested in the emerging female composers, and admired the music of Lilian Bayliss, Sylvia Townsend Warner, and also Ethel Smyth with whom he developed a long friendship.<sup>528</sup> It is well known that music in England in the second half of the nineteenth century was undergoing a revolution, with a renaissance of English composition replacing the previously dominant German repertoire. This led to the creation of a new English school of composers, with figures such as Stanford, Parry, Sullivan and others. At the same time, the listening public was being exposed to an even broader, international diet of music, particularly under the direction of Sir Henry Wood. Wood was enthusiastic about the emerging new English school of composers and it was a trend Terry was to replicate at Westminster in sacred music.

During the 1920s and 1930s, Terry diverted some of his attention from sacred music to publish collections of sea shanties and some other secular works. A thorough examination of this activity is beyond the scope of the present study, but a brief outline of his activities in this area should be included in a section covering his musical aesthetic. A love of sea shanties

<sup>526</sup> Andrews, *Westminster Retrospect*, 174–77.

<sup>527</sup> Gray, *Peter Warlock*, 267–73.

<sup>528</sup> Terry's friendship with Ethel Smyth enabled a lunch meeting at her house where Terry interviewed her. The interview is given in his book 'On Music's Borders' as is an article by Terry on Dame Ethel's *Mass in D*. Terry, *On Music's Borders*, 50–60.

had been present in Terry since childhood and it was a style of music to which he returned frequently. His maternal family were seafarers historically, and his uncle, Lord Runciman, owned a yacht named Sunbeam, on which Terry would join him for cruises in the sea around the north east of England.<sup>529</sup> As was mentioned in a quote earlier, he was familiar with the local sailors at Amble singing shanties on the quayside and later he wrote of his time in the Caribbean, hearing sailors singing familiar melodies from home.<sup>530</sup> His work in this genre ran parallel to his work on sacred music and his first public expression of interest and expertise was a paper he gave to the Musical Association on 18 May 1915.<sup>531</sup> It was a background to and explanation of the origins and use of the shanty, pointing out that different types were used to accompany different activities on board ship. He writes for those unaccustomed to the music of the difficulty of writing the tunes down. He notes that they are rhythmically complex (by inference, something that did not trouble him) and with this information hints that there was a drive to preserve and record these melodies in much the same way that Cecil Sharp and his contemporaries were working with folk songs. Terry published three volumes of shanties: *Sailor Shanties*, arranged for solo and chorus of men's voices in 1919; *The Shanty Book Part I* in 1921 and *The Shanty Book Part II* in 1926.<sup>532</sup> Walter Runciman provided a foreword to the editions and Terry wrote introductions, explaining the etymology and history of the

<sup>529</sup> Andrews, *Westminster Retrospect*, 165.

<sup>530</sup> Andrews, *Westminster Retrospect*, 16.

<sup>531</sup> Richard Runciman Terry, "Sea Songs and Shanties," *Proceedings of the Musical Association* 41st Session (1914), 136–37.

<sup>532</sup> Richard Terry, *Sailor Shanties* (London: J. Curwen & Sons Ltd, 1919). Also Richard Terry, *The Shanty Book Part I* (London: J. Curwen & Sons Ltd, 1921). And Richard Terry, *The Shanty Book Part II* (London: J. Curwen & Sons Ltd, 1926).

shanty. The volumes seem to have been welcome, with Vaughan Williams reviewing them favourably. He wrote: 'Dr Terry's collection of shanties has been known to students in manuscript for many years, but now, through the enterprise of Messrs Curwen, they are given to the world, and the world will be able to see for itself the fine quality of our sea-music'.<sup>533</sup> There is gentle criticism of the inclusion of a couple of melodies that Vaughan Williams considers are of an inferior quality to the rest of the collection, mention of which he hoped Terry would forgive 'for old acquaintance' sake'. He continues, lauding the inclusion of a piano accompaniment in common with other settings of folk-songs, since the work is designed to enable performance outside the original context to be enjoyed 'as music, pure and simple'.<sup>534</sup> In the introduction to the shanty books, Terry mentions minor musical issues which irritate him, for which Vaughan Williams gently chides him for his pedantry over pronunciations and spellings. Otherwise, he welcomes the books, speaking highly of Terry's skills 'of Dr Terry's musicianship there can be no doubt. For proof we have only to turn to his work at Westminster Cathedral, where in the face of unparalleled difficulties he has maintained the great traditions of true choral style, and has obtained for the cathedral music an European reputation'.<sup>535</sup>

Terry's other secular works are a collection of four choruses for equal voices published in 1924: *The Wild Rose*, *Thanksgiving*, *Beware*, *Three Cradle Songs*, and three volumes of nursery rhymes for which he composed music: *Old Rhymes with New Tunes* (1923); *More Old Rhymes*

<sup>533</sup> Ralph Vaughan Williams, *Vaughan Williams on Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 215.

<sup>534</sup> Vaughan Williams, *Vaughan Williams on Music*, 216.

<sup>535</sup> Vaughan Williams, *Vaughan Williams on Music*, 216.

(1925); and *Still More Old Rhymes* (1927).<sup>536</sup> A work which stands out from his other secular arrangements simply because of its popularity at the time is the setting of *Shenandoah*, published in 1921 by Curwen.<sup>537</sup> It is scored for voice and piano accompaniment in Eb Major with an optional violin part and was a popular reprint from Terry's first shanty book. *Shenandoah* was made famous as a result of a recording made by Dame Clara Butt and an unnamed pianist, released on 2 July 1925, taking Terry's work to a whole new audience.<sup>538</sup>

### **In summary**

Terry was exposed to music of a modal style from the earliest days, at first with shanties on the coast, folk songs at home and then in the music of the pre-Reformation church. As a result, much of his music-making was coloured by these experiences, suggesting that the most reliable guide to Terry's broad musical aesthetic is the collection of music lists at Westminster Cathedral. These were completed on a weekly basis listing the music for each of the daily services and are now bound into twenty-four annual volumes. They reflect his musical taste and vision like no other record. In the early years there is a predominance of readily available material such as the Masses of Viadana, Palestrina, Victoria and Lassus. A few of these were in Terry's own performing editions and were from the start joined by his scores of Byrd and Tallis. It is possible to chart the steady growth of music by English composers, many of whom

<sup>536</sup> Richard Terry, *Four Choruses for Equal Voices: The Wild Rose, Thanksgiving, Beware, Three Cradle Songs*. (London: J. Curwen & Sons Ltd, 1924). Also Richard Terry, *Old Rhymes With New Tunes* (London: Longman Green & Co., 1923). And Richard Terry, *More Old Rhymes* (London: Longman Green & Co., 1925). Also Richard Terry, *Still More Old Rhymes* (London: Longman Green & Co., 1927).

<sup>537</sup> Richard Runciman Terry, "Shenandoah," (1921), 1–5.

<sup>538</sup> Dame Clara Butt sings Shenandoah arranged by Sir Richard Terry, 2 July 1925, His Master's Voice label of Columbia Records No. X331.

were unknown at the time of the restoration of their works. Taking account of Terry's religious and cultural reasons for their inclusion, they say much about the style and quality of music he was seeking to promote. In 1909 the choir performed four motets by Morley, the Byrd *Mass for Five Voices* and fifteen of his Latin motets, a motet by John Sheppard and one each by Philips and Dering. They sang three motets by Tallis, as well as his *Mass for Four Voices* and the *Lamentations*, three motets by Tye, and Parsons' *Ave Maria*. All of this appeared alongside works by Palestrina, Victoria, Hassler, both Gabriellis and Handl, whose complete *Opus Musicum No.4* had been performed that year.<sup>539</sup> Whilst the volume of material alone is impressive, the amount of English music is small, but greater than that of 1903 for example. The statistics of volume however are less significant than the occasions for which English music had been chosen. It features at Holy Week, Easter, and on major feast days, suggesting Terry was keen to give it unprecedented prominence and perhaps for his choir to celebrate these occasions with music he found particularly inspirational or expected to devotionally move the listener. Certainly, by 1923, the Music Schedules were dominated by English repertoire, leading his successor a year later to write 'It has been usual to give some of the Masses of the English School during Holy Week. This year the custom has not been followed. Such works have received far more attention during the year than has hitherto been the case. Consequently the novelty of the Tudor school has now disappeared.'<sup>540</sup> The novelty of the Tudor school may have disappeared briefly at Westminster, but Terry had successfully placed it in the Cathedral's repertory as the music lists demonstrate. In doing so, this material would now

<sup>539</sup> Westminster Cathedral, Music Lists, 1909, GB-Lwca, London.

<sup>540</sup> The Administrator, "Varia," *Westminster Chronicle* (1924), 69.



take its place alongside the European works, at a stroke substantiating his claim for English Catholicism to be a part of the European whole.

### **3.5 A new School of English Church Music: Commissions and Terry's work with his contemporaries**

'Hardly less important than the revival of old English music is the fact that the Cathedral services are creating a new school of church music by living English composers, writing in modern idiom, but in the spirit of the old masters and with the same restraint'.<sup>541</sup> So wrote Terry in 1919, recalling the establishment of a programme at Westminster to commission liturgical music from contemporary composers. It was his desire to create a School of English Church Music emulating what he believed to be the 'golden age' in the pre-Reformation era, when most of the nation's finest musicians were engaged in composition for the Catholic liturgy. Such a church music-focussed body complemented the new school of composers writing in the secular world mentioned above, indicating a new national confidence in native composition. This strategy is reflected in Terry's simultaneous championing of early English composers for the liturgy, the three strands together presenting a neo-Renaissance of English music. Terry was not interested in composing a pastiche of early music and wrote in *Music of the Roman Rite* pitching himself firmly against such ideas:

But the technique of the old music is no more: it has served its purpose and gone its way, and nothing could be more futile than an attempt to revive it. We think and write now in the major and minor modes: our habits of thought and expression are modern. The mode in which a composition is written matters little: the spirit in which it is written matters much. The need of present-day Church Music is neither academic attempts on the part of so-called purists to

<sup>541</sup> Andrews, *Westminster Retrospect*, 133.

imitate the old music, nor brilliant displays of modern technique, where musical form and development are the first consideration, and where the composer is devoid of the ecclesiastical spirit. The need is for devotional music, and devotional music can be expressed in modern as well as ancient forms.<sup>542</sup>

It is here he departs from the Cecilian idea of modern music in an *antico* style, whilst acknowledging the need for modern compositions to have a spirit of the liturgy underpinning them. Since he commissioned works from people of protestant denominations as well as Catholics, this might suggest that he understood that spirit to reside in more than one of the Christian traditions.

A series of Saturday morning Masses sung to modern music began in 1907, which according to the Cathedral's own reviews of its services was very successful.<sup>543</sup> For the evening Office, Terry commissioned a number of settings of the *Nunc dimittis*, a potentially easier vehicle for non-Catholics, since there were none of the potential doctrinal issues surrounding the Mass and the Real Presence. During the second decade of the twentieth century, Masses and motets by Herbert Howells, Denis Browne, Anthony Bernard, George Oldroyd, Arnold Bax (*Mater Ora Filium*), Ralph Dunstan, Gustav Holst, Charles Wood, Stanford (Mass for a *capella* double choir written in 1920 but now lost), Buck and Edgar Ford were all given first performances at the Cathedral.<sup>544</sup> The *Nunc dimittis* settings, each for double choir, were contributed by Holst (written in 1915 but subsequently forgotten until published in 1979), Howells (1914), Lloyd (1916), Hartford, Ford (1914 and 1917), Buck (1914), Wood (1916 and

<sup>542</sup> Terry, *The Music of the Roman Rite*, 15.

<sup>543</sup> The *Westminster Chronicle* published reviews of most major musical events during Terry's tenure and beyond, providing a resource for assessing clerical congregational and general public responses to the repertoire. Westminster Cathedral, *Westminster Chronicle*, GB-Lwca, London.

<sup>544</sup> Kennedy, *The Works of Ralph Vaughan Williams*, 159.

1917), Oldroyd (1915), Rootham (1915), Miller, Harford, Hathaway, and C. E. Miller.<sup>545</sup> (Sylvia Townsend Warner also wrote three works for Terry between 1916 and 1918, but as with many of the *Nunc dimittis* settings by the composers listed above, they are now lost, possibly as a result of the previously mentioned disposal of what was perceived to be hand written manuscripts of low value in the choir library.) This was an important effort at establishing a national school of liturgical composition, and Haskell has no reservation in claiming that ‘Terry served as midwife to British composers, whose offspring often bore the stamp of his conservative musical taste. Howells’s *Mass in the Dorian Mode* and Vaughan Williams’s *Mass in G minor* (Tudor-inspired, as were his earlier Tallis Variations and his later *Job*) were among the contemporary works that Terry performed at Westminster’.<sup>546</sup> Like the claim for Terry’s co-responsibility for the Elizabethan fever, this statement is remarkable. It affirms that he played a pivotal role in the development of these emerging twentieth-century composers, both with their nurture and promotion, and also through exposure to the early music Terry was performing. This midwifery came to an end however when Terry resigned, though the Cathedral in modern times has upheld the tradition of commissioning new Masses and other works from contemporary composers, including most recently James MacMillan and Roxanna Panufnik.

The most significant of Terry’s associations with composing contemporaries is that of Herbert Howells (1892-1983). Howells moved from Gloucester to London in 1912, beginning

<sup>545</sup> Patrick Russill, “Herbert Howells and Westminster Cathedral,” *Organists’ review* 78, No.307 (1992), 203.

<sup>546</sup> Haskell, *Early Music Revival*, 82–83.

studies at the Royal College of Music in May of that year.<sup>547</sup> Stanford, his professor at the College, encouraged him along with other students to hear the polyphonic music emerging at Westminster Cathedral and this began Howells' almost six-year association with Westminster and his friendship with Terry. In that first year, Howells wrote his *Mass in the Dorian Mode*. It is dedicated to Terry (as are several of his early works), bearing the date May-June 1912, and was first performed on 24<sup>th</sup> November the same year.<sup>548</sup> Patrick Russill writes of Howells' output at Westminster:

From then until around 1918 he produced a succession of pieces for the Roman Catholic liturgy which not only comprised the largest and most frequently performed contemporary contribution to the Westminster repertoire, but more importantly formed his earliest significant output for the church. They give us fascinating and unexpected insight into the early development of the central Anglican church composer of this century, all the more unexpected because until very recently, none of these works had been published and nearly all were believed lost.<sup>549</sup>

Their rediscovery not only assists in charting the development of Howells's composing style, but it also enables a clearer picture of the volume and quality of the new music being written for Terry at Westminster. The relationship with Terry was 'fruitful and reciprocal' and though the extent of Howells's involvement with the life of the Cathedral is not well documented, it is known that he acted as assistant to Terry in early music scoring. (In 1915 Howells had been diagnosed with Graves' disease and travelled between his family home in Lydnes and London for treatment, though this did not prevent him from continuing to compose.) Whilst in London there must have been a significant amount of time spent at the Cathedral for the music

<sup>547</sup> For further biographical and composition information on Howells see Spicer, *Herbert Howells*.

<sup>548</sup> Westminster Cathedral, Music Lists, 1912, GB-Lwca, London.

