Heinrich Bewerunge (1862–1923): A Critical Reassessment of His Life and Influence

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Dedicated with love to Ray, Rita and Finbar.

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ABSTRACT

Heinrich Bewerunge (1862–1923): A Critical Reassessment of His Life and Influence

Heinrich Bewerunge is acknowledged internationally as a musician and scholar of exceptional ability, but to date there has been limited detailed engagement with his work and influence. This thesis reassesses his status in Ireland and abroad, through an examination and analysis of primary sources including large correspondence archives, administrative documents, music manuscripts, and extensive surveys of media reportage. It fills substantial lacunae in his biography, including his social and educational background, the practicalities of his work in St Patrick's College Maynooth, and the much wider scope of his crucial role and influence as an educator and facilitator. The study argues that Bewerunge's identification with the Cecilian movement for church music reform has been over-emphasized, to the detriment of his expertise and contributions as a musicologist, scholar, and educator. It establishes his pioneering involvement in Irish traditional music as a preservationist and ethnomusicologist; and repositions his role in the development of secular music education in Ireland. To date, his reputation as a scholar has largely rested on his seminal critiques of the Vatican editions of plainchant. This research has discovered a significant number of previously overlooked published articles; an appraisal of these, along with his known work, vindicates his standing in a broader field of scholarship. The thesis also proves that an influential English plainchant treatise was partly authored by him. Bewerunge's compositional output has been reassessed, in light of newly-discovered works and a previously unexamined aspect of his legacy: that of plainchant harmonisation. Finally, this study highlights the ruinous impact of the First World War on Bewerunge's career, by analysing the deeply prejudiced attacks on his reputation (ostensibly motivated by anti-German nationalism) which have affected his reception ever since.

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Thomas Muir's 2008 publication, *Roman Catholic Church Music in England*, provided vital clues to new primary sources, and for his groundwork I am truly grateful. Thanks to musicologist Axel Klein and Wolfgang Marx of University College Dublin, who furnished a connection to Peter Trotier's Bewerunge family research. Many others have contributed help: particularly antiquarian book collector Tim Moriarty; Dr Sven Dierke, Düsseldorf; organ-builder Trevor Crowe; Fr Martin Whelan; Dr Frank Lawrence; Professor Harry White; and Professor Emeritus Gerard Gillen. Thanks to Dr Antonio Cascelli for his assistance with Italian translations. Very special and heartfelt thanks go to my indefatigable German translator Hermann Müllers, who ploughed his way through dozens of articles (many of which were in Gothic or Sütterlin text), and deciphered countless pages of poorly-photographed and/or appallingly handwritten documents.

Doctoral research is at its core a selfish undertaking and leaves little room for family and friends. Grateful thanks to all who have been so understanding and supportive, particularly Clare Walsh, Brian Foley, David Connolly, the members of Galway Cathedral Choir, and Audivi Chamber Choir. And lastly but so importantly, I say thank you from the bottom of my heart to my husband and parents, without whose love and support this project could never have been undertaken.

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NOTE ON EDITORIAL POLICY

- Capitalisation of common nouns is generally omitted in quotations given throughout this thesis, unless specific emphasis was intended by the original writer.

- The titles of French, German, and Latin publications are capitalised according to usage in those languages.

- Citation of newspapers: single-word titles retain the definite article but all others omit same. Thus: *The Kerryman*, *The Leader*, but *Tuam Herald*, *Donegal News*, etc.

- Pitch notation employs the Helmholtz system to describe range; otherwise solmization is used, in keeping with contemporary terminology.

FREQUENTLY CITED SOURCES

Library sigla are listed where same are extant.

Ireland

DIB	*Dictionary of Irish Biography*
FJ	*Freeman's Journal*[1]
IER	*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*
IMM	*Irish Musical Monthly*
IMS	*Irish Musical Studies*
DDA	Dublin Diocesan Archives
LDA	Limerick Diocesan Archives
LE	*Lyra Ecclesiastica*
LA	Loreto Archives, Dublin
MCA	Maynooth College Archives
IRL-Mrjp	Maynooth University Library[2]

England

SAA	Stanbrook Abbey Archives
SDA	Salford Diocesan Archives

Germany

PT	Peter Trotier (private collection), Letmathe
D-Rbza	Regensburg Diocesan Archives
SD	Sven Dierke (private collection), Düsseldorf

1 In order to facilitate fluent reading, the *Freeman's Journal*, *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, and *Lyra Ecclesiastica* are abbreviated in footnotes only, not in the main text.

