"Peopled with invisible presences": Oxford and the Tudor revival, ca. 1890-1939

Laura J. Wiebe
University of Iowa

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“PEOPLED WITH INVISIBLE PRESENCES”:
OXFORD AND THE TUDOR REVIVAL, CA.1890-1939

by

Laura J. Wiebe

An Abstract

Of a thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the
Doctor of Musical Arts degree
in the Graduate College of
The University of Iowa

December 2011

Thesis Supervisor: Associate Professor Christine Getz
ABSTRACT

The “Tudor revival” of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century England saw unprecedented enthusiasm for the study and performance of English Renaissance music. The revival, which emphasized choral music, was characterized by a rich and interconnected fabric of events including manuscript discoveries, the publication of sundry new scholarly and performing editions, the founding of ensembles who specialized in early music, and an overall increase in the study and performance of Tudor music. Narratives of the Tudor revival have traditionally focused on the role of institutions and ensembles in London, thereby neglecting the important work that occurred elsewhere in the country. In order to more adequately represent the full extent of the movement, this study examines the previously unrecognized role of the institutions and ensembles of Oxford, demonstrating the many ways in which the foundation colleges, student societies, and civic ensembles and organizations helped to bring about the Tudor revival. The appendix contains previously unpublished documents from the Oriel College Archives in Oxford, primarily consisting of letters to and from Edmund Fellowes between 1897 and 1925.

Abstract Approved: ______________________________________________________

Thesis Supervisor ______________________________________________________

Title and Department _____________________________________________________

Date _________________________________________________________________
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This is to certify that the D.M.A. thesis of

Laura J. Wiebe

has been approved by the Examining Committee for the thesis requirement for the Doctor of Musical Arts degree at the December 2011 graduation.

Thesis Committee: 

Christine Getz, Thesis Supervisor

Timothy Stalter

David Puderbaugh

Robert Cook

Jeffrey Cox
To my parents, with gratitude
Yet it is still possible…to perceive, amid the dark clouds left behind the tempests that have worked their havoc in the life and soul of human society, something of the glow that burned, and even glimmers, within the heart of Oxford in a serener age and illuminated its soul.

E.M. Venables

_Sweet Tones Remembered_
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The “Tudor revival” of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century England saw unprecedented enthusiasm for the study and performance of English Renaissance music. The revival, which emphasized choral music, was characterized by a rich and interconnected fabric of events including manuscript discoveries, the publication of sundry new scholarly and performing editions, the founding of ensembles who specialized in early music, and an overall increase in the study and performance of Tudor music. Narratives of the Tudor revival have traditionally focused on the role of institutions and ensembles in London, thereby neglecting the important work that occurred elsewhere in the country. In order to more adequately represent the full extent of the movement, this study examines the previously unrecognized role of the institutions and ensembles of Oxford, demonstrating the many ways in which the foundation colleges, student societies, and civic ensembles and organizations helped to bring about the Tudor revival. The appendix contains previously unpublished documents from the Oriel College Archives in Oxford, primarily consisting of letters to and from Edmund Fellowes between 1897 and 1925.
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CHAPTER 1
THE TUDOR REVIVAL RECONSIDERED

Introduction

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, English music scholarship was increasingly characterized by a rising interest in “early music.” Manuscript discoveries and new enthusiasm for editing early works brought vast amounts of previously unknown Medieval and Renaissance music to light, alongside newly formed ensembles and associations dedicated to the performance, study, and promotion of early music. Indeed, the extensive body of English Renaissance choral music known and loved today is available and accessible largely thanks to these developments.

The “Tudor revival,” which occurred in several parts of England, was a significant movement within the nation’s larger twentieth-century early music revival. At the turn of the twentieth century, while the names of the most prominent Tudor composers—Byrd, Tallis, Gibbons, and Farrant—would not have been entirely unfamiliar to the average English churchgoer, only a fraction of these composers’ works could be heard in church or elsewhere. This situation would change dramatically over the course of the early twentieth century, in great part due to rapid growth in scholarly interest in this corpus of music. Ultimately, however, live performance became the primary vehicle by which the Tudor revival progressed.

Studies of the performance history of the Tudor revival have focused almost exclusively on the role of music in London’s major churches, such as St. Paul’s and Westminster Cathedral. This tendency is understandable given the high visibility of these institutions, and yet the story of the Tudor revival is incomplete when focused only on London. Specifically, studies to date have neglected to recognize the unfolding of the revival in Oxford—a somewhat surprising phenomenon in light of the city’s enduring
cultural influence and musical stature in England and around the world. In order to refine the current narrative of the Tudor revival, this study seeks to articulate the role played by Oxford’s collegiate and civic institutions and ensembles in bringing about the revival and shaping its course. Through an examination of primary sources including collegiate documents, performance records, and contemporary accounts, this study demonstrates that Oxford played a crucial role in the Tudor revival.

An 1898 survey of English choral music

In 1898 Edmund Fellowes and Percy Buck conducted a musical survey of fifty cathedrals and collegiate chapels in the United Kingdom. The motivation for the survey, they explained, was a “spirit of divine discontent” felt among a group of young cathedral organists in response to a perceived lack of quality in the music of daily services. The results of the survey were compiled in a handwritten “Catalogue of Cathedral Music,” with an agenda of promoting church music reform made clear in its title page:

Compiled with the object of showing that the music in present use at the chief Cathedrals and Collegiate Chapels of the United Kingdom does not properly represent the best work of the greatest English Church composers, much being omitted that should form the basis of every Cathedral repertoire, while much is included that is of the most trivial merit.

Despite the considerable attention and effort devoted to this project, the catalogue went unpublished. Furthermore, as an anonymous writer (likely Fellowes) later

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1 Forty Years of Cathedral Music 1898-1938 (Billing and Sons Ltd., 1940), 5. The surveyed institutions included all of the English cathedrals, most of the collegiate churches and chapels which maintained daily services, the cathedrals of Ireland and Wales, and one cathedral in Scotland (St. Mary’s, Edinburgh).

2 Ibid., 3.

3 Ibid., 4.

4 See Appendix B, Documents 1-12, for correspondence relating to this project.
explained, the two men had been “hampered” in their efforts “by the invidiousness of expressing adverse opinions about the works of highly honored musicians still living, some of whom were their own masters or elder colleagues.” 5 Thus music by living composers was omitted from the survey out of political necessity, 6 but ultimately this decision was “tantamount to bypassing the major part of the problem.” 7 Only in 1938 was the document finally shared, having been introduced by Fellowes at a meeting of the Church Music Society committee. 8 The catalogue sparked interest in conducting a similar survey of present-day church music, and led to a comparative study of English cathedral repertories in 1898 and 1938. 9 Because it was narrowed to the English cathedrals and collegiate chapels, the 1938 survey included music from only thirty-seven of the original fifty institutions, but also featured three new cathedrals: Birmingham, St. George’s of Windsor, and St. Nicolas of Chislehurst. 10

A comparison of the two surveys was published in 1940 by the Church Music Society. 11 The report attested to a notable increase in performance of English Renaissance works—including the four and five-voice masses of William Byrd—but indicated a continuing preference for music by Victorian and later composers in services. Yet the results of the comparison showed signs of a rising interest in performing Renaissance works in church. The report recognized that Byrd was receiving “something

5 Forty Years of Cathedral Music 1898-1938, 4.

6 Ibid.

7 Sixty Years of Cathedral Music (Church Music Society Occasional Papers, No. 24, 1963), 2. See Appendix A, Documents 1-13, for correspondence related to the survey.

8 Ibid.

9 Ibid.

10 Ibid., 6.

like a thorough revival,” though it also acknowledged “most of those whose work was unknown in 1898 still have only a precarious foothold in our cathedral service lists.”

It stated that while the present cathedral repertory was “clearly…not ideal,” it was also true that “the addition of the new must always mean the disuse of something older.”

Despite the underwhelmed tone of the second survey with respect to English Renaissance music, a great deal of scholarship, publishing, and performance of early English works occurred between 1898 and 1938. In 1928 Frank Howes remarked, in fact, that the first quarter of the twentieth century had seen “a complete change of attitude towards the great school of English composers of the Elizabethan period.” This phenomenon, which occurred over the course of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, became known as the “Tudor revival.” The present study will examine the role of Oxford in the Tudor revival, and will demonstrate the ways in which collegiate and civic ensembles and institutions shaped the movement.

**Defining the Tudor revival**

The term “Tudor” is partly inaccurate in reference to the English Renaissance music revived during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but for church musicians it nonetheless came to refer to music composed between the issue of the first *Book of Common Prayer* in 1549 and the destruction of the cathedral establishments under Cromwell (d. 1658). The Tudor revival has traditionally been understood as part of a larger “English musical Renaissance” of the late nineteenth and early twentieth

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12 Ibid., 14.

13 Ibid., 28.


15 *Forty Years of Cathedral Music*, 26. In strictly historical terms, the Tudor period refers to the years 1485-1603, beginning with the reign of Henry VII and ending with the death of Elizabeth I.
centuries—a revival encompassing new music as well as the “great” English works of the past. Matthew Riley traces the idea of such a renaissance to post-Victorian cultural “liberals” “who viewed themselves as open-minded and sympathetic to “progress” in art just as in society;” this outlook on music, he writes, “flourished” in the post-Victorian era “and was developed in essays and treatises by some of Britain’s most influential musicians.”

Riley further observes that until the 1960s, histories of modern British music employed the narrative of an “English musical Renaissance,” but that such accounts “tended to underplay the impact of continental modernism on British music” and “foregrounded the tradition of composition and teaching at the Royal College of Music.”

Frank Howes’s 1966 history of modern English music, *The English Musical Renaissance*, typifies the approach described by Riley. Howes divides the modern “Renaissance” into three stages (“Gestation,” “Birth,” and “Growth”), characterizing the Tudor revival as an essential feature of the first phase or “Gestation” of the English Musical Renaissance. Howes contends that the movement ultimately had a significant impact on twentieth-century English music. Kenneth R. Long builds upon this idea in *The Music of the English Church* (1971); while recognizing that the twentieth century

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18 Ibid.


20 Ibid., 242.
saw many developments in English music, he argues that the Tudor revival might deserve “pride of place” due to its “immense influence on practically all church composers,” its “powerful fertilizing effect…on style and technique” (particularly that of Vaughan Williams, Peter Warlock, and Edmund Rubbra), and “because it is now once more a living force and Tudor music forms a large part of the repertory in all cathedrals and many parish churches.”

By 1910, concerns over the need for a revival of English Renaissance music were formally voiced in an anonymous publication by the Church Music Society entitled *Elizabethan Church Music: A Short Enquiry Into the Reasons for its Present Unpopularity and Neglect*. The writer inquires about the lack of representation of English Renaissance music in church services:

If the work of Tallis, Byrd, Farrant, and Gibbons is not only unequalled in appropriateness but is also in itself astonishingly beautiful, how has it come about that we no longer hear it in our churches, and that even in our cathedrals, where by force of tradition a fraction of it still survives on sufferance, it is usually relegated, on the ground of dullness and monotony, to the seasons of Lent and Advent?

The author proposes two reasons for the neglect of Elizabethan music: first, the music is not in the “modern idiom,” and second, “the true mode of performance is universally disregarded.” To remedy the latter, suggests the author, musicians must learn the correct practices of accents and barring in Renaissance music.

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23 Ibid., 4.

24 Ibid., 4 and 6.

25 Ibid., 6.
Despite the discouraged tone of this essay, the subsequent Tudor revival restored the neglected body of music to popularity in both sacred and secular contexts. The revival was probably compelling in part because of the complex history of its music. Benjamin Davies writes that sacred Tudor music has suffered a “problematic historiography” due to the political nature of its religious contexts and to the destruction of musical remnants that occurred; he presumably refers to the damages incurred under Cromwell. A mix of factors around 1900, he writes, led to changes in historical perspective; manuscript discoveries “at a time of heightening nationalism” paved the way for “a reappraisal of what English musical traditions really embodied.” Indeed, the defense of English Renaissance music sometimes took the form of a nationalistic plea, such as in a 1920 lecture by Edmund Fellowes:

I say without hesitation that all Englishmen should know of the bare existence of our great national school of musicians which flourished at the close of the sixteenth century: and a thrill of pride should be awakened in the breast of any Englishman when the names of Byrd, Morley, Wilbye, Dowland, and many more are recalled, just as it is when the names of our great national poets and painters are mentioned.28

Publication of Renaissance music in England, 1820–1929

Growing nationalism in England during the early twentieth century certainly contributed to renewed interest in the performance and study of native music, but it was Victorian-era developments that laid the groundwork for the Tudor revival. The Victorian period saw unprecedented growth in music publishing and piano manufacturing

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27 Ibid.

and a notable increase in numbers of professional musicians and music teachers. The major musical developments of this period included a movement to train the masses in sight-singing, the institution of music education in state-supported schools, new availability of cheap octavo editions of choral works, the establishment of colleges of music, the introduction of university courses in music, the rise of diploma-granting professional organizations, and the foundation of the Musical Association (now the Royal Musical Association) for the scholarly study of music. The world of sacred music also saw expansion during this period; the Anglican church of the mid to late nineteenth century saw a substantial rise in the number of choral services offered.

The many advances in English musical life during the nineteenth century were facilitated in great part by the growth of the music publishing industry. The rise of this industry helped to make early English music more accessible and vastly increased the body of music known to performers and the general public. Among the first to prepare editions of Renaissance choral music were Samuel Wesley and Vincent Novello. Between 1820 and 1830 Wesley announced an edition of twenty-one motets from Byrd’s Gradualia edited from the Fitzwilliam Collection (bequeathed to Cambridge in 1816), a project that was not ultimately published. By 1827, however, Novello had successfully published a five-volume series, Fitzwilliam Music, comprised of sacred Latin works by

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30 Ibid., 2.

31 From just 1858 to 1882, the number of London parish churches with choral services rose from less than 5 percent to more than 38 percent (Temperley, *Lost Chords: Essays on Victorian Music*, 1).

Italian composers. A preference for continental Renaissance music is evident in other major Victorian-era publications of choral music; one instance is the Motet Society’s three-volume *Collection of Ancient Church Music* (1842–3). Of the thirty-one works included in Volume I (designated “Anthems for Festivals”), Byrd and Tallis are represented only once each, while works by Lasso and Palestrina number eight and nine, respectively. Despite the emphasis on Italian Renaissance composers, the non-English motets included in the collection are Anglicized by the substitution of English translations for foreign texts.

The extant post-Restoration musical collections in English chapels and cathedrals suggest that a small, if limited, amount of Renaissance music had been in continuous use from the Restoration. Until the turn of the twentieth century, in fact, church choirs largely employed two collections as their sources of Renaissance music, both of which were entirely English: John Barnard’s “sumptuously produced” *First Book of Selected Church Musick* (1641) and William Boyce’s *Cathedral Music* (1760–63). Barnard’s collection contained Elizabethan Anglican liturgical polyphony and was in use from at least 1660; although the collection quickly became prevalent in English cathedrals, it was rare by the time of Boyce’s publication. Boyce’s three-volume *Cathedral Music* was advertised in 1760 as a collection of “the best compositions of our most reputable English


masters.”³⁸ Issued in five editions between 1763 and 1894,³⁹ the contents of Cathedral Music spanned a broader historical swath than Barnard’s collection. Services and anthems by Byrd, Tallis, Gibbons, Farrant, Tomkins and Morley predominate, alongside works by later English composers such as Blow, Purcell, Clark, and others.

The Musical Antiquarian Society

With the founding of the Musical Antiquarian Society in 1840, several monumental Tudor works were published and circulated. Founded by William Chappell, the aim of the Society was “to print scarce and valuable musical works, which at present exist only in manuscript, in separate and detached parts” as well as out-of-print compositions of interest.⁴⁰ In addition to publishing early English works and those by “foreign authors, should it hereafter be deemed desirable,” compositions “illustrating the history and progress of music” would also be considered for publication.⁴¹ Through subscriptions paid annually, members were entitled to one copy of each work published by the Society.⁴²

Society membership rose from 674 to 950 between 1840 and 1843, but membership and financial resources declined thereafter.⁴³ By the time of its dissolution in 1848, the Society had published nineteen editions of major English Renaissance and Baroque works, primarily by Tudor composers, in addition to separate volumes of

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³⁹ The five editions of Cathedral Music were published in 1763, 1788, 1844, 1849 and 1894.


⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid., 13-15.
keyboard accompaniments (Table 1.1). The Society’s editions were “handsome” but ultimately unpractical; according to Chappell, membership declined in part because “the books occupied too much space.”

Despite the efforts of the Musical Antiquarian Society, only in the late nineteenth century did the publication of English Renaissance works see a notable increase, in great Table 1.1. Musical publications of the Musical Antiquarian Society of London, 1840–48, in order of publication.

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<tr>
<th>Composer(s)</th>
<th>Work</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>William Byrd</td>
<td>Mass for Five Voices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Wilbye</td>
<td>First Set of Madrigals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orlando Gibbons</td>
<td>Madrigals and Motets for Five Voices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Purcell</td>
<td>Dido and Aeneas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Morley</td>
<td>First Set of Ballets for Five Voices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Byrd</td>
<td>Cantiones sacrae, Book I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Purcell</td>
<td>Bonduca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Weelkes</td>
<td>First Set of Madrigals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orlando Gibbons</td>
<td>Fantasies in Three parts for viols</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Purcell</td>
<td>King Arthur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Este?</td>
<td>The whole book of psalms...in 4 parts...published by Thomas Este</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Dowland</td>
<td>First Set of Songs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Hilton</td>
<td>Ayres or f alas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.F. Rimbault, ed.</td>
<td>A collection of anthems [by M. Este, T. Ford, Weelkes, and Bateson]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Bennet</td>
<td>Madrigals for Four Voices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Wilbye</td>
<td>Second Set of Madrigals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Bateson</td>
<td>First Set of Madrigals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Byrd, Bull, Gibbons</td>
<td>Parthenia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purcell</td>
<td>Ode for St. Cecilia’s Day</td>
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44 Ibid., 17-18.

45 Ibid., 16.
part due to newly discovered manuscripts and copies. A significant instance is Byrd’s three masses, two of which were thought to have been lost for most of the nineteenth century. In 1887 William Barclay Squire announced the discovery of two sets of manuscript copies of Byrd’s *Mass for Three Voices* at Cambridge, and one year later, the British Museum acquired printed copies of Byrd’s three, four, and five-voice masses and a set of parts of the 1610 *Gradualia.*

G. E. P. Arkwright subsequently edited the 25-volume *Old English Edition* (1889–1902), which consisted of a substantial selection of madrigals, including works by Kirbye, Byrd’s *Songs of Sundry Natures*, Tye’s *Euge Bone* mass, and various works by Weelkes, Pilkington, White, and Milton. The stated aim of this series was “to present in an accessible form various works of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries which would otherwise be difficult to obtain”; the music published in the *Old English Edition* represented a selection of what was “hidden away in public and private libraries” and was “almost unknown, except to antiquaries and collectors of rare books.”

Keyboard music of the English Renaissance also saw increasing attention, as in the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* (1899), edited by J. A. Fuller Maitland and William Barclay Squire.

**Edmund Fellowes and the publication of Tudor music**

Edmund Fellowes’ extensive scholarly and editorial work was one of the major shaping forces of the Tudor revival. Central to Fellowes’ legacy are several large-scale collections of early English music. His 36-volume *English Madrigal School* (1913–


47 Ibid., 220-221.


49 Ibid.
1924) made an unprecedented amount of English Renaissance choral music available for use and introduced many previously unknown English composers. Published in both scholarly and performing versions, Fellowes’ “scrupulously edited” edition of the madrigals has not been superseded to date. Along with several other editors, he also contributed to the *Tudor Church Music* series, published in ten volumes between 1922 and 1929 and consisting of representative works by Byrd, Tallis, and several other English Renaissance composers. Fellowes also edited the *Collected Works of William Byrd* beginning in 1937; this edition was revised under the general editorship of Thurston Dart from 1962-70. Ultimately, Fellowes’s editorial procedures—characterized by copious dynamic markings, text-stress indications given in capital letters, questionable interpretive markings, and untenable transpositions—were ultimately deemed heavy-handed or downright incorrect, and therefore did not stand the test of musicological time. The authoritative text of the music of William Byrd at the present is the *Byrd Edition* (1970–), produced under the general editorship of Philip Brett.