<sup>549</sup> Russill, "Herbert Howells and Westminster Cathedral," 203.

and atmosphere of the liturgy to have made such an impact.<sup>550</sup> Howells's biographer notes 'Terry required very high standards of his choir, and so the music which was being heard as if for the first time acquired a special quality and aura for those privileged to witness it. The effect on Howells was immediate and underlined Vaughan Williams's noted remark much later in his life of Howells's "intuitive affinity" with the Tudors.' In terms of the long-term influence of Terry's early music work, Howells was simply 'in tune with this style', and his biographer continues that 'The polyphonic example learned from the likes of Byrd and Tallis infused his work for the rest of his life'.<sup>551</sup> Terry, along with Stanford, Holst, Parry and George Thalden-Ball contributed to a musical gift for Howells and his bride at their wedding. Each of these men wrote a piece in the folk-song style which Thalden-Ball then incorporated into a medley during the service. Such a gift suggests a close relationship between Terry and Howells.<sup>552</sup>

Hilda Andrews writes that Terry admired Howells and his compositions: 'he [Howells] and Dr. Charles Wood were the most liked, Terry considered, of modern writers of liturgical music performed there', and again, quoting Terry, 'it is a still more significant sign of the times that such composers as Arnold Bax and Herbert Howells should go direct to hymns and carols in honour of Our Lady... Howells's four Anthems [for the] B.V.M. are quite the finest written by a modern Englishman.'<sup>553</sup> The 'sign of the times' was an indication that composers

<sup>550</sup> Spicer, *Herbert Howells*, 36.

<sup>551</sup> Spicer, *Herbert Howells*, 36.

<sup>552</sup> Spicer, *Herbert Howells*, 73–74.

<sup>553</sup> Andrews, *Westminster Retrospect*, 134.

from an Anglican background were prepared to write music for the Catholic liturgy, but also that the Catholic Church in England—historically a great patron of the arts and music in particular—was now once again encouraging composition from contemporary musicians. Writing about Howells' clavichord compositions—though his comments could as easily apply to his choral compositions—Terry noted:

Luckily the first attempt has been made by one whose creative musicianship cannot be called in question; whose sympathy with both the Tudor instruments and Tudor composers is undeniable, and above all it has been made by one who is content... to reproduce the spirit of the old music rather than to give us a mere reproduction... Mr Howells has absorbed all the wealth and variety of Tudor rhythms, but keeps his own individuality intact. His music is modern inasmuch as he uses chords and progressions unknown in Tudor times, but the spirit of the old composers is there all the while. In other words, he and his instruments are one.<sup>554</sup>

Howells remained connected with Westminster for six years, and he was interested enough to write a number of commissions for Westminster (and was involved at the Cathedral at a time when so much music was appearing from the old manuscripts in the choir's repertoire). This would suggest there was something about this engagement with which he took pleasure or felt was of benefit to his musical development or experience. The influence of the repertoire at Westminster and Terry's musical aesthetic on Howells is clear in his modal writing style, and as such, must be acknowledged. It is remarkable that one of the giants of Anglican church music in the twentieth century should have been nurtured in the pre-Reformation musical hothouse that Westminster Cathedral had become.

The list of works Howells wrote for Westminster all precede his Anglican output and begins with the *Mass in the Dorian Mode*, scored for SATB and written in 1912. It is an unaccompanied work composed with more than a nod to the early composers, in that he employs

<sup>554</sup> Julian Perkins, "Herbert Howells: Music for Clavichord," *CD Sleeve notes*

imitation and maintains modal tonality. The Benedictus is scored for SAT as was common in Masses of this period and there are two settings of the Agnus Dei, the second of which employs canonic devices, again giving clear reference to the early Mass style.<sup>555</sup> In 1913, he wrote *Two Doxologies* for Compline, for the hymn *Tē lucis ante terminum* titled *Praesta pater piissime* for SATB and *Jesu tibi sit Gloria* for double choir, though this second work is now lost. His setting of the *Nunc dimittis* for double choir and solo treble followed in 1914 and then a set of *Four Anthems of the Blessed Virgin Mary* in 1915: *Alma Redemptoris Mater*, *Ave regina caelorum*, both of which are now lost, *Regina caeli* for double choir, and *Salve Regina* scored for a solo treble and SSAT-BB. His final work for Terry was a setting of the Easter text *Haec dies*, scored for SSATB and which was most likely written before 1918. It was first performed at Compline on Easter Day of that year, shortly after which Howells ended his association with Westminster following his appointment to Salisbury Cathedral.<sup>556</sup>

In 1919 Terry approached Sir Edward Elgar (1857–1934) with a request to write a Mass. Clearly such a commission would have been a solid endorsement of Terry's efforts with this new English School, but Elgar was undergoing a metamorphosis of faith, a feature of his later life, and he turned Terry down on the grounds that he could not in conscience write such a work if he did not truly believe in the text.<sup>557</sup> This was a blow to Terry and also serves to explain why Elgar, possibly the most prominent Catholic musician in England in the early twentieth century, had so little to do with the Cathedral, save the performance of *Gerontius* in

<sup>555</sup> Herbert Howells, *Mass in the Dorian Mode* (London: Oxford University Press, 1994).

<sup>556</sup> Russill, "Herbert Howells and Westminster Cathedral," 203. For a thorough analysis of Howells's works for Westminster and their wider significance, see the whole article by Russill.

<sup>557</sup> Trevor Beeson, *In Tuneful Accord: The Church Musicians* (London: SCM Press, 2009), 59.

1903. Muir points out that after 1900, when he had completed *The Dream of Gerontius*, Elgar stopped attending Mass, and that most of his music for the church was written before this date, afterwards writing only concert works with a religious flavour, such as *The Apostles* and *The Kingdom*. This period of estrangement from the church unfortunately began just as Westminster Cathedral was to open. Terry's obituary tribute in the *Musical Times* when Elgar died was short but generous ' "Ave atque vale." So passes England's greatest composer, a noble life nobly lived; a peaceful rest well and truly earned. To the young musician Elgar leaves an example of high endeavour and fine achievement. To those privileged to enjoy his friendship he leaves memories of a sweet and pleasant savour'.<sup>558</sup> Fortunately for Terry following the rebuff from Elgar Ralph Vaughan Williams (1872–1958) was soon to come to the rescue.

On Maundy Thursday, 13 April 1922, the choir performed Vaughan Williams' setting of *O vos omnes* (a double choir work dedicated to Terry) at Tenebrae as part of the regular Holy Week programme of special music.<sup>559</sup> The music of Vaughan Williams, like that of Herbert Howells, was influenced by Terry's palaeography. Vaughan Williams had carried out his own researches especially on the hymn tunes of Thomas Tallis, but in addition he was affected by his 'contemporaneous discovery of English Tudor polyphony' and that discovery was through the performances of this material by the choir at Westminster.<sup>560</sup> '*The Mass in G Minor* was composed for liturgical use under the prompting of Sir Richard Terry' writes the

<sup>558</sup> Richard Runciman Terry, "Tribute and Commentary," *The Musical Times* 75, No.1094. (1934).

<sup>559</sup> Westminster Cathedral Music Lists, Holy Week 1922, GB-Lwca, London.

<sup>560</sup> Lionel Pike, "Tallis—vaughan Williams—howells: Reflections on Mode Three," *Tempo, New Series* 149 (1984), 2.



former music critic at *The Times*, Frank Howes.<sup>561</sup> He is not the only commentator to claim this, since Michael Kennedy also notes ‘in the case of the Mass, Gustav Holst’s Whitsuntide Singers were the primary cause, together with the revelations of the glories of English Church music in Tudor times by Dr R. R. Terry’s choir at Westminster Cathedral’.<sup>562</sup> Kennedy continues, claiming the direct influence of Terry’s work on the composition of the Mass, stating that it ‘ostensibly pays tribute to Byrd and the composers resurrected by Terry’s labours at Westminster Cathedral.’<sup>563</sup> Terry was fortunate to secure its first liturgical performance at Westminster in 1923 with the composer in attendance. It was destined to reach a wide audience given the size of the work, its favourable reception at a concert performance in Birmingham, and Vaughan Williams’ public profile in the early 1920s. The Cathedral Choir was by this stage feeling the economies that Cardinal Bourne had enacted, coinciding with the immediate post-war reduction in the number of choir men. In order to ensure the stability of the performance Terry enlisted the help of singers from the Church of the Sacred Heart, Wimbledon, who were directed by Fr Driscoll, a Jesuit priest and contemporary of Terry in age, who had been appointed in 1904. His choir-training skills became well known and he established an accomplished choir with a good reputation. Later performances of the *Mass in G Minor* at Westminster during the following month however, were performed by the Cathedral choir alone.<sup>564</sup> Terry wrote in the Cathedral magazine:

<sup>561</sup> Howes, *The English Musical Renaissance*, 302.

<sup>562</sup> Kennedy, *The Works of Ralph Vaughan Williams*, 158.

<sup>563</sup> Kennedy, *The Works of Ralph Vaughan Williams*, 174.

<sup>564</sup> Westminster Cathedral, Music Lists, 1923, GB-Lwca, London. Muir states that the Cathedral choir would have been unable to perform the work without help from Wimbledon, though the fact that there were subsequent performances in the succeeding days without that assistance suggests otherwise. Muir,

The London Press, almost without exception, acclaimed the Mass as a great work; some critics going so far as to call it one of the greatest choral works of the century. But the most significant thing was their practical unanimity in noting its devotional spirit and strictly liturgical character, and their attitude of mind which described the Queen's Hall rendering as a 'performance' and which did not apply that term to the rendering in the Cathedral. The differentiation between a concert performance and an act of worship would not have been made fifteen years ago.<sup>565</sup>

Writing to Vaughan Williams to acknowledge receipt of the Mass for rehearsal, Terry commented, 'I'm quite sincere when I say that it is the work one has all along been waiting for. In your individual and modern idiom you have really captured the old liturgical spirit and atmosphere. I shall spare no pains to give the work an adequate performance. I shall try to get into touch with all the deputies that the war has scattered, and if possible do the music this term'.<sup>566</sup> Contrapuntal, unaccompanied, written in modes but not bound by restrictions of tonality or modal counterpoint, here was a choral composition that looked back to an Elizabethan *sound*, much like the *Fantasia on a Theme of Thomas Tallis* had done instrumentally. Gant notes the link to the early repertoire appearing at Westminster: 'it is hard to imagine a better, and more daring, analogue to Terry's revolutionary use of Renaissance polyphony from England and Europe, two sides of the same attempt to recreate the music of the past and its Catholic hinterland'.<sup>567</sup> The Mass met all of Terry's stated criteria for liturgical music, and it was written in an *antico* style without straying into the territory of pastiche. As such, he was appropriately enthusiastic about it. The *Mass in G Minor* was first sung at the Cathedral on 12

*Roman Catholic Church Music*, 234.

<sup>565</sup> Terry, "Holy Week and Easter Music."

<sup>566</sup> Kennedy, *The Works of Ralph Vaughan Williams*, 160.

<sup>567</sup> Gant, *O Sing Unto the Lord*, 334.

March 1923 and again a week later, then on Easter Monday, and Tuesday, 2 and 3 of April. The *Westminster Chronicle* listed the dates of performance and ended its report enthusiastically: ‘when this Mass was sung for the first time last month the daily Press gave prominence to reports on it. The *Daily Telegraph* concludes its generous estimate of this Mass by saying that it will “most probably be set as a landmark in the history of Church music.”<sup>568</sup> The Mass was repeated so soon because Terry was keen to make the most of the work that had been done by the choir in learning it, and this served the double purpose of having the Mass heard by the widest possible audience.<sup>569</sup>

There is, of course, an inconsistency in Terry’s claimed efforts to establish a School of English Church Music: many of the composers from whom he encouraged works were not Catholics, and this was certainly true of the most well-known contributors. If he had been following Cecilian principles, commissions from Anglicans would not have been sought. Given his own oft-repeated comments about old composers being imbued with the ‘spirit of the liturgy’, such a claim for Vaughan Williams and others was surely on shaky ground. Terry held trenchant views on the state of Anglican orders as has been seen with his comments about Catholic music being utilised for Anglican worship with alternative texts, because in his view the Anglican communion service was not equivalent to the Mass. One assessment might conclude that he was a pragmatist, employing the talents of Anglicans and agnostics to enrich

<sup>568</sup> “Mass in G Minor,” *Westminster Chronicle* (1923), 78.

<sup>569</sup> The work was dedicated to Gustav Holst and the Whitsuntide Singers, and its first performance in any setting was a concert in Birmingham Town Hall on 6<sup>th</sup> December, 1922 by the City of Birmingham Choir, conducted by Joseph Lewis. Holst (who had written works for Westminster and admired Terry’s work with early music) also championed the Mass as a liturgical work. It went on to feature in the Coronation service of HM the Queen in 1953, in English.

the services at Westminster—regardless of principle. What is more likely, however, is that he understood that the spirit of the liturgy could reside in more than one tradition. He was no ecumenist, but clues that could lead to this conclusion can be found in his work with the Orthodox Church at Westminster, the editing, harmonising and arranging of melodies for non-conformist hymnals, and his use of Bach chorales at Benediction and Compline. All these suggest he was content for the liturgy to receive music from other traditions. It is also likely that such selections reflected his personal taste. It was a risk, setting aside theological principle for the sake of compositions, the quality of which would enrich the Cathedral's liturgical excellence, musical profile (and, even his own). This enabled Terry to collect works from all backgrounds (including Anglicanism—a background that he shared), and in so doing, he drew together an impressive portfolio of works. It was an approach which met with the blessing of the Cardinal and his clergy, leading to inspiration for works which might otherwise never have been written, to the ultimate enrichment of both the Catholic and Anglican traditions.

### **3.6 Compositions and arrangements**

In order to understand the influence of early music recovery on his inspiration and musicianship, in addition to its wider influence, it is necessary to briefly examine Terry's own compositions, and to trace the development of modal musical language and influences of plainsong in his work. Terry's output as composer and arranger was varied and not insubstantial. He wrote no symphonies or operas, but he wrote Masses, motets, hymn tunes, Christmas carols and arrangements of early music for choirs. He also edited collections of sea shanties as well as cre-

ating editions of early string music.<sup>570</sup> The scope of this study will permit examination of only some of his key compositions and arrangements, however a complete list of Terry's published material is given in Appendix 2. Much of this material is now out of print, though the hymn tunes and carol settings remain available and in use, and there are parishes and cathedrals which continue to perform some of his Masses.<sup>571</sup>

In contrast to his strong views on the 'fitness' of polyphonic and plainsong-inspired modal style compositions, which were good Cecilian principles, the majority of Terry's composed output was diatonic and in a contemporary idiom, though it tended to include plainsong and polyphonic influences later in his compositional cycle. This was in direct correlation to the growing volume of early music he had recovered and to which his composing ear had been exposed through performance. His first works were published before his conversion to Catholicism and consist of a setting of the evening canticles, *Magnificat and Nunc dimittis in E flat* (1891) and a setting of the *Benedicite for use in Advent and Lent* (1893).<sup>572</sup> These works are in a modern diatonic idiom, and easily stand comparison with equivalent settings by Wood or Stanford. They are scored for an SATB choir of moderate ability and written with an independent organ accompaniment. Terry wrote a total of six Masses: *Mass of St Gregory*; *Mass of St Dominic*; *A Short and Easy Mass on the theme "Veni Sancte Spiritus"*; *Short Mass in C*; *Mass of St Bruno*; and the *Short and Easy Requiem Mass for four voices*. They were popular, priced between

<sup>570</sup> Terry edited a volume with works by Byrd, Parsley, Cranford, Dering, Forde and Parsons titled: Richard Runciman Terry, "Seven Consort Pieces for Strings," (1923).

<sup>571</sup> A recent exercise as part of the present study found that at Ely Cathedral, the choir sang Terry's *Mass in C* for Harvest Festival in 2017, and that his Masses remain in use at Arundel Cathedral.