2 All relevant holdings are in the Russell Library, Maynooth University.

‘Father Bewerunge is a slight man as far as physique is concerned, speaks English fluently, and he told the present writer that he would try and learn the Irish if he had time. He is wonderfully industrious – as all Germans are – quiet, genial, homely; as a cyclist is very adept, and negotiates the ill-kept roads of this immediate neighbourhood fearlessly and with ease.’[1]

1 ‘In Quest of Irish Airs: Father Bewerunge in Tuam’, *Tuam Herald*, 5 April 1902. This snippet constitutes the only known description of Bewerunge’s bearing and comportment.

INTRODUCTION

I Preliminary

Heinrich Bewerunge (1862–1923) was the first professor of Gregorian chant and organ at St Patrick's College Maynooth. Aged twenty-five, he moved from his native Germany to Ireland in 1888 following creation of the new chair. He retained the professorship until his death in 1923. His spirit lingers still in the college chapel when the choir sings his compositions and arrangements. In the walled graveyard he is an even closer presence as every Maynooth funeral sends up its lament for the dead through the haunting chords of his 'Benedictus'. His name carries on by way of a lecture room designated in his honour by the Music Department of Maynooth University, and through many thousands of hits scored on internet search engines as the translator of German music theorist Hugo Riemann's publications.[1] His work in raising the standard of liturgical music performance at Maynooth, his tenure as editor of *Lyra Ecclesiastica* (journal of the Irish Society of St Cecilia), and his controversial objections to early twentieth-century Vatican editions of plainchant have been the subject of previous research. However, this information falls far short of providing a complete evaluation of Bewerunge's work. The purpose of this thesis is to provide for the first time a more inclusive view of his life, the diversity of his achievements, and the extent of his influence. To that end, the research examines many newly-discovered sources which reveal a broader context for Bewerunge's work and enrich an understanding of his endeavours. This in turn challenges received historiographical views of his legacy.

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1 Hugo Riemann, *Catechism of Musical Aesthetics*, 2nd edn, trans. H. Bewerunge (London: Augener, 1895); Hugo Riemannn, *Harmony Simplified, or the Theory of the Tonal Functions of Chords*, 2nd edn, trans. H. Bewerunge (London: Augener, 1895). (*The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* cites 1896 for this latter publication, but this was a third impression. See Harry White, 'Bewerunge, Heinrich', *Grove Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/02993> [accessed 17 May 2010].)

II A Brief Biography

Bewerunge was born in 1862 in Prussia. His family settled in Düsseldorf, where he received his secondary schooling. He entered the University of Würzburg as a theology student in 1880–1881, undertook his priestly formation in Eichstätt, Bavaria, and was ordained a priest in 1885. He studied at the Royal School of Church Music in Regensburg, which had been established in 1874 by priest and musician Franz Haberl (1840–1910). Bewerunge was appointed secretary to the Vicar-General in the archdiocese of Cologne, where his duties included cantor at Cologne cathedral. On Haberl's recommendation, in 1888 he came to Ireland's national seminary at Maynooth to take up the new professorship of church chant and organ.[2]

He had a challenging brief as professor of ecclesiastical music. Seminarian numbers were large, around 600, and all had to be taught a wide variety of plainchant for liturgical services. Bewerunge also set up a smaller *schola* to sing more difficult chant repertoire as well as polyphonic Masses, motets, and music for divine office. In order to facilitate the performance of Renaissance masterworks by male voices, he skilfully arranged repertoire by Palestrina, Lassus, Victoria, and other composers. Bewerunge was one of the seminal influences on generations of priests who ministered in parishes all over Ireland and on missions abroad. He was their guide and teacher in matters of ecclesiastical and liturgical music; for many of them he provided their only link to the wider repertoire of art music. Bewerunge imparted his ideology and scholarship to many thousands of men who studied at Maynooth between 1888 and 1923,[3] and the fundamentals of his teaching system were transmitted by his successors in office until the Second Vatican Council.

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2 Basic biographical details were repeated in several publications during and after Bewerunge's lifetime and it may be inferred that these were initially provided by Bewerunge himself.

3 With the exception of the period August 1914 to July 1920, when he was absent from Maynooth owing to the First World War.