**The “English choral tradition” reconsidered**

The rise in publication of Renaissance music in England during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is meaningful only in the larger context of the country’s musical culture. In its most highly romanticized sense, the English choral tradition suggests ethereal sounds and images – the distinctive shimmer of an English boychoir wafting through a vaulted cathedral or perhaps the stunning strains of a polyphonic motet.

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spinning into a resonant Gothic-style Oxbridge chapel. English conductor Paul
McCreech bemoans such characterizations of timbre and style, speculating that their
origins lie in “some sort of Romantic arts-and-crafts mythology” which wrongly assumes
an “unbroken heritage that goes back to the days of Byrd.”\textsuperscript{53} Indeed, the English choral
tradition in its present state developed relatively recently, being mostly a product of the
late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.\textsuperscript{54}

The increased publication of Renaissance music in late nineteenth- and early
twentieth-century England resulted in greatly expanded repertories for cathedral and
college choirs across the country. As the performance of Renaissance music became
more common and music by Victorian composers lost its appeal, a new ideal of English
choral culture gradually took shape, eventually resulting in practices and sound models
that are today considered inherently part of the ‘English choral tradition.’ This shift
originated in religious and musical revivals of the late nineteenth and early twentieth
centuries, the origins of which are to be found in the Oxford Movement.

The Oxford Movement and its impact on Anglican church music

A time of both contention and reform in the church, the Oxford Movement (1833–
45) sought to distinguish the Anglican Church from both Catholic and Protestant
practices and to restore its “true” origins in the early Christian church.\textsuperscript{55} Linked to this

\textsuperscript{53} Jeffrey Sandborg, ed., \textit{English Ways: Conversations with English Choral Conductors}

\textsuperscript{54} Peter Pirie identifies two historically distinct choral English choral traditions, writing:
“The English choral tradition, of bogus reputation, began just before 1850. It had nothing to do
with the choral tradition that had come to an end with the death of Henry Purcell, partly naturally,
with the rise of instrumental music, and partly as a result of our longest artistic collapse; no
attempt should be made to link the Victorians with the Elizabethans, for the tradition had been
broken for a hundred and fifty years. The nineteenth-century choral movement started as a social
rather than an artistic phenomenon; it was a conscious attempt to improve the morality of the
workers of the industrial revolution…” \textit{The English Musical Renaissance} (New York: St.

108.
idea was a distinction between the Church and the State; proponents of the Oxford Movement emphasized the need for church-based authority rather than an integrated church-state establishment.56

John Keble and his fellow leaders in the Oxford Movement, including Richard Hurrell Froude, John Henry Newman and Edward Bouverie Pusey, maintained that the Church of England was “catholic and reformed and not simply Protestant,” and expounded on their ideas in a series of ninety *Tracts for the Times* during the 1830s.57 The Church of England, they argued, was responsible for “reverent and regular administration” of the sacraments, and as such, Newman called for a *via media* “between the superstitions of Rome on one hand, and the errors of Protestantism on the other.”58 The movement came to emphasize careful observance of the services outlined in the *Book of Common Prayer*. A “church party” known as the “Ritualists” or “Anglo-Catholics” grew out of the movement, and focused its energies on instituting vestments and customs, including surpliced choirs, into the Anglican service.59

Although the Oxford Movement was not primarily concerned with music, it led to a choral revival in the Anglican church. Bernarr Rainbow writes that both the Oxford Movement and the resulting English choral revival were “deliberate gestures of protest against longstanding neglect in the Church” and “sought to remedy abuses which…had persistently accrued in the Anglican Church during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.”60 These infractions varied in degree; they ranged in severity from the use of

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60 Rainbow, *Choral Revival*, 4-5.
the altar as a writing desk, complete with inkpot and pens, to the outlandish ways of a parish clerk who habitually sang the service with tobacco in his cheek, “punctuating his liturgical utterances by spitting from the lower deck of the pulpit after each Amen.”

The Ecclesiological Movement

Efforts to revive Anglican choral worship culminated in the Ecclesiological Movement in Cambridge, initiated in 1839 with the formation of the Cambridge Camden Society. Founded by three Cambridge undergraduates (Benjamin Webb, Alexander Hope, and John Mason Neale), this movement initially focused on architecture but was ultimately “formative and integral to the post-Tractarian revival of Anglican choral worship.” In time its members exhibited a special concern for “choral service,” a term that referred to both the traditional Anglican choral service as well as to services in which the congregation participated fully in the singing. The “Ecclesiologists” ultimately sought to revive Anglican choral worship through recapturing “the deep aura of spirituality which they perceived to be exemplified in medieval art and architecture, in all of its aesthetic and symbolic richness.” They advanced their ideas about the revival of Anglican worship through various writings on church music, the primary outlet of which was The Ecclesiologist, a periodical published from 1841 to 1868. Articles in The Ecclesiologist addressed many topics, including the relationship between Gothic revival architecture and church music, and provided an ongoing commentary on church music practices, with a special focus on Cambridge. The society also advanced its ideas through musical performance, forming a choral ensemble dedicated to carrying out the society’s principles.

61 Ibid., 7-8.
63 Ibid., 1.
64 Ibid., ix and 194.
The Ecclesiologists’ aims to refine English church music were bolstered by other efforts outside of Cambridge. In the 1850s John Mason Neale collaborated with Thomas Helmore of St. Mark’s College, Chelsea—a promoter of the revival of plainsong in England—on *The Hymnal Noted*, which featured Neale’s English translations of Latin hymns alongside adaptations to original Sarum melodies.\(^{65}\) Though the hymnal was “by no means universally welcomed” in the Anglican church, its importance endures.\(^{66}\) Adelman notes that “the corpus of ancient hymn texts and melodies thus revived remains among the ecclesiologists’ most significant and enduring gifts to the English-speaking church.”\(^{67}\) The early 1850s saw the establishment of the Ecclesiological Motett Choir, a mixed-voice ensemble composed primarily of volunteer singers. In its aim to “introduce the public to the music of the ancient Church,” the ensemble gave three performances annually during most of its active years.\(^{68}\) The choir’s core repertoire was plainsong and sixteenth- and seventeenth-century polyphony; its service lists show a preference for Palestrina over Anglican composers.\(^{69}\) The Ecclesiologists viewed Palestrina’s music as representative of the “mature” period of Western music, and even drew a parallel between sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century polyphony and the “Middle Pointed” or decorated period of architecture in which the Gothic style flourished.\(^{70}\) The ensemble’s repertoire adhered to the society’s stated views on the four kinds of anthems (i.e., works predating the mid-seventeenth century, English verse anthems, extracts from oratorios, and

\(^{65}\) Long, *English Church*, 328.


\(^{67}\) Ibid., 68.

\(^{68}\) Ibid., 194, 80.

\(^{69}\) Ibid., 218-221.

\(^{70}\) Ibid., 39.
adaptations of continental sacred music).71  Furthermore, the repertoire especially favored early music, a reflection of the Ecclesiologists’ view of this music as a “valuable stock for daily use.”72

Post-Tractarian calls for reform of English church music

Palestrina did not, however, remain the composer of choice in the Anglican church. In the decades following the Oxford Movement, music by English composers of the Elizabethan era became increasingly attractive to cultivators of a new Anglican ethos. And yet complaints about the quality of Anglican church music persisted through the century, and the misgivings expressed about English church music during the nineteenth century ran in tandem with a growing dissatisfaction with religious practice at large. Ultimately, as Jeffrey Cox observes, both the Anglican and Nonconformist traditions suffered decline between 1870 and 1930, a phenomenon “which has not been reversed.”73

A call for large-scale reform of Anglican music was voiced as early as 1865 by H. W. Pullen, Minor Canon of Salisbury, in the short publication Our Choral Services: A Few Words on the Present State of Church Music in England.74 Pullen decried the musical practices of the English parish choirs of his time, stating “there probably never was a time when so much bad music was sung in our churches, or so much ignorance displayed on the whole subject of Ecclesiastic music.”75 He registers strong complaints

71 Ibid., 76.
72 Ibid., 77.
75 Ibid., 3.
about the typical choral service, citing the unison singing of Psalms and Canticles to “doleful” chant and the substitution for an Anthem of “a species of doggerel called by courtesy hymn,” sung to a vulgar tune “devoid of both dignity and vigor.”76

Pullen called for an improvement in the quality of choral services, stating that music should be chosen from “the best examples which church musicians have left us” and be performed in “the best possible way.”77 He urged that music be chosen from the ranks of “the best writers of every school, ancient or modern” and that it be performed in the attitude of “solemn sacrifice to God.”78 Pullen did not recommend specific composers, advising only “all that is at once solemn and musician-like and lovely must find expression in our anthem and our psalm.”

Almost half a century later, similar sentiments on church music reform found expression in a lecture by music scholar and editor J.A. Fuller-Maitland (1856–1936).79 Fuller-Maitland’s assessment of the condition of church music echoes Pullen’s; he states that “notwithstanding all the talk we hear of the ‘Cathedral School of Composers,’ the authorities who arrange the services of the church very seldom show much practical admiration for the compositions of that school.”80 He argues that many cathedrals, while keeping the “fine anthems” in their repertories, are prone to “give way to prevailing fashion, and admit worthless modern compositions in undue proportions.”81 This dissatisfaction with nineteenth-century church music resulted in slowly accumulative

76 Ibid.

77 Ibid., 20.

78 Ibid.


80 Ibid., 12.

81 Ibid.
change until the institution of early twentieth-century reforms, some of which were
directed at congregational music.

**Early twentieth-century reform of congregational music**

The early twentieth-century reforms of English congregational music were largely
due to the work of three individuals: Percy Dearmer (1867–1936), Ralph Vaughan
Williams (1872–1958), and Martin Shaw (1875–1958). Two major projects resulted
from their collaboration. Dearmer and Vaughan Williams worked together on the
*English Hymnal* (1906), while Vaughan Williams, Shaw and Gustav Holst produced the
*Oxford Book of Carols* (1928). It is important to note that these contributions occurred
against the backdrop of the enduring popularity of the unofficial hymnal of the Church of

*The English Hymnal*

The editors of the *English Hymnal* unabashedly referred to the book as “a
collection of the best hymns in the English language,” describing the publication as both
inclusive and comprehensive:

> It is not a party-book, expressing this or that phase of
> negation or excess, but an attempt to combine in one volume the
> worthiest expressions of all that lies within the Christian Creed,
> from those ‘ancient Fathers’ who were the earliest hymn-writers
down to contemporary exponents of modern aspirations and
> ideals.83

The *English Hymnal* espoused “a more broadly theistic and non-sectarian
outlook” compared to its predecessors, an ethos very much in line with the growing trend

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82 *Hymns Ancient and Modern* sold four and a half million copies by 1868. Of its less
commercially successful revision in 1904 by A. J. Mason and W. H. Frere, Kenneth Long writes:
“Texts were revised, dross purged away, splendid new hymns and tunes appeared and (most
striking innovation) ancient Sarum Office hymns for the various seasons and major festivals were
introduced” (*The Music of the English Church*, 334 and 399).

during World War I for non-denominational religious meetings. In Vaughan Williams’s preface to the hymnal, he explains that its music was “intended to be essentially congregational in character.” Tunes were selected on the basis of “fine melody,” with an eye to reducing “enervating tunes…to a minimum.” Though Vaughan Williams does not elaborate on the defining features of a “fine melody,” he invokes morality as a guiding principle in discerning the value of melodies:

It is indeed a moral rather than a musical issue. No doubt it requires a certain effort to tune oneself to the moral atmosphere implied by a fine melody; and it is far easier to dwell in the miasma of the languishing and sentimental hymn tunes which so often disfigure our services. Such poverty of heart may not be uncommon, but at least it should not be encouraged by those who direct the services of the church; it ought no longer to be true anywhere that the most exalted moments of a church-goer’s week are associated with music that would not be tolerated in any place of secular entertainment.

A notable feature of the English Hymnal is the great variety of musical sources used for the hymns. In the preface Vaughan Williams explains that “no particular country, period, or school has been exclusively drawn upon to supply material, but an attempt has been made to include the best specimens of every style.” Great Britain and Continental Europe are well represented in the book through sacred and secular melodies from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries, including music by Tallis and Gibbons. Furthermore, English music received special emphasis through the inclusion of harmonized Sarum plainchant, lending an idiosyncratic flavor to the hymnal’s physical appearance. Alain Frogley notes that Vaughan Williams’s approach to the hymnal

84 The Music of the English Church, 400.
85 English Hymnal, x.
86 Ibid., xi.
87 Ibid.
88 English Hymnal, xv.
consciously rejected the “Victorian ethos,” and as a result “profoundly shifted the course of English-language hymnody.”  

Percy Dearmer

Vaughan Williams’s colleague Percy Dearmer also made an important contribution to the reform of congregational music. Dearmer, a liturgist and historian of Christian worship, read history at Oxford (1886–89) and studied Tractarianism with T. B. Strong, future bishop of Oxford. His “permanent contribution” to the church and to English life was his understanding of the relationship between worship and art; as F. R. Southwell observes, “no one did more in his time to raise the standards of art in public worship.” Dearmer’s best-known contribution to church reform, The Parson’s Handbook (1899)—published in twelve editions by 1931—was considered a definitive guide to the cultivation of Anglican liturgical practice. According to Dearmer the purpose of the book was to remedy “the lamentable confusion, lawlessness, and vulgarity which are conspicuous in the Church at this time.” The handbook addresses some musical concerns, but is primarily concerned with questions of decoration and ritual in the various Anglican services.


92 Ibid, 1.
Martin Shaw

Martin Shaw shared Williams’ blatant distaste for Victorian music, having once likened certain popular Victorian hymns to “overripe bananas.” Shaw’s most prestigious musical post was that of organist at St. Martin in the Fields, London, a position he held from 1920 to 24; he also served as Director of Music for Maude Royden’s fellowship services until 1936. To Shaw, an “artistic crusader,” England had to become free “from the musical despotism of Germany.” Good English music, he felt, must originate from native traditions—the foremost types being folk-song and music of the Elizabethan masters.

The importance of the Church Music Society

In addition to the work of individuals in reforming church music during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Church Music Society had a hand in supporting reform, and by extension in bringing about the Tudor revival. The society was formed primarily because “the class of music available to church choirs of all kinds was in urgent need of improvement”; its goal was “to facilitate the selection and performance of the music which is most suitable for different occasions of divine worship, and for choirs of various powers.” After its initial meetings in the last years of the nineteenth century, the society disbanded for several years, but was revived in

93 Ibid.


95 Ibid.

96 Ibid.

1906 and still exists today. Cosmo Gordon Lang, who would later serve as Archbishop of York and then of Canterbury, presided as society Chairman beginning in 1906, and was later followed by Edmund Fellowes. In addition to the post of Chair, the society initially consisted of two sub-committees, one to prepare a list of music “suitable for use” in church, and the other “to suggest short works to be reprinted in octavo editions in accessible form at a small cost.”

The work of the society was multi-faceted, and included publications (both prose and musical), the presentation of hymn and choral festivals, public lectures, and the formation of a demonstration choir. During the first part of the twentieth century, the society disseminated its ideas on church music through a series of “Occasional Papers” and “Shorter Papers,” the first of which was J. A. Fuller Maitland’s aforementioned *The Need For Reform in Church Music*. Often didactic in purpose, these publications espoused a particular view of English music as having declined in quality from the glorious age of Tudor polyphony, and frequently emphasized the need to return to the music of the “masters.” In an Occasional Papers entitled *Anthem*, Cambridge-based composer and music educator Cyril Bradley Rootham argued for an increase in the study and use of Renaissance choral music in church, specifically underlining the importance of the Tudor composers:

> In no period of the world’s output of music, is it safe to say, has the artistic spirit shown itself more vital than in the motets, anthems, and madrigals of the sixteenth and early seventeenth

98 Ibid.

99 Ibid.

100 Ibid.

101 Ibid. In 1927 the society reduced its activities and assumed an advisory and publishing role, due to Sydney Nicholson’s founding of the School of English Church Music (now the Royal School of Church Music). This institution built upon the activities of the Church Music Society, training church musicians and cultivating a standard for church music performance in England.
centuries. During those years the climax of pure vocal music was reached. The part-writing appeals to the singer and listener alike; for never were composers more inspired to give all the voices melodic interest, or to bring out the spirit and meaning of the words which they set. Nevertheless, insight and care are needed in these days for the interpretation of the music of that era…The chief composers of motets and anthems in the sixteenth century were Christopher Tye, Thomas Tallis, Robert Whyte, Orlando Gibbons, Richard Farrant, and William Byrd. Their writings are many; but no cathedral or church can afford to neglect works so accessible and so worthy of a place in our Church Service…

Rootham recommended specific pieces by each of the aforementioned composers, and concluded with a plea for higher-quality English church music:

The purpose of this paper has been to show some of the greatness of the past. We should hold fast to the tradition of those great anthem-writers…Let us hope that a great school of modern British composers may arise and flourish, to put new vigor into this part of our national music. Meanwhile, let us look forward to the time when clergy, organists and choirmasters, and also congregations, will be combined to ensure one end in every church in the land—that when music is in hand, only the finest works of every period shall be rendered.

Music in Worship

In 1915 a “Summer School for Church Music” was held at Oxford. Because many of the participants were also members of the Church Music Society, the event bolstered enthusiasm for church music reform. As a result, the Church Music Society expanded its agenda beyond simply issuing content through its Occasional Papers, and submitted a request to the Archbishop of Canterbury for the formation of an official committee on church music. The Archbishop granted permission and asked the newly formed committee “to consider and report upon the place of music in the worship of the


103 *Church Music Society*, 3.

104 Ibid.
church, and in particular the training of the church musicians, and the education of the clergy in the knowledge of music as a branch of liturgical study.”

Among the nineteen members of the committee—who were appointed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York—were Hugh Percy Allen and Edmund Fellowes. The full committee met nine times, sub-committees met separately, and much correspondence ensued between members. The result of the meetings and correspondence was a series of “definite recommendations” for the reform of church music, which were published in 1922 in an official report entitled Music in Worship. The report summarized the committee’s suggestions on twelve topics:

1. The place of music in the worship of the church.
2. The distinction between what is fitting and what is unsuitable in church music.
3. The choice and regulation of music in relation to smaller town and village churches with slight musical resources.
4. The choice and regulation of music in relation to large town churches.
5. The choice and regulation of music in relation to cathedral and collegiate churches.
6. The singing of hymns.
7. The musical training of clergy in theological colleges.
8. The training of choirmaster and organists.
9. The relations of the choirmasters and organist to the ecclesiastical authorities.
10. The use and abuse of the organ.
11. Suggestions for diocesan organization.
12. Suggestions for central organization.

105 Ibid.


107 Ibid., 2.
The committee’s suggestions for each of these topics are descriptive but ultimately vague. Regarding the first topic (“The place of music in the worship of the church”), the committee reported marked improvement in some churches, but indicated that in others, “a low standard, both in the choice of music and in its performance, has been habitually accepted.”108 Concerning vocal music, they stated “the first thing that is required…is that it should be a fitting way of expressing the words that are used.”109 While the committee did not offer further clarification on this point, they shared the underlying sentiment in a somewhat humorous statement:

Many worshippers are perhaps vaguely aware that a favorite piece of their own is, after all, not of the best kind to hand down to their children and successors. Made sacred to them by association, it may yet be intrinsically two tawdry for them willingly to pass on to those who have no such associations.110

The committee proposed a “test” for the selection of church music based on a four-fold consideration: rhythm, melody, harmony, and structure.111 Rhythms, the report explains, “should certainly be full of life” but also “needed dignity without heaviness,” while melodies should consist largely of stepwise motion, harmony should not be “gaudy or vulgar,” and structure should be “logical and balanced.”112

Without naming specific works or composers, the committee commended services at England’s existing choral foundations as the “chief means” of carrying on the tradition of performing “that great collection of English church music which we have inherited from the past,” and preferably through two daily choral services. The committee also urged cathedrals to set aside money for updating their choir libraries yearly, noting “we

108 Ibid., 4.
109 Ibid., 7.
110 Ibid.
111 Ibid., 7-10.
112 Ibid., 8.
wish to bring to the special notice of our cathedral authorities the new collection of Tudor church music which will soon be available for use.”