<sup>572</sup> Richard Runciman Terry, "Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis in E Flat," (1891). Richard Runciman Terry, "A Simple Setting of the Benedicite Omnia Opera for Use in Advent and Lent," (1893).

one shilling and sixpence, and two shillings, and as such sold widely and were often reprinted. Indeed, in a later reprint, the rear cover of the *Mass of St Dominic* lists amongst Cary's publications 'Sir Richard Terry's famous Masses'.<sup>573</sup> The first of these, the *Mass of St Gregory* written in 1896, was dedicated to his former employer, Abbot Ford of Downside Abbey, though as Muir observes, it contains no traces of plainsong.<sup>574</sup> The popularity of this Mass is not surprising since it is set within an easy vocal compass with the top line not rising above g<sup>2</sup>, and aside from the Gloria, the whole work can be performed unaccompanied.<sup>575</sup> Modern (late Victorian) characteristics of the Mass include a quite vigorous (and independent) organ part in the Gloria, with a broad dynamic range from *piano* to *fortissimo*. The Kyrie is quite lengthy, begins in E flat major with a clear melody in the Treble which gives way to a descant when the Tenor takes over the melody. The Christe briefly flirts with F Minor before a recapitulation of the opening Kyrie ideas. (The opening of the Kyrie is given below.) It is very much music of its time, and Terry made no attempt to fulfil any of the Cecilian principles of writing in the *antico* style. In fact, this was a straightforward contemporary work for widespread liturgical use.

<sup>573</sup> Richard Runciman Terry, "Mass of St Dominic," (1899), cover.

<sup>574</sup> Muir, *Roman Catholic Church Music*, 226.

<sup>575</sup> Richard Runciman Terry, "Mass of St Gregory," (1910).

Image 7. R R Terry, *Kyrie* from the *Mass of St Gregory*.

**\*MASS OF ST. GREGORY.**  
**KYRIE.**

R. R. Terry.

Andante moderato.

SOPRANO  
Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son. Ky - ri - e e -

ALTO.  
Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son. Ky - ri - e e -

TENOR  
(8va lower)  
Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son. Ky - ri - e e -

BASS.  
Ky - ri - e e - lei - son. Ky - ri - e e -

ORGAN.  
Andante moderato.

*cresc. molto* *ff*  
lei - son, e - le - i - son. Ky - ri - e e - lei - son.

*cresc. molto* *ff*  
lei - son, e - le - i - son. Ky - ri - e e - lei - son.

*cresc. molto* *ff*  
lei - son, e - le - i - son. Ky - ri - e e -

*cresc. molto* *ff*  
lei - son, e - le - i - son. Ky - ri - e e -

*cresc. molto* *f*  
lei - son, e - le - i - son. Ky - ri - e e -

By the time Terry's second Mass was published, the *Mass of St Dominic* in 1899, though it continued in the essentially modern diatonic vein with considerable dynamic contrast, there were growing signs of the influence of both plainsong and the early music to which he was being exposed. The Kyrie is written in a style reminiscent of many late nineteenth-century church music compositions, with long phrases, a supportive organ accompaniment and plenty of dynamic shading. The Gloria is similar in style to late Victorian Anglican canticle settings and makes no attempt to follow 'old' music principles. The Credo however, is chant-like, with unison voices divided between men and boys, and an almost metrical organ accompaniment not dissimilar to that found supporting plainsong in many hymnals at the turn of the twentieth century. In the preface, Terry states, 'The Credo of this Mass will be found somewhat unusual in style; a few hints as to the manner of its performance are therefore deemed advisable. (1) All the Breves in the voice part are reciting notes and must not be understood as having any absolute or uniform time value', as clear an indication as any perhaps that this was intended to be sung as if it were plainsong.<sup>576</sup> The Sanctus, Benedictus and Agnus Dei have an independent organ part rendering the accompaniment indispensable. It is relatively easy, though possibly outside the reach of some of the less accomplished Catholic parish choirs at the date of completion.

Terry's third Mass, known as the *Short and Easy Mass (No.3) on the theme "Veni Sancte Spiritus"*, was published by Cary in 1904 (by which time he had been at Westminster for three years), and again, it has a preface direction for breves as reciting notes in the Credo and Gloria. There are the first hints at Cecilian principles where he comments that he has written two

<sup>576</sup> Terry, "Mass of St Dominic."



settings of the Sanctus, the first being optional, carrying Terry's note, 'It is intended to *suggest* merely the "old world" atmosphere of the early Church writers.'<sup>577</sup> (The opening of Sanctus I is given below.) The second Sanctus opens with a plainsong melody in long strokes, though any hint of early music ends there as it is harmonised, diatonic and modern, The Kyrie opens with the top line singing a metrical paraphrase of the plainsong hymn *Veni Sancte Spiritus* in G Major, with other sections of this hymn appearing in the Sanctus and Agnus Dei, unifying the movements of the Mass. It is a simple setting, with the Credo and Gloria sung in a style similar to Anglican chant with a 'plainsong' melody (not unlike Tone VIII) and very similar to the Credo of the *Mass of St Dominic*. The Mass is in G Major, the top line singing a plainsong chant in long strokes, placing it within the capabilities of any small choir. So in three short steps, Terry has moved from a modern diatonic style of composition, through a hybrid of this and a plainsong-inspired idiom, to finally land firmly in Cecilian territory composing almost an entire Mass based on a plainsong theme.

<sup>577</sup> Richard Runciman Terry, "A Short and Easy Mass on the Theme "Veni Sancte Spiritus"," (1904).

Image 8. Terry, Sanctus I, from *Short and Easy Mass on the theme Veni Sancte Spiritus*.

**Sanctus I.**

Adagio ma non troppo.

San-ctus, San - ctus, San - ctus Do - mi - nus De - us

San-ctus, San - ctus, San - ctus Do - mi - nus De - us

San-ctus, San - ctus, San - ctus Do - mi - nus De - us

San-ctus, San - ctus, San - ctus Do - mi - nus De - us

Adagio ma non troppo. M.M. ♩ = 72.

Sa - ba - oth Ple - ni sunt coe - li et ter - ra

Sa - ba - oth Ple - ni sunt coe - li et ter - ra

Sa - ba - oth Ple - ni sunt coe - li et ter - ra

Sa - ba - oth Ple - ni sunt coe - li et ter - ra

The fourth of Terry's Masses, *Short Mass in C*, was published in 1904. It steps away from the Cecilian style once again and is planted squarely in the modern diatonic idiom. It was conceived as a Mass with easy access for small and inexperienced parish choirs in unison, with an organ accompaniment. Terry envisaged it might be taught to congregations where no choir was present, and notes in the preface: 'In writing the accompaniments, the capacities of small organs and harmoniums, have been designedly kept in mind'.<sup>578</sup> He also states, 'It is scarcely necessary to point out that the Credo was suggested by the bold closing line of "Ein fest Burg" [sic]', in what is a surprising move, since the use of Protestant music in Catholic services at this time was not encouraged, not least by Terry himself, given his work to recover Catholic repertoire for the liturgy! The rest of the Mass has references to the *Missa de Angelis*, probably the best known of the plainsong Masses amongst Catholic congregations, no doubt helping to cement *The Short Mass's* popularity.

The 1907 publication of the *Mass of St Bruno* was dedicated to Don Lorenzo Perosi, of whom Terry was an acquaintance and admirer. Perosi was a contemporary of Terry (born in 1870) who had studied under Harberl, the man responsible for revising much of the music of Palestrina in Regensburg. Perosi later transferred to Solesmes to study with Pothiers and Mocquereau, equipping him with skills in the twin pillars of early twentieth-century Catholic liturgical music as laid down in the 1903 *Motu Proprio*: plainsong and polyphony. In 1898 he was appointed to the Vatican as director of the Sistine Chapel choir (a post he held for fifty eight years), where he employed his Cecilian principles, composing in the *antico* style and promoting plainsong in the liturgy. He did this with the blessing of Pope Pius X, who as Cardinal

<sup>578</sup> Richard Runciman Terry, "Short Mass in C (No.4.)," (1904), 2.

Sarto (they had known each other for some time and were personal friends) had suggested him for the Sistine post a few years earlier.<sup>579</sup> Terry's biographer, commenting on the spread of Terry's influence notes 'Perosi, Director of the Sistine Choir, observed on a visit to Paris the influence of Westminster music there and the consequent increase in the singing of polyphony.' As was mentioned above, Terry had quoted Perosi's interest in the Cathedral's music in a letter to Bourne.<sup>580</sup> Given their shared musical agendas for the liturgy, it is surprising that Terry did not write the Mass with plainsong as a framework, but rather composed a unison setting with occasional *divisi*, and an organ accompaniment in the modern diatonic (and unashamedly chromatic) style. It is described on the back cover as 'A short and easy Mass for four Voices and Organ, which can also be sung in Unison or by Two, Three or Four Mixed Voices, and in which the laws of the Church regarding repetition of words is most carefully respected' (the latter must have been reassuring, given the dedicatee).<sup>581</sup> The work's straightforward nature ensured it would become popular amongst parish choirs, within whose capability the setting easily rests.

The *Short and Easy Requiem Mass*, published in 1907 moves away from this Victorian idiom and relies on plainsong themes for some sections, employing modal writing for others such as the Sanctus and Benedictus.<sup>582</sup> The Kyrie, obviously based upon the plainsong of the *Missa pro defunctis*, is written out in minims with strange groupings of triplets and duplets, no

<sup>579</sup> Ciampa, *Don Lorenzo Perosi*, 102–51.

<sup>580</sup> Andrews, *Westminster Retrospect*, 103–04.

<sup>581</sup> Richard Runciman Terry, "Mass of St Benedict," (1907), cover.

<sup>582</sup> Muir, *Roman Catholic Church Music*, 233.

doubt in an effort to direct the rhythm of the plainsong, though it seems doubtful this would have any effect other than to cause the performance to be ponderous and to make the plain-song melody *feel* metricated. It is a work that became popular and in response to demand was subject to reprints.

In addition to the Masses, Terry wrote motets and settings of the Propers for occasions such as Holy Week. *Music for Palm Sunday* was compiled for use at the Cathedral and then later published in 1909 by Cary. It was one of a suite of three publications for Holy Week, with companion sets for Maundy Thursday and Holy Saturday. These are all no longer in print though some remain in use in parishes and cathedrals.<sup>583</sup> The Holy Week collections place Terry's compositions alongside those of the European Renaissance masters and some plainsong settings, so that the Palm Sunday booklet includes (amongst other works): a setting of 'Hosanna Filio David' for SATB which is anonymous (but possibly by Terry); some Vatican Plainchant for 'Pueri Hebraeorum'; a setting by Palestrina of the same text; more harmonised plainchant—Mode VII—harmonised by Terry; two motets by Terry, *Iustorum animae* (for baritone solo and choir) and *Vexilla Regis*; two Antiphons by Terry *Occurrent Turbae* and *Cum Angelis* as well as a setting of *Ingrediente Domino* by Viadana.<sup>584</sup> These publications were intended for broad use and to facilitate this, the works contained in them were of a straightforward nature which would not challenge a reasonable choir. Terry's two Eucharistic motets, *Cor Jesu* and *Ave Verum*, both published and reprinted by Cary, are similar to his earlier Masses in the diatonic

<sup>583</sup> As will be seen later, the Holy Week booklets are still in use at Arundel Cathedral according to correspondence from the current Cathedral Organist.

<sup>584</sup> Muir, *Roman Catholic Church Music*, 226–27.

and at times chromatic style so prevalent in church music at the turn of the twentieth century. Both are scored for SATB, though the *Ave Verum* additionally has a brief section of Baritone solo towards the end. Each has an independent organ accompaniment and they are scored for parish choirs of moderate ability, since they are set in a comfortable compass, with the highest note in either being g<sup>2</sup>.<sup>585</sup>

Terry's editions of plainsong Masses, which carried the Latin title 'Juxta editionem Vaticanam' with accompaniments rather exotically ascribed to Terry in Latin 'Organo continente edidit R. R. Terry' were published by Curwen and included the *Missa de Angelis*, the best known of these settings.<sup>586</sup> The accompaniments were much in line with his writings in *The Music of the Roman Rite* except he failed to follow his own rule by ending movements with perfect cadences, which for example is what he did with each of the four lines of the Kyrie and the majority of phrases in the Gloria.<sup>587</sup> Notwithstanding the idiosyncrasies, the overall effect is pleasing and proved popular, with these editions still in use in many parishes today.

The clearest indication of the influence of plainsong, modal style and early music more generally on Terry's compositions comes in a short anthem titled *Richard de Castre's Prayer to Jesus*. It is an unaccompanied work, set to an early fifteenth-century carol text for four-part choir, which was first published by Curwen in 1923 and was to be Terry's last composition written at Westminster. The performing direction suggests 'To be sung quite simply, in the

<sup>585</sup> Richard Runciman Terry, "Cor Jesu," *Motet* (1899). and Richard Runciman Terry, "Ave Verum," *Motet* (1899).

<sup>586</sup> A full list of these Masses is given in Appendix 2 (Terry's published works).

<sup>587</sup> Richard Runciman Terry, "Missa De Angelis With Organ Accompaniment By R. R. Terry Mus. D. F.r.c.o.," (1915), 1-8.

manner of a Folk-song' and it is a straightforward work, written in the Dorian mode. At first inspection, since there are B flats (which would make chord iv of the first hexachord—diatonically—G minor) it would appear to be written in the Aeolian mode, however it is a mark of Terry's skill in modal writing that the melody remains in the Dorian mode with the only B flats occurring in the accompaniment, thus maintaining its Dorian credentials. The style makes it easily accessible for parish choirs of basic attainment and because of this it has remained popular, continuing to appear in modern collections of anthems for choirs to the present day.<sup>588</sup> The writing is reminiscent of Howells, with flashes of his Christmas anthem *Here is the Little Door*, and also Vaughan Williams' Sanctus from the *Mass in G minor*.

In the autumn of 2017 a secular composition by Terry came to light titled *The Cathedral*.<sup>589</sup> It is set to a text by the poet and author of *The Highwayman*, Alfred Noyes (1880–1958), who had converted to Catholicism in 1927 and went on to write a work of Catholic apologetics titled *The Unknown God*. How the two men met is unclear, though Noyes was only thirteen years younger than Terry and it is likely they will have moved in similar social circles. It is also possible that Noyes had attended the Cathedral or encountered some of Terry's writings on music and liturgy. The work is in ink, in Terry's hand, and must date from post-knighthood (late 1922) since Terry styles himself on the front sheet as 'Sir R R Terry'. It is scored for voice (the range—vocal compass of d1 to g2—would suggest either soprano or tenor, though neither is specified) and the accompaniment appears to be an organ part. The compositional

<sup>588</sup> This work is currently available: Richard Runciman Terry, *Richard De Castre's Prayer to Jesus* (London: Oxford University Press, 1957).

<sup>589</sup> The score is in the possession of Richard Lea, Assistant Organist of Buckfast Abbey, who has graciously made a copy available for examination. It is quoted here with permission.

style is reminiscent of a Stanford song, with a straightforward accompaniment. The copy is noted on the front sheet in Terry's hand as Part I, with a duration of three and a half minutes. Across the top of the first page of the score, Terry has written:

In the part enclosed in a double [underlined] pencil ring (next page) I'd like a pulsating rhythm of quavers [illustration of two groups of four quavers] with any instruments you like. I have merely written down the chords for you to work on. In the passage on page 3 enclosed is a single [underlined] pencil ring do you think it would be more effective to have the same quaver pulsation on strings in middle part (not melody or bass)?<sup>590</sup>

It is unclear to whom this is addressed, though it appears to be for either a potential instrumental performer or perhaps the person who commissioned the work. There is no record of the collaboration between Noyes and Terry, or evidence of a part II in existence, which taken with the foregoing renders the work an enigmatic curiosity.