His plainchant scholarship brought him to international attention and, as a supporter of Benedictine manuscript research at Solesmes, he was involved in very public debates regarding the restoration of pre-Tridentine chant melodies. Throughout his life he contributed to newspapers and journals in his role as an educator and an advocate for music education. His four entries on plainchant topics and the organ in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* were information-rich and informed by contemporary scholarship. He was also involved in the Irish cultural revival, urging the preservation of traditional melodies and effecting a pioneering analysis into their modal structure. In 1914 he was appointed as the first professor of music at University College Dublin. However, the outbreak of the First World War effectively ended his career, as he was detained in Germany from 1914 until 1920. His health, never robust, degenerated during this time and he died in 1923.

III Literature Review

Although Bewerunge merits a brief consideration in many church music histories and encyclopedias, no scholarly research has been undertaken which focuses on his work alone. One of the most significant publications which considers his writings and influence does not even include his name in its title. The scope of this literature review is therefore limited. However, the very paucity of material concerning Bewerunge makes it all the more important to highlight any misinformation in these few sources, and to alter misperceptions built up over almost a century of posthumous reception history.

As stated, Bewerunge is mentioned in most twentieth-century surveys of church music, the most important of which are considered here. Eight years after his death he was praised in Aigran's *Religious Music* as Ireland's 'most fruitful source of inspiration

of the ideals of the church in liturgical music'.[4] This French publication was translated by Cornelius Mulcahy, professor of English at Maynooth, who added a section on English and Irish religious music. The essential details of Bewerunge's Maynooth work were listed. Mulcahy had been a friend of Bewerunge's and although this gave the advantage of accurate first-hand information,[5] the account was limited regarding Irish church music in general, including in its survey only Bewerunge, Dublin's Pro-Cathedral choir, and a volume of Irish language hymns published in 1928.

Musicologist August Scharnagl (1914–2007) acknowledged Bewerunge's work through a biographical entry in the German music encyclopaedia, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, and Karl Fellerer (1902–1984) referenced his work in Ireland in his *History of Catholic Church Music*.[6] Plainchant scholar Willi Apel (1893–1988) published the first substantial English-language survey of chant in 1958, and was the first musicologist to advert to Bewerunge's detailed chant analysis in a context other than the early twentieth-century Vatican editions critique.[7] In 1969 the French Benedictine archivist Pierre Combe published an extremely detailed history of plainchant research undertaken by the monks of Solesmes, in which he incorporated Bewerunge's views on the Vatican editions.[8] It is thus clear that Bewerunge's legacy was acknowledged on the European continent before it was recognised in Ireland.

The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians included Bewerunge for the first time in 1980, with a short entry written by Malcolm Turner. *Inter alia*, the

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4 René Aigran, *Religious Music* (London: Sands & Co., 1931), p. 200.

5 Apart from one date error – Mulcahy stated that Bewerunge was appointed professor of music at UCD in 1913 but the correct date was 1914. Aigran (1931), p. 201.

6 August Scharnagl, 'Bewerunge, Heinrich', *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Friedrich Blume, 17 vols (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1973), vol. 15, cols 764–765; Karl G. Fellerer, *The History of Catholic Church Music*, trans. Francis A. Brunner (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1979), p. 190.

7 Willi Apel, *Gregorian Chant* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1958), p. 300. Apel examined Bewerunge's work on the *cursus*: this is considered in chapter five below.

8 Pierre Combe, *Histoire de la restauration du chant grégorien d'après des documents inédites: Solesmes et l'édition Vatican* (Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 1969); Theodore N. Marier and William Skinner, trans., *The Restoration of Gregorian Chant: Solesmes and the Vatican Edition* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 2003), pp. 381, 383–384.

entry advised that Bewerunge 'was removed [from his post as professor of music at University College Dublin] for political reasons in 1916 and went to Cologne'.[9] This erroneously suggested that it was Bewerunge's own political activities which caused his removal and that he went to Germany following the loss of his position. In fact as will be shown in this thesis, Bewerunge was already in Germany when war broke out in 1914 and he was unable to return until 1920 (not 1919 as Turner stated). The misinformation in the *New Grove Dictionary* was replicated in a number of later sources, discussed below.