Representation of Tudor music in *A Repertoire of English Cathedral Music*

More specific suggestions on music selection were, however, forthcoming. In 1930 the society published *A Repertoire of English Cathedral Music* by Edmund Fellowes and Hylton Stewart. This publication offered a thorough list of suggested publishers and compositions for use by church musicians. The music list, organized by communion services and anthems, included communion services by twenty-three different composers and anthems by eighty. In addition to suggesting specific works, this document also defined certain limits for acceptable musical genres; at the head of the list of recommended anthems, Fellowes and Stewart were careful to note that “excerpts from oratorios and cantatas are not included.” The Tudor representation among these works was significant (Table 1.2).

Richard Terry and Edmund Fellowes: leaders of the Tudor revival

Although the recommended works in *A Repertoire of Cathedral Music* are predominantly Anglican, the revival of Tudor choral music actually arose from the contributions of both Anglican and Catholic musicians and scholars. The two main personalities behind the Tudor revival, Sir Richard Terry (1865–1938) and Edmund...
Table 1.2 Tudor anthems contained in *A Repertoire of English Cathedral Music* (Church Music Society, 1930).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Work</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Byrd</td>
<td>Ave verum corpus</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bow thine ear</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cantate Domino</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Christe qui lux es et dies</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Exsurge Domine</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Haece Dies</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Have mercy upon me, O God</td>
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<td></td>
<td>I will not leave you comfortless</td>
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<td></td>
<td>If that a sinner’s sighs</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Justorum animae</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Laetentur coeli</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Make ye joy to God</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Miserere mei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O Lord, whom our offences</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O quam gloriosum</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O Praise the Lord</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Praise our Lord, all ye gentiles</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Prevent us, O Lord</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rorate coeli</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sacerdotes domini</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sing joyfully</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>This day Christ was born</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tu es Petrus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Turn our captivity</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Victimae paschali laudes</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vigilate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. Farrant</td>
<td>Call to remembrance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gibbons</td>
<td>Almighty and everlasting God</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Almighty God, who by thy son</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Deliver us, O Lord / Blessed be the Lord God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Great Lord of Lords</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Glorious and powerful</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hosanna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lift up your heads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O clap your hands / God is gone up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O Lord, in thy wrath</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O Lord, increase my faith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O thou, the central orb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>See, see, the word is incarnate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 1.2 Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>This is the record of John</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Why art thou so heavy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morley</td>
<td>Nolo mortem peccatoribus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mundy</td>
<td>O Lord the maker of all thing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tallis</td>
<td>I call and cry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>If ye love me</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In manus tuas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lamentations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O Lord, give thy holy spirit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O sacrum convivium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Salvator mundi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomkins</td>
<td>Great and marvelous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I heard a voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O pray for the peace of Jerusalem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tye</td>
<td>Give alms of thy goods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I will exalt thee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Laudate nomen / O Lord, thy word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Praise ye the Lord, ye children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sing unto the Lord</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weelkes</td>
<td>Alleluia, I heard a voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gloria in excelsis deo</td>
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</table>

Fellowes (1870–1951), in fact colored the movement according to their respective Catholic and Anglican faiths. Their combined efforts largely determined the momentum and direction of the revival, and the present accessibility of English Renaissance choral music is in great part due to their work.\textsuperscript{116}

\textsuperscript{116} The only monograph to date on Terry is Hilda Andrews’s \textit{Westminster Retrospect: A Memoir of Sir Richard Terry} (London: Oxford University Press, 1948). Fellowes’s autobiography, \textit{Memoirs of an Amateur Musician} (London: Methuen, 1946) is an informative and entertaining account of his life and work.
Richard Terry at Westminster Cathedral

Richard Terry served as Director of Music at Westminster Cathedral from 1901 to 1924. Terry demonstrated a proclivity for Renaissance music early in his career while serving as organist and choirmaster at Downside Abbey near Bath (1896–1901). At Downside Abbey, Terry’s contact with music antiquarian William Barclay Squire and several other historians “fired his passion for the music of William Byrd,” and using his transcriptions, the choir gave the first modern performance of Byrd’s *Mass for Five Voices* and many other works.\(^{117}\) The bulk of his revival efforts of sacred English Renaissance music, however, date from his Westminster years. At this newly constructed, neo-Byzantine cathedral (opened in 1903), Terry successfully established Renaissance polyphony as a staple of the choir’s repertory.

Terry’s performances during Holy Week and Easter were particularly important for the Tudor revival, and have been said to gradually draw “large congregations” to hear revived Renaissance music.\(^{118}\) In 1903 the choir’s repertory included between fifty and sixty mass settings and over 100 motets; the bulk of this music was by continental composers, including Palestrina, Victoria, and Lasso.\(^{119}\) In time, Tudor music came to be increasingly represented in service music at Westminster, and by 1909 Renaissance polyphony constituted most of the choir’s repertory.\(^{120}\) From the beginning of Terry’s tenure at Westminster the choir performed Byrd’s three masses, Tallis’s *Mass for Four Voices*, and Tye’s *Euge Bone* mass.\(^{121}\) In 1910 the Westminster choir presented all the

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\(^{118}\) Ibid.


\(^{120}\) *National Biography*, “Terry.”

\(^{121}\) Ibid.
motets in Byrd’s *Gradualia*, and later performed the 1589 *Cantiones sacrae*, much of the 1591 set, and most of the 1575 Tallis and Byrd collection.122

Elizabeth Roche notes that under Terry, the height of the polyphonic tradition at Westminster occurred in the time between Palm Sunday and Easter.123 The Holy Week services in particular, writes Roche, were “extensively and approvingly previewed in the press (*The Times* for many years devoted a Saturday music article to the subject)” and that it was these services that were “attended most enthusiastically by non-Catholic musicians.”124 Holy Week in 1913 saw the performance of a remarkable amount of Tudor music; the choir performed Tallis’s *Lamentations* in addition to over thirty motets by Byrd, Farrant, Phillips, Tallis, Tye, Morley, and Parsons.125 Terry transcribed much of this music himself, having consulted manuscripts at the British Museum, Peterhouse in Cambridge, the Bodleian, Lambeth Palace, and Eton; these “hastily written pencil scores” are held in the Westminster library.126

Terry’s reputation as a pioneer is not undeserved, even if his stature is occasionally exaggerated; for instance, he is often erroneously credited with singlehandedly reviving sacred Tudor music in England.127 Nonetheless, Terry’s commitment to Tudor music did not go unnoticed by his colleagues, including his

122 Ibid.


124 Ibid.

125 Ibid.

126 *National Biography*, “Terry.”

127 Frank Howes considers Terry the “prime motive power” of the Tudor Revival. He asserts that this music was “by his exertions restored to active service in the church and to a vigorous musical life of its own” (*English Musical Renaissance*, 95). This perspective on Terry is reinforced in a London *Telegraph* article by Christopher Howse, “The Man Who Made Byrd Live,” 24 February 2007.
competitor Fellowes. Timothy Day states that for Terry the study and performance of sixteenth-century polyphony had extra-musical significance. He writes, “all the works he uncovered and brought to performance embodied and enshrined values, and not just aesthetic values, but also moral and social and spiritual ones,” with Catholicism at the core. Day’s assessment is possible because of the extent to which Terry wrote on the subjects of art and religion. Publication of Terry’s contributions has made his ideas highly visible, but he was not the first to propose an aesthetic supporting the performance of Renaissance works.

Edmund Fellowes

Although the careers of Terry and Fellowes share some similarities, Fellowes, unlike Terry, did not work primarily as a church musician, instead conducting his musicological work in the context of his official post as Minor Canon of Windsor (1900–1951). In Memoirs of an Amateur Musician, Fellowes describes his first important experience with choral music, which occurred during his undergraduate study at Oxford. At the elegant evensong services at Christ Church Cathedral and Magdalen College, he writes, “I came to be acquainted with much of the best cathedral music.” Though Fellowes’s subsequent professional life limited his opportunities for involvement in musical performance, he was nonetheless a formidable influence in the reemergence of

128 Edmund Fellowes, Memoirs of an Amateur Musician (London: Methuen, 1946), 128. Fellowes writes that Terry “did fine work in introducing Taverner and Byrd…to public notice.”


130 His books include Catholic Church Music (London: Greening & Co, 1907), On Music’s Borders (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1927), A Forgotten Psalter and Other Essays (London: Oxford University Press, 1929), and Voodooism in Music and Other Essays (London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne, 1934). He also frequently published in newspapers and music journals. See, for example, “Musical Changes I Have Seen in 23 Years” in the London Evening News, 19 March 1924.

131 Ibid., 56.
choral music of the English Renaissance. Howes considers his work on restoring the English madrigal “the central fact” of the Tudor revival.132

Fellowes’ ambition as an editor of early music was ignited during his tenure as Precentor of Bristol (1897–1900), where he encountered what seemed to him a faulty interpretation of Tudor choral music. He lamented the unenlightened approach to performance, observing that “rhythmic irregularity, as an essential feature of this music, was being generally unrecognized and ignored” and that the works were performed too slowly.133 It was increasingly upsetting, writes Fellowes, to hear the services, anthems, and madrigals of Byrd, Gibbons, Farrant and others “drawled at low pitch, with false verbal accentuation.”134 A radio broadcast in 1950 in celebration of Fellowes’s eightieth birthday recounted another aspect of his interest in publishing Tudor music:

…the idea of making the Tudor classics available in modern editions was suggested to him by a lady during a drive from Exeter to the Sidmouth tennis tournament. All the Elizabethan poets, she said, could be obtained in modern editions, why not the composers?135

The publication of Tudor works remained a major concern for Fellowes throughout his career. His commitment to the cause paid major dividends during his lifetime; through the completion of several projects of impressive proportions, he successfully filled the gap in availability of early English music. In addition to the aforementioned English Madrigal School and Collected Works of William Byrd, Fellowes edited 32 volumes of The English School of Lutenist Song Writers (1920–1932).136 He

132 Howes, English Musical Renaissance, 92. Howes refers to Fellowes’s “higher standards of editorial accuracy, which extended to church music and solo songs.”

133 Fellowes 1946, 119.

134 Ibid., 120.


136 The English School of Lutenist Song Writers, ed. E. H. Fellowes, 32 vols (London: Stainer and Bell, 1922).
also contributed some of the first musicological writings on Tudor composers, including *William Byrd: A Short Account of His Life and Work* (1923), *Orlando Gibbons: A Short Account of His Life and Work* (1925), and *The English Madrigal* (1925).137

**Fellowes and the *Tudor Church Music* series**

Fellowes was one of four editors of the *Tudor Church Music* series, published in ten volumes from 1922 to 1929 by Oxford University Press, though only through a process wracked with difficulty.138 Terry had been appointed editor of the series in 1916, but resigned from the position under considerable pressure in 1922, at which time an editorial committee—including Fellowes—assumed leadership.139 The importance of this series lies in its presentation of the works of important Tudor composers in folio, which filled a much-needed niche in university libraries; moreover, an octavo edition of selected works from the series was also published by Oxford University Press, making a significant number of sacred Tudor works available in print (Table 1.3).

**The reception of Byrd during the Tudor revival**

William Byrd arguably received greater attention than any other composer during the Tudor revival. Suzanne Cole has addressed this issue in relationship to Tallis reception the late nineteenth century.140 She argues that although reception of Byrd and Tallis “has often run in tandem,” by the mid-nineteenth century Tallis’s Anglican music

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139 Turbet, “An Affair,” 593, 596, 598.

Table 1.3. Contents of *Tudor Church Music.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Volume</th>
<th>Composer(s)</th>
<th>Works</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Taverner</td>
<td>Masses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Byrd</td>
<td>English Anthems, Psalms, Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Taverner</td>
<td>Motets, Magnificats, Masses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Gibbons</td>
<td>Anthems, Psalms, Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Motets, Magnificats, Anthems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Tallis</td>
<td>Masses, Magnificats, Motets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Byrd</td>
<td><em>Gradualia</em>, Books I and II</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Tomkins</td>
<td>Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Byrd</td>
<td>Masses, Cantiones, and motets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Hugh Aston, John Marbeck, Osbert Parsley</td>
<td>Masses, Motets</td>
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was quite popular, while Byrd’s music was relatively unknown.\(^{141}\) In fact, she notes that the only work by Byrd of “widespread popularity” during the first half of the nineteenth century was the spurious canon *Non nobis, Domine.* Most of the critical writings on Byrd before 1880, she adds, were “devoted to discussions of the merits of Byrd’s claim to authorship [of this work], compared with the rival claims of Mozart and Palestrina.”\(^{142}\) The Tudor revival, however, saw a major shift in the popular understanding of Byrd. Richard Terry recognized this shift in his own reception of Byrd and the resulting adjustment of his esteem for Tallis:

> My mind travels back to the early ‘nineties when I accepted uncritically the prevailing opinion that Byrd’s title to fame rested on his being a deserving pupil of the great Tallis; and then to the late ‘nineties when I only knew Byrd’s Masses, Horsley’s unsatisfactory edition of the five-part *Cantiones*, Arkwright’s scholarly one of the *Songs of Sundrie Natures*, the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, a few manuscript motets from the *Gradualia*, and the usual selections of publishing firms (including, of course, the Boyce volumes). I had then discovered Tallis’s *Lamentations*, and

\(^{141}\) Ibid., 213.

\(^{142}\) Ibid., 219.
scored a fair quantity of his other music, including his four-part Mass. Even on this meager acquaintance with both composers one could see which was the bigger man...a wider knowledge of Byrd constrained me to hail him as the greatest musician England has produced…143

Terry and Fellowes were alike in their admiration for and vehement promotion of Byrd’s music. Edmund Fellowes’s program notes for the William Byrd Tercentenary Celebration at Oxford in 1923 exhibit a high degree of nationalistic pride in Byrd’s stature:

The wide range and the importance of Byrd’s work in the history of music has not hitherto met with due recognition. He 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.144

Although Terry and Fellowes shared a lifelong passion for the revival of Tudor music, their professional relationship was sometimes strained. In 1922 Fellowes lamented the announcement of Terry’s knighthood—an honor never bestowed on Fellowes—but the point of greatest tension between the two men centered on their mutual claims to the discovery of Byrd’s Great Service.145 Some of the details of this dispute, which occurred in 1925, are recorded in a heated correspondence between writer Percy Scholes and composer and music critic Peter Warlock (pseudonym ‘Heseltine’).146 Others stepped forward to defend Fellowes; in May of 1925 Percy Buck wrote to Terry to remind him of his previous admission that he “would never claim to have discovered it” and his stated decision to edit “the Latin Byrd” and to “let an Anglican do the English work.”147 The dispute was never resolved, but later in 1925 a statement was released


144 Oxford Subscription Concerts, Bodleian Library.

145 On Terry’s knighthood, see Appendix B, Document 14.

146 See Appendix B, Documents 16-18.

147 Percy Buck to Richard Terry, 1 May 1925, Fellowes Papers, MPP/F 2/1/52, Oriel College Archives, Oxford.
confirming Fellowes as the discoverer of the service, and was to be printed in at least seventeen newspapers and music journals.\textsuperscript{148}

Despite the many accomplishments of Terry and Fellowes in reviving Tudor music, it is worth noting that their work built significantly on that of their scholarly and musical predecessors. Richard Turbet, an expert on the reception of Tudor music during the period under study, cautions that Terry and Fellowes neglected to give “any credit to those who revived Byrd’s music before their time, and instead derided them,” noting that although the two men “gave themselves credit for the resurrection of William Byrd, if any decade deserves that accolade it is the 1840s” because of the work of the Musical Antiquarian and Motett Societies.\textsuperscript{149}

\textbf{Revising the narrative of the Tudor revival}

The traditional narrative of the Tudor revival is centered on Richard Terry and his work at Westminster Cathedral. Terry’s work at Westminster was highly visible, and he introduced many previously unknown (and unedited) sacred English Renaissance works to the public. The contributions of other personalities and institutions that have not been recognized as fully as Terry’s, however, suggest a broader context for the Tudor revival. It has been shown that this context is multi-faceted, and includes publications predating Terry’s work, early efforts at church music reform, the work of the Church Music Society, and the editorial efforts of Edmund Fellowes. The present study seeks to broaden the context further and introduce a more nuanced picture of the movement. To this end, this study will examine the influential roles of ensembles and institutions in Oxford, one of England’s longstanding premier sites of choral music performance.

\textsuperscript{148} Percy Buck to Humphrey Milford, 10 August 1925, Fellowes Papers, MPP/F 2/1/58.

CHAPTER 2

THE OXFORD CHORAL FOUNDATIONS AND THE TUDOR REVIVAL,
CA. 1890–1939

The very chapel itself seemed peopled with invisible presences; the eyes of the past looked at me through the colored windows; the music, the soft candlelight, the many-figured sanctuary wall, the glimmering panels, the age-long peace of worship, all spoke to me, as it were, of a world I wanted to know and understand, and gave birth to thoughts that stayed long after my own little share in all of this was over and gone.

E. M. Venables, *Sweet Tones Remembered*

Oxford’s choral culture at the turn of the twentieth century

Choral music is ubiquitous in Oxford today, largely due to the daily services offered by its sixty-five Anglican churches and college chapels, and it was so in the late nineteenth century. In Oxford the performance of sacred choral music was inextricably bound up with religious life. Never before had the university seen such religious diversity; Nonconformists, Roman Catholics, high-church and evangelical Anglicans, and Jews “established their own distinctive institutions and societies.”\(^{150}\) A Roman Catholic presence at Oxford was relatively new, having only been possible since 1896, when a prohibition of Catholic students in Oxford and Cambridge was lifted.\(^{151}\) Yet despite the emergence of multiple varieties of religious observance in Oxford, Anglicanism was the dominant practice.

Oxford’s daily evensong services, “the purest relic of the monastic origins of the colleges,” were and are arguably at the heart of the city’s choral culture.\(^{152}\) In its preservation of the evensong service tradition, Oxford carries on what is perhaps England’s most carefully cultivated public religious practice, for as Simon Lindley notes,


\[^{151}\text{Ibid., 298.}\]

evensong is “the happiest union of words and music to arise from the vernacularization of English worship at the Reformation.”153 The enduring importance of religion in Oxford is, according to F. M. Turner, under-recognized:

Throughout the twentieth century, despite growing secularization in both the programs of study and the general intellectual outlook of the University, Oxford religion maintained a significant and noted physical and social as well as spiritual presence in the life of the University. Before motor cars and buses dominated Oxford’s streets, the sound of bells from the cathedral, churches and colleges reminded the city and University of their religious institutions.154

Existing scholarship on Oxford’s choral foundations

Given the interconnectedness of music and worship, Oxford’s rich religious life called for a correspondingly vibrant musical life. This was primarily supplied by music within the three “choral foundations,” New College, Magdalen and Christ Church. These institutions house choirs whose traditions date back to the Middle Ages and who enjoy reputations as some of the world’s finest vocal ensembles.155 The influence and importance of these institutions extends far beyond Oxford; according to Susan Wollenberg, the choral foundations “have remained among the focal points of the English choral tradition.”156 Their daily services deliver a steady stream of highly cultivated

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sacred choral music in the Anglican tradition, preserving and promoting what is a uniquely English relationship to choral singing in the context of Christian ritual.