### **3.7 Terry's relevance today and his legacy in the work of others**

#### **Legacy**

The list of activities that constitute Terry's legacy to music is considerable: there is the recovery of early music, particularly the choral repertory and reviving the use of plainsong in the liturgy; he is responsible for the collation and arranging of hymns, carols and shanties as well as compositions for the liturgy and collections of music for choirs; that he was an avid writer, both of treatises and articles, but also reviews of recordings and broadcasts; he is responsible for the influence on contemporary composers of the modal style of early music he performed

<sup>590</sup> Alfred Noyes and Terry, *The Cathedral*, A work for voice and instruments, c.1922, privately owned by Richard Lea, and quoted here with permission.



and for his attempts to establish an English School of Church Music.<sup>591</sup> His departure from Westminster removed him from his London platform and the constant attention of the press. His temperament, coupled with an erratic working pattern and the politics of class and religion undermined his position with TCM. Finally, the timing of his death, just a year before a long and all-consuming war, ensured that once the smoke had cleared some seven years later, others had moved forward with these projects so that his name quickly slipped from notice. (Fellowes pressed ahead with publishing most of Byrd's Latin output, which naturally carried his name; others did similar work with other manuscripts that Terry had originally unearthed.) However, his name has continued to appear on scores of choral music to the present day, with his hymn tunes and carol settings arguably more globally popular now than at any time during his life. Yet, unjustly, Terry's is not a name that is known outside church music circles. In spite of his work at Downside and Westminster, and the fact that this choral counterpart to Dolmetsch has spread a web of influence quite literally across the world. His establishment outsider status—in spite of MusD and knighthood—was an additional handicap in ensuring a lasting legacy. Whilst his early music editions have been latterly superseded by the work of others, his influence has been great, not least because the scores in his editions per-

<sup>591</sup> Once Terry had left Westminster his work pattern diversified, further than had been the case through the early 1920s. It now incorporated regular radio broadcasts alongside his adjudicating, examining, lecturing and writing, leaving a further legacy of recordings. The *Radio Times* lists the programmes with his involvement and under his editorship, particularly from 1934 and 1935. A series of programmes covered a multitude of styles and this ranged from performances of Sea Shanties; Scottish Metrical Psalms; Byrd Masses, Motets and Songs; Plainsong; Carols; Motets by Philips and Dering; collaborations with Rudolph, Carl, Cecile and Natalie Dolmetsch; Madrigals and post-Reformation Services and Anthems. All of these were performed with a variety of ensembles, most notably the BBC Singers, The Wireless Singers and the BBC Radio Choir. It was usual for Terry to give a brief talk at the beginning of the broadcast and sometimes between pieces, explaining the historical context of the music and providing information about its compositional style and composer. See *Radio Times*, Issues 536–587 and 588–639, 1934–1935.

sisted long after his death, thanks in part to the publishers reprinting works which first appeared in the early 1900s, without alteration, right up to the 1960s. This perpetuated the performance direction, dynamic markings and other editorial decisions, influencing the interpretation of these works by generations of performers. Taken together with his compositional cycle, this makes him a significant and relevant figure in modern church music performance.

As has been demonstrated, the musical tradition at Westminster was lauded as an example to others in Catholic Christendom, with the contagion of early music enthusiasm spreading beyond into Anglicanism. Latin appeared for the first time since the early seventeenth century in Terry's editions in Anglican Cathedrals, and early choral music appeared in concert halls. Young composers, including those invited to write for the choir, would be exposed to newly recovered, unfamiliar music. Terry's influence therefore, was extended in different ways: hearing the performances of early music and experiencing its modal style and tonalities; a familiarity with plainsong and understanding its potential as a foundation for other composition; and a desire to utilise the styles and sound-world of an earlier age in contemporary writing. Finally his influence was spread through personal contact and his didactic work, of which, Dom Gregory Murray is but one example.

Terry did not work alone at Westminster with the choir. A string of assistant organists helped oversee rehearsals and score preparation and deputed for Terry when he was away. One such figure was Reginald Mills Silby. Silby was born into a Low Church Anglican family in London in 1884, and perhaps due to his mother's Anglo-Catholic sympathies, he attended the Oratory School at Brompton. Silby sang in the choir at St Alban's, Holborn, initially, then

studied with Arthur Barclay at Brompton, and converted to Catholicism at the age of eighteen—no doubt as a result of the influence of the Oratorian fathers.<sup>592</sup> In 1903, Silby was appointed as assistant to Terry with specific duties of helping with choir training, Tudor music research (score copying, largely), and generally working towards establishing high standards of musical practice at the Cathedral. After six years in post, Silby emigrated to the USA in 1909 and, enthusiastic about the work in which he had played a key part, he took with him the skills and philosophy for Catholic musical renewal he had experienced at Westminster.

Silby was steeped in the ideals of the 1903 Motu Proprio, to which he rigorously adhered throughout his career. He took every opportunity to speak and write about the Church's ideal of "true liturgical music." He thoroughly absorbed the polyphonic repertory, as well as Terry's programming priorities highlighting peaks in the liturgical year. In each year he served, Silby replicated the early Westminster tradition as closely as possible.<sup>593</sup>

Silby took Terry's lead in educating congregations and anyone else who might be interested, with lectures and concerts which featured chant and polyphony as the Church's ideal of sacred music. His own church choir showcased this music to an admiring listening public, including a performance of Palestrina's *Missa Papae Marcelli* heard by an appreciative Leopold Stokowski.<sup>594</sup> He founded a choir school in each of his appointments, basing it within the day school in New York and Omaha, but setting up a new foundation in Philadelphia. Here was an example of the work begun by Terry at Westminster enjoying transmission through one of his 'disciples' to other parts of the English-speaking world.

<sup>592</sup> Dr Kevin Vogt, "Reginald Mills Silby, the Westminster Connection," *Conference of the Church Music Association of America* (2013), 4.

<sup>593</sup> Vogt, "Silby," 6.

<sup>594</sup> Vogt, "Silby," 7.

Terry's work beyond music in church also remains a significant part of his legacy, with sea shanties a particular example and also his work with Hilda Andrews on a modern edition of the Byrd volume of keyboard music, *My Ladye Nevells Booke* (GB-Lbl MS Mus. 1591). This was edited by Andrews, with a preface supplied by Terry who had also given Andrews practical advice.<sup>595</sup> His collaborations with Dolmetsch and others were important, as was his work in performing Bach cantatas in the Cathedral Hall at Westminster. These were some of the earliest performances of Bach cantatas in London during modern times. Unfortunately, little remains in the archive at Westminster which would give more information, including how many concerts took place, though the surviving concert flyer gives an indication of what was on offer.<sup>596</sup> Terry's contemporaries sought his advice on performing Bach just as they did with early English music, suggesting a degree of confidence in his expertise in this area, as Borthwick notes with respect to Whittaker who 'informed his performances [of Bach cantatas] with expertise acquired from musicians such as... R. R. Terry' and on this occasion with advice also from Dolmetsch.<sup>597</sup> It is clear then that Terry's legacy extends beyond the music of the liturgy, into the spheres of concert performance with the Bach cantatas—reviving yet more repertoire which had slipped from the English public's attention—and folk music with his

<sup>595</sup> Hilda Andrews, ed. *My Ladye Nevells Booke* (London: J. Curwen and Sons, 1926).

<sup>596</sup> Concert Flyer titled 'Sacred Concert of Works of J. S. Bach', Monday 3 April 1905, Terry General Papers, GB-Lwca, London. Thanks to the preservation of a concert flyer in the Cathedral archives, it is possible to see who and what were involved on this occasion. The performance included '(1) Cantata: "Weeping, Wailing, Mourning" ("Wienen, Klagen, Sorgen"), (2) Cantata: "To us a Child is born" ("Uns ist ein Kind geboren"), (2) Eight-part Motet: "The Spirit also helpeth us" ("Der Geist hilft unsrer schwachheit auf") and (4) Concerto in C minor for two pianos and orchestra. It was performed by the Cathedral choir and the pianists were William Sewell (Organist at the Birmingham Oratory) and Irene Scharrer (a concert pianist and friend of Myra Hess with whom she often performed four-handed concerts). Terry conducted the performances.

<sup>597</sup> Borthwick, "In the Swim," 31–32.

shanty editions. Just as enduring, but more subtle, is his legacy of ideas which was transmitted through his pupils and associates such as Silby and through his editions of early choral music, many of which remain in use a century later.

### **Terry's continued relevance and current perceptions of his contribution**

Terry's work in the fledgeling early music movement was substantial with respect to choral music, and the editions of carols and shanties were an important contribution to the folk revival. These two aspects alone should secure his relevance as a figure in English music history. Unlike many of his Anglican contemporaries Terry was not fettered by their historical narrative, liberating him to recover a repertoire that for most Establishment musicians was beyond the scope of practical use. In addition there is his part in the revival of Catholic fortunes more generally at the start of the twentieth century. It is clear that without the rich diet of music provided at Westminster between 1901 and 1924, far fewer non-Catholics would have been enticed into the Cathedral, where the music helped feed the appetite in converts for an aesthetic dimension to their new confession. The comments of Holst, Vaughan Williams and other leading musicians of the period have already been quoted supporting this notion. More than a century after the commencement of his early music work Terry remains a relevant figure in the history of both Catholic musical recovery and English music more broadly.

Terry was a firmly practical musician who espoused performance first. In recognition of this, the present study sought to establish the extent to which practical performance of his work, both edited and original remains in use. As an informal and unscientific exercise therefore, contact was made with the ancient foundation cathedral organists of the Anglican

Cathedrals of England and a sample of the Catholic Cathedrals who pursue a musical tradition of some equivalence. Contact was also made with Anglican Cathedrals overseas, in major cities of the former Imperial colonies where the choral tradition persists. A view of Terry's contribution to the early English choral music revival was sought, whether any of his editions of some early music were still in use, and if any of Terry's compositions continue to appear in the music schedules. The results were both interesting and perhaps surprising. A small sample of responses is given below.

Paul Trepte, Director of Music at Ely Cathedral, wrote:

It just so happens that we have decided to sing his lovely Mass (in C) for our harvest festival 10.30am Sunday Eucharist this year. I have known this piece for many years and I think it works beautifully. At Ely the service will be led by our boy choristers and there will be lots of other young children joining in. And we are going to try to get the congregation to sing some sections of it too. It's just as good (or better) than other more modern settings we might consider for this sort of occasion and I'm glad the clergy here seem to be relaxed about expecting an Anglican congregation to have a go at singing the Latin. As for the carols, they are still occasionally included in our carol services. Not just the lovely 'Myn Lyking' but also such pieces as "Good day Sir Christmas" and "Joseph and the Angel"...I rate his contribution very highly indeed. I confess I don't know his hymn tunes at all, except for the indispensable "Highwood".<sup>598</sup>

Timothy Noon, Director of Music at Exeter Cathedral was clear on Terry's contribution and place in English music history: 'R.R. Terry's commitment to breathing new life into the treasury of renaissance polyphony provided the context in which the repertoire of cathedral choirs could expand exponentially whilst standards were consistently raised. His legacy can be heard daily in churches across the world.'<sup>599</sup> The Director of Music at Arundel Catholic Cathedral, Elizabeth Stratford, wrote: 'we use his Short Mass in C, quote a bit of stuff from

<sup>598</sup> Paul Trepte, 'Sir Richard Terry', email, 11 September 2017.

<sup>599</sup> Timothy Noon, 'Sir Richard Terry', email, 12 September 2017.

his Holy Week booklet—*In monte Oliveti, Pueri Hebraeorum, The Reproaches*, hymn tunes... I don't think we use many of his editions of other things'.<sup>600</sup>

Paul Stubbings, Director of Music at St Mary's Music School, Edinburgh noted, 'I was delighted to turn up at Edinburgh's Metropolitan Cathedral yesterday for noonday High Mass of Pentecost to hear the choir singing from Terry's 1905 Downside edition of Viadana's *L'hora passa* Mass (replete with trademark vivid dynamic markings)... RRT's brand of muscular Catholicism is still alive and well in the North!'<sup>601</sup>

Michael Stewart, Organist and Director of Music at St Paul's Cathedral, Wellington, New Zealand confirmed the popularity of Terry's hymn tunes in New Zealand, writing:

In terms of his church music, we regularly sing his two fantastic hymn tunes Highwood and Billing. His choral music is perhaps a little less known here although we do occasionally sing his setting of Myn Lyking which is lovely... I am certainly very familiar with the work of Terry in the field of Tudor music, and the huge influence he had by way of his work at Westminster Cathedral on Herbert Howells' early Latin music. We don't tend to use his editions with the Tudor Consort but his work as a pioneer in the field of editing Tudor music is well known.'<sup>602</sup>

Kent Tritle, Director of Music at the Cathedral of St John the Divine in New York City, revealed something of Terry's influence in the church music of the USA: 'R.R. Terry is certainly still of influence here. In my 35 years as church musician in NYC I have used his editions numerous times, and they do hold in the libraries of St Ignatius and The Julliard School.

<sup>600</sup> Elizabeth Stratford, 'Sir Richard Terry', email, 14 September 2017.

<sup>601</sup> Paul Stubbings, 'Sir Richard Terry'. email, 21 May 2018.

<sup>602</sup> Michael Stewart, 'Sir Richard Terry', email, 15 September 2017.

I'm sure we have some in the Cathedral library as well.'<sup>603</sup> Felix Yeung, Director of Music at St John's Cathedral, Hong Kong, confirmed the presence of Terry's music in the territory:

On the anthem/carols front: we performed his *Myn Lyking* at Nine Lessons and Carols in 2015. His edition of Pitoni's *Cantata Domino* was quite frequently sung at St John's until recently... The advent hymn 'Hark what a sound' sung to the tune 'Highwood' has been in use here the past 2-3 years. Outside the English-speaking community at St John's, the only other instance that Terry's hymn tune is used is in the 2006 revision of the 'ecumenical' Chinese-English hymnal, 'Hymns of Universal Praise' (Published by the Chinese Christian Literature Council). The tune 'Highwood' is set to Fred Kaan's text 'We praise your name, O God of all creation and the same tune to the text by Cecil Boutflower 'O joy of God, we seek you in the morning.'<sup>604</sup>

In this representative sample, it is clear that Terry's influence is both global and enduring. His hymn tunes are held in high regard, as is his popular carol *Myn Lyking*. It is notable that some of his liturgical compositions also remain in use. These of course are direct and obvious legacies. The less tangible, but nonetheless enduring sign of Terry's influence, is the performance of music from England's pre-Reformation past, which is now a regular feature in concerts and recordings. What would no doubt please Terry however, is the fact that this repertory is now standard material in the music lists and libraries of cathedral and parish choirs across the world, both Catholic and Anglican.

<sup>603</sup> Kent Tritle, '*Sir Richard Terry*', email, 15 September 2017.

<sup>604</sup> Felix Yeung, '*Sir Richard Terry*', email, 15 September 2017.



## Chapter 4

### Conclusions

During his lifetime, Terry claimed for himself the status of a pioneer in early music revival.<sup>605</sup> Indeed Frank Howes (music critic at *The Times* from 1943–1960) describes Terry as the ‘prime motive power’ of the revival of Tudor music.<sup>606</sup> Suzanne Cole has noted that although Terry was one of many working in the broad field of early music, the evidence reveals that he was one of very few working on early choral music. In terms of English choral music with a Latin text he was essentially working alone, since Fellowes and others concentrated largely—at least until the mid-1920s—on choral music with an English text. These endeavours earned Terry praise from contemporaries such as Stanford and Holst; his honorary doctorate; his knighthood; and the acknowledgement of even his most staunch critics such as Dom Gregory Murray who, consonant with Howes, credited him with ‘rescuing the lion’s share of our Tudor music’.<sup>607</sup> Cole frames Terry as someone who wished to be seen as a lone pioneer, relishing the status of the standard-bearer of resurrected Catholic music in England. This may be so, however the evidence points to few other contenders for such a claim.<sup>608</sup>

Terry was fortunate in having the London platform of the Cathedral to showcase his work and promote enthusiasm for pre-Reformation choral repertoire, often using his own

<sup>605</sup> Terry, “Byrd,” 147.

<sup>606</sup> Howes, *The English Musical Renaissance*, 95.