In 1984 Bewerunge featured in the Irish church music periodical *Jubilus Review*: the article surveyed his work at Maynooth and included a photograph as well as a cartoon depiction by one of his students.[10] The rise of musicology in Ireland during the 1990s brought the first critical Irish-based research into Bewerunge's work, beginning with Harry White and Nicholas Lawrence and continuing with Kieran Daly's examination of the Society of St Cecilia. White and Lawrence presented their paper at the Royal Musical Association's Irish Chapter meeting in Maynooth on 12 May 1990. White's text, along with Lawrence's catalogue of Bewerunge's publications and manuscripts, was published in Germany in 1990 and Ireland in 1993.[11] Interestingly, Bewerunge's name was not included in the main article title for the Irish publication (it was included in the sub-heading). From Turner, White took 1916 as the year of Bewerunge's confinement in Germany, and although he corrected this for his 1998

9 Malcolm Turner, 'Bewerunge, Heinrich', *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, eds George Grove and Stanley Sadie, 20 vols (London: Macmillan, 1980), vol. 2, p. 668.

10 Frank Lawrence, 'Bewerunge: Maynooth Professor', *Jubilus Review*, vol. 1, no. 3 (Autumn 1984), pp. 84–86.

11 Harry White and Nicholas Lawrence, 'Heinrich Bewerunge (1862–1923): ein beitrag zur geschichte des Caecilianismus in Irland', *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* (1990), pp. 41–66; Harry White and Nicholas Lawrence, 'Towards a History of the Cecilian Movement in Ireland', *Irish Musical Studies 2: Music and the Church*, eds Gerard Gillen and Harry White (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1993), pp. 78–107.

rewrite,[12] the error was replicated in his entry in Blackwell's *Companion to Modern Irish Culture* (1999), in *Irish Musical Studies 6: A Historical Anthology of Irish Church Music* (2001), and in the *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (2009).[13]

> As a teacher, as the exponent of an increasingly untenable aesthetic ideal and as a scholarly critic of outstanding ability, Bewerunge ranks as a remarkable figure in the history of music in Ireland.[14]

This statement of White's was a double-edged sword, attributing positive and negative aspects to Bewerunge's significance. White outlined the rise and decline of the European Cecilian movement and discussed the early establishment of an Irish Society of St Cecilia in 1878. He considered a number of Bewerunge's writings and acknowledged his expertise in chant paleography and musicology. Despite White's generally positive appraisal, he viewed Bewerunge only through the lens of Cecilianism. In 1995 Kieran Daly provided a comprehensive account of the Cecilian church music reform movement in Ireland based on analysis of its journal, *Lyra Ecclesiastica*,[15] which Bewerunge edited from 1891 to 1893. Although Daly highlighted many details of Bewerunge's work for the betterment of liturgical music, he was critical of Bewerunge's focus on Cecilian efforts in mainland Europe and lack of reportage on Irish activities.

It is clear that White, Lawrence, and Daly are responsible for the major components of modern research on Bewerunge. In addition to the publications discussed above, White is the author of the current entry in the *New Grove Dictionary*, which includes Bewerunge's translation of Riemann's works and his scholarly

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12 A slightly reworked version of White's article appeared in his book, *The Keeper's Recital: Music and Cultural History in Ireland, 1770–1970* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1998), pp. 74–93. This time Bewerunge's name headed the chapter: 'Heinrich Bewerunge and the Cecilian Movement in Ireland'.

13 Harry White, 'Bewerunge, Heinrich', *The Blackwell Companion to Modern Irish Culture*, ed. W.J. McCormack (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), p. 70; Gerard Gillen and Andrew Johnstone, eds, *IMS 6: A Historical Anthology of Irish Church Music* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001), p. 196; Axel Klein, 'Bewerunge, Heinrich', *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, eds James McGuire and James Quinn, 9 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), vol. 1, pp. 510–511.