Histories

Although a comprehensive history of the choral foundations as a whole has not been written, their individual histories are discussed in several monographs. New College, Oxford 1379–1979 presents a standard overview of college life through the centuries, including a chapter on music and musicians of the college.157 Magdalen College Oxford: A History is an extensive study in which college music is examined in great detail.158 While the usefulness of these studies cannot be underestimated, perhaps the most relevant source for the study of the foundation colleges in the twentieth century is an unpublished manuscript by George Thewlis, “indefatigable chronicler of Oxford’s musical past.”159 In his typewritten manuscript (c. 1955), Thewlis documents musical performances and personnel within the choral foundations and other musically active colleges, as well as the activity of the important choral societies in Oxford. Thewlis’s account is valuable not only for the vast amount of information he provides, but also in how clearly he characterizes musical life and personalities at Oxford.

Specialized studies: Wollenberg and Adelmann

Two other more specialized studies on music at the choral foundations are Susan Wollenberg’s Music at Oxford in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries and Dale


Adelmann’s *The Contribution of Cambridge Ecclesiologists to the Revival of Anglican Choral Worship 1839–62*. Wollenberg’s study provides an excellent, if necessarily selective, account of musical life at Oxford. She examines musical activity in the academic, civic, and collegiate spheres, ultimately presenting an overall picture of the tenor and progress of musical life in Oxford over two centuries. Her study shows that sacred and secular musical life at Oxford grew in both quality and variety in tandem with the shift toward establishing music as a legitimate area of study at the university and the ultimate creation of a music degree at Oxford. Adelmann’s volume is a detailed examination of the work of the Cambridge Ecclesiologists, a group of students devoted to the revival of Anglican worship during the mid-nineteenth century. Adelmann’s approach combines profiles of important individuals in the movement with documentation of the ecclesiological apologetic for church music and the resulting “diffusion” of the Anglican choral revival.

Wollenberg and Adelmann have contributed foundational scholarship on musical life at Oxford and Cambridge. Because their studies stop short of the twentieth century, however, they do not address the role of the Tudor revival. Oxford and Cambridge are equally compelling sites for expanding the history of the Tudor revival; this study, however, focuses on Oxford for two reasons. First of all, Adelmann’s work on Cambridge has pointed toward the need for a similar in-depth study on sacred music at Oxford. Secondly, given Oxford’s proximity to London, musical exchange between the two cities was an important element the Tudor revival.

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A brief history of Oxford’s choral foundations

At Oxford and Cambridge, the designation “university” refers not to a centralized academic body, but rather to a conglomeration of independent colleges, each with a strong and unique identity. The colleges of Oxford—currently numbering thirty-eight, in addition to six Permanent Private Halls—have always functioned as autonomous units, with varying numbers of students and different academic emphases. Each college has a unique personality and set of traditions, and students make applications to individual colleges rather than to the University. Students participate in academic life throughout the university, but their daily lives are based in their colleges, where they live, study, and eat. Though the streets of Oxford afford only limited glimpses beyond the front gates of the colleges, inside the walls, their premises are meticulously maintained. The most famous of these academic microcosms—and the most significant for English music history—are the choral foundations, where since the Middle Ages a statutory number of sixteen choristers has been maintained.161

New College, founded in 1379 by William of Wykeham, is the oldest of the three choral foundations. Magdalen was founded in 1458 by William Waynflete, and Christ Church, popularly known in Oxford as “The House,” was founded by Cardinal Thomas Wolsey in 1525 (initially named Cardinal College). Wolsey appointed John Taverner as the first music director of Cardinal College and its chapel. In 1546, under Henry VIII, institution was renamed Christ Church and became the cathedral of the new diocese of Oxford. Through the centuries Christ Church has retained this ecclesiastical function while simultaneously operating as one of Oxford’s largest colleges; it is currently the seat of the Bishop of Oxford.

161 This is also true for Cambridge. See Alan Mould, The English Chorister: A History (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007), 152.
The state of sacred music at the choral foundations, ca. 1900

The academic year at both Oxford and Cambridge functions on three terms: Michaelmas (October–December), Hilary (January–March, sometimes referred to as ‘Lent term’) and Trinity (May–July). At the foundation colleges around 1900, the schedule for choral services seems to have become standardized during these terms to include daily sung Matins and evensong and weekly sung Eucharist. This observance of Matins and evensong was shared by nearly all English cathedrals in the mid to late nineteenth century, but the patterns of sung Eucharist were far less predictable. At Magdalen there is evidence of the Matins-evensong scheme dating to at least 1863, as seen in a handwritten book of Chapel regulations held at the college. Eventually choral Matins was reduced from a sung to a said version; this occurred at Magdalen in 1921.

At New College in the mid-nineteenth century, an attempt was made to introduce choral scholars who would sing daily morning and evening services in term time; the decision allowed for eight to ten scholars to serve for five years. The amount of choral music offered in the chapel was reduced, however, in 1867, when a college committee decided to shorten full choral Matins by removing the canticles. At

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162 At Christ Church, the official designation for the two daily choral services (“Matins” and “evensong”) was in use by 1895; previously the services had simply been called “morning” and “evening.”

163 Mould, English Chorister, 194.

164 Directorium Magdalenese in Usum Decani in Sacra Thelogia MDCCCLXIII, Magdalen College Archives, Oxford.


166 Edmunds, New College Brats, 45.

167 Ibid., 47.
Magdalen during the late nineteenth century even lay-clerks carried a sizeable workload consisting of daily choral services, regular rehearsals, and special events; vacations were comprised of about two weeks at Christmas, a few days after Easter, and approximately twelve weeks beginning in the end of July.  

The role of the *informator choristarum*

Over the centuries the Oxford choral foundations have developed distinct musical cultures, but one organizational feature has remained common to the three institutions, namely, that supervision of the music program rests with the organist or *informator choristarum* and the Deanship of Divinity. At New College in the fifteenth century, the *informator choristarum* served as both chapel organist and as general instructor of the choristers. The value placed on this position at the college was underscored by the fact that the allotted salary was twice that of the chaplain. The position of *informator choristarum* is retained today at Magdalen and New College, and the duties still include the training of choristers and conducting of daily sung services. Today at Christ Church the same duties are performed by a Director of Music. The Dean of Divinity also influenced chapel music to a considerable extent; at Magdalen, this individual typically acted as unofficial college precentor “and took overall responsibility for the choice of music in Chapel services, with the right to amend the lists submitted by the Organist.”

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, music was an increasingly significant aspect of life at the Oxford foundation colleges. And yet distinct musical cultures developed at New College, Christ Church and Magdalen, and these were

170 Ibid.  
171 D’Ancona et al., 502.
largely shaped by the colleges’ respective successions of music directors and organists. The different professional emphases and personalities of these leaders determined the climate of music and the unfolding of the Tudor revival at the three choral foundations.

New College

In the early twentieth century, an important era began at New College with the departure of organist James Taylor in 1901 and the appointment of Hugh Percy Allen (1869-1946) as organist and Master of the Choristers. Allen would prove to set the tone for music at New College for much of the twentieth century; he is said to have been “one of the most dynamic and capable musicians ever associated with New College.”172 As Paul R. Hale writes, his influence extends even to the present day, as he dramatically broadened the choir’s repertoire and “brought the choir up to that level of excellence from which it has never since slipped.”173 A chorister under Allen described the meticulousness of his approach: “No error in the singing of psalm, service or anthem escaped detection even though he was in the organ loft…It was the thoroughness with which we were trained that made us the finest choir in Oxford.”174 When a chorister sang an incorrect pitch during a service, Allen would keep the student until he could sing the given passage “unerringly without accompaniment.”175 The choristers adored Allen, and as one of his pupils recalled, “he taught us so much that was beyond our vocal requirements.”176

173 Ibid., 286.

175 Ibid.
176 Ibid.
In addition to his work at New College, Allen was extremely active in Oxford music at large. He directed the Oxford Bach Choir (founded in 1896 by Basil Harwood), created an orchestral society to accompany it, and initiated the annual Bach Festival in Oxford. Hale notes that by 1920, Allen was considered the premier conductor of Bach’s choral music in England. Upon his acceptance of the position of Director of the Royal College of Music in 1919, he left New College and was succeeded by William Henry Harris (1883–1973). Harris, who is perhaps best known for his choral works—especially *Faire is the Heaven*, composed for New College—also became a major figure in Oxford music, conducting the West Oxford Choral Society, the Oxford Bach Choir, and concerts at Balliol College. Subsequent directors at New College through 1939 included John Dykes Bower, Sydney Watson, and finally H. K. Andrews, also known for his work as a reputable musicologist. Andrews was talented as both scholar and musician, and as Thewlis writes, he “soon proved that he had a standard of musicianship from which no power…would move him.”

**Magdalen College**

At Magdalen College in the mid-nineteenth century, according to an account by former chorister L. S. Tuckwell, the quality of chapel music left much to be desired. This was to change with the entry of John Stainer (1840–1901). Stainer, an “organist of the highest caliber” and also a productive composer, served as *informator choristarum* at

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177 Hale, “Music and Musicians,” 286.

178 Ibid.

179 Tragically, Allen died in 1946 after being hit by a motorcyclist in Oxford.


Magdalen from 1860 to 1872 and left a considerable musical legacy at the college; he is considered one of the most important figures in the choir’s history to date. He came to Magdalen after studying with Sir Frederick Ouseley at the college of St. Michael’s, Tenbury in Worcestershire, founded by Ouseley in 1854 as a model choral foundation “devoted solely to the observance of church services designed around well-performed music.” Stainer’s training under Ouseley, who was a prominent figure in musical life at Oxford in his own right, paid dividends during his tenure at Magdalen. Stainer was “to some extent groomed by Ouseley” and was thus “amply fitted to continue the distinguished link with the sacred tradition” established by his teacher – encompassing both English and continental works from the Renaissance through the nineteenth century – when he accepted the position at Magdalen. Wollenberg observes that Stainer’s tenure at Magdalen raised the musical standards of his time, and comments that “in his practical musicianship he contributed to the improvements in liturgical performance which characterized the later Victorian period generally, and Oxford particularly.” Stainer also contributed to the theoretical side of the discipline, publishing two important books on early music at a time when few of such studies existed: *Dufay and His Contemporaries* (1898) and *Early Bodleian Music* (1901).

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183 Wollenberg, *Music at Oxford*, 210 and D’Ancona et al., “Everyone of Us is a Magdalen Man: The College, 1854-1928,” 504-505. On the compositions of Stainer and his colleagues, P. Charlton commented: “the need for new church music was evident and he, like many of his fellow cathedral organists, helped to provide an extensive repertoire. From this period – between Goss and Stanford – relatively little remains in use; but…it served an important role in bringing order and high standards to Anglican worship” (P. Charlton, *John Stainer and the Musical Life of Victorian Britain* [Newton Abbot: 1984]; quoted in Wollenberg, “Oxford,” 211, n. 37.

184 Ibid., 504. Ouseley supported his foundation “both with money and with one of the best music libraries in England” (D’Ancona et al., “Everyone of Us,” 504).


186 Ibid., 211.

187 Ibid., 210.
Tuckwell’s account indicates that vocal auditions were virtually unknown at Magdalen in the mid-nineteenth century, and even that some choristers were unable to sing at all.\textsuperscript{188} Stainer acted quickly to elevate musical standards, persuading the lay clerks to attend practices and instituting the selection of choristers based on musical ability alone.\textsuperscript{189} There is evidence of more stringent audition standards in an 1880 pamphlet from the college, announcing a vacancy for an alto as “lay-clerk or Singing-man” and stating that candidates would be “tested” by singing a solo and that “ability to sing at sight is indispensable.”\textsuperscript{190} Another document elaborates on these standards, stating that “candidates with only moderate pretensions to vocal and musical power are recommended not to incur the trouble and expense of presenting themselves.”\textsuperscript{191}

Stainer was succeeded by Walter Parratt (1841–1924), who served at Magdalen from 1872 to 1882. A renowned organist, Parratt also conducted several college music societies, including those at Exeter, Trinity, Jesus and Pembroke.\textsuperscript{192} Parratt’s successor, John Varley Roberts (1841–1920), then served until 1919. Under Roberts the atmosphere of chapel music at Magdalen was infused with the “high churchmanship” of Dean Cosmo Gordon Lang, who served from 1893 to 1896.\textsuperscript{193} This quality “suited the ethos of Magdalen,” and yet Lang—who went on to serve as Archbishop of York and then of Canterbury—“sometimes led the College even further in this direction than it had gone before,” as in 1896, when the choir first began to wear cassocks.\textsuperscript{194}

\textsuperscript{188} Mould, \textit{English Chorister}, 207.

\textsuperscript{189} Mould, \textit{English Chorister}, 207.

\textsuperscript{190} \textit{Directorium}.

\textsuperscript{191} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{192} Wollenberg, \textit{Music at Oxford}, 218.

\textsuperscript{193} D’Ancona et al., “Everyone of Us,” 501.

\textsuperscript{194} Ibid.
One very revealing musical source from Roberts’s time gives a glimpse of the specific approach to choral singing at Magdalen. The Magdalen Glee Singers, having formed of a group of chapel singers (clerks) in 1906, recorded several albums on the Odeon label. Though the recordings evince the “primitive recording techniques of the time,” they are quite valuable in that they show “the high quality of Roberts’s altos, tenors, and basses, not least for their clear diction, excellent tuning, and clean delivery, free from any portamento.” Roberts “differed from Stainer and Parratt in that he had no pretensions to be an academic musician and was no high-flyer,” and while he was not an innovator, he was widely respected for his methods of choral training. Famously conservative in his repertoire selection, Roberts was nonetheless a formidable musical figure, and apparently elicited an excellent response from his ensemble. Former chorister E. M. Venables recalls Roberts’s impressive ability to shape voices despite his occasionally questionable selection of music:

It will not, I hope, appear an extravagant claim if I say that the singing of the choir in Roberts’s days has not been surpassed in Magdalen…His successors have, may be, revealed a more eclectic and classical taste in their choice of music…In my time there was certainly too much Spohr, too little Palestrina…But whether the actual standard of performance, quia singing, has been equaled, let alone surpassed, is very doubtful.

Magdalen’s choir undoubtedly benefited from Roberts’s strengths, but by the time of his retirement the choir’s repertoire was in need of revitalization. Roberts was succeeded by Haldane Campbell Stewart, under whom the choir was revived “after the comparative torpor of Roberts’s decline, not least in respect of its repertoire.”

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195 Ibid., 510.

196 Ibid.

197 Ibid., 509. Roberts published a successful volume on his technique, A Treatise on a Practical Method of Training Choristers (1898).

198 E.M. Venables, Sweet Tones Remembered, 26.

served as organist and choirmaster at Magdalen from 1919 to 1938. While Roberts had favored “music by composers born between 1750 and 1840,” Stewart, a former Magdalen chorister under Parratt, placed greater emphasis on early music, steadily expanding the Renaissance and Tudor repertoire in use at Magdalen.\footnote{Ibid.; Magdalen Chapel Music Lists, Magdalen College Archives, Oxford.}

Christ Church

The musical developments seen at New College and Magdalen during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries ran in tandem with those at Christ Church. George Thewlis writes that Christ Church was “the center of social life in the University and county” in the late nineteenth century, but that this era ended in 1891 with the retirement of Dean of Divinity Liddell\footnote{Thewlis Papers, Vol. I, p. 53.}. Musically, Christ Church greatly benefited from the leadership of organist Basil Harwood (1859–1949), who served from 1887 to 1909. Thewlis writes that in general at this time, “Bach was the order of the day,” and that “Dr. Harwood was the leader of the movement.”\footnote{Thewlis Papers, Vol. 1, p. 55.} According to Thewlis, Harwood maintained high standards for performance; under him the Christ Church choir “was strongly disciplined, and an enviable reputation established.”\footnote{Ibid.}

Harwood was supported in fostering excellence in music by Dean of Divinity Reverend T. B. Strong, himself a highly competent musician. Harwood and Strong collaborated with several other religious leaders in Oxford to create the \textit{Oxford Hymn Book}, published in 1908.\footnote{Thomas Banks Strong and William Sanday, \textit{The Oxford Hymn Book} (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908); Thewlis Papers, Vol. 1, p. 56.} According to the hymnal’s preface, the editors hoped to project “simplicity, directness, and genuineness of religious feeling” in their hymn
choices while avoiding “cheap sentiment” and “weak and honeyed phrase.”\textsuperscript{205} The result was a book that emphasized hymns by the “Old Masters” of the English hymn tradition (identified as Isaac Watts, the Wesleys, Philip Doddridge, William Cowper, and John Newton) but that also included plainsong hymns in English translation, such as \textit{Dies irae}.\textsuperscript{206} Through these selections the editors succeeded in their goals of using “tunes of a broad and dignified character” and avoiding harmony “of a luxurious and chromatic type.”\textsuperscript{207}

To the great disappointment of his colleagues, Harwood retired in 1909 in order to manage his family’s rural estate.\textsuperscript{208} Upon Harwood’s departure from Christ Church, Henry Ley (1887–1962) filled his position; Ley’s hiring was strongly criticized due to his youth and inexperience, but his work eventually met with approval; interestingly, Ley trained the young William Walton, who was a chorister at Christ Church during the First World War.\textsuperscript{209} William Henry Harris served as organist and music director at Christ Church from 1928 to 1933 and was followed by Thomas Armstrong (1898-1994), a former student of both Hugh Allen and Henry Ley. Armstrong carried on in some of Allen’s former capacities, serving as conductor of the Oxford Orchestra and the Oxford Bach Choir, and as president of the Oxford Musical Club and Union.\textsuperscript{210}

\textsuperscript{205} \textit{The Oxford Hymn Book}, vi.

\textsuperscript{206} Ibid., vii.

\textsuperscript{207} Ibid., viii.


Sadly, the late 1930s saw a major decline in the musical resources at Christ Church. Thewlis writes that the choir was eventually reduced to two singers—presumably due to the outbreak of World War II—and that this situation was only remedied on Sundays, when assistance came in the form of undergraduates and singers from the other choral foundations.211 Looking back on this era in Oxford’s history, Thewlis recalls “it was a time when each had to help the other.”212

Sacred Tudor music at the choral foundations, ca. 1890-1939

From the Renaissance, the English choral foundations had sustained a “virtually uninterrupted tradition” of performance of sixteenth-century music written for the Anglican church, though this amounted to a modest number of works.213 Such was certainly the case at the Oxford choral foundations until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when the choirs’ early repertoire began to expand. Performance records, however, point to significant differences in how quickly and extensively Tudor music—including both services and anthems—grew in representation at the three colleges. In general, music at Christ Church and Magdalen followed a conservative course, while New College showed a propensity for experimenting with previously unknown music of the English Renaissance. One common feature of the institutions endured, however, and was also true for the typical nineteenth-century English choral foundation in general: the canticles and anthems remained “the daily meat of the choristers’ musical diet.”214 Not surprisingly, these two elements were the main vehicles

212 Ibid., 79-80.
214 Mould, English Chorister, 211.
for the Oxford foundation choirs’ increasing inclusion of Tudor literature in daily services.215

Records of sacred music performance

Records of sacred music performed at the Oxford colleges can be gleaned from several sources: chapel music lists (though there are significant gaps in these records), published books of anthem texts particular to the colleges, printed music programs from special services, and extant music from the choir libraries. Significant gaps exist in these records, however; the impact of the two World Wars is one reason for this. Christ Church holds a complete set of chapel music lists, while lists at both Magdalen and New College contain several gaps for the period under study.216 Though it is not possible to compare the three colleges’ repertories for all of the years between 1890 and 1939, the disparate records provide a fairly detailed picture of music performed in the colleges during the Tudor revival. Fortunately a comparison of their respective performance traditions is possible for two periods for which the colleges’ extant records overlap: 1929–1931 and 1932–1939.217

Traditions at Magdalen College

In addition to the chapel music lists, Magdalen alone holds a catalogued collection of the former music library of the choir from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It consists of both printed and manuscript scores.218 The collection is

215 The music lists use standardized titles for canticle settings, such as “Tallis Service in D,” “Farrant in G minor,” etc.

216 Magdalen holds one list from 1906, complete lists for 1916-26, some lists for 1929-31, and complete lists for 1932-41; New College holds complete lists for 1921-48.