<sup>607</sup> See footnote 451.

<sup>608</sup> See Chapter 2 of this study for these discussions.

journalistic skills to do so—though he began this endeavour in the wilds of Somerset, at Downside, undermining theories that he was simply vainglorious. It is no coincidence that Terry is cast as the choral counterpart to Dolmetsch and the Catholic counterpart to Fellowes.<sup>609</sup> From the sheer volume of material he recovered and performed, such comparisons are justified. This corpus of works includes: both sets of the Byrd *Gradualia*; the *Cantiones Sacrae* of Tallis and Byrd; the complete works known at that time of Peter Phillips, Fayrfax, Taverner, Tye and Merbecke. In light of that volume, the small number of works he re-edited from the editions of others demonstrate less a quasi-plagiaristic streak and more a pedantry of style—he wished it to be performed in his preferred manner. It is also worth noting that he sought permission from those whose scores he re-worked, a courtesy which Royle Shore, for example, did not extend to Terry with respect to Tallis's *Lamentations*. A further aspect in which Terry was a pioneer is the date-range of the scores and composers covered by his research. His contemporaries were, broadly speaking, content to draw the line at Tallis and Byrd. This was no doubt governed by Anglican historiography that quietly directed their work—particularly with Fellowes and Buck. For Terry there was a wealth of material created a century or more before these men had been born and this was demonstrated with his palaeography on the Old Hall Manuscript and other documents leading to the performance of fifteenth-century material such as the Davy *Passion* at Westminster.

Performance is a crucial element in assessing Terry's work and influence. Musicologists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century were concerned with the gathering of material from a variety of sources and recording them for posterity, for a scientific study of

<sup>609</sup> Haskell, *Early Music Revival*, 36.

the mechanics of the compositions, and as has been seen with the Carnegie TCM project, for patriotic purposes. Terry's aim when scoring early music was performance and this led to criticism from his paper-based musicology contemporaries, who were understandably preoccupied with correctness. Examination of his conducting scores, a few of which survive in the archive at Westminster Cathedral, demonstrate Terry's hurried manner. There are some obvious and basic errors. Usually, though not always, these are struck through and corrected on the score suggesting rushed copy to meet a performance deadline with rehearsal revealing the error. He was certainly working to tight deadlines, yet these were self-imposed, since he was responsible for choosing the repertoire himself. He was necessarily processing a vast quantity of music: daily Mass—Mass setting and a motet; daily Vespers—Magnificat, anthem and a BVM devotion, throughout the year. In addition he overstretched his workload—whether through arrogance and an inflated self-belief; a desire to be involved in many different areas of music; a national pursuit of improved musical standards; or perhaps, a little of each. By assuming so many responsibilities beyond the Cathedral, Terry's absences resulted in the tightening of already short timescales leading to frayed tempers in most participants.

The performances of early choral music at Westminster were popular. They attracted non-Catholics in large numbers, especially at Holy Week which became the musical focus of the year, a time when new repertoire was showcased, such as the Jacob Handl year in 1909 and the Spanish Renaissance year of 1911. The national press was reviewing these events and encouraging readers to experience this music for themselves. Recordings also began to appear, making Westminster Cathedral the most recorded choir in the first quarter of the century.<sup>610</sup>

<sup>610</sup> Archive of Recorded Church Music, "Westminster Cathedral Recordings." (1909): <https://>

Such popularity also led to Terry's engagement in a series of broadcasts for the BBC after he had left Westminster. This fuelled the sense of resentment that existed towards Terry from some of his contemporary musicologists—how could this man who had failed to complete his formal education, who is responsible for sloppy score scholarship, and who is a Catholic achieve greater public notice than them? Although some of their criticisms were justified (especially with rushed scholarship and the claims for the Latin origin of some clearly English-text works) there was a ruthlessness in some of his counterparts which ultimately triumphed in promotion of their achievements at the expense of Terry's.

Evidence suggests that Terry sought to emulate the very best of the English choral tradition at the new Cathedral. In pursuing this English choral style, which he identified as the residuum of the pre-Reformation tradition found in Anglicanism, Terry was instrumental in reinstating it at the heart of restored Catholicism, eliminating any notion of Continental (foreign) style. This was deliberate, since his philosophy of Catholic music in England was that of a native style which long pre-existed Anglicanism and therefore could not be described as a foreign import; and he sought to meet his Anglican critics head-on in their own territory, proving that Catholics were equally capable of producing a fine choral sound.

The motivations for Terry in the recovery of early music are numerous. Matters of sound, purity, beauty and linking back to an earlier age all feature. His prime inspiration however was his faith and the notion that only the very best should be offered in worship. Possessing a convert's zeal, his Catholicism underpinned all of his activities and led to several books

and a great many press and journal articles on the topic.<sup>611</sup> His unwillingness to accept second best in liturgy was the motivation behind the compilation of diocesan music lists and his treatises for parish musicians in an effort to lift the general performance standard. He understood that the very best music for liturgy 'It is less a question of which is *the finest* music, than a question of which is the *fittest*' was that composed with the spirit of the liturgy residing in the composer.<sup>612</sup> Terry considered the pre-Reformation writers to be the prime vessels for that spirit. These men, he understood, lived by and wrote music for the regular calendar of feasts and fasts and therefore lived the liturgy. As Catholics living through the recusant period, their works for him assumed the status of musical icons. Inspired by their instinctive liturgical understanding, Terry was responsible for the first performances in modern times (since the Reformation) of a number of their works in his own editions. These included the Byrd *Mass for Three Voices*, *Mass for Five Voices* and Tallis *Lamentations at Downside*, and the complete Byrd *Gradualia*, *Cantiones Sacrae* and many more at Westminster. He chose to reveal their music, taking full advantage of the political message some of these performances carried. The extent to which he was successful in these endeavours is reflected in the positive reception of this material recorded in the national press and in articles and speeches given by musicians of his time such as Stanford, Holst, Hadow, Scholes, Hadow, Warlock, Vaughan Williams and others.

<sup>611</sup> See Appendix 2 for a list of Terry's published works.

<sup>612</sup> Terry, *Catholic Church Music*, 26. It is possible that this notion of 'fitness' of music for liturgy is inspired by J. S. Bach's comment in his resignation letter to Muhlhausen in 1708 where he states that he had come to Muhlhausen in order to compose 'well-regulated church music' Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel, *The Bach Reader: a Life of Johann Sebastian Bach in Letters and Documents* (New York, London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1966), 60.

Plainsong has for centuries been an integral part of Catholic worship. When Terry came to Downside in 1896, there had already been stirrings of a revival of its use in Anglicanism and Catholics were addressing (once again) the decline of its use and poor standard of its performance as they had almost generationally since the Counter-Reformation. There was an auspicious confluence of events at the turn of the twentieth century with the creation of the Solesmes *Liber Usualis*, the papal *Motu Proprio* in 1903 and the foundation of the Cathedral and appointment of its choir in 1901. Terry was encouraged to develop plainsong for choir and congregation and took steps to do so, not least through his writings and lectures on the subject. However, his viewpoint was that of a polyphonic choral music enthusiast looking back to plainsong as its root, rather than as a plainsong advocate seeing its possibilities in the construction of polyphonic composition going forward. This led to a somewhat half-hearted effort in implementing the scale of congregational participation envisaged for the Cathedral in the early days and some criticism from the laity as a result. However, he did succeed in persuading others such as places of further education teaching music, that an understanding of plainsong and the modes' influence on later composition was essential. His work on plainsong and the standard of its performance by the choir in the liturgy all earned Terry praise and admiration from elsewhere, including papal encouragement, as Rome pointed to Westminster as an exemplar.<sup>613</sup> His legacy in print in this area also persists, as his organ accompaniment of the *Missa de Angelis* (Vatican Edition) and other plainsong pieces remain widely in use to this day.

<sup>613</sup> Andrews, *Westminster Retrospect*, 84–85.

Terry understood that the music he was re-presenting grew out of a school of English church music that existed long before the middle of the sixteenth century. He sought to re-establish such a body in an informal way in his own time, a *schola* gathering a body of composers who would enrich the liturgy of Catholicism with their music. The people he persuaded to engage on this project were keen to be involved and the list contains some writers of note. Unfortunately, his departure from the Cathedral in 1924 brought this to an end, but not before some important works had been added to the church's repertoire, such as Arnold Bax's *Mater Ora Filium*, Gustav Holst's *Nunc dimittis* for double choir and the *Mass in the Dorian Mode* by Howells. Terry had set out to infuse the music of the church with contemporary compositions of the highest available quality, yet his work also had the unintended consequence of the Cathedral's liturgy and the style of music it promoted influencing the compositional style of these composers. Howells ascribed a lifelong love of plainsong and its influence on his music to the six years working with Terry at Westminster.<sup>614</sup> Those who had similarly worked alongside Terry or had sung under him as choristers often transmitted his ideas elsewhere. In spite of his many criticisms, Gregory Murray is a prime example of this extending influence, as is Reginald Silby who set up a Westminster-in-miniature in the USA.<sup>615</sup>

Terry's early music revival work extended beyond Masses and motets. Hymns and carols were recovered, edited and published with (in his view) sympathetic accompaniments, and this also applied to sea shanties. There is no doubt that with sea shanties and carols, Terry made a considerable contribution to the early twentieth-century folk music revival and this is

<sup>614</sup> Spicer, *Herbert Howells*, 24.

<sup>615</sup> See footnote 609.

something for which he has not been fully recognised.<sup>616</sup> Terry should not be characterised as a mere Edwardian antiquarian, delving back simply to find unfamiliar and esoteric works for the purpose of collecting. His alleged pomposity, the testy arguments with critics such as Royle Shore, often stormy relationships with colleagues, especially at Westminster and, as the years advanced, his gently greying toupée (in an effort to blend with his remaining hair) might support such an assumption. He was, however, in many respects a musician who was open to the modern musical world around him. He was also socially advanced, embracing and promoting the music of female composers such as Ethel Smyth and Sylvia Townsend Warner at a time when many of his contemporaries would shun their contribution. In addition, he gave a platform to emerging young writers through his attempts at establishing the School of English Church Music.

Terry's compositional cycle was largely confined to church music—though not exclusively—and it developed characteristics, though to a limited extent, which showed the influence of his early music recovery work; especially with pieces such as *Richard de Castre's Prayer to Jesus*. Elsewhere, he maintained a modern diatonic style: in hymn tune composition (many of which remain in print and regular use); and in works such as *Myn Lyking*, which remains a popular carol. As noted above, his original editorial work on early music is now less obvious, replaced by later editions and scholarship which have, to some degree, covered his pioneering tracks. The first volume of the Carnegie TCM collection however, survives to enable an assessment of his musicological skills. Terry set out to improve the standards of music selection and performance in Catholic services. As this study argues however, his lasting impact is to be

<sup>616</sup> Terry's contribution in this area merits further research.



found not only in Catholic circles (an impact dulled by the vicissitudes of the liturgy wars following Vatican II removed traditional choirs from most Catholic parishes) but more significantly, and unintentionally, in mainstream Anglicanism where the use of Latin, so long outlawed, is now firmly established and accepted in both parish and cathedral culture both as a result of the late twentieth-century recording culture, the relaxation of dogmatic objections and finally Terry's work.

It is to be hoped that in the present time, it will be possible for a scholarly appraisal of the key characters and their work in the conflicted history of English church music to be presented. Historic partisanism has provided a context of polarity which has unhelpfully coloured so much research and commentary from the sixteenth to the twenty-first centuries, impeding the accurate presentation of a sound and rigorous argument that hopes to address the historical imbalances and bias that have dogged the narrative of Catholic music in England.



## **Appendix 1**

Canterbury Cathedral Music Schedule February 2015 showing music to a variety of texts including Latin.

THE CATHEDRAL AND METROPOLITICAL  
CHURCH OF CHRIST, CANTERBURY

FEBRUARY 2015



The Reverend C Edwards in Residence

<p><b>1 THE FOURTH SUNDAY OF EPIPHANY</b> <b>Septuagesima (BCP)</b></p>	<p>8:00 Holy Communion (BCP) – High Altar <i>p236, readings p78</i></p> <p>9:30 Matins – Nave The King’s School <i>Preacher: The Rev’d David Ridley, Rector of Eastry and Woodnesborough</i></p> <p>11:00 SUNG EUCHARIST FOR CANDLEMAS with procession to the font – Quire <i>Vaughan Williams in G minor</i> When to the temple Mary went – <i>Eccard</i> 338 omit 6; 188ff; 185 Psalms 24; 150 Hymns 157;</p>	<p>4 WEDNESDAY</p> <p><i>Ceolnoth, 17th Archbishop, 870</i></p> <p>7:30 Morning Prayer – Quire 8:00 Holy Communion – Our Lady Undercroft, Crypt 11:15 Holy Communion – Jesus Chapel, Crypt</p> <p>5:30 EVENSONG Men’s voices <i>Mundy</i> Service for men’s voices O coelestis Jerusalem – <i>Charpentier</i> Hymn 404 omit 2</p>
<p>3 TUESDAY</p>	<p>6:30 Canterbury Christ Church University Service for Candlemas – Quire</p> <p>7:30 Morning Prayer – Quire 8:00 Holy Communion – Our Lady Undercroft, Crypt 11:15 Holy Communion (BCP) – Jesus Chapel, Crypt</p> <p>5:30 EVENSONG Introit: Lumen ad revelationem – <i>Byrd</i> <i>Sumsion</i> in G Senex puerum portabat – <i>Byrd</i> Psalms 12-14 Hymn 156 1288</p>	<p>5 THURSDAY</p> <p>7:30 Morning Prayer – Our Lady Martyrdom 8:00 Holy Communion – Our Lady Undercroft, Crypt 11:00 Thanksgiving Service – Eastern Crypt</p> <p>5:30 EVENSONG Boys’ voices <i>Sumsion</i> in G Let the bright seraphim – <i>Handel</i> Responses – <i>Archer</i> first set Psalm 29 Hymn 492</p>
<p><b>2 THE PRESENTATION OF CHRIST IN THE TEMPLE (CANDLEMAS)</b> <i>Dies precum extra ordinem</i> <i>Laurence, 2nd Archbishop, 619</i></p>	<p>6:30 Canterbury Christ Church University Service for Candlemas – Quire</p> <p>7:30 Morning Prayer – Quire 8:00 Holy Communion – Our Lady Undercroft, Crypt 11:15 Holy Communion (BCP) – Jesus Chapel, Crypt</p> <p>5:30 EVENSONG Introit: Lumen ad revelationem – <i>Byrd</i> <i>Sumsion</i> in G Senex puerum portabat – <i>Byrd</i> Psalms 12-14 Hymn 156 1288</p>	<p>6 FRIDAY</p> <p><i>The Accession of Queen Elizabeth II, 1952</i> <i>Dies precum extra ordinem</i></p> <p>7:30 Morning Prayer – Quire 8:00 Holy Communion – Our Lady Undercroft, Crypt 12:00 Sacrament of Reconciliation (until 1pm) – Holy Innocents, Crypt</p> <p>5:30 EVENSONG Introit: We wait for thy loving kindness – <i>Mckie</i> <i>Stanford</i> in A O Lord, make thy servant Elizabeth – <i>Byrd</i> Accession Responses – <i>Rose</i> Psalms 32-34 Hymn 489 omit 3</p>
<p>3 TUESDAY</p>	<p>7:30 Morning Prayer – Quire 8:00 Holy Communion – Our Lady Undercroft, Crypt</p> <p>5:30 EVENSONG <i>D. Purcell</i> in E minor <i>Richie</i> mich, Gott – <i>Mendelssohn</i> Responses – <i>Sanders</i> Psalm 18 Hymn 407</p>	<p>7 SATURDAY</p> <p>8:00 Holy Communion – Our Lady Undercroft, Crypt 9:30 Morning Prayer – Jesus Chapel, Crypt</p> <p>3:15 EVENSONG <i>Darke</i> in F Coronation Te Deum – <i>Walton</i> Responses – <i>Rose</i> Psalm 37 Collection Hymn 699</p>