14 White and Lawrence, *IMS 2* (1993), p. 96.

15 Kieran A. Daly, *Catholic Church Music in Ireland, 1878–1903: The Cecilian Reform Movement* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1995).

contributions to the debate concerning Vatican editions of plainchant.[16] Jeremy Dibble also noted Bewerunge's significance for Irish church music in the *Cambridge History of Christianity* (2008).[17] Most twentieth-century Irish assessments of Bewerunge remain centred on his work within the context of Cecilianism. Although the emphasis on Cecilianism was partly on foot of the available material through which his work might be examined, it also reflected scholarly engagement with the activities of the Irish Society of St Cecilia. This thesis argues that a perspective which allocates a less dominant role to Cecilianism – rather than perceiving it as the *alpha* and *omega* of Bewerunge's endeavours – is now more legitimate. Cecilianism was a subset under the broader heading of liturgical music reform; and it was the latter, not the former, which truly engaged him. However, the animated debates concerning Cecilian ideals and the various interpretations thereof generated excellent copy for late nineteenth- and early twentiety-century newspapers and journals. It constituted a soap opera of its day, with readers anticipating new fulminations from one side or the other with each issue. As will be shown, Bewerunge showed himself at his best and his worst in these exchanges. His arguments were cogent and well-researched, but he was pedantic and brusque with his opponents, especially those who publicly revealed their lack of erudition or ability. The intensity of these literary disputations exaggerated the importance of their subject matter, and the lens of historicity distorted the apparent inflexibility of the writers involved.

Some publications examined Bewerunge's involvement in traditional music. Axel Klein's entry in *DIB* mentioned his 'growing involvement with Irish music'.[18] In his doctoral dissertation Joseph Ryan mentioned Bewerunge's first paper on Irish music and he later considered Bewerunge's modal analysis of folk melodies within

16 Harry White, 'Bewerunge, Heinrich', *Grove Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/02993> [accessed 17 May 2010].

17 Jeremy Dibble, 'Musical Trends and the Western Church: A Collision of the 'Ancient' and 'Modern'', *Cambridge History of Christianity, Vol. 8: World Christianities c.1815–c.1914*, eds Sheridan Gilley and Brian Stanley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 125.

18 Klein, 'Bewerunge, Heinrich', *DIB*.

nationalistic expressions of the cultural revival.[19] Marie McCarthy adverted to Bewerunge's role in the preservation of traditional music.[20]

The publication in 2008 of T.E. Muir's book, *Roman Catholic Church Music in England*, was a significant milestone as it was the first study to recognise Bewerunge's influence in England.[21] Although it too presented him within the confines of Cecilianism, it also articulated new features of Bewerunge's plainchant scholarship and liturgical music teaching using sources previously overlooked by Irish research. One of the groundbreaking aspects of Muir's work was his investigation of many archival sources not previously examined, and the book is a highly detailed source of information on Catholic church music in England. However, the scope of the publication – as can be seen from the full title – was wide and he was not in a position to give due regard to the importance of the new source material in recontextualizing Bewerunge's work.[22] Interestingly, Muir approached Bewerunge on the assumption that he already was a recognized figure in church music reform and thus required little by way of introduction. Muir's primary sources included snippets of information from correspondence between Bewerunge and Dame Laurentia McLachlan (1866–1953) of Stanbrook Abbey, an influential Benedictine foundation in Worcestershire. The existence of these letters was of immediate significance for this thesis and will be referred to in more detail in section IV below.

More recent acknowledgements of Bewerunge's work encompassed an international conference in 2012 commemorating the 150th anniversary of his birth,

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19 Joseph Ryan, 'Nationalism and Music in Ireland', (unpub. PhD thesis: St Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1991), pp. 156–157; Joseph Ryan, 'Assertions of Distinction: The Modal Debate in Irish Music', *IMS 2*, pp. 62–77.

20 Marie McCarthy, *Passing It On* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1999), pp. 77–78, 100.

21 Thomas E. Muir, *Roman Catholic Church Music in England 1791–1914: A Handmaid of the Liturgy?* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

22 In fact, Muir incorrectly credited Bewerunge as the editor of *LE* from 1891 to 1903 (instead of 1893). Muir (2008), p. 129.

hosted jointly by NUI Maynooth and St Patrick's College Maynooth.[23] White and Lawrence both contributed keynote addresses.[24] White spotlighted the accord between Gaelic identity and Catholic identity, instancing Bewerunge as a figure who involved himself in both agendas. Lawrence examined four events across the long nineteenth century, the last of which was the dedication of the new Maynooth College chapel in 1891. The conference also gave a platform for a more intimate portrayal of Bewerunge's character and personality.[25] The *Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland* was published in 2013 and the entry on Bewerunge was written by Lawrence.[26] The dates of Bewerunge's absence during the war are correct. The article included details of his work in Maynooth and his connection with Loreto Abbey, Rathfarnham. It highlighted for the first time critical attacks made on him by the English church musician Richard Runciman Terry (1864–1938) and musician-historian William Henry Grattan Flood (1859–1928). Lawrence also noted Bewerunge's modernist approach to the function and meaning of music within the liturgy. Ite O'Donovan's doctoral research on music in Irish periodicals includes commentary on Bewerunge's editorship of the *Irish Musical Monthly* (1902–1903).[27] Finally, Martin Dowling's *Traditional Music and Irish Society: Historical Perspectives* included a resumé of Bewerunge's discussion concerning the divisions between folksong performance by native Irish peasantry and stage performers.[28]