217 See Appendix A for a full list of primary sources.

comprised of thirty-two sets of books, each containing between six to twenty-two volumes each; these are designated for the Cantoris and Decani sections, and within those groups, to the voice parts treble, alto, tenor and bass. Among the printed books are Boyce’s Cathedral Music (the 1788 and 1849 editions), Wesley’s Anthems, Ouseley’s Services and Anthems, and tract volumes of octavos. The collection also contains bound volumes of manuscript music, predominantly by Magdalen choirmasters and primarily in the form of individual part books, as well as six bound single volumes of printed secular music which belonged to Magdalen’s Madrigal Society. Some of the sacred volumes are marked as belonging to the Dean of Divinity or to the Chaplain. Because Magdalen’s former music library contains both volumes of the 1849 edition of Boyce’s collection Cathedral Music, it is useful to note which Tudor works not contained in Boyce (Table 2.1) are found in the college collection (Table 2.2). The latter works belong to ‘W,’ a set of anthems and motets containing nineteen copies of each piece. In addition to the works listed in Table 2.2, ‘W’ contains a smattering of other early music, including a manuscript adaptation of Josquin’s Ave Christe immolate as “Hail Jesus Christ,” Orlando di Lasso’s Tristis est anima mea, and O vos omnes by Morales. A separate set contains thirty-seven services; of these, the representative Tudor works include two services by Byrd and Gibbons.

219 Ibid.
220 Ibid.
221 Ibid.
222 Ibid.
223 Ibid.
224 Ibid.
225 Ibid.
Table 2.1.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Works</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Byrd</td>
<td>Morning and Evening Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O Lord, turn thy wrath / Bow thine ear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farrant</td>
<td>Call to remembrance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hide not thou thy face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Morning and Evening Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gibbons</td>
<td>Almighty and everlasting God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hosanna to the Son of David</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lift up your heads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Morning and Evening Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O clap your hands / God is gone up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O Lord, increase my faith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Why art Thou so full of heaviness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morley</td>
<td>Burial Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mundy</td>
<td>O Lord, the maker of all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tallis</td>
<td>I call and cry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Morning and Evening Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O Lord, give thy Holy Spirit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Preces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomkins</td>
<td>Almighty and everlasting God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Morning and Evening Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O pray for the peace of Jerusalem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tye</td>
<td>I will exalt thee / Sing unto the Lord</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2.2. Tudor works in use at Magdalen College, ca. 1900–39, not contained in Boyce’s *Cathedral Music* or the former choir library.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Works</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Byrd</td>
<td>Have mercy on me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O rex gloriae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farrant</td>
<td>Lord, for thy tender mercies’ sake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gibbons</td>
<td>Jesu, grant me this (arr. Bairstow)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O Thou the central orb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>This is the record of John</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morley</td>
<td>Agnus Dei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tallis</td>
<td>Hear the voice and prayer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>If ye love me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Salvator mundi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tye</td>
<td>I will exalt thee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Laudate nomen domini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O Lord thy word</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Magdalen’s chapel music lists (Figure 2.1) reveal that by 1939, representation of Tudor composers in the daily repertoire had expanded considerably beyond both the works contained in *Cathedral Music* and those held in the choir library. Morning and evening services in use by 1939 include Farrant’s Morning and Evening services in D, F and G minor; Byrd’s ‘fauxbourdon’ and ‘Dorian’ [Second Service] services; Gibbons’ and minor; Byrd’s ‘fauxbourdon’ and ‘Dorian’ [Second Service] services; Gibbons’ and Tomkins’ ‘fauxbourdon’ services; and Weelkes’ Evening service in B minor.226 The anthem selection shows expansion as well; added to the repertoire are works by Byrd, Farrant, Gibbons, Morley, Tallis, and Tye, most of which are considered “classic” Tudor works today (Table 2.2).

226 Magdalen Chapel Music Lists.
A book of anthem texts intended for use by worshippers during chapel services at Magdalen makes it possible to gather even a bit more detail about late nineteenth-century Tudor repertoire at the college (Figure 2.2). Two editions of this highly practical publication (1886 and 1899) are extant at the college. They contain roughly 400 anthem texts organized chronologically by composer; the anthem texts are numbered and given in full, and preceding each entry is either a corresponding scriptural reference or another descriptor (e.g. “from the Messiah”) (Figure 2.3). The Tudor works listed in these books overlap considerably with those contained in Boyce’s Cathedral Music and in Magdalen’s former music library, but several pieces are not found elsewhere in records of college music holdings, including Byrd’s O Lord, turn thy wrath, Tallis’s All people that on earth do dwell, and Tye’s Let thy loving mercy come also unto me. The two editions, incidentally, list the same Tudor repertoire.

Traditions at Christ Church

Since the music lists held at Christ Church span the entire period under study, their contents are of special importance in determining how the Tudor repertoire expanded in Oxford. In both service and anthem repertoire, the music lists reveal a

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228 These books make a valuable statement about English musical culture at the turn of the century, and are also a comment on the importance of the anthem within the Anglican service. It is telling that they were published and as such, apparently taken quite seriously; this shows a concern for encouraging the fuller participation of the worshipping congregation, who would have noted the number of the anthem to be performed and perhaps would have reflected on its text while waiting for the service to begin, or simply gleaned more from the piece during its performance by having the text. Furthermore, though the books are organized chronologically by composer, they open with an index listing anthems alphabetically by title—suggesting a further prioritization of text. In any case, the importance of text is still emphasized in Anglican services in Oxford: at Christ Church, a more sophisticated version of this type of book is in use, offering both translations of non-English texts and succinct biographical information on the composers represented.

229 Ibid.
Figure 2.1 Magdalen College chapel music list for December 2–11, 1932. Courtesy of Magdalen College Archives, Oxford.
Figure 2.2. A Collection of Anthems in Use at Magdalen College Chapel, Oxford (Oxford: W.R. Bowden, 1886). Courtesy of Magdalen College Archives, Oxford.
definite trend for including more Tudor compositions. In 1890, the only Tudor services in the repertoire were Farrant’s Morning and Evening services in D and in G, Gibbons’ Morning and Evening services in F, and Tallis’ Morning and Evening Services in D.230 By 1920 the choir’s repertoire had come to include the “fauxbourdon” services of Byrd, Gibbons, Tallis and Tomkins.231 Additionally, Byrd’s Second Service and “Great Service,” and Mundy’s Evening Service, were incorporated by 1925, as well as Morley’s

230 Christ Church Cathedral Music Lists, Christ Church Archive, Oxford.

231 Ibid.
“fauxbourdon” service by 1930. By 1895 the repertoire included a number of Tudor anthems not contained in Boyce’s Cathedral Music, including works by Gibbons (O Lord, I lift my heart, This is the record of John and O thou the central orb) and Tallis (All people that on earth do dwell and Hear the voice and prayer). From 1890 to 1930, Tudor works were progressively added to the anthem repertoire (Table 2.3).

Table 2.3. Tudor works in the Christ Church anthem repertoire by 1930 (not contained in Boyce’s Cathedral Music).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Works</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Byrd</td>
<td>Agnus Dei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agnus Dei II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ave verum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Benedictus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Have mercy on me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I will not leave you comfortless</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Justorum animae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non nobis (spurious)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O Christ who art the light and day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O praise the Lord</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>This day Christ is born</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farrant</td>
<td>Lord for thy tender mercies’ sake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gibbons</td>
<td>Blessed be the God of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Light of gladness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O Lord I lift my heart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O thou the central orb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>This is the record of John</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ye that do your master’s will</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tallis</td>
<td>All people that on earth do dwell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Come, holy ghost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hear the voice and prayer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomkins</td>
<td>If ye be risen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I heard a voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weelkes</td>
<td>Hosanna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Let thy merciful ears, O Lord</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Cathedral Music Lists, Christ Church Archives, Oxford
Traditions at New College

The choirs at Magdalen and Christ Church clearly participated in the Tudor revival between 1890 and 1939. New College, however, made an even more significant contribution to the revival. Although the earliest extant New College chapel music lists date to 1921, the period from 1921 and 1939 was an extremely fruitful time for Tudor music performance at New College. The music performed during this period is documented in a meticulously handwritten record prepared by organist Herbert Kennedy Andrews.232 This color-coded record is divided into several categories of music performed, including anthems, evening services, and music broadcast from New College. In the first two sections, pieces are listed in the appropriate categories and performances at New College are recorded for each academic term. Performances of works for special services and recitals are also noted when applicable. The overall impression conveyed by this record (or “analysis,” as it is titled) is of a musician-qua-archivist concerned with paying attention to detail, apparently out of regard for the traditions of both New College and of Western classical music at large.

Andrews organizes his record by musical type, and within these large groups, he lists the performed works according to stylistic periods. He lists anthems under the following categories: “Polyphonic composers of 16th and early 17th centuries;” “English cathedral composers of 17th and 18th centuries;” “English composers 19th century;” “Modern English (Stanford—);” and “General (Schütz—Brahms).”233 Evening services are classified by “Polyphonic composers;” “17th and 18th centuries and early 19th century;” “Modern (Stanford—);” and “Plainsong tones with faux bourdon.”234

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233 Ibid.

234 Ibid.
The special leadership of New College in ushering in the Tudor revival in Oxford is evident in the breadth of Tudor music represented in Andrews’ record (Table 2.4). Of the nine Tudor composers represented, the record shows a clear preference for anthems by Byrd and Gibbons. Among the works by Byrd, Ave, verum corpus, Justorum animae and Sing Joyfully received the highest numbers of performances; in the case of Gibbons the most popular works were O Lord increase my faith, This is the record of John, and O thou the central orb. Other preferred works included Tallis’s All people that on earth do dwell, Farrant’s Call to remembrance and Hide not thou thy face, and Mundy’s O Lord the maker of all thinge. The evening service settings performed at New College were also strongly oriented to the Tudor tradition from the early 1920s; the most frequently performed settings were Byrd’s Short, Second, and Third Services, John Farrant and Richard Farrant’s evening services (in D and A minor, respectively), and Gibbons’ Short Service.

Among the striking features of the Tudor repertoire at New College is the prevalence of Latin works, particularly works by Byrd and Tallis. This repertoire was especially bolstered during Sydney Watson’s tenure as organist (1933–1938). The music lists from Watson’s time emphasize works considered “classics” of the Tudor repertoire today such as Byrd’s Ave verum corpus, but he also introduced certain Latin works for the first time at New College and probably in Oxford. These include Byrd’s Non vos relinquam orphanos, O quam gloriosum, Psallite Domino, Sacerdotes domini, Senex puerum portabat, Terra tremuit; Tallis’ Audivi vocem, In jejunio et fletu, Lamentations, O nata lux de lumine, and Te lucis ante terminum; Weelkes’ Gloria in excelsis; and

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235 Ibid.
236 Ibid.
Table 2.4. Tudor works performed at New College Chapel, 1921-39.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Works</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Byrd</td>
<td>Ave verum corpus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bow thine ear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Christe qui lux es</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Exsurge domine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Justorum animae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Laetentur coeli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lullaby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non vos relinquam orphans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O God, whom our offenses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Praise the Lord, all ye gentiles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prevent us, O Lord</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Psallite Domino</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sacerdotes domini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Senex puerum portabat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sing joyfully</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Terra tremuit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>This day Christ was born</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farrant</td>
<td>Call to remembrance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hide not thou thy face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gibbons</td>
<td>Almighty and everlasting God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hosanna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lift up your heads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O clap your hands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O God, the King of Glory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O Lord, in thy wrath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O Lord, increase my faith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O thou the central orb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>This is the record of John</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Glorious and powerful God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morley</td>
<td>Nolo mortem peccatoris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philips</td>
<td>Ascendit Deus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ne reminiscaris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tallis</td>
<td>All people that on earth do dwell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Audivi vocem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I call and cry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In jejunio et fletu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lamentations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O Lord, give thy holy spirit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O nata lux de lumine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Morley’s *Nolo mortem peccatoris*. Latin works by Palestrina were also integral to the repertoire and appear far more frequently in the New College records than in those of Magdalen and Christ Church, though they did not occupy a place of prevalence comparable to the Tudor works.\(^{237}\) Former New College chorister Cyril Cyphus reflects on the Allen’s emphasis on singing in Latin and on early music in general:

> Here was a musical environment that could not be found elsewhere. We sang in Latin almost as much as in English. (It was necessary to learn to pronunciations of Latin (School and College) and, of course, we sang music of all periods from Palestrina to music by living composers.) Dr. Allen was extremely energetic and far-seeing and he had introduced music that had not previously been performed – some of it we sang from manuscript copies. The choir was, then, considered to be one of the best in the country, rivaling Magdalen and Christ Church at Oxford and King’s College and St. John’s at Cambridge.\(^{238}\)

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\(^{237}\) In total, six motets by Palestrina were in use at New College during the period under study: *Dum complerentur*, *Exultate Deo*, *O beata et gloria trinitas*, *Sicut cervus*, *Stabat mater*, and *Super flumina babylonis*. Curiously, Andrews also lists other works by Palestrina in the anthem record, but does not note any performances (*Adoramus te*, *Peccantem me quotidie*, *Stella quam viderant*, *Tu es Petrus*, and *Veni sancte spiritus*).

\(^{238}\) Memoirs of Cyril E. Cyphus, p. 17, New College Archives, Oxford.
Tudor music performance beyond regular chapel services

Though the expanding Tudor repertoire was mainly studied and performed at the foundation colleges’ regular services, the nature of religious and academic life of Oxford afforded many other performance opportunities. Among these were seasonal services, college-based choral concerts, joint choral festivals, and other choral events unique to the individual foundations. By the late nineteenth century, for example, special concerts occurred with increasing frequency at certain points in the academic year, including Commemoration time, before Christmas, and during Lent Term.239 The records of such performances demonstrate that the Tudor repertoire was cultivated in Oxford outside of regular chapel and cathedral services.

Seasonal services and college-based concerts

In the early twentieth century, Hugh Percy Allen instituted “carol concerts” which frequently featured Tudor music at New College during Advent.240 Allen’s successor John Dykes Bower introduced Sunday evening sacred concerts in the antechapel, given once per term, and this became “the custom for many years.”241 Works by Byrd and Tallis were featured on one such concert given on November 8, 1931, along with works by Palestrina, Parry, and Brahms.242 These Sunday evening concerts apparently increased in frequency after Bower’s time; Thewlis notes that New College later offered two “motet evenings” each term that featured “unaccompanied music embracing the whole range of English and foreign composers.”243 Similar concerts, in which the choir

239 Wollenberg, Music at Oxford, 190.
242 Ibid., 290. Hale adds that J.S. Bach’s motets “were also perennial favorites at these concerts.”
243 Thewlis Papers, Vol.1, p. 133.
sang motets in the chapel during the first two terms and in the Cloister in summer, were
instituted at Magdalen under Haldane Campbell Stewart.244

Wartime performances

Concert programs from the period under study indicate that nearly all of the
special choral performances at the foundation colleges were festive ones. During
wartime in Oxford, the colleges frequently hosted benefit concerts in support of various
aid organizations. The musical and textual content of these performances mixed the
patriotic and the religious, and a congregational hymn typically concluded the concert.
The program for a concert at Christ Church on September 5, 1915, for example, states its
purpose as supporting the British Red Cross Society, noting that a collection would be
taken during the hymn.245 This concert consisted of nine works, all of some seriousness,
opening with a Chaconne by Purcell.246 Wartime overtones are suggested by the
inclusion of one motet by Byrd, Justorum animae. In an unusual style for the average
foundation college concert of this period, both the original Latin and its English
translation were printed in the program:

Justorum animae in manu Dei sunt, et non tangent illos
 tormentum malitae. Visi sunt oculis insipientium mori: Ili autem
 sunt in pace.

The souls of the righteous are in the hand of God, and there
shall no torment touch them.

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244 D’Ancona et al., “Everyone of Us,” 512.
245 Concert Programmes, English Provinces: Oxford, Royal College of Music, Centre
for Performance History.
246 Ibid.
A wartime benefit performance at New College also featured Tudor music; at this concert, given on June 4, 1916 for the Voluntary Aid Detachment Hospital, the choir performed Gibbons’s *O Lord, increase my faith* among other works.247

Large-scale musical events

The foundation college choirs’ growing interest in performing Tudor repertoire is also seen in larger events held in Oxford. In 1922 the three choirs performed in a Festival of Music in honor of William Heather, who in 1626 founded the music professorship at Oxford. The festival program names Hugh Allen as director and indicates that concerts were held from May 7 to 13. The program notes conveyed an attitude of utter confidence in Oxford’s musical leadership in the country at large:

> It is probably not too much to say that more of the finest church music is heard in Oxford than anywhere else in England. The new development of special musical performances by various College Choirs is already having a stimulating effect. Chamber music is cultivated with an enthusiasm which has no rival in the country...248

The festival featured many concerts and events and featured Oxford’s musical leaders; at the combined foundation choirs’ performance held at the town hall on the evening of May 8, conducting duties were shared by Henry Ley, William Henry Harris, and Haldane Campbell Stewart. Much of the program featured Tudor works by Byrd, Gibbons, Morley, Tallis and Weelkes (Table 2.5).

Brief descriptive notes provided under each piece on the printed program offer insight into the perception of early music at the foundation colleges. The comments on Byrd’s *Sing joyfully*, for example, describe it as “a good specimen of the brilliant styles which was one of the many styles at the command of the composer who stands, by

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247 Ibid.

248 “Festival of Music held at Oxford ... 1922 ... Under the General Direction of Sir H. Allen: Programme and Words of the Music,” Bodleian Library.
Table 2.5. Tudor (and other early) works included in concert program, “Festival of Music Oxford 1922—,” Monday, May 8, 8:15 pm; Choirs of New College, Magdalen and Christ Church.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Works</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[anon., 1685]</td>
<td>This joyful Eastertide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lasso</td>
<td>Tristis est anima mea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gibbons</td>
<td>Hosanna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tallis</td>
<td>I call and cry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[anon.]</td>
<td>Sumer is icumen in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weelkes</td>
<td>Like two proud armies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Byrd</td>
<td>Lullaby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morley</td>
<td>Fire, fire my heart</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

common consent, at the head of the Elizabethans.”249 The idea of “common consent” about the stature of Tudor composers reappears in Hugh Percy Allen’s program notes for the 1926 Oxford Festival of Music in commemoration of William Heather. Of Heather, Allen wrote: “His life covers the most prolific period of Elizabethan composition, and his benefaction to Oxford might almost be taken as his monument to that great School of English Music and in particular to his great contemporaries Byrd, Weelkes, Gibbons, and Dowland.”250

The Tudor revival was arguably at its peak when in June of 1923 Oxford hosted a tercentenary celebration for William Byrd as part of its third season of Subscription Concerts.251 Conductor William Henry Harris led New College Choir in the concert,

249 Ibid.


251 Oxford Subscription Concerts, Gotch Bequest, Bodleian Library.
assisted by additional altos, tenors and basses from Magdalen and Christ Church; also performing was ‘A String Band of Eighteen Players.’ The concert program exhibits a diverse selection of sacred and secular vocal and instrumental music by Byrd, and, notably, includes both Latin and English works (Table 2.6).

Table 2.6. Concert program for “William Byrd Tercentenary Celebration,” June 23, 1921.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Designation in concert program</th>
<th>Work</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Latin Motets</td>
<td>Exsurge Domine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ave verum corpus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Laetentur coeli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Carowles for Christmas</td>
<td>This day Christ was born</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>An earthly tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fantasia for Strings, in 6 parts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English Motets</td>
<td>Praise our Lord all ye gentiles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prevent us, O Lord</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anthem, with strings</td>
<td>Have mercy upon me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pianoforte solos (8 works)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serious Madrigals</td>
<td>Why do I use my ink, paper, and pen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Come to me grief for ever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Songs with string accompaniment</td>
<td>Cradle song</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Who made thee, Hob, forsake the plow?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madrigals</td>
<td>Come woeful Orpheus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In winter cold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>While that the sun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Awake mine eyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>This sweet and Merry month</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Oxford Subscription Concerts, Mus 311 c. 12, Bodleian Library.
In Oxford during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Tudor music—both sacred and secular—was increasingly disseminated through its performance in both service music and anthems at regular chapel and cathedral services, including matins, evensong and Choral Eucharist. Throughout the period under study, this body of music was frequently the centerpiece of special and seasonal services, both within the individual foundation colleges and in combined college performances. At each of the three colleges, Tudor music was promoted—albeit to varying degrees—by the *informator choristarum* or organist. By the early twentieth century, evensong was the primary vehicle for the performance of Tudor music in Oxford. As a result of the steady increase of Tudor works performed in various contexts at Oxford’s choral foundations, these institutions were decisive in reviving the music of Byrd, Gibbons, Tallis, and Weelkes, and others. And yet the influence of the choral foundations extends far beyond repertoire alone; due to the high visibility of the ensembles in England and internationally, these choirs and their conductors collectively helped to form a distinctive English approach to the performance of early choral music. Tudor music was the musical means by which this was accomplished.
CHAPTER 3
MUSIC SOCIETIES AND CIVIC ENSEMBLES IN OXFORD, CA. 1890–1939

Oxford is a singing city.