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THE CATHEDRAL AND METROPOLITICAL  
CHURCH OF CHRIST, CANTERBURY

FEBRUARY 2015



The Reverend C Edwards in Residence

8	<b>THE SECOND SUNDAY BEFORE LENT</b>	8.00 Holy Communion (BCP) – High Altar <i>p236, readings p80</i>	
		9.30 Morning Prayer (said) – Quire	Psalms 29
		11.00 SUNG EUCHARIST – Quire	
<b>Sexagesima (BCP)</b>		Schubert in G	Psalms 104,24-end; 150
		Salve regina – Poulenc	Hymns 401 omit 5; 271; 306
		Preacher: The Dean	
9	<b>MONDAY</b>	7.30 Morning Prayer – Quire	
		8.00 Holy Communion – Our Lady Undercroft, Crypt	
		5.30 EVENSONG <i>Byrd</i> Second Service Let all the world – <b>Vaudhan Williams</b>	Responses – Rose Psalms 47-49 Hymn 377
10	<b>TUESDAY</b>	7.30 Morning Prayer – Our Lady Martyrdom	
		8.00 Holy Communion – Our Lady Undercroft, Crypt	
		5.30 EVENSONG <i>Vann</i> in D Sicut Moses – <i>Schuliz</i>	Responses – Rose Psalms 53-55 Hymn 372
11	<b>WEDNESDAY</b>	7.30 Morning Prayer – Our Lady Martyrdom	
		8.00 Holy Communion – St Stephen, North-East Transept	
		11.15 Holy Communion – Jesus Chapel, Crypt	
12	<b>THURSDAY</b>	5.30 EVENSONG Men's voices <i>Ives</i> Mandala Service Ave Maria – <i>Blehl</i>	Responses – Rose Psalm 61 Hymn 451
		7.30 Morning Prayer – Our Lady Martyrdom	
		8.00 Holy Communion – St Mary Magdalene, Crypt	
13	<b>FRIDAY</b>	5.30 EVENSONG Boys' voices <i>Ridout</i> in E Gloria et divitiae – <i>Vivaldi</i>	Responses – Archer first set Psalm 65 Hymn 480
		6.15 Holy Communion – Our Lady Martyrdom	
		7.30 Morning Prayer – Our Lady Martyrdom	
14	<b>SATURDAY</b>	8.00 Holy Communion – St John the Evangelist, South-East Transept	
		9.30 Morning Prayer – Jesus Chapel, Crypt	
		3.15 EVENSONG SUNG BY THE LYWOOD SINGERS <i>Purcell</i> in B flat My beloved spake – <i>Hadley</i>	Responses – <i>Raddiffe</i> Psalms 74,1-12 Collection Hymn 420
6.15 Informal Recital – Eastern Crypt			

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## Appendix 2

### Richard Runciman Terry's Published Works

*Magnificat and Nunc dimittis* in E flat, Novello, Ewer and Co., (London, 1891).

*A Simple setting of the Benedicite Omnia Opera for use in Advent and Lent*, Hart and Co., (London, 1893).

*Mass of St Gregory*, Cary and Co., (London, 1896).

*Saviour again to thy dear name we raise*, anthem for treble voices, Office of "The Organist", (London, 1899).

*Mass of St Dominic*, Cary and Co., (London, 1899).

William Byrd, *Missa ad Quinque Voces Inaequales*, ediderunt G. B. Squire et R. Terry, Breitkopf and Hartel, (Leipzig, 1899).

*Downside Motets*, edited by R R Terry, Downside Abbey, (Bath, 1900).

*Responses for Mass and Benediction as sung at Downside Abbey*, harmonised by R R Terry, Downside Abbey, (Bath, 1901).

*Our Church Music*, Catholic Truth Society, (London, 1901).

The *Benedictus* and *Christus factus est*, arranged and harmonised on their traditional tones by R R Terry, 1901.

*Responses for Mass and Benediction as sung at Downside Abbey, harmonised by R R Terry*, Downside Abbey, (Bath, 1902), reprint.

*A Short and Easy Mass (No. 3) on the theme Veni Sancte Spiritus for four voices with or without organ*, Cary and Co., (London, 1904).

*Short Mass in C (No. 4) for voices in unison with organ accompaniment*, Cary and Co., (London, 1904).

*Downside Motets*, a collection of compositions by masters of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Volume I, edited by R R Terry, Cary and Co., (London, 1904–1906).

*Benedictus* for Holy Week and Funerals, arranged and harmonised on *Tonus Regalis* by R R Terry, Cary and Co., (London, 1905).

*Downside Masses*, a collection of Masses by masters of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, edited by R R Terry, Cary and Co., (London, 1905).

*Van Bree's second Mass*, abridged, revised and arranged for four mixed voices by R R Terry, Cary and Co., (London, 1905).

Pedro Heredia, *Mass for four voices*, edited by R R Terry, Cary and Co., (London, 1905).

*Plain Chant Masses arranged for unison or four part singing by R R Terry*, Cary and Co., (London, 1906).

M. H. Eslava, *Bone Pastor*, edited by R R Terry, 1907.

R. Ozcoz y Calahorra, *Lauda Sion*, edited by R R Terry, 1907.

G. P. da Palestrina, *O Doctor Optima*, motet, edited by R R Terry, 1907.

*Catholic Church Music*, Greening and Co., (London, 1907).

*Mass of St Bruno*, a short Mass in B flat (N0.6) with organ accompaniment, Cary and Co., (London, 1907).

*A short and easy Requiem Mass for four mixed voices, with the absolution*, Cary and Co., (London, 1907).

Thomas Tallis, *Missa Sine Titulo ad quatuor voces inaequales*, edidit Ricardus R. Terry, Breitkopf and Hartel, (Lipsiae, 1907).

*Music of the Byzantine Liturgy*, Proceedings of the Musical Association, 35th Session (1908–1909), 53–67.

*Music for Palm Sunday*, Cary and Co., (London, 1909).

*Benediction Service for voices in unison and organ*, 1910.

S. Duron, *O Vos Omnes*, motet, edited by R R Terry, 1910.

*Twelve Christmas Carols*, words XIV century, chiefly from the Sloane MS, edited and arranged by R R Terry, J Curwen and Sons, (London, 1912).

*Twelve Christmas Carols*, for four voices or unison, edited and arranged by R R Terry, J. Curwen and sons, (London, 1912).

*Old Rhymes with New Tunes*, illustrated by G. Pippet, Longmans Green and Co., (London, 1912).

Christopher Tye, *Missa Euge Bone ad sex voces inaequales*, edidit R R Terry, Novello and Co., (London, 1912).

*Tu es Petrus*, motet for four voices and organ, Cary and Co., (London 1914).

*Missa de Angelis, juxta editionem Vaticanam*, organ accompaniment, J. W. Chester, (London, 1915).

*The Westminster Hymnal*, music edited by R R Terry, third edition, revised, R & T Washbourne, (London, 1916).

*Missa pro defunctis, juxta editionem Vaticanam*, organo concinente, edidit R R Terry, J. W. Chester, (London, Brighton, 1916).

*Te Deum Ladamus, Asperges me, Vidi aquam*, juxta editionem Vaticanam, organo concinente, edidit R R Terry, J. W. Chester, (London, Brighton, 1918).

*Sailer Shanties*, arranged for solo and chorus of men's voices by R R Terry, First (second) selection, J. Curwen, (London, 1919).

*Liturgical Masses*: based on the approved Plainsong of the Vatican and Solesmes Graduals, Dr R Dunstan in consultation with Dr R R Terry and Rev V Russell, J. Curwen, (London, 1919–1921).

William Byrd, *Sacerdotes Domini*, (Then did priests make offering), motet for four voices, edited and with an English text by R R Terry, Clarendon Press, (Oxford, 1920).

*Billy Boy* (Northumbrian Capstan Shanty), collected and arranged by R R Terry, Curwen and Sons, (London, Philadelphia, 1921).

*Johnny come down to Hilo*, (Windlass and Capstan) collected and arranged by R R Terry, J. Curwen and Sons, (London, 1921).

*Clear the Track, let the Bullgine run* (Windlass and Capstan), collected and arranged by R R Terry, J. Curwen and Sons, (London, 1921).

*We're all bound to go* (Windlass and Capstan), collected and arranged by R R Terry, J. Curwen and Sons, (London, 1921).

*The Angels sang around the stall*, Christmas carol in the Dorian Mode, SATB, J. Curwen and Sons, (London, 1921).

*The Shanty Book: Sailor Shanties with piano accompaniment*, Part I, collected and arranged by R R Terry, J. Curwen and Sons, (London, 1921).

*The Shanty Book Part II*, collected and edited with pianoforte accompaniment by R R Terry, with a foreword by Sir W Runciman, Bart, Curwen, (London, 1921).

*Tudor Church Music*, editor R R Terry, Oxford University Press, (London, 1922–1929).

*Liturgical Litanies BVM*, edited by R R Terry, Burns, Oates and Washbourne, (London, 1923).

*Old Christmas Carols*, edited by R R Terry, Burns, Oates and Washbourne, (London, 1923).

*Richard de Castre's prayer to Jesus*, carol AD 1430, set to music in the Dorian Mode, J. Curwen, (London, 1923).

*On the road to Bethlehem*, a carol with words by R. H. Benson, J. Curwen and Sons, (London, 1923).

William Byrd, [Browning] *The leaves be greene*, "Browning" for string orchestra, edited by R R Terry, Curwen, (London, 1923).

Robert Parsons, *In Nomine*, string quartet, (parts), edited by R R Terry, J. Curwen and Sons,



(London, 1923).

Osbert Parsley, *In Nomine*, string quartet, edited by R R Terry, Burns, Oates and Washbourne, (London, 1924).

*Three cradle songs for unison singing*, J. Curwen and Sons, (London, 1924).

*Thanksgiving*, two-part song for S. C., J. Curwen and Sons, (London, 1924).

*The Wild Rose*, unison song, poem from the German of Goethe, J. Curwen and Sons, (London, 1924).

*The Westminster Hymnal*, edited by R R Terry, reprint, Burns, Oates and Washbourne, (London, 1924).

William Cranford, *Almaine*, string trio, edited by Sir R R Terry, score and parts, J. Curwen and Sons, (London 1925).

*More Old Rhymes with new tunes*, illustrated by G. Pippet, Longmans Green and Co., (London, 1925).

Thomas Ford, *Almaine*, string trio, edited by R R Terry, score and parts, J. Curwen and Sons, (London, 1925).

Richard Dering, *Almaine* for string orchestra, edited by R R Terry, J. Curwen and Sons, (London, 1925).

William Byrd, *My Ladye Nevells Booke*, edited with an introduction and notes by Hilda Andrews, with a preface by Sir R R Terry, J. Curwen and Sons, (London, 1926).

*The Shanty Book Part II*, Sailor Shanties collected and edited with pianoforte accompaniment by R R Terry, reprint, J. Curwen and Sons, (London, 1926).

*Hymns of Western Europe*, selected and edited by Sir H. Walford Davies, Sir W. H. Hadow, Sir R. R. Terry, with a preface by the Rt Hon D. Lloyd George, Humphrey Milford, (London, 1927).

*Still more old rhymes with new tunes*, illustrated by Gabriel Pippet, Longmans Green and Co., (London, 1927).

*On Music's Borders*, T. F. Unwin, (London, 1927).

*Shanties with Descants*, Descants written by M. Jacobson, original shanty arrangements, R R Terry, J. Curwen and Sons, (London, 1928).

*Beware*, arranged for chorus of men's voices unaccompanied by M. Jacobson, original by R R Terry, J. Curwen and Sons, (London, 1929).

*Richard de Castre's prayer to Jesus*, arranged for men's voices, unaccompanied, by M. Jacobson, J. Curwen, (London, 1929).

*Cradle song of the infant Jesus*, carol for four voices, old carol set to music in the Dorian Mode, J. Curwen, (London, 1929).

*A Forgotten Psalter and Other Essays*, Oxford University Press, (London, 1929).

William Byrd, *Venite Comedite*, O come ye, motet, edited with an English rhythmical paraphrase by R R Terry, Cary and Co., (London, 1931).

*The Music of The Roman Rite*, Burns, Oates and Washbourne, (London, 1931).

Cornelius Verdonck, *Ave Maria*, Offertory, edited with an English rhythmical paraphrase by R R Terry, Cary and Co., (London, 1931).

*Salt Sea Ballads*, collected and edited with pianoforte accompaniment by R R Terry, J. Curwen, (London, 1931).

Antonio Lotti, *Ave Regina*, anthem, Cary and Co., (London, 1931).

Francesco Foggia, *Veritas Mea*, my truth eternal, motet, arranged and edited with an English rhythmical paraphrase by R R Terry, Cary and Co., (London, 1931).

G. O. Pitoni, *Cantate Domino*, sing to the Lord, arranged and edited with an English rhythmical paraphrase by R R Terry, Cary and Co., (London, 1931).

Christopher Tye, *Rorate Coeli*, Drop dew ye heavens, motet, arranged and edited with an English rhythmical paraphrase by R R Terry, Cary and Co., (London, 1931).

Christopher Tye, *Si ambularem in medio*, Yea though I tread the valley, motet, arranged and edited with an English rhythmical paraphrase by R R Terry, Cary and Co., (London, 1931).

Thomas Tallis, *Verbum Supernum Prodiens*, The Word descending from above, motet, edited by R R Terry, English text by E. Caswall, Cary and Co., (London, 1931).

Giovanni Giorgi, *Gloria et honore*, Glory and laud and honour, motet, arranged and edited with an English rhythmical paraphrase by R R Terry, Cary and Co., (London, 1931).

Andrea Gabrieli, *Sacerdos et Pontifex*, O high priest and pontiff, motet, arranged and edited with an English rhythmical paraphrase by R R Terry, Cary and Co., (London, 1931).

William Byrd, *Venite Comedite*, O come ye, motet, arranged and edited with an English rhythmical paraphrase by R R Terry, Cary and Co., (London, 1931).

Jacob Arcadelt, *Ave Maria*, arranged and edited with an English rhythmical paraphrase by R R Terry, Cary and Co., (London, 1931).

G. P. da Palestrina, *Bone Pastor*, very bread, Good Shepherd tend us, arranged and edited with an English rhythmical paraphrase by R R Terry, Cary and Co., (London, 1931).

Hans Leo Hassler, *Dixit Maria*, then spake Maria, motet, arranged and edited with an English rhythmical paraphrase by R R Terry, Cary and Co., (London, 1931).

Tomas Luis da Victoria, *Ave Maria*, motet, arranged and edited with an English rhythmical paraphrase by R R Terry, Cary and Co., (London, 1931).

Jacob Handl, *Beati estis*, O blessed are ye, motet, arranged and edited with an English rhythmical paraphrase by R R Terry, Cary and Co., (London, 1931).

*The Westminster Hymnal*, seventh edition, music edited by R R Terry, Burns, Oates and Washbourne, (London, 1932).

*Missa in Fest. BVM, 'Cum Jubilo'*, edited by R R Terry, Chester, (London, 1932).

*Shenandoah*, old Capstan shanty, arranged as a part-song for baritone solo and men's voice chorus by R R Terry, J. Curwen, (London, 1932).

*A Medieval carol Book*, Burns, Oates and Washbourne, (London, 1932).

*Sweet was the song the Vergine sange*, words and melody from W. Ballet's Lute Book in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, arranged for chorus of mixed voices by R R Terry, Curwen and Sons, (London, 1932).

*Gilbert and Sandys Christmas Carols* with six collateral tunes, edited and arranged by R R Terry, Burns, Oates and Washbourne, (London, 1932).