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23 'Remembering Heinrich Bewerunge (1862–1923): Perspectives on 150 Years of Church Music', 6–7 December 2012.

24 Harry White, 'The Enchantment of Authority: Heinrich Bewerunge and the Cultural Discourse of Music in Ireland'; Frank Lawrence, 'Bewerunge and the Irish Catholic Experience of Music in Liturgy – from Intimacy to Solemnity: The Nineteenth Century Revisited'. The conference proceedings were not published.

25 Darina McCarthy, '"I have been in the Cellar for an hour, distributing Whiskey. So I am rather stupid now!"'

26 Frank Lawrence, 'Bewerunge', *The Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland*, eds Barra Boydell and Harry White (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2013), pp. 88–90.

27 Ite O'Donovan, 'Music in Irish Periodical Literature 1770–1970', (unpub. PhD thesis: UCD, 2014), pp. 32, 199, 242–244.

28 Martin Dowling, *Traditional Music and Irish Society: Historical Perspectives* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 240–241.

IV Methods and Sources

Three mechanisms informed the methodology for this research: the quest for information, the piecing together of sundry threads to create an interleaving fabric of historicity, and the contextualization and reassessment of that material. Broadly speaking, the primary and secondary sources drawn upon can be divided into two categories: the factually accurate and the agenda-driven. Administrative records can be relied upon to reflect reasonably accurately the events to which they attest, notwithstanding the necessary expediency required in notating minutes. Personal correspondence accurately portrays the mind of the writer (which may of course have its own bias). Official correspondence, press reports and memoirs are likely to be partisan, both for and against individuals, institutions, and societal movements. A balanced interpretation of these materials is therefore a key element in achieving a fully synthesised conceptual framework.

A number of important sources contributed to the reconstruction and reconsideration of Bewerunge's life and work given in the following chapters. Administrative archives held at St Patrick's College Maynooth and Bewerunge's own books and manuscripts in the Russell Library, Maynooth, were a fundamental starting point. Newspaper searches – although speculative and time-consuming – were invaluable for small insights which, added together, made a contribution greater than the sum of their parts. The increasing availability of newspapers in commercial online databases, particularly in Great Britain, also proved helpful. The Limerick diocesan archive holds a mixed collection of private correspondence containing letters, invoices, and receipts sent to Bewerunge, mostly during the late nineteenth century.[29] These tantalisingly reveal only one side of each exchange, but

29 Cornelius Mulcahy, a priest of the Limerick diocese already mentioned above as the translator of Aigran's *Religious Music*, was the executor for Bewerunge's estate. He retained items of Bewerunge's correspondence until his own death in 1961. Mulcahy's effects were then stored in Limerick's episcopal palace until that was sold in 2007, at which time the Bewerunge documents were taken into care by Limerick diocesan archives.

are nonetheless highly informative. A small number of very useful letters was found in the Dublin diocesan archive.[30] Scant information survives in the archives of the various German archdioceses and dioceses with which Bewerunge was connected. As a result, Cologne and Paderborn archdioceses are eager to obtain a copy of this research.[31] Eichstätt has basic details concerning Bewerunge's ordination. Regensburg Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek has a small but significant file of correspondence to Franz Haberl from Archbishop William Walsh, Bishop Nicholas Donnelly – both pivotal figures in Irish church music reform – and Bewerunge.[32] Würzburg University was able to provide information on Bewerunge's curriculum of studies, but neither Würzburg nor Regensburg music schools have any surviving records.[33] Family letters and newspaper cuttings generously provided by independent researcher Peter Trotier in Germany gave valuable insights into Bewerunge's childhood and upbringing. A serendipitous encounter in Hungary led to the procurement of organ-builder Georg Stahlhuth's surviving workshop notebooks, which add greatly to previously available information concerning planning and construction for the Maynooth college chapel organ.