Peter Sager, *Oxford and Cambridge: An Uncommon History*

The origins of Oxford’s music societies

Over the course of the nineteenth century, Oxford’s choral music culture grew far beyond the foundation choir tradition. Susan Wollenberg notes that during this period, Oxford saw the “unprecedented development of the colleges as centers of musical activity and resources” as well as the proliferation of musical societies.252 These societies formed in both college and civic contexts, and led to an increasingly interconnected city-and-university musical culture.

Wollenberg cites two factors as responsible for the formation of new university societies; they emerged, she writes, “partly in association with the trend to increase the academic value placed on music” and “partly under the influence of the developments in concert life generally in Britain,” adding that “by the end of the century, both university and college music-making flourished.”253 She further observes that “many institutions that were to be of lasting significance in Oxford’s musical life were founded during this period,” including the Oxford University Musical Union (1884); the Oxford Silver Band (“founded in 1887 as the Headington Temperance Band”); the Oxford Choral Society (1890); the Oxford Chamber Music Society (1898; initially the Oxford Ladies’ Musical Society); the Oxford Bach Choir (1896); and the Oxford Symphony Orchestra (1902).254 To Wollenberg’s list can be added several civic choral societies also founded during this...
period, including the Oxford Vocal Society (1888); the West Oxford Vocal Society (1907); and the Oxford Harmonic Society (1921). Finally, the founding of several other ensembles helped to further define Oxford’s musical landscape, including the Oxford Gleemen (1886), the choir of the East Oxford Girls’ Evening Institute, and the Oxford Madrigal Society (1936). Each of these ensembles cultivated a specialized repertoire and functioned independently of the university, thus expanding the types of music performed and heard in Oxford. The many records of the ensembles’ performances demonstrate that in their own unique ways, they contributed to and participated in the Tudor revival. The secular Tudor music promoted and revived by these student and community ensembles complemented the sacred Tudor music being cultivated at the foundation colleges.

**Society concert venues in Oxford**

Society concerts were held in venues throughout Oxford, but were most frequently performed at one of Oxford’s two main musical venues, the Sheldonian Theater (built between 1664–8) and the Holywell Music Room (opened in 1748). From the eighteenth century, the Music Room—which is “reputed to be the first purpose-built concert hall in Europe”—had functioned as a main point of intersection for university and civic music-making, a tradition that continues to the present day.255 The room, with its design combining “simplicity with elegance and functionality,” was centrally located and ideal for chamber music with its especially live acoustic.256 It was built specifically for the longstanding Oxford Musical Society, which housed a resident orchestra and chorus, and inaugurated a concert series in the mid-eighteenth century aimed at bringing together “town and gown.”257 Though the Music Room supported an impressive amount of


256 Ibid. One eighteenth-century account reports the room’s audience capacity at 400; today it holds about 250 (ibid., 50).

257 Ibid., 50.
musical activity during the first part of the nineteenth century, the concert series declined during the 1830s; by 1840 all of its assets were auctioned and the space was leased for “exhibitions and concerts.” Several explanations have been proposed for its demise; J. H. Mee echoed Lewis Tuckwell by suggesting that the Oxford Movement—which espoused an austere attitude toward liturgical matters and thus toward music—had an adverse effect on public appreciation of music, and that this in turn had an adverse effect on attendance of Holywell concerts.

By the late nineteenth century, the facility was once again in regular use for rehearsals and performances. In his history of the Music Room, J. H. Mee notes that for several years after 1889, John Stainer held rehearsals of the newly formed Oxford Choral and Philharmonic Society in the room. In 1901, he adds, the OUMU “obtained a lease of the building and thoroughly refitted and redecorated it, making it the handsome room that it is at the present time.”

The promotion of Tudor music in academic contexts

Several academic contexts existed outside of the Oxford colleges that include a musical element, such as lectures and theatrical performances. Such events provided a more public setting for the growing interest in early English music and specifically in Tudor music. The Sheldonian was frequently the site of choice for lectures, which were official university functions but were often open to the public; Oxford music professor Dr. J. F. Bridge delivered a lecture there in 1894 on early English dramatic music using musical illustrations from the Tudor period, including Morley’s madrigal *It was a lover*

258 Ibid., 167.

259 Ibid.


261 Ibid.
and his lass and Robert Johnson’s Where the bee sucks and Full fathom five. Nearly thirty years later this fascination took a more developed form in the university community through the presentation of “Ann: A Tudor Play” about the life of Ann Boleyn; the performance featured music songs by Ford and Campion, as well as music by a nine-piece orchestra that played works by Purcell, Farnaby, Ballo and Blow.

The aforementioned lectures were apparently supported by a so-called “Professor of Music’s Choir.” Edmund Fellowes, who sang in the choir as an undergraduate, recalls that Mee conducted the ensemble and that its purpose was to sing “illustrations” for Stainer’s lectures as Professor of Music. The style of lecture associated with Stainer was retained for some time at Oxford, and would prove to be a vehicle for the promotion of subjects related to the Tudor revival; John Varley Roberts lectured in 1895 and 1896 at the Sheldonian on various subjects, including madrigals and Christopher Tye’s Euge Bone mass. Of Roberts’s lecture on madrigals, a student newspaper reported that the “Professor’s choir” would provide musical illustrations, adding that “the lecture will derive additional interest from the fact that the Summer Concert of the Choral and Philharmonic Society is to consist largely of this class of compositions.”

Early advances in organized student music-making

While Oxford’s music faculty had a direct impact on the student population and helped to shape the university’s music culture, the vibrant musical life of present-day Oxford owes just as much to the artistic pursuits of students and amateur musicians. The

262 Gotch Bequest, Book 1, Bodleian Library.
264 Ibid.
265 Ibid.; also Isis, March 2, 1895, “Lectures in the Sheldonian,” 211.
266 Isis, March 2, 1895, “Lectures in the Sheldonian,” 211.
musical societies formed by Oxford students dramatically increased the amount of music performed at the university, and increasingly featured early music at their concerts. By the mid-nineteenth century, musical societies—including the University Amateur Musical Society, the University Motett and Madrigal Society, and the Oxford Society for the Study of Plainsong—emerged and filled the gap left by the loss of the Music Room.\textsuperscript{267}

The Oxford University Music Society

The primary student music organizations founded in the later nineteenth century that continue to thrive today—the Oxford University Musical Club (1872) and the Oxford University Musical Union (1884)—were amalgamated in 1916 and now constitute the Oxford University Music Society.\textsuperscript{268} The founding of the OUMC and the OUMU in the late nineteenth century, remarks Wollenberg, “above all secured a strong central focus for student music-making” in Oxford.\textsuperscript{269} The main activities of the OUMC were the presentation of regular concerts by student and guest performers, and the lending and renting of music, books and instruments. Boasting one-hundred members by 1894, this non-profit club had a success that can be attributed in great part to its low-cost subscription concert tickets.\textsuperscript{270}

The OUMU followed suit with the general structure of the earlier society, but also set itself apart through its focus on chamber music and by upholding “reputedly high” standards of performance.\textsuperscript{271} Members could participate in weekly “smoking concerts”—a popular type of concert in Oxford—as well as weekly professional coaching.

\textsuperscript{267} Wollenberg, \textit{Music at Oxford}, 168-70.
\textsuperscript{268} Ibid., 143-44.
\textsuperscript{269} Ibid., 176.
\textsuperscript{270} Ibid., 177-78.
\textsuperscript{271} Ibid., 178.
Members’ compositions were performed with regularity, and many members of the society went on to become prominent musicians and educators, including W. H. Hadow, Richard Terry, Edmund Fellowes, and Frederick Bridge. 272

Though most of the music performed by the OUMC and OUMU consisted of string quartets, piano solos, and instrumental trios, solo vocal and choral music was also featured on the organizations’ concert series. Furthermore, early English and Tudor music was featured prominently on society choral concerts, as seen in a “Recital of Madrigals, etc.” given by the English Singers on March 1, 1921, which featured works by Byrd, Gibbons, Morley, Weelkes, and others.273 When the English Singers returned for a concert on January 31, 1922, they expanded upon the previous program, performing works from Byrd’s 1611 *Psalms, Songs and Sonnets* and five madrigals by Tudor composers.274

Not surprisingly, Oxford’s student musical societies were significantly affected by the outbreak of World War II and by the subsequent changes to everyday life introduced as a result of wartime. Thewlis describes the effects of war on Oxford and particularly on its musical societies in vivid detail, explaining that in 1939, military-based singers from London took the place of those who had left to serve in the English forces:

…immediately Oxford became a center for recruiting both sexes into the forces. The depletion of members was partly compensated by the arrival from London of government departments which took over colleges and other buildings for administrative purposes. The arrival of these brought many civil servants who were members of London choral societies, who eagerly took the opportunity to join the Oxford singers in making music and thus relieving the tension of anxiety caused by the expected bombing and invasion. Oxford, like other towns, became a fire-fly City, men and women going about at night with winking

272 Ibid.

273 Oxford University Musical Club and Union [Programmes. 1916 –], Bodleian Library.

274 Ibid.
torches flashing in the pitch-black night. Rehearsals were often interrupted by the wailing of sirens and the rush of members from the rehearsals to their fire-fighting duty…From the upper windows you could see the light in the sky from burning London, and hear the drone of the German bombers passing over on that hellish mission night after night. Truly, music was an antidote to all this horror, and right well did these singers take advantage of the opportunity.275

The Oxford Ladies’ Musical Society

Late nineteenth-century Oxford also saw the formation of a musical society specifically dedicated to women. Because the OUMU was limited to male membership, a significant number of student musicians were generally excluded from participation. Women could attend OUMU concerts if invited by a male member, but were not allowed to officially join the society. This inequality was addressed with the founding of the Oxford Ladies’ Musical Society in 1898. As in the OUMU, the “object” of this new society was the performance of high-quality chamber music by both members and guests.276 In a speech delivered at one of the society’s early meetings, chairperson Mrs. Burdon Sanderson explained the reason for its formation:

It may possibly be thought by some people that a new Musical Society ought to have a very substantial raison d’etre. I have indeed heard it whispered that we have already too much music in Oxford [and] that no concerts “pay” except those [which] are extremely popular in their character or those graced by the presence of some celebrated “star.” It may therefore strike you as presumptuous to think of starting a [musical society] which has no intention of furnishing any but the best music, nor of inviting “stars” to perform at their concerts. The promoters of the scheme however indulge the hope that there are in Oxford those whose love for music is earnest [and] real, [and] to whom it would be a pleasure to hear good music well played by performers who are thoroughly competent, although their reputation is not yet world wide.277


276 Papers of the Oxford Ladies’ Musical Society, Bodleian Library.

277 Papers of the Oxford Ladies’ Musical Society, Bodleian Library.
The OLMS initially sought to offer four “musical evenings” per term. Its subsequent official rules slightly modified this plan, stating that “at least three musical meetings shall be held in each Term” and that those would occur on Friday nights at 8:30 p.m. Application for society membership was an intimidating process; prospective members were asked to send their names “together with the names of two existing members as proposer and seconder, to the secretary,” and from these names the committee nominated candidates for election. These were approved in a final vote by the society. Programs for concerts were arranged by the “program committee,” which was elected once per term and “by whose invitation only” members would participate in society-sponsored performances.

Program notes from a society performance on February 15, 1918, demonstrate a growing interest in Tudor literature. The first part of this “Program of Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Music” featured harpsichord works by Byrd, and other keyboard works by Bull and Gibbons. For the latter, a brief note explains, “‘The Parthenia’ was a volume containing the first music printed for the keyboard…and was published in 1611.” This particular program was apparently deemed a success, as it was repeated on November 5, 1920.

Additional concert programs show that despite the society’s preference for chamber music, concerts of vocal music were offered with some frequency, and furthermore, that Renaissance and Tudor repertoire came to typify the music performed.

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278 Ibid.
279 Papers of the Oxford Ladies’ Musical Society, Bodleian Library.
280 Ibid.
281 Ibid.
282 Ibid.
283 Ibid.
in these concerts. This trend is seen from at least 1921; at a performance given on February 11, 1921, an eight-member chorus performed a mix of English and continental works, including the madrigals Cuckow (no composer indicated; from a manuscript held in the British Museum manuscript ca. 1610); Wilbye’s Lady, when I behold; Thomas Greaves’s Come away, sweet love; Marenzio’s The Shepherd’s Pipes; and Lasso’s Oh, let me look on thee.284

During the 1920s the OLMS offered a fair number of solo vocal performances that also acted as a vehicle for the increasing dissemination of English Renaissance music. A performance given by a female soloist on June 17, 1921, featured works by John Dowland and John Bartlett;285 a male soloist performed an Elizabethan program with works by Campion, Dowland, Bartlet, and Lawes, alongside harpsichord works by Bull and Byrd.286 A similar concert of “Elizabethan songs” by Dowland, Morley and others was offered on November 1, 1929 by singer Elsie Suddaby.287

Extant programs from concerts given by the OLMS demonstrate a concern for contextualizing early music for the audience. Program notes from the 1920s—typically given in brief under the titles of individual pieces—continued to contain a didactic element, evidently to illuminate the historical context of Renaissance music for concertgoers. For a concert given by the English Singers on June 9, 1922, for example, program notes on Arcadelt’s Il bianco e dolce cigno read succinctly “Arcadelt was

284 Ibid. In England during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, non-English madrigals were often published newly-texted English versions, and were therefore often sung in English. At least in Oxford, when performers used non-English texts, translations were provided in the printed program.

285 Ibid.

286 Ibid.

287 Ibid.
Choirmaster at St. Peter’s, Rome, in 1539.” The program featured an interesting mix of Renaissance music by English and continental composers (Table 3.1).

Table 3.1. Concert program of Oxford Ladies’ Musical Society, English Singers, June 9, 1922.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Works</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arcadelt</td>
<td>Il bianco e dolce cigno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orazio Vecchi</td>
<td>Variations for Five Voices on Arcadelt’s Theme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Scaldava il sol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marenzio</td>
<td>Musiciens qui chantez</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hubert Waelrant</td>
<td>What needeth all this travail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilbye</td>
<td>O fools, can ye not see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lullaby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Byrd</td>
<td>Lady the birds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weelkes</td>
<td>[Partsong]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ernest Walker</td>
<td>On a fair morning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bateson</td>
<td>Why are you ladies staying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weelkes</td>
<td>Hark, I hear some dancing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unto our flocks</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Concert programs from the 1930s indicate that as the twentieth century unfolded, the OLMS steadily increased its offerings of English Renaissance and specifically Tudor music. This was likely helped by an increase in the number of regular society performances; the schedule allowed for four concerts per term by 1931.

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288 Ibid.

289 Ibid.

290 Ibid.
other early English repertoire continued to be performed by various forces, namely solo
voice, piano, harpsichord, and chorus. Audiences encountered lesser-known works by
Byrd, Dowland and Gibbons played on both harpsichord and piano, as well as a
considerable number of madrigals performed by small choirs.291 One of the more
unusual programs was a concert in 1935 given by “singer Helen Henschel to her own
accompaniment” on the piano, in which Tudor music constituted a third of the
content.292 At the outbreak of World War II, the OLMS joined with the OUMC under
the name “Oxford War Time Music Club” and opened membership to all, including non-
students. Despite this change, the new, amalgamated society offered two concerts per
term and maintained a subscription series.293

College-based musical societies and concert series

By the middle of the nineteenth century, musical life at Oxford had been greatly
enriched by the establishment of various college musical societies.294 Due to the
physical expansion of the colleges and significant growth in student numbers, what began
as informal, private groups became “more high-profile” clubs.295 Assembling a
complete picture of this activity, however, is challenging for several reasons. George
Thewlis attributed the difficulty of writing a history of college-based musical activities in
Oxford to “the carelessness of college secretaries,” but also acknowledged that such
events drew a limited audience; most concerts were “semi-private affairs confined to the
members of their respective colleges, and therefore were not publicly advertised in the

291 Ibid.
292 Ibid.
293 Thewlis Papers, Box 6, p. 445.
295 Ibid., 184.
press.” He emphasized that the impact of the college musical societies nonetheless reached far beyond the city and university, noting that “their effect is felt in public schools all over the country, and what they have given...has been returned by generations of scholars from these schools coming up to Oxford, and in their turn contributing their quota to the continuance of this high standard.”

Thewlis considered the work of the musical society at St. John’s College, which was the first of its kind at Oxford, to exemplify this high standard of performance. Its earliest extant program dates to 1817, and although there are large gaps in its records, the organization survived at least until Thewlis’s time. Societies were later formed at Christ Church, Queen’s College, Pembroke, and Balliol. In some cases, notes Wollenberg, “musical societies developed partly as an extension of, and perhaps also as an antidote to, the chapel music.” At New College, where a tradition of glee singing in the college hall dated to the early nineteenth century, a formal Glee Club was established in 1839. Both former and current members of the college were eligible to join this society, and the existing choristers were called upon to “sing the top line” in this club in which the repertoire was English music only.

Some of the concerts held by the Christ Church Musical Society concerts placed special emphasis on early English music. In its “Eight Weeks Concert” (referring to the end of the Oxford term) in 1921, the society hosted the English Singers in a concert of

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296 Thewlis Papers, Box 6, p. 507.
297 Ibid., p. 43.
298 Ibid.
primarily Tudor music (Table 3.2). The printed program once again indicates a concern for providing relevant historical information, including composers' dates and brief biographical sketches. Furthermore, the works on the program are listed by genre and voicing (i.e. “Ballet to 5 voices;” “Madrigal to 6 voices”).