*Calvin's First Psalter, 1539*, (Aulcuns pseaulmes et cantiques mys en chant), edited with critical notes and modal harmonies to the melodies by Sir Richard R. Terry, Ernest Benn, (London, 1932).

*Two Hundred Folk Carols*, Burns, Oates and Washbourne, (London, 1933).

*The Complete Benediction Manual for Choirs*, collected and edited by R R Terry, Burns, Oates and Washbourne, (London, 1933).

*Italian Christmas Carols*, from Two Hundred Old Christmas carols, collected and edited by R R Terry, Burns, Oates and Washbourne, (London, 1933).

*Missa in Fest. BVM "Cum Jubilo"* No.ix in Vatican Gradual, organo concinente, edidit R R Terry, J. W. Chester, (London, 1933).

Richard Dering, *Pavane*, for string orchestra, edited by R R Terry, (score and parts), J. Curwen, (London, 1933).

Tudor Motets, edited, and with an English text by R R Terry, Latin and English, Novello, (London, 1934–1939).

Richard Bramston, *Recordare Domine*, O remember gracious Lord, motet, edited and with an English text by R R Terry, Novello, (London, 1934).

*Voodooism in Music*, Burns, Oates and Washbourne, (London, 1934).

Thomas Morley, *Agnus Dei*, Lamb of God, motet, edited and with an English text by R R

Terry, Novello and Co., (London, 1934).

John Sheppard, *Alleluia Confitemini*, O give thanks, motet, edited and with an English text by R R Terry, Novello and Co., (London, 1934).

Thomas Tallis, [In Pace in idipsum] *Gloria Patri*, praise be unto the Father, motet, edited and with an English text by R R Terry, Novello and Co., (London, 1934).

Thomas Morley, *Eheu! Sustulerunt Dominum*, Alas! They have taken Jesus, edited and with an English text by R R Terry, Novello and Co., (London, 1934).

Cecil W. T. Gray, *Peter Warlock, A Memoir of Philip Heseltine*, with contributions by Sir R R Terry and Robert Nichols, Jonathan Cape, (London, 1934).

Richard Dering, *Quem Vidistis Pastores?* Say O shepherds, whom saw ye? edited and with an English text by R R Terry, Novello and Co., (London, 1934).

Peter Philips, *Cantantibus Organis*, while organs made harmony, edited and with an English text by R R Terry, Novello, (London, 1934).

William Byrd, *Dies Sanctificatus*, Day of Sanctification (SATB), edited and with an English text by R R Terry, Novello and Co., (London, 1934).

William Byrd, *O Quam suavis est*, how wondrous sweet O Lord (SATB), edited and with an English text by R R Terry, Novello and Co., (London, 1934).

William Byrd, *Laetentur Coeli*, be joyful O heavens (SATTB), edited and with an English text by R R Terry, Novello and Co., (London, 1934).

William Byrd, *Terra tremuit*, Lo the earth did quake (SSATB), edited and with an English text by R R Terry, Novello and Co., (London, 1934).

William Byrd, *Surge Illuminare*, arise shine forth in splendour (SATB), edited and with an English text by R R Terry, Novello and Co., (London, 1934).

William Byrd, *Senex Puerum portabat*, Simeon carried the young child (SATB), edited and with an English text by R R Terry, Novello and Co., (London, 1934).

*William Byrd*, chapter in *Lives of the Great Composers*, Gollancz, (London, 1935).

*Giovanni Pierluigi Da Palestrina*, chapter in *Lives of the Great Composers*, Gollancz, (London, 1935).

*The Scottish Psalter of 1635*, edited with modal harmonies by R R Terry, Novello and Co., (London, 1935).

Thomas Morley, *Domine fac mecum*, Deal with me thy servant, motet, edited and with an English text by R R Terry, Novello and Co., (London, 1935).

Robert White, *Libera me Domine*, Deliver me, gracious Lord, motet, edited and with an English

text by R R Terry, Novello and Co., (London, 1935).

Thomas Tallis, *Tē lucis ante terminum*, before the ending of the day, motet, edited by R R Terry with an English text by John Mason Neale, Novello and Co., (London, 1935).

William Byrd, *Confirma hoc Deus*, confirm in us O God, edited and with an English text by R R Terry, Novello and Co., (London, 1935).

William Byrd, *O Sacrum Convivium*, O holy and heavenly feast, edited and with an English text by R R Terry, Novello and Co., (London, 1935).

William Byrd, *Tui sunt coeli*, Thine are the heavens, edited and with an English text by R R Terry, Novello and Co., (London, 1935).

Peter Philips, *Surgens Jesus*, He is risen, motet, edited and with an English text by R R Terry, Novello and Co., (London, 1935).

William Byrd, *Alleluia! Cognoverunt discipuli*, Alleluia! The disciples with wondering eyes, edited and with an English text by R R Terry, Novello and Co., (London, 1935).

William Byrd, *Lumen ad revelationem*, Hail O light immortal, edited and with an English text by R R Terry, Novello and Co., (London, 1935).

William Byrd, *Haec Dies*, This is the day, edited and with an English text by R R Terry, Novello and Co., (London, 1935).

William Byrd, *Mass for Five Voices*, edited and with an English text by R R Terry, J. Curwen and Sons, (London, 1935).

William Mundy, *Rerum Creator omnium*, Latin and English words from the King's Primer, 1545, attributed to William Mundy, edited by R R Terry, Novello and Co., (London, 1935).

Richard Dering, *Choruses for mixed voices, SATB* edited and with English texts by R R Terry, 6 works: *Ardenti miei sospiri; Mirando la mia dea; Lagrime; Inquesto muto; Ardor felice e caro; Rosa d'amor*, Universal Edition, (London, 1937).

*The Benediction Choir Book* (abridged edition), compiled by Sir Richard R Terry, Burns, Oates and Washbourne, (London, 1938),

*Fire down below*, pumping ship shanty, edited by R R Terry, J. Curwen and Sons, (London, 1938).

*Shallow Brown*, edited by R R Terry, J. Curwen and Sons, (London, 1938).

*I drew my ship into a harbour* (song), edited and arranged by R R Terry, J. Curwen and Sons, (London, 1939).

Maurice Jacobson, *Fantasia on Sea Shanties*, for violin, violoncello and piano, based on shanties collected and edited by Sir R R Terry (score and parts), J. Curwen and Sons, (London, 1939).

Peter Philips, *Ne reminiscaris Domine*, Lord remember not, edited by R R Terry, Novello and

Co., (London, 1939).

Peter Philips, *Gaudent in Coelis*, Glorious in heaven, edited by R R Terry, Novello and Co., (London, 1939).

Peter Philips, *Viae Syon lugent*, the ways of Zion do mourn, edited by R R Terry, Novello and Co., (London, 1939).

*Richard de Castre's prayer to Jesus*, carol AD 1430, arranged by Maurice Jacobson, J. Curwen, (London, 1946).

*Twelve Christmas Carols*, compiled by R R Terry, J. Curwen and Sons, (London, 1938), G. Schirmer (New York, 1948).

*Music for Holy Week*, composed and arranged for the use of choirs by R R Terry, revised in conformity with the decree 'Maxima Redemptionis' dated November 16, 1955, by J. F. Walsh Calrk, Cary and Co., (London, 1957).

*Tom's gone to Hilo*, edited and arranged by R R Terry, J. Curwen and Sons, (London, 1958).

*High Barbaree*, unison, collected and arranged (staff and tonic sol-fa notation) by R R Terry, J. Curwen and Sons, (London, 1958), G. Schirmer, (New York, 1958).

*Haul away Joe*, a shanty arranged for SATB (unaccompanied) by N. Gilbert (melody and words from the Shanty Book by R R Terry), Novello and Co., (London, 1960).

*Haul away Joe*, arranged for unison voices with optional second part by N. Gilbert, (melody and words from the Shanty Book by R R Terry), Novello and Co, (London, 1960).

*A Selection from Two Hundred Folk Carols*, E. H. Freeman, (Brighton, 1960).

*Tudor Church Music*, edited by R R Terry et al, revised edition by Peter le Huray, David Willcocks, John Morehen and Anthony Greening, Oxford University Press, (London, 1963).

*Coventry Carol*, from the Coventry Tailor's and Shearer's pageant <modern version> arranged by R R Terry, (publisher unknown) 1963.

*Short Mass in C*, English version, adapted by Colin Mawby, L. J. Cary and Co., (London, 1967).

*Mass Veni Sancte Spiritus*, English version, for mixed voices and organ, adapted by Colin Mawby, L. J. Cary and Co., (London, 1967).

Frank Campbell-Watson, *Alleluia, Alleluia! Let the holy anthem rise*, processional for choir of mixed voices, organ and three solo trumpets, based on the hymn tune "Ecclesia" by Sir R R Terry and the melody of the gregorian paschal "Ite Missa est", words anon, H. W. Gray Co., (New York, 1969).

William Byrd, *Sacerdotes Domini*, then did priests make offering, Edited by R R Terry, revised edition by John Morhen, SATB Latin and English, Oxford University Press, (London, 1973).

William Byrd, *Victimae Paschali*, unto Christ the victim, motet for five voices SSATB, edited by R R Terry, revised edition by John Morehen, Latin and English, Oxford University Press, (London, 1974).

*Myn Lyking*, edited John Rutter, Oxford University Press, (Oxford, 2016). [This carol was first published as part of the collection Twelve Christmas Carols in 1912, and again within Carols for Choirs Book 2, edited by Willcocks and Rutter in 1970.]

### Appendix 3

## Recordings

#### **Westminster Cathedral Choir directed by Richard Runciman Terry**

- 1907, Gounod, Nazareth, Gramophone Co. 78, 04762 Monarch 12"
- 1907, Mendelssohn, Veni Domine, Gramophone Co. 78, GC4873 Concert 10"
- 1907, Vespers and Compline, Gramophone Co. 78, GC4874 Concert 10"
- 1908, Adeste Fidelis Part 1, Gramophone Co. 78, 04770 Monarch 12"
- 1908, Adeste Fidelis Part 2, Gramophone Co. 78, 04771 Monarch 12"
- 1909, Brosig, Gloria et + Lotti Regina Coeli, Gramophone Co. 78, 04782 Monarch 12"
- 1909, Elvey, Arise Shine for Thy Light is Come, Gramophone Co. 78, GC4876 Concert 10"
- 1909, Goss, See amid the winter snow, Gramophone Co. 78, 04778 Monarch 12"
- 1909, Old French Carol, Gramophone Co. 78, GC4875 Concert 10"
- 1909, Palestrina, Missa Aeterna Christi Agnus Dei, Gramophone Co. 78, 04784 Monarch 12"
- 1909, Palestrina, Missa Aeterna Christi Kyrie & Gloria, Gramophone Co. 78, 04781 Monarch 12"
- 1909, Palestrina, Miss Aeterna Christi Sanctus, Gramophone Co. 78, 04783 Monarch 12"
- 1909, Waddington, come to the manger throne, Gramophone Co. 78, GC4884 Concert 10"
- 1911, Adeste Fidelis, Part 1 (reissue of 1908), Gramophone Co. 78, 04770 HMV 12"
- 1911, Adeste Fidelis Part 2 (reissue of 1908), Gramophone Co. 78, 04771 HMV 12"
- 1911, Elgar, O Salutaris Hostia, Gramophone Co. 78, 04795 HMV 12"
- 1911, Gounod, Messe Solennelle Sanctus, Gramophone Co. 78, 04799 HMV 12"

- 1911, Mozart, Ave Verum, Gramophone Co. 78, 04796 HMV 12"
- 1912, Anerio, Te Deum Part 1, Gramophone Co. 78, 04806 HMV 12"
- 1912, Anerio, Te Deum Part 2, Gramophone Co. 78, 04807 HMV 12"
- 1912, As Joseph was a'walking + King's Birthday, Gramophone Co. 78, 04801 HMV 12"
- 1912, Bach, Now let us praise the Name, Gramophone Co. 78, 04804 HMV 12"
- 1912, Benediction Service Part 1, (with organ) Gramophone Co. 78, 04805 HMV 12"
- 1912, Dykes, Nearer my God to Thee, Gramophone Co.78, GC4912 HMV 10"
- 1912, Saviour's Cradle Song, Gramophone Co. 78, GC4922 HMV 10"
- 1912, We Three Kings + Good Christian Men, Gramophone Co. 78, 04800 HMV 12"
- 1912, When I survey the wondrous cross, Gramophone Co. 78, 04820 HMV 12"
- 1913, Good people all, arranged Terry, Gramophone Co. 78, GC4925 HMV 10"
- 1913, Gounod, Messe Solennelle Sanctus (reissue of 1911), Gramophone Co. 78, 04799 HMV 12"
- 1913, Jean-Baptiste Faure, The Palms, Gramophone Co. 78, 02451 HMV 12"
- 1913, To us a child is born, (with organ and bells) Gramophone Co. 78, GC4923 HMV 10"
- 1914, Benediction Service Part 2, (with organ) Gramophone Co. 78, GC4924 HMV 10"
- 1914, Palm Sunday Celebrations, No sound, Newsreels, Pathe.
- 1919, When I survey (side 1 reissue), HMV 78, D121: 1912-12"
- 1920, Adeste Fidelis Parts 1 & 2 (reissue) HMV 78, D335:1908-1911-12'
- 1920, Anerio, Te Deum (reissue, recorded 15 December 1915), HMV 78, D340:1912-12"
- 1920, Elgar, O Salutaris + Mozart Ave Verum (reissue), HMV 78, D337:1911-12"
- 1920, Elvey, Arise Shine + Good people all (reissue), HMV 78, E138: 1909/1912-10"
- 1920, Gounod, Messe Solennelle Sanctus, (side 1 reissue), HMV 78, D341:1911-12"
- 1920, Gounod Nazareth (side 2 reissue), HMV 78, D336:1907-12"
- 1920, Jean-Baptiste Faure, The Palms (side 1 reissue), HMV 78, D270:1913-12"
- 1920, Palestrina Missa Aeterna Kyrie & Gloria (side 1 reissue), HMV 78, D336:1909-12"
- 1920, Palestrina, Missa Aeterna Sanctus and Agnus Dei (reissue), HMV 78, D338:1909-12"
- 1920, To us a child is born + Old French Carol (reissue), HMV 78, E140: 1913/1909-10"
- 1920, Vespers and Compline + Nearer my God (reissue), HMV 78, E139: 1907/1912-10"
- 1920, Waddington, Come to the manger (side 2 reissue), HMV 78, E137: 1909-10"



### **Other ensembles directed by Terry**

The following four records (C1473–6) were mis-labelled, suggesting performance by Westminster Cathedral Choir. Terry left the Cathedral in 1924 and it is clear from the recording that the top line is sung by women, making this likely to be the BBC Wireless singers or the BBC singers both of whom he directed in broadcasts in the late 1920s and early 1930s.

1928, Palestrina Missa Papae Marcelli, Agnus-Benedictus, HMV 78, C1476: 12"

1928, Palestrina, Missa Papae Marcelli, Credo, HMV 78, C1475: 12"

1928, Palestrina, Missa Papae Marcelli, Gloria, HMV 78, C1474: 12"

1928, Palestrina, Missa Papae Marcelli, Sanctus + Kyrie, HMV 78, C1473: 12"

### **Columbia History of Music by Ear and Eye**

Volume One Part 1 & 2, Plainsong with organum

1930, Veni Sancte Spiritus + Mira Lege, A9379/A9380

Volume One Part 3 & 4, Guillaume Dufay, Anon, Palestrina

1930, Dufay, Christe Redemptor + Conditor alme siderum, Anon, Nunc dimittis, Palestrina, Nunc dimittis, A9381/A9382

Volume One Part 5 & 6, Palestrina and Byrd

1930, Palestrina, Missa Papae Marcelli, Byrd (no title: listing simply gives 'choir unaccompanied') A9383/A9291

## Appendix 4

### Early dominance of Palestrina—Westminster Cathedral Music Lists 1901-1909

A full analysis of the Music Lists for Terry's tenure and the establishment of a database is a long-term project currently underway. Examination of the emergence of Palestrina in the first nine years is given here. (The Music Lists for 1906 are not complete, with information for a week of January, two weeks in May, all of June and July, two weeks of September and all of November and December missing. 1908 is also incomplete, with some January data and a week in September missing.) Otherwise the Lists are complete.