Most significant of all was the Stanbrook Abbey correspondence archive between Bewerunge and Dame Laurentia McLachlan. Two trips were made to England during

30 A thorough search was undertaken for this thesis, but it should be noted that there may be further pertinent items within this large and uncatalogued archive.

31 Paderborn was not an archdiocese during Bewerunge's lifetime; it was a suffragan diocese of Cologne. It was promoted to an archdiocese in 1930.

32 This correspondence was partly explored by Ian Curran and his contribution is discussed in chapter four below. Ian Curran, 'Late Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Catholic Church Music Reform and its Impact on Ireland' (unpub. MA thesis: Mary Immaculate College, University of Limerick, 2007).

33 The damage wrought by the Second World War was of course the cause of records losses in numerous institutions.

the course of research for this thesis to investigate material at Stanbrook.[34] Study of the complete archive revealed almost seven hundred items of correspondence covering the period 1902 to 1923. Critically, both sides of the epistolatory exchange survive almost entirely intact, as Dame Laurentia requested the return of her letters from Maynooth following Bewerunge's death. They provide a broad spectrum of material from which to extrapolate perspectives on Bewerunge's professional and private life. It was French Benedictine monk Dom Augustus Gatard, an exile from Solesmes, who first introduced Bewerunge to Stanbrook. Dame Laurentia is a well-known figure in her own right through her biographies, *In A Great Tradition* and *The Nun, the Infidel and the Superman*, – both of which noted Bewerunge's influence on her thinking – and Whitemore's play *The Best of Friends*, which was based on her friendship with George Bernard Shaw.[35] Bewerunge and Dame Laurentia were near-contemporaries in age. Strewn throughout their often intellectually rigorous correspondence were descriptions of daily events, the exchange of gossip, and a relaxed, unguarded mode of communication. The letters constitute a fascinating window onto an unusual relationship of intellectual equality between priest and nun. Cross-referencing and evaluating these diverse and often fragmentary primary sources yields interconnecting strands of information which all contribute to a more informed narrative detailing Bewerunge's work and influence.

34 In 2009 the Benedictines of Stanbrook moved location from a large and beautiful Pugin-designed abbey in Worcestershire to a small purpose-built foundation in the remote Yorkshire moors. Some of the new buildings are still under construction (2014). Before the move, Stanbrook's extensive archives were put into storage at four different Benedictine abbeys around England. Stanbrook is an enclosed order and retrieval of stored boxes for inspection during the course of this research was complex: the archivist had to obtain permission to travel from her bishop before the appropriate boxes were located and brought back to Stanbrook. Thus there was no opportunity for speculative searches of uncatalogued archival material, a project which might prove fruitful in the future when the archives are reunited within the new abbey.

35 Benedictines of Stanbrook, *In a Great Tradition: Tribute to Dame Laurentia McLachlan* (London: John Murray, 1956); Dame Felicitas Corrigan, *The Nun, the Infidel, and the Superman* (London: John Murray, 1985); *The Best of Friends* was written in 1987 by English playwright Hugh Whitemore.

Most importantly, Bewerunge's own writings constitute another valuable primary source for his reassessment. His known published output has more than doubled as a result of new articles found during the course of research for this thesis. The existence of many of these new articles was inferred through remarks and comments in the correspondence archives. Sourcing the articles was problematic, as the date and organ of publication was not always mentioned, and a few items have yet to be located. A comprehensive search of all German church music journals in a speculative search for material by or referring to Bewerunge would have required time and expenditure beyond the capacity of this study. This remains a potentially rewarding area for future examination. Almost all of the new articles which have been found were in German and these have now been translated into English.

V Thesis Outline

The chapters are arranged so as to disclose Bewerunge's life and work both thematically and quasi-chronologically. The exception to this schematic is chapter two, which deals exclusively with church music in Ireland and teaching in Maynooth prior to 1888, thus providing an essential contextualisation for Bewerunge's new position as professor of church chant and organ. Some strands of Bewerunge's work continued throughout his life, such as his work at Maynooth and his other institutional teaching activities. Others strands developed as he integrated into his adopted country, for instance his involvement in Irish traditional music and secular music teaching. As he matured, Bewerunge turned his attention increasingly to scholarly activities in the field of plainchant research. The chapter structure is designed to reflect the advancement of his interests alongside his increasing status as a musician, pedagogue, and scholar.