Table 3.2. Christ Church Musical Society Eight Weeks Concert, English Singers, 1921.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Work</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Weelkes</td>
<td>Sing we at pleasure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gibbons</td>
<td>The silver swan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilbye</td>
<td>Flora gave me fairest flowers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bateson</td>
<td>Cupid, in a bed of roses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gibbons</td>
<td>What is our life?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilbye</td>
<td>What needeth all this travail and turmoiling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bateson</td>
<td>Come follow me, fair nymphs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morley</td>
<td>Now is the month of Maying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaughan Williams</td>
<td>The spring time of the year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Debussy</td>
<td>Dieu qu’il la fait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Debussy</td>
<td>Yver, vous n’estes qu’un villain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ravel</td>
<td>Nicolette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Byrd</td>
<td>Though Amaryllis dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weelkes</td>
<td>On the plains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>Fair Phyllis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilbye</td>
<td>Stay Corydon, thou swain</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Centre for Performance History, Royal College of Music, London

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302 Concert Programs: English Provinces: Oxford, Royal College of Music, Centre for Performance History.
The English Singers

The Eight Weeks Concert at Christ Church discussed above was one of many performances given at Oxford by the London-based English Singers. Given the frequency of its appearances in Oxford, the ensemble seems to have played an important role in the Tudor revival at Oxford. Civil servant and amateur musician Cuthbert Kelly (1877–1948) founded and performed with the ensemble, which was dedicated to the performance of Tudor music, shortly after World War I. Kelly’s obituary in the *Musical Times* indicates the authoritative aura he and his ensemble enjoyed; initially formed as a quartet, the English Singers “grew into the famous sextet…who sang seated at table, one voice to a part, and at once convinced everybody that theirs was the only right way to sing madrigals.”303 The singers affiliated with the ensemble changed over the years. Always comprised of three men and three women, Kelly remained the one constant, with a bass voice that was not soloistic but was “exceptionally firm and accurate and a strong factor in the ensemble.”304

During the 1920s, the English Singers were featured on at least two seasons of the university-sponsored Oxford Subscription Concert Series. Both performances are notable for the amount and variety of early music included on the program, Tudor and otherwise. At a concert at the Oxford Town Hall on March 11, 1926, the group performed madrigals and ballets by Byrd, Gibbons, Morley, Weelkes, Pilkington and Wilbye, as well as French and Italian partsongs and duets by Purcell. At a later performance in 1929, the ensemble performed similar music but opened with an interesting twist; English and Latin sacred music by Byrd—including *Turn our captivity*, an *Agnus Dei* (mass unspecified) and the *Haec dies*—was performed.305

303 “Cuthbert Kelly,” *Musical Times* 89, no. 1263 (May 1948), 158.
304 Ibid.
305 Oxford Subscription Concerts, Bodleian Library.
The rise of the choral society in Oxford

By the mid to late nineteenth century, the notion of a ‘choral society’ had become an essential part of the fabric of English musical culture. Its roots were firmly based in the tradition of Handelian oratorio performance, as well as in what Carl Dahlhaus refers to as the “bourgeois phenomenon” of the nineteenth-century amateur chorus.306 From the first performance of the Messiah in 1770 until the 1880s, the oratorios of Handel and Mendelssohn continued to be the preferred repertoire of English societies.307

The value placed on the choral society in late nineteenth-century England is evident in an 1888 publication by L. C. Venables, in which the finer points of managing this type of ensemble are discussed at length.308 Venables, who served as conductor of the South London Choral Association, recommends that choral societies, “like oak trees, should be of slow growth,” and that they should mature gradually through several phases.309 The first phase of the choral society, he explains, is the “instruction class,” followed by the “Practicing Choir with its part-songs tastefully rendered, and its glee and madrigals thoroughly understood,” and later “the simpler kind of cantata and the selection from oratorio.”310 The ultimate goal of the choral society, writes Venables, is “the complete oratorio of the greatest masters,” which he considers “the noblest work to which a singer can aspire.”311 According to Venables, selection of repertoire must take

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306 Carl Dahlhaus, Nineteenth-Century Music, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 47. Dahlhaus acknowledges that this widespread phenomenon, concentrated in Germany, England, and “even France,” constituted a mass movement “whose sociopsychological roots…have largely remained unstudied.”


309 Ibid.

310 Ibid.

311 Ibid.
three points into consideration: “the members’ enjoyment in rehearsal,” the “interest of the work to the public,” and the “financial aspect.” With respect to the ideal repertoire for choral societies, Venables felt that English opinion was “unanimously in favor of works by Handel, Haydn and Mendelssohn, and against the style of modern works by Gounod, Dvorak, and Mackenzie.”

Music performed by choral societies in Oxford during the nineteenth century largely reflects the broader national trend described by Venables. By the mid to late nineteenth century in Oxford, the typical choral society concert consisted of one or two large choral-orchestral works. For example, the first concert given by the Oxford Vocal Society, founded in 1888, consisted of Handel’s pastoral opera *Acis and Galatea* and a part of English composer William Crotch’s oratorio *Palestine*. Thewlis’ records of several of Oxford’s early vocal societies reveal that in addition to this standard oratorio fare, large choral societies also performed a considerable amount of smaller-scale choral works. This tradition dated to the nineteenth century; an 1869 ‘Grand Morning Concert’ given by the Oxford Philharmonic Society featured Tudor music, including madrigals by Morley, Gibbons and Wilbye. The West Oxford Vocal Society also participated in the trend of offering both large and small-scale performances; founded in 1907 by residents of West Oxford, the society performed Handel’s *Messiah* many times, but also offered concerts of madrigals, songs and piano solos.

312 Ibid.

313 Ibid., 66-67.

314 The Oxford Vocal Society was known as the Cowley St. John Vocal Society until 1904; it survived until 1913 (Thewlis Papers, Box 6, Vol. 5, p. 471).

315 Gotch Bequest, Oxford Programmes, Book 3.

316 Ibid., 479.
Concerts given by the Oxford Glee and Madrigal Society were exceptions to the typical choral society format, yet they created more opportunities for the performance of early music; its late-nineteenth century concerts usually featured madrigals, quartets, songs and partsongs, with many Tudor selections.317 Concerts were typically held at the Sheldonian. Magdalen’s John Varley Roberts conducted the society during the last part of the nineteenth century and presented an appealing array of English Renaissance music, as well as some Continental works by Lasso and Marenzio (in English translation).318

At the turn of the century, the pattern of civic musical life in Oxford shifted when several of the city’s large musical societies chose to consolidate. In Thewlis’ view, this decision was a great boon and ushered in a new era of Oxford music.319 The two main civic musical organizations—the Oxford Choral Society and the Oxford Philharmonic Society—began discussions of merging in 1889, and the Oxford Glee and Madrigal Society also soon “disbanded itself” to join them. The first joint concert of the new Oxford Choral and Philharmonic Society occurred in 1890.320 Despite Thewlis’s positive opinion, however, the state of music performance in this newly formed society at the turn of the century appears to have been tenuous. In his letter of resignation as conductor of the Society in 1893, John Varley Roberts explained that low attendance at rehearsals was problematic:

I have been so often pained at the small number of Gentlemen attending our choral rehearsals – and seeing consequently my inability to raise the standard of Choral Music in

317 Gotch Bequest, Oxford Programmes, Book 3.

318 Society concert programs list Marenzio’s Lady, see on every side (1886), and The shepherd’s pipes (1888), and Lasso’s Matona, lovely maiden (1887) (Bodleian Library, Oxford Programmes Books 1-3, Mus. 1c. 150 1-3).

319 Thewlis Papers.

320 Ibid. Apparently some of the new society’s concerts showcased its vocal forces alone, such as a concert of madrigals in 1893 at the Sheldonian Theater, conducted by John Varley Roberts.
Oxford to that excellence which I had hoped it would attain, I have come to the conclusion that another conductor might be more successful than I have been, and therefore I beg respectfully to retire from my post after the Commemoration Concert of this year. Let me own that I am very sorry to do this, but I have done my utmost for choral music in the last seven years, and the response of male members did not exceed an average of 45. I cannot but feel the weak hold the Society has in the University and City.321

Roberts’s successor, F. Cunningham Woods of Exeter College, resigned in 1895, after just two years.322 However, the society eventually thrived; Thewlis notes that its concerts were popular in Oxford by the early twentieth century.323 In addition to its regular choral-orchestral concerts, the society continued to offer choral concerts, and Tudor works were performed with some regularity. Varley Roberts conducted the newly formed society in a “madrigal concert” in March of 1893 on which three Tudor works were performed: Morley’s *My Bonny Lass*, Gibbons’ *The Silver Swan*, and Wilbye’s *Sweet Honey-Sucking Bees*.324 A 1903 society concert conducted by Hugh Allen featuring madrigals and partsongs by Morley and Purcell, among other choral works.325

**The Tudor revival in civic ensembles**

Throughout the early twentieth century, Oxford’s civic choral ensembles increasingly embraced the performance of Tudor repertoire. In an examination of how this phenomenon unfolded, George Thewlis emerges as an active promoter of the movement. In addition to founding two choral ensembles specializing in early literature – the Elizabethan Singers and the Oxford Madrigal Singers – Thewlis presented regular concerts with the East Oxford Girls’ Evening Institute during the 1920s. In the case of

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321 Thewlis Papers, Box 6, Vol. 5, p. 340.
322 Ibid., p. 342.
323 Ibid., p. 348.
324 Bodleian Library, Gotch Bequest, Oxford Programmes.
325 Ibid.
the latter, Thewlis published a pamphlet listing the ensemble’s repertoire during the
1920s, which included an impressive 320 works.326 He prefaces the list by stating “the
present season brings to completion a project started in 1920, to give a series of concerts
representing English Song Composers throughout the whole period of art in this
country.”327 Possibly feeling the need to justify his repertoire choices, Thewlis takes
pains to explain his artistic motivation, writing that “change does not always mean
progress” and that “it is impossible to improve upon a Motet by Byrd or Palestrina, a
Madrigal of Weelkes, a Passion of Bach or an Oratorio by Handel, simply because these
attained the highest degree of excellence in this form in which they were composed.”328

Thewlis notes that the choir performed a wide variety of works – including
rounds, canons, catches, airs, madrigals, motets, canzonets, partsongs, trios, duets, and
solos – being careful to add that 200 of the 320 works were English.329 He acted as
editor as well as conductor, and transcribed many of the ensemble’s works “from rare
part-books in the various Oxford Libraries.”330 The repertoire exhibits an impressive
array of Renaissance music (Table 3.3). Thewlis took obvious pride in the Englishness of
the repertoire, writing that it proves “that even in music suitable for schools, and confined
mostly within the compass of female voices, our choral tradition is at least equal to that
of other nations.”331

326 “A Complete List of the Music Performed by the Choir of the East Oxford Girls’
Evening Institute, for the Years 1920-1 to 1930-1,” Gotch Bequest.

327 Ibid.

328 Ibid.

329 Ibid.

330 Ibid.

331 Ibid.
Thewlis presented a wide array of early music as conductor of the East Oxford Girls’ Evening Institute choir, and his artistic momentum in this direction seems only to have increased in later musical endeavors. He went on to found two choral ensembles who actively promoted early English music, beginning in 1921 with the Elizabethan Singers, “the main aim of which was to sing unaccompanied music, chiefly of the Tudor

Table 3.3. Tudor and other early English works in the repertoire of the Oxford Girls’ Evening Institute.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Works</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John Attey (1600–1640)</td>
<td>On a time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anon. 16th c.</td>
<td>Westron Wynde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Bartlett (1580–1620)</td>
<td>Whither runneth my sweetheart?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Byrd</td>
<td>A Cradle Song</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Coleman (c. 1600–1664)</td>
<td>Love’s theft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Cooper (c. 1580–1650)</td>
<td>O, sweet flower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Cornyshe</td>
<td>Ah! The sighs, by a bank as I lay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Danyel (1570–1625)</td>
<td>I die whenas I do not see her</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deering</td>
<td>Cryes of London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sleep Quietlee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Este</td>
<td>How merrily we live</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Dowland</td>
<td>Come again, sweet love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fine knacks for ladies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Dunstable</td>
<td>The Agincourt Song</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gibbons</td>
<td>Cryes of London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morley</td>
<td>[Four works]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weelkes</td>
<td>Cryes of London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Nightengale</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Thewlis Papers, Bodleian Library, Oxford.
period, both sacred and secular.”

In one of the few records of the Elizabethan Singers’ performances, Thewlis writes of the special atmosphere of a 1923 concert. He reminisces that the ensemble performed in an unlit hall at Christ Church and was conducted by Charles Child. In this space, he recalls, “the electric light had not yet been installed, and the candlelight created a perfect background to the music.”

In 1936 Thewlis replaced the Elizabethan Singers with the newly founded Oxford Madrigal Society, a group of twenty-eight to thirty-three singers. The ensemble was initially formed for the purpose of illustrating a lecture on “The Growth of English Song” given before the Oxford branch of the English Association (Figure 3.2). At this performance, given in the Fellows’ Garden at Exeter College, Thewlis lectured while the choir sang “rounds, glees, madrigals, etc., of the various periods.” Notably, the concert program shows that the choir performed Byrd’s motet *O magnum mysterium* in Latin, with an English translation provided.

The Oxford Madrigal Society retained its focus on the performance of Tudor music until the early 1940s, when at the suggestion of Sir Hugh Allen, Thewlis expanded its repertoire to include music by “the great masters of the continent.” This change was perhaps motivated by Thewlis’ view of the choral music tradition as having declined after about 1900, when its prominence was “seriously challenged by the increased

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332 Oxford Madrigal Society. [Programmes].

333 Thewlis Papers, Vol. 1, p. 66.

334 Ibid.

335 Ibid.

336 Ibid.

337 Ibid.

338 Ibid.
Figure 3.1. Concert Program, The Oxford Madrigal Society. Courtesy of Bodleian Library, Oxford.
“THE GROWTH OF ENGLISH SONG”

Programme of the Lecture by
Mr. George Thewlis

The Oxford Madrigal Society will illustrate the Lecture by singing Rounds, Glees, Madrigals, etc. of the various periods

Figure 3.2. Lecture program, “The Growth of English Song” by George Thewlis. Courtesy of Bodleian Library, Oxford.
He admitted that while vocal music “cannot compete with instrumental in chromaticism and sudden enharmonic changes,” the music of the Tudor composers constituted “a valuable corrective” because “it was the highest pitch to which pure vocal music has ever attained.”

Several concert programs of the Oxford Madrigal Society from the late 1930s show Thewlis continuing to expand the Tudor repertoire by selecting works by little-known composers – such as John Amner and Henry Lichfield – and by introducing lesser-known works by familiar composers, such as Weelkes’s “Mars in a fury” and Bateson’s “Sadness, sit down.” These developments resulted in a series of programs of great musical interest such as a concert on May 1, 1938, on which occasion the ensemble was “assisted” by the Oxford Chamber Orchestra (Table 3.4). A concert given roughly one year later, presented in a similar format, introduced even more variety in Tudor music, with the addition of solo virginal music by John Hough of Lincoln College (Table 3.5). Evident in both programs is Thewlis’s notably modern tendency to juxtapose sacred and secular works.

**Measuring the success of the Tudor revival: “Sixty Years of Cathedral Music”**

Although the Tudor revival in Oxford was very much a local phenomenon, it was not divorced from the broader picture of English musical life. It is difficult to measure, for example, the extent to which musical practice and events in London shaped practice in Oxford, and yet it is clear that the relationship between the main musical ensembles of the two cities was one of fluid exchange. Edmund Fellowes was perhaps the most active

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339 Ibid.
340 Ibid.
Table 3.4. Concert Program of the Oxford Madrigal Society, May 1, 1938.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Works</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Morley</td>
<td>Now is the month of maying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Lichfield (fl. 1613)</td>
<td>I always loved to call my lady rose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orlando Gibbons</td>
<td>Fair is the rose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Taverner</td>
<td>Christe jesu pastor bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Morley</td>
<td>Agnus Dei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hubert Parry</td>
<td>[Motet]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Amner (1579–1641)</td>
<td>He that descended man to be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anton Arensky</td>
<td>[Work for strings]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Weelkes</td>
<td>Welcome sweet pleasure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Benet</td>
<td>All creatures now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wassell</td>
<td>“Glee to four voices”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Villiers Stanford</td>
<td>The Bluebird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sampson</td>
<td>[Partsong]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[not indicated]</td>
<td>“Work for strings”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ralph Vaughan Williams</td>
<td>Five English Folk Songs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francis Pilkington</td>
<td>Rest, Sweet Nymphs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.5. Concert program of the Oxford Madrigal Society, May 21, 1939.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Works</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Morley</td>
<td>Sing we and chant it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weelkes</td>
<td>Mars in a fury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gibbons</td>
<td>The Silver Swan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bateson</td>
<td>Sadness, sit down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edwardes (1523–66)</td>
<td>In going to my naked bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bartlet</td>
<td>Of all the birds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Byrd, Peerson, Gibbons, Bull</td>
<td>[Virginal solos]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaughan Williams</td>
<td>O vos omnes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Child</td>
<td>Sing we merrily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campion</td>
<td>Never weather-beaten sail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tallis</td>
<td>Gloria Patri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stanley, J.S. Bach, Handel</td>
<td>[Virginal solos]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearsall</td>
<td>[Madrigal]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boughton</td>
<td>[Partsong]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purcell</td>
<td>[Partsong]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MacKenzie</td>
<td>[Partsong]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McFarren</td>
<td>[Partsong]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
facilitator of exchange between musicians in cities and towns across England; in his active, lifelong correspondence with his colleagues and through the initiation of dialogues about church music, he encouraged musicians to understand their work as important to the health of the nation. Musical life in Oxford was influenced by London in many respects, including through performances by the London-based English Singers, who brought inventive programming and a unique approach to the performance of early music. Due to the work of scholars and ensembles, secular Tudor music was thoroughly revived during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Returning to the revival of sacred Tudor music in England at large, it is useful to consult a final survey conducted by the Church Music Society published in 1963 as a counterpart to the surveys of 1898 and 1938. Entitled “Sixty Years of Cathedral Music,” this publication compared the results of the previous studies to those of a new survey conducted in 1958. The author noted overall improvements in the quality of English church music over the sixty-year period, but also acknowledged the remaining need to discard certain works:

Twenty years have passed, and the present enquiry has revealed yet more changes, not only in the repertoires but also in the number of choral services…The unpalatable fact is that Choral Matins has now almost disappeared from our cathedrals. On the other hand, cathedral organists have at their disposal a far greater choice of music, for an immense amount of what is now available was hidden away in libraries in 1898…Much music has been added, and much discarded. The result is good in both directions, but the opinion may be ventured that further use of the guillotine would do no harm.341

The comparison of the three surveys of church music clearly demonstrates that by 1958, Tudor music had arisen to a place of prominence in the choral repertoire of the major English chapels and cathedrals. This expansion is evidenced most clearly in the number of different Tudor canticle settings and anthems in regular use by 1958. Of the

evening canticle settings determined to be in regular use at cathedrals and collegiate churches, the 1958 survey counted fourteen by Tudor composers, in comparison to eight in 1938. More dramatic is the overall increase in Tudor anthems, and particularly those by Byrd. Whereas the 1938 survey noted only four anthems by Byrd in regular use (Bow thine ear, Sing joyfully, Justorum animae and Ave verum corpus), the 1958 survey listed a substantial increase to sixteen – and interestingly, the majority of these are Latin works.

The expansion of sacred Tudor repertoire at Oxford’s foundation colleges participated in the larger trend described by the Church Music Society. It is important to recognize that the increase in sacred repertoire was, of course, not the full picture of the Tudor revival, and that secular music also played a significant role. These two aspects of the revival might have seemed quite separate in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but hopefully are now seen to be interconnected and part of one movement.

342 Ibid., 9-10; “Forty Years of Cathedral Music,” 13-14.


The anthems listed in 1958 included Alleluia, Ascendit Deus; Ave verum corpus; Bow thine ear; Christi qui lux es et dies; Haec dies; Justorum animae; Laetentur coeli; O Lord, make thy servant; Non vos relinquam; Prevent Us, O Lord; Sacerdotes Domini; Senex puerum portabat; Sing joyfully; Teach me, O Lord; This day Christ was born; and Veni sancte spiritus.
CONCLUSION

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Oxford’s foundation colleges, student societies, and civic ensembles and organizations played an essential role in bringing about the Tudor revival in England. The revival encompassed both sacred and secular choral music, both of which were cultivated with growing intensity at Oxford during the period. At the foundation colleges, Tudor music—both English and Latin—steadily increased in representation at Anglican services, while college-based, student-led groups also displayed a growing interest in the performance of Tudor madrigals. Outside of the colleges, Oxford’s increasingly multi-faceted musical culture—which often blended city and university personnel, venues and interests—was fertile ground for the revival. Ensembles such as the Oxford Ladies’ Musical Society, the Oxford Madrigal Society, and the Oxford Girls’ Evening Institute afforded opportunities for musicians of various ages and backgrounds to participate in the revival. In the city and in the university, even in the midst of wartime, the revival was made possible through thoughtful and competent musical leadership.