Palestrina Masses and the year in which they appear at Westminster for the first time ('new' Masses are marked with an asterisk).

1902

Missa Aeterna Christi munera \*

Missa Iste Confessor \*

Missa Papae Marcelli \*

1903

Missa Aeterna Christi munera

Missa Iste Confessor

Missa Papae Marcelli

Missa Ecce Ego Johannes \*

Missa Regina Coeli \*

Missa Ad Fugam \*

Missa Brevis \*

Missa Confitebor Tibi (8 Voices) \*

Missa Assumpta est Maria \*

1904

Missa Aeterna Christi munera

Missa Iste Confessor  
Missa Papae Marcelli  
Missa Ecce Ego Johannes  
Missa Regina Coeli  
Missa Brevis  
Missa Confitebor Tibi (8 Voices)  
Missa Assumpta est Maria  
Missa Hodie Christus (Double Choir) \*  
Missa da 'Requiem' \*

1905

Missa Aeterna Christi munera  
Missa Brevis  
Missa Hodie Christus (Double Choir)  
Missa Regina Coeli  
Missa Iste Confessor  
Missa Ad Fugam  
Missa Tu es Petrus \*  
Missa Dum Compleverunt \*  
Missa Papae Marcelli  
Missa Assumpta est Maria  
Missa Confitebor tibi

1906

Missa Ecce Ego Johannes  
Missa Aeterna Christi munera  
Missa Brevis  
Missa Papae Marcelli

1907

Missa Iste Confessor  
Missa Aeterna Christi munera  
Missa Ecce Ergo Johannes  
Missa Brevis  
Missa Papae Marcelli  
Missa Dum Complerentur  
Missa Tu es Petrus  
Missa Regina Coeli  
Missa Confitebor Tibi  
Missa Assumpta est Maria

1908

Missa Aeterna Christi munera  
Missa Iste Confessor  
Missa Brevis  
Missa Papae Marcelli  
Missa Ecco Ego johannes  
Missa Confitebor Tibi  
Missa Tu es Petrus  
Missa Assumpta est Maria  
Missa Dum Complerentur  
Missa Hodie Christus (Double Choir)

1909

Missa Ecce Ego Johannes  
Missa Papae Marcelli  
Missa Aeterna Christi munera  
Missa Iste Confessor  
Missa Brevis  
Missa Veni Sponsa Christi \*

Missa Assumpta est Maria

'Double Choir' Mass by Palestrina sung on Easter Day - no title given

Missa Lauda Sion \*

Missa Confitebor Tibi

Missa Sine Nomine \*

Missa Jesu Nostra Redemptoris \*

Missa Dum Complerentur

Missa ad Fugam

Missa Tu es Petrus

Missa Gia F'u Chi \*

Missa Regina Coeli

Missa Dum Esset \*

Missa Inviolata \*

Palestrina Motets as they appear for the first time in the repertoire at Westminster according to the Music Lists (repeat appearances are not listed). As with the Masses, once performed these motets would reappear in succeeding years.

1902

Salvator Mundi

Adoramus Te Christe

Surrexit Pastor Bonus

Stabat Mater (Double Choir)

Tu es Petrus

1903

Peccantem me

Trsitis est

Ecce Vidimus

Haec Dies

Ascendisti in Altum

Loquebantur variis linguis

Diffusa est Gratia

Veni Sponsa Christi

Sicut Cervus

1904

Dies Sanctificatus

Jubilate Deo (8 Voices)

Salvator Mundi

Eia Mater (8 Voices)

1905

O Doctor Optime

1907

Valde nonorandus est

O Vera Summa

1908

Sacerdos et Pontifex

Sicut Cervus

O Bone Jesu

Pueri Hebraeorum

Angelus autem Domini - *title not given in the list but the scribe indicates that motet has same title as the Mass setting for that day.*

Veni Sancte Spiritus

O Sacrum Convivium - *title not given in the list but the scribe indicates that motet has same title as the Mass setting for that day.*

Beatus Laurentius

Lauda anima mea

1909

Pange Lingua

Iste Sunt

O Crux Ave

Beatus Vir

Veni Sancte Spiritus - *Whitsuntide Sequence*

Ave Maria

Gratias agimus - *title not given in the list but the scribe indicates that motet has same title as the Mass setting for that day.*

O Domine Jesu Christe

Gaudet in coelis

Victi Turbam magnam

O Admirabile commercium





## Appendix 5

### Sample Music Lists from Westminster Cathedral

<b>WESTMINSTER CATHEDRAL</b>			
Music List for Week Beginning <u>Sunday June 27<sup>th</sup> 1909</u>			
DATE	DAY	AT MASS	AT VESPERS AND COMPLINE
27	<b>Sunday</b> <i>Blessed John Fisher</i> <i>H. I.</i>	Mass <i>Pater Noster</i> (6 voices) [Gabielli] Motet <i>In Exultatione</i> [William Byrd]	Magnificat <i>R. Palestrina</i> (Dante choir) Compline Hymn <i>Bach</i> Nunc Dimittis <i>Haydn</i> (Dante choir) Anthem B.V.M. <i>Sewell</i> At Benediction [7 pm] O Salutaris <i>Zimmerman</i> Motet <i>In Exultatione</i> [Berry] Tantum ergo <i>Zimmerman</i> Adoremus
			AFTERNOON BENEDICTION MOTET <i>For (opus)</i> [Peace]
28	<b>Monday</b> <i>St. Leon. C. P.</i> <i>and</i> <i>Vigil of St. Peter &amp; Paul</i>	Mass <i>of the feast</i> [Gregorian] Motet <i>(Boy's voice only)</i> Mass <i>of the vigil</i> [Gregorian] Motet <i>(Men's voices only)</i>	Magnificat <i>Soriano</i> (Puri tone) Compline Hymn Nunc Dimittis <i>Plain song</i> Anthem B.V.M. <i>Soriano</i>
29	<b>Tuesday</b> <i>Dup. 1<sup>st</sup> &amp; 2<sup>nd</sup> of St. Peter &amp; Paul</i>	Mass <i>Facile</i> for 8 voices Motet <i>Quia et Petrus</i> (6 voices) [Palestrina]	Magnificat <i>Victoria</i> (Puri tone) Compline Hymn Nunc Dimittis <i>Plain song</i> Anthem B.V.M. <i>Soriano</i>
30	<b>Wednesday</b> <i>Dup. Maj. Commemoration of St. Paul</i>	Mass <i>Byrd</i> for 3 voices Motet <i>O Sacrament</i> Coprivimus [Farant]	Magnificat <i>Palestrina</i> (Puri tone) Compline Hymn Nunc Dimittis Anthem B.V.M. <i>Soriano</i>
July 1	<b>Thursday</b> <i>Dup. Oct. St. John Baptist</i>	Mass <i>Veni sponsa</i> [Palestrina] Motet <i>vox clamantis in deserto</i> [Jacob Handl]	Magnificat <i>Victoria</i> (Octavi tone) Compline Hymn Nunc Dimittis Anthem B.V.M. <i>Soriano</i>
2	<b>Friday</b> <i>Dup. 2<sup>nd</sup> el. Visitation</i> <i>B.V.M.</i>	Mass <i>Veni sponsa</i> [Palestrina] Motet <i>Nigra super oed formosa</i> [Jacob Handl]	Magnificat <i>Victoria</i> (Octavi tone) Compline Hymn Nunc Dimittis Anthem B.V.M. <i>Miller</i>
3	<b>Saturday</b> <i>Dup. Commem: all Sts. Josephs</i>	Mass <i>Barabai in D.</i> Motet <i>Fulgens et iustus</i> (6 voices) [Jacob Handl]	Magnificat <i>Victoria</i> (Vertu tone) Compline Hymn Nunc Dimittis <i>Plain song</i> Anthem B.V.M. <i>C. A. Miller</i>
4	<b>Next Sunday</b> <i>Most Precious Blood</i>	Mass <i>Agus Bore</i> (6 voices) [Christopher Byrd] Motet <i>Domine Jesu</i> [C. A. Miller]	Magnificat <i>Victoria</i> (Puri tone) for 8 voices Compline Hymn <i>for 8 voices</i> Nunc Dimittis <i>R. R. Berry</i> Anthem B.V.M. <i>di Xasso</i>

On days marked \* there is no Creed at Mass. On days marked † there is no Gloria at Mass  
 R. R. TERRY, Organist and Director of the Choir.

Choir

# WESTMINSTER CATHEDRAL

Music List for Week Beginning Sunday October 17<sup>th</sup> 1909.

DATE	DAY	AT MASS	AT VESPERS AND COMPLINE
17	Dup. MAI Sunday Purity B.V.M.	Mass <i>Lauda Sion</i> <i>Palestrina</i> Motet <i>Ave Maria</i> <i>Wm Byrd</i>	Magnificat <i>di Navano</i> Compline Hymn } Nunc Dimittis } <i>Gregorian</i> Anthem B.V.M. } <i>At Benediction [7 P.M.]</i> O Salutaris Motet } Tantum ergo } <i>Gregorian</i> Adoremus } <i>Wm Byrd</i>
18	Dup. 2c. Monday S. Luke Evang	Mass <i>Missa Brevis</i> ( <i>Palestrina</i> ) Motet <i>Beati Estis</i> <i>(Handel)</i>	Magnificat <i>Vittoria</i> Compline Hymn } Nunc Dimittis } <i>Gregorian</i> Anthem B.V.M. } <i>Alvany</i>
* 19	Dup. Tuesday S. Peter Alicantara	Mass <i>Vecchi for 8 Voices</i> Motet <i>Beatus Vir</i> <i>Dr Pepusch</i>	Magnificat <i>Palestrina</i> Compline Hymn Nunc Dimittis Anthem B.V.M. <i>Pearsall</i>
* 20	Dup Wednesday Octave of S. Edward	Mass <i>Opviolata</i> ( <i>Palestrina</i> ) Motet <i>Veritas Mea</i> <i>(Witt)</i>	Magnificat <i>Falsboudopi Sewell</i> Compline Hymn Nunc Dimittis Anthem B.V.M. <i>Gregorian</i>
* 21	Dup. MAI Thursday S. Ursula + Companions V.V.M.M.	Mass <i>Vecchi for 8 Voices</i> Motet <i>Gaudet in Coelis</i> <i>Palestrina</i>	Magnificat <i>Jux</i> Compline Hymn Nunc Dimittis Anthem B.V.M. <i>Lotti</i>
22	Dup. Friday S. John Cantius. e	Mass <i>Lannicini for 4 Voices</i> Motet <i>Amen dico vobis</i> <i>(Ankwright)</i>	Magnificat <i>di Lasso</i> Compline Hymn Nunc Dimittis Anthem B.V.M. <i>Schweitzer</i>
23	Dup. MAI Saturday The Most Holy Redeemer	Mass <i>Sexti Toni</i> ( <i>Proce</i> ) Motet <i>Salvator Mundi</i> <i>(Blow)</i>	Magnificat <i>di Lasso</i> Compline Hymn } Nunc Dimittis } <i>Gregorian</i> Anthem B.V.M. } <i>Schweitzer</i>
24	Next Sunday S. Raphael Archangel	Mass <i>Tei qui natus es</i> <i>Superior</i> Motet <i>Jack most silentium</i> <i>(de Venlo)</i>	Magnificat <i>Soriano</i> Compline Hymn } Nunc Dimittis } <i>Gregorian</i> Anthem B.V.M. } <i>Soriano</i>

On days marked \* there is no Credo at Mass. On days marked † there is no Gloria at Mass

R. R. TERRY, Organist and Director of the Choir.

## Appendix 6

### First Appearances of English Latin text music at Westminster Cathedral 1902-1905

Information gathered from the Music Lists in the Westminster Cathedral Archive, presented here with permission.

William Byrd, *Civitas Sancti*, 21 July 1902.

Richard Farrant, *O Sacrum Convivium*, 26 July 1902.

Christopher Tye, *Si Ambulem*, 28 July 1902.

William Byrd, *Ave Maria*, 8 September 1902 (Nativity of BVM).

Peter Philips, *Ego Sum Panis*, 16 September 1902.

Thomas Tallis, 'Mass in F' (Mass for Four Voices), 21 September 1902.

Thomas Tallis, *Mihi Autem*, 18 October 1902.

William Byrd, *Justorum Animae*, 7 November 1902 (Octave of All Saints/All Souls).

Richard Farrant, *Ne Irascaris*, 21 November 1902. [This work is incorrectly entered as being by Farrant, when the composer is in fact William Byrd.]

William Byrd, *Mass for Five Voices*, 25 November 1902.

Thomas Tallis, *Bone Pastor*, 1 December 1902 (Advent).

William Byrd, *Sacerdotes Domini*, 6 December 1902.

Christopher Tye, *Rorate Coeli*, 9 December 1902 (Advent).

William Byrd, *Surge Illuminare*, 6 January 1903 (The Epiphany).

Robert Parsons, *Ave Maria*, 21 February 1903.

Peter Philips, *Hodie Sanctus*, 21 March 1903 (Lent).

Peter Philips, *Regina Coeli*, 24 May 1903 (Our Lady Help of Christians).

Peter Philips, *Ego sum Panis*, 14 June 1903 (St Basil).

William Byrd, *Nunc dimittis*, 5 July 1903.

John Dowland, *Domine Iste Sanctus*, 20 July 1903.

Thomas Morley, *O Amica Mea*, 13 September 1903.

[Johann Pepusch, *Beatus Vir*, 18 September 1903.]

Christopher Tye, *Euge Bone* (Mass), 2 October 1903 (Angelorum Custodi).

Christopher Tye, *Laudate Nomen*, 30 January 1904 (St Martina).

Thomas Tallis, *Miserere*, 15 March 1904 (Lent).

William Byrd, *Mass for Three Voices*, 28 April 1904 (St Paul of the Cross) then performed on four consecutive days from 25 to 28 May 1904 (Pentecost Octave).

Thomas Tallis, *O Sacrum Convivium*, 5 June 1904 (Octave of Corpus Christi).

Peter Philips, *Ave Verum*, 30 October 1904.

William Byrd, *O Quam Gloriosum*, 1 November 1904 (All Saints).

William Byrd, *Benedictio et Clarites*, 5 November 1904 (Octave of All Saints).

Christopher Tye, *Cibavit Illos*, 13 November 1904.

William Byrd, *Mass for Four Voices*, 25 November 1904 (St Catherine).

William Byrd, *Ave Verum*, 28 November 1904 (St Josaphat).

William Byrd, *Veni Domine*, 11 December 1904 (Advent).

William Byrd, *Laetentur Coeli*, 26 December 1904 (St Stephen).

William Byrd, *Ne Irascaris*, 8 March 1905 (Ash Wednesday).

Peter Philips, *Beatus Vir*, 11 March 1905 (St John of God).

Peter Philips, *Iste est Qui ante Deum*, 17 March 1905 (St Patrick).

William Byrd, *Respice Domine*, 26 March 1905 (Lent III).

William Byrd, *In Resurrectione*, 23 April 1905 (Easter Day).

Peter Philips, *Ascendit Deus*, 1 June 1905 (Ascension Day).

Peter Philips, *Loquebantur Variis Linguis*, 11 June 1905 (Pentecost).

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