The revival of Tudor music in this period not only reenergized music in Oxford, but also redefined the landscape of choral music performance in England. While the success of the revival depended in great part on the new accessibility of performing editions, it is also true that some of the revived works had a previous history of circulation in England. Historically, the main sources of sacred Tudor music were sacred collections: John Barnard’s First Selected Book of Church Music (1641), Thomas Tudway’s Collection of the most celebrated Services and Anthems used in the Church of England (1715), and William Boyce’s Cathedral Music. Byrd’s anthem Sing joyfully, one of the most popular sacred Tudor works at Oxford’s foundation colleges during the revival, appeared in both the Barnard and Tudway collections, while his Ave verum corpus, the most prominent Tudor work at New College, was contained in Boyce’s
Cathedral Music. And yet performance history at Oxford also reveals a significant expansion beyond the music contained in these collections. Tallis’ anthem *If ye love me*, for example, did not appear in any of these collections, but can be considered a “classic” work of the Tudor revival in Oxford; it appeared with great frequency in foundation college services of the period, especially at Magdalen and Christ Church. Another example is Gibbons’ *This is the record of John*, which was typically performed by all of the foundation college choirs on the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist.

While the three foundation choirs favored some of the same works, they also demonstrated individualized musical tastes and seemed to favor certain composers and works over others. At Magdalen, for instance, the most frequently performed Tudor work was Farrant’s *Lord, for thy tender mercies’ sake*, a work that was not embraced nearly to the same extent at New College or Christ Church.

The overall growth of the music publishing industry in England during this period had an undeniable impact on the Tudor revival, and likely on its unfolding in Oxford. The extent to which this is true is yet to be demonstrated, but it is fair to assume that the incredible popularity of choral music published in octavo form played a significant role. The octavo “movement” was spearheaded by Novello & Co., which published vast amounts of sacred and secular choral music in this inexpensive form. A comparison of the 1890 and 1906 Novello catalogues reveals that representation of Tudor music—in the form of both octavos and large collections— was on the rise, and it is reasonable to assume that the catalogue continued to expand in this way. The Tudor music

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344 One might hope for a study on the music purchases of England’s most visible musical ensembles, religious and secular alike.

contained in Novello’s 1890 catalogue spanned both sacred and secular genres, and its contents parallels much of the music performed at Oxford. In its enormous selection of (largely Anglican) anthems, the catalogue favored Gibbons over Byrd, Farrant, and Tallis; selections included Byrd’s *Bow thine ear, O Lord, turn thy wrath* and *Sing joyfully*; Tallis’ *All people that on earth do dwell, Come, holy ghost, Hear the voice and prayer, I call and cry, and If ye love me*; and Farrant’s *Call to remembrance, Hide not thou thy face, and Lord, for thy tender mercies’ sake*. Anthems by Gibbons in the 1890 catalogue included *Almighty and glorious God, Glorious and powerful God, God is gone up, Hosanna, Lift up your heads, O clap your hands, O Lord, increase my faith, The eyes of all, and This is the record of John*. By 1922, surprisingly little had changed in Novello’s Tudor anthem selection; to the list above can be added Byrd’s *The souls of the righteous, I will not leave you comfortless*, and Farrant’s *Justorum animae* and Gibbons’ *Deliver us, O Lord*. This modest change, in light of the more substantial additions to the repertoire at the foundation colleges, suggests that the Tudor repertoire at Oxford expanded significantly on what was available in “cheap” published form by turning to available manuscript sources. To varying degrees, each of the choral foundations relied upon manuscript sources, probably in part because of the abundance of such materials in Oxford.

Another unique feature of the Tudor revival at the foundation colleges is the gradual addition of works in Latin. As demonstrated in this study, perhaps the most remarkable aspect of the Tudor revival in Oxford is the lively tradition at New College,

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348 Ibid.

where Latin Tudor works dominated the choral repertory. Incidentally, of the three choral foundations, the New College choir also counted the greatest number of works by Palestrina in its repertory. Interesting selections from the Latin repertoire also appeared at Christ Church and Magdalen; an example from the former is an *Agnus Dei* and *Benedictus* (mass unspecified) by Byrd. At Magdalen Byrd’s *Mass for Five Voices* received a performance as early as 1925; other Latin works began to appear by the 1930s, including Byrd’s *Ave verum corpus*, *O rex gloriae*, and *Mass for Four Voices*, Tallis’ *Salvator mundi*, and an *Agnus dei* (mass unspecified) by Morley. The increase in use of Latin Tudor works at Oxford is noteworthy; while the music was performed in the Anglican context at Oxford, the use of both Catholic and Anglican music in services demonstrated that the Tudor revival was at heart an ecumenical movement.

At the turn of the twentieth century secular Tudor choral music, unlike its sacred counterpart, already enjoyed an established place in music publications circulating in England. Madrigals constituted the bulk of this music, and had been published in large collections throughout the nineteenth century; the most popular and successful publication of the era was *Novello’s Glee-Hive: A Collection of Popular Glee and Madrigals* (1851). The three-volume series was available for purchase as a set as well as single octavos, and included both modern selections and works by Benet, Farmer, Gibbons, Morley, Weelkes, Wilbye, and Pilkington. Many of the works performed by the English Singers can be found in the *Glee-Hive*, which impressively continued in popularity into the twentieth century. And yet while the *Glee-Hive* may have been the source for many of the secular Tudor works performed at Oxford, George Thewlis’ work in scoring and introducing unknown secular Tudor music was nothing short of remarkable, and is unique to Oxford.

In the large picture of the Tudor revival, a significant debt is owed to Oxford, where one of England’s finest musical treasures—the choral repertoire of the Tudor period—was nurtured and disseminated to the benefit of musicians and music-lovers both
in England and abroad. During the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the Oxford public had a special opportunity to experience an ever-growing body of sacred and secular Tudor music in chapel services, large-scale music festivals such as the William Byrd Tercentenary in 1921, society concerts, and many other musical events. Through the leadership of individuals—foundation choir directors, organists, and community members such as George Thewlis—and through the collective work of societies and colleges, Oxford’s ensembles and institutions helped to shape the canon of Tudor music as it is known today.
APPENDIX A

LIST OF PRIMARY SOURCES

The primary sources used in the preparation of this thesis were consulted in libraries and archives in London and Oxford.

Bodleian Library
Gotch Bequest, Oxford Programmes
Oxford Madrigal Society [Programmes]
Oxford Subscription Concerts
Oxford University Musical Club and Union [Programmes, 1916 -]
Papers of the Oxford Ladies’ Musical Society
Thewlis Papers

Centre for Performance History, Royal College of Music
Concert Programmes, English Provinces: Oxford

Christ Church College Archives
Cathedral Music Lists

Magdalen College Archives
Directorium Magdalenese in Usum Decani in Sacra Thelogia MDCCCLXIII
Chapel Music Lists

New College Archives
Chapel Music Lists
Memoirs of Cyril E. Cyphus
Memoirs of a New College Chorister 1900-1906
New College Chapel Service Lists: Analysis of Services and Anthems 1923-1948
Transcription of a recording by Philip Hilton (1969)

Oriel College Archives
Fellowes Papers
APPENDIX B

TRANSCRIBED DOCUMENTS FROM THE
FELLOWES PAPERS, ORIEL COLLEGE ARCHIVES,
OXFORD UNIVERSITY

Note: Ellipses enclosed in square brackets indicate illegible text in the original document.

Document 1
Letter to Edmund Fellowes from Sir Henry Hadow
November 16, 1897
Memorabilia and Personal Papers/F 2/5/1

Dear Fellowes,

How would it do to send around a letter something like the enclosed, with any emendations that you may think fit, signed by yourself or by you & Buck? I think we must have Stainer in & had better have him in as Chairman if he will serve. Miles will tell you further about any [. . .] on the point—simply as a matter of getting the thing through.

The scheme put forward at the meeting should consist of (1) A list of services which should constitute an ‘corpus’ (Is it possible to include one of Stainer’s as a matter of [. . .]!) (2) The question for discussion as to the best method of getting it adapted. — whether by appealing to Organists & Precentors or by approaching the Ecclesiastical Authorities in convocation. These seem to me the two questions for the meeting to consider. If you can think of others of course they should take their place as well.

W. H. Hadow

Document 2a
Letter to Edmund Fellowes from Percy Buck (partially transcribed)
November 19, 1897
MPP/F 2/5/3

. . .I am awfully sorry that Stainer is anything to do with it, but Hadow knows best. It seems to me that the composer of the Crucifixion is above all others the man we should want to kill, as far as influence goes, & here we are giving him credit for being our leader. Things will be very awkward when it comes to making lists—perhaps his service in E-flat might go in, but which of his anthems? If we are honest about it he is bound to see what we think of him.

I will write to Stanford if he frightens you!

The only alternative I see to Hadow’s schemes is that since we should first attack Cathedrals. I think Precentors should have our special attention: but that might come afterwards. I think Bridge might be left out. He hasn’t the taste of a scavenger: which sounds oracular? Circular?...

PCB
Dear Sir,

There appears to be some feeling of dissatisfaction with the present state of English Church Music: more especially of the Services and Anthems frequently used both in Cathedral and parish churches. If you are prepared to support a movement for encouraging a [...] would it be inconvenient to you to attend a meeting at...on...at...o’clock. The chair will be taken by...

First write privately to Stainer & ask him to take the chair. If he accepts good: if he refuses ask Parry. Letter to be sent to:

Parry
Stanford
Parratt
Lloyd
Harwood
Brewer
Bridges
Woldridge
Troutbeck (?)
Bennett of Lincoln
Martin (?)
Barclay Squire (?)
Somervell (?)
C. Wood
Alan Eray?
Sweeting
Riseley
Alcock
Read (Chichester)
Peppin
F. Marshall
N. Miles
Gilvertson

Others if you think fit. These are all that occur to me, but I don’t suppose that the list is exhaustive.
**Document 3**  
*Letter to Edmund Fellowes from F. J. Read of Chichester Cathedral*  
*December 5, 1897*  
MPP/F 2/5/7

Dear Mr Fellowes

I should be glad to support any movement which has for its aim the improvement of English Church Music, and I will, with pleasure attend your meeting on the 15th.

Of course you will understand that I don’t promise to go entirely with you until I know the lines to be taken, but there is so much to be done that I should be glad to help if I can.

Yours Truly,

FJ Read

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**Document 4**  
*Letter to Edmund Fellowes from Sir George Martin of St. Paul’s Cathedral*  
*December 7, 1897*  
MPP/F 2/5/8

Dear Mr Fellowes

I am sorry I am unable to attend the meeting at the Royal College of music on Dec 15th. At present I am more interested in trying to improve the method of training boys’ voices, as in the majority of cases they are unable to sing any kind of music in anything like a Tate’s factory manner. It seems to me that improvement ought to begin at this end.

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**Document 5**  
*Letter to Edmund Fellowes from Lewis Gilbertson, Succentor of St. Paul’s*  
MPP/F 2/5/9

Dear Sir

I have been aware of the dissatisfaction to which you refer: and while I in main am in sympathy with it, and should wish well any movement such as you […] to contemplate […] I should personally […] retain my freedom of judgment, as experience has shown us that much old music which is admirable in small churches is entirely ineffect[ual?] in St Pauls—all the same I wish well to your movement.

Yours faithfully

Lewis G
Dear Fellowes,

It seems to me that our best [. . .] on Jan 11 would be to draw up a very carefully worded [. . .] (in tone of suggestion rather than complaint) pointing out how much of our finest Church Music is in comparative neglect, & asking the Cathedrals, Collegiate Churches to take the lead in returning it to its proper place. About Modern Church Music I should say a little as possible: better [. . .] which emphasizes on the good work that will remain to be done. Then get this signed by as many representatives as possible—Stainer, Parry, Parratt, Stanford, Prout, Arwes, Hiles, Lloyd, all of us who are present at the meeting, & so on; & either invite a conference of organists & Precentors to meet in the summer & discuss matters, or send the document round as a circular & invite them to sign in order to make the thing as far as possible a complete national manifesto.

Anyhow I feel sure that our line should be rather to persuade than to denounce. Talk it over with Buck, & we can compare notes at the meeting.

Yours ever

W.H. Hadow

My dear Hadow,

. . . I want you (if you agree with me) to propose that a small sub-committee should be appointed to draw up a list of “anthems” which ought not to be set on one side or neglected in our Cathedrals. If a temperate explanatory letter were to be sent with such a list to all our Cathedral organists and precentors I think it would receive their serious consideration. As we are an entirely self-constituted body I think we ought not to venture on more than this—at all events at present.

I am yours truly

John Stainer

You know my opinion as to early (post-reformation) settings of Canticles; I am sure a good many musicians will agree with me that they were the experiments, and not very successful experiments of our English composers, so the question of “Services” might well be left untouched.
Document 8
Letter to Edmund Fellowes from J. H. Mee
March 21, 1898
MPP/F 2/5/22

My dear Fellowes,

Yes—a list, or better still a collection of “Representative English Cathedral Music” is my [. . .], with a preface calling attention to the danger of neglecting the historic facts—& interest of Cathedral music.

Document 9
Letter to Edmund Fellowes from F. J. Read
March 23, 1898
MPP/F 2/5/23

I haven’t signed the report—don’t think me a crank!—I approve strongly of the principle of it, but I don’t think it makes out our case; it doesn’t give sufficient data for the meeting to act upon. Perhaps the catalogue will do this?

I quite think that solos & other excerpts from oratorios should be introduced with the greatest caution, but it must be remembered that many of them appeal very strongly to the worshippers & they are I believe very often edified thereby.

I think it should be stated whether the particular week at Salisbury mentioned, was of any special nature, & if the excerpts from Spohr [. . .] have been easily replaced by English anthems with words as suitable. Of course the Mozart mass music has no justification.

[. . .] Then: would 8vo editions of Tallis Gibbons, Tye, Bird, dc: encourage the singing of their music in Cathedrals? I suspect all the Cathedrals have copies already in their libraries.

As to the Circular to Organists & Precentors mentioned in the Agenda: of course the utility will depend upon the matter of it. If the least intimation is made that they haven’t been doing their duty, they will be “up.” And the same difficulty occurs to me with regard to the proposed conference.

I believe some if not many Precentors Succentors & organists are doing their best under sometimes difficult circumstances, to continue the English School of church music; & I am afraid that if the “movement” is confined to the musical members of Cathedral bodies, some difficulty may occur. With some dignitaries it is quite sufficient to be a musician, & be destitute of proper Church feeling. In place of the old foundation where the Precentor’s office is almost a sinecure, the Chapter are practically the Precentor. And even where the Precentor is absolute, he cannot but in some cases be open to the influence of the dignitaries.

Would, then, one object more probably be gained if we enlarged our borders & had the help of any prebendaries, canons—and deans! What could be obtained? I know some of these—even a dean!—who would support such a movement gladly.
Document 10
Letter to Edmund Fellowes from Henry Hadow
February 9, 1899
MPP/F 2/5/25

. . . The subcommittee should present its list in a meeting at the R. C. M. [and] a circular should then be issued, signed by Stainer, Parry, Stanford, Parratt, & the rest of us, asking Organists & Precentors to cooperate in a memorial to Novello. The first practical step is to get the right services brought out in a cheap & accessible form. The circular might include some undertaking to support the edition, but that’s a matter of detail.

There’s no need for us to call ourselves by any corporate name. We can do our work better without that.

Document 11
Letter to Edmund Fellowes from Henry Walford Davies
October 27, 1899
MPP/F 2/5/38

. . . It is an unhappy chance that ‘Bow thine ear’ Byrd, ‘Hosanna’ Gibbons, ‘Hear o Heavens’ Humfrey and many others are not in the [Temple Church] list. They will be ere long I hope with many others.

Document 12
Circular letter written by John Stainer, signed by John Stainer, Hubert Parry, and Charles Villiers Stanford (enclosed in a letter to Edmund Fellowes from Sir Hubert Parry)
July 22, 1899
MPP/F 2/5/28

As there has recently appeared to be a very prevalent feeling that Church Music in general was drifting into a rather haphazard condition, a Committee of gentlemen who were interested in the subject met to consider what means could be adopted to collect data of the exact facts. “Cataloguing the services and anthems of no fewer than 50 cathedrals and collegiate chapels”—a conference proposed for the data to be announced, at RCM, Tues Jan 23 1900. Discussion could be held as to the best means to further the use of any first rate works which appear at present to be somewhat neglected, and to encourage publishers of church music to bring them out in cheap form.

Document 13
Letter to Edmund Fellowes from John Stainer
April 14, 1900
MPP/F 2/5/36

. . . I told Dean Church, when I discovered what a state the choir and musical arrangements were in (that was in 1872) that it would take me 3 years to set things into good order. He and the chapter waited patiently; and fortunately, we began to turn the corner at the close of the second year! So do not be discouraged if improvements in your music and musical arrangements seem to come slowly.
Document 14
Letter to Edmund Fellowes from Percy Buck
November 15, 1922
MPP/F 2/1/60

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… I think we ought to have a meeting… [and] clearly fix our line of action. And I think it would be a good thing if… could have a talk with Allen beforehand… he loathes Terry: [and] has already said to me that something must be done.

Document 15
Letter to Edmund Fellowes from Henry Wood
January 17, 1922
MPP/F 2/1/10

Dear Mr Fellowes,

Just a hurried line before I leave tomorrow for my very short holiday, to offer you my most sincere congratulations upon the completion of your great work—The English Madrigal School—it was a monumental task and you have carried it through magnificently, & all we musicians must be eternally grateful to you.

Sincerely yours

Henry J Wood

Document 16
Letter to Percy Scholes from Philip Heseltine (Peter Warlock)
February 16, 1925
MPP/F 2/1/46

… Why do you call Fellowes the “discoverer” of Byrd’s Great Service? It was “discovered” by Sir Richard Terry and by him handed over to Fellowes to edit. If you don’t believe me, ring up the OUP and find out for yourself.

Document 17
Letter to the Radio Times from Philip Heseltine (Peter Warlock)
February 16, 1925
MPP/F 2/1/47

… [The Great Service] was in fact discovered by Sir Richard Terry, who for the last twenty years has been timelessly active in bringing to light the hidden treasures of old English music.
Document 18
Letter to Edmund Fellowes from Percy Scholes
March 28, 1925
MPP/F 2/1/45

...The effect of this correspondence [with Peter Warlock] is that I am and remain
ccharged with an error in writing of you as the “discoverer” of the Byrd “Great Service.”

Document 19
Undated document in Edmund Fellowes’ hand

1. The daily musical services

The services represent an ideal in worship viz with all the accessories of Art in
architecture & decoration as well as music & regardless of expenditure (within
reasonable limits) of money effort & time.

Therefore it is of primary importance that the music of these services as regards even the
minutest detail should be in every sense worthy of its purpose from this point of view.

Only the best music can possibly be regarded as available for use. It is essential above all
other considerations that it must be dignified in character whether if...in the spirit of
praise or penitence or meditation. Emotional sentimentalism so often mistaken for
religious expression of feeling must not be admitted. This statement does not postulate
the exclusion of music that is attractive even to mimetical [?] worshippers. But it is
above all things necessary that the music should be well rendered if this purpose is to be
achieved. The finest music may sound dull...& even unsuitable if badly performed; or
even if correctly performed in the wrong spirit. The emotional & sentimental music
lends itself less readily to misinterpretation & hence to a larger degree its popularity.

The music should be chosen with greatest care so that the words of anthems as well as the
character of the music may be suited to each individual service & church
session. ...Length of music should be [regarded?] with reference to other features (e.g.
length of lessons psalms. ...). This all [. . .] & thought to be [. . .] expanded [. . .] if by the
Succentor.

The Art of Music was in its infancy before [the] middle of 16th cent. All pre reformation
music is primitive in scope & [design?] but 350 years of steady [. . .] largely to the
Church. The importance of this is not always recognized by Church authorities. The
tradition represented by music carefully chosen from all periods since about 1560 is now
the true tradition of the English Church as regard(s) music. English music should largely
predominate in lists as against that of foreign composers.

2. Cathedral music should exert special influence & have an educational value as well as
religious.
(a) If choristers only sing best music what an influence on next generations
(b) Clergy & others influenced thinking St G or [c. . .?] choice must be all right.
Anthems or other music might be chosen on special days consecutively e.g. wi[th?] 6
special anthems
Possibly lectured upon.

3. Extra musical services e.g. Bach’s Passions & Handel’s Messiah also English music on these lines.
4. Lectures to local clergy & others
   Centre for advice on musical matters
   Lessons on intoning
   Voice training rc
   The ideal worship.
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