Chapter one considers Bewerunge's family and educational background, placing him within the exigencies of the German *Kulturkampf* years and noting the

affinity created between Irish and German Catholics through their mutual experience of authoritarian repression. This chapter also provides an account of the Cecilian movement for church music rehabilitation, whose leaders – for instance Franz Haberl – informed much of Bewerunge's sacred music study.

The second chapter examines Catholicism in Ireland, with a particular focus on phenomena affecting church music. It draws attention to the close connections forged between Ireland and Germany through the Cecilian movement, a network which ultimately brought Bewerunge to Maynooth. Using archival records, this chapter constructs for the first time a narrative of music tuition and teaching policies in St Patrick's College Maynooth, thereby setting a context for Bewerunge's arrival in 1888.

Chapter three measures the impact of his work at Maynooth. It reveals pedagogical difficulties and successes, and considers the importance of Bewerunge's strong character in improving the music programme at Maynooth. It reviews his arrangements and compositions, including a number of newly-discovered works. Chapter three also discloses new technical information regarding construction of the college chapel organ, highlighting the extent of Bewerunge's innovative approach and placing the instrument in context as a landmark installation for Ireland.

The fourth chapter considers three quite distinct aspects of Bewerunge's work in Ireland. The first is his involvement with the Irish church music reform movement, articulated through his interactions with a number of idiosyncratic personalities including Archbishop William Walsh and cultural revivalist Edward Martyn. The second is his intense engagement with Irish traditional music, which incorporated pioneering work in ethnomusicology. The third facet of this chapter is Bewerunge's increasing interest in secular music education, exhibited by his founding and editing of Ireland's first music periodical, the *Irish Musical Monthly*, and culminating in his appointment as professor of music at University College Dublin.

Chapter five examines Bewerunge on the international stage. The number of threads evaluated in this chapter are reflective of his diverse interests and his enormous workload. He was an increasingly active scholar, focused particularly on plainchant melodic restoration and rhythmic theory.[36] This chapter demonstrates how his research in these areas directly informed his work as a practical musician, an educator, and a facilitator of reform. Newly-discovered journal publications and conference presentations are also discussed here, showing Bewerunge's ease in the field of international scholarship.

The sixth chapter documents previously unknown articles published by Bewerunge in Germany during the 1915–1919 period. It also chronicles the sad consequences of war on his career, his reputation, and his health. His professional status was at its highest when hostilities commenced; by the time he returned to Ireland in 1920 he was discredited and ill. This chapter details the anti-German attacks perpetrated by former colleagues, and discusses the prejudice and injustice which occasioned them. Finally, it records Bewerunge's last years in Maynooth.

Chapter seven draws together the many strands of Bewerunge's life and work, and considers the new perspectives on his legacy which unfold throughout this narrative. Bewerunge was indeed a multi-faceted musician, but this study also confirms his position as an educator, an early musicologist and a forward-looking scholar. This is demonstrated through Appendix A, which catalogues his published output over a span of thirty years, from 1889 to 1919. Appendix B lists his Renaissance transcriptions and his own compositions and arrangements. Appendix C provides a complete index to Bewerunge's short-lived yet significant periodical, the *Irish Musical Monthly*, Appendix D provides a selection of letters, and finally Appendix E deals with plainchant harmonisations.

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36 The complexities of Bewerunge's views on plainchant theory and performance as they unfolded in his correspondence with Dame Laurentia are touched upon in this thesis and provide a rich area for further and wider consideration, a task beyond the scope of the present study.

CHAPTER ONE

Bewerunge's Early Years: Political, Social, and Educational Contexts

Introduction

Heinrich Bewerunge was twenty-five years of age when he arrived in Maynooth in 1888. Previous evaluations of his work have taken 1888 as a starting point, leaving his early life unconsidered.[1] The first task of this thesis is therefore to fill this lacuna by examining Bewerunge's first quarter century, the period which pre-dated his arrival in Ireland, and consider the political, social, and educational circumstances which shaped his personal mores and cultural values.

The chapter begins with a brief account of major political events in nineteenth-century Germany, focusing on Prussia as the Bewerunge family were originally from the Prussian province of Westphalia. This provides an essential context for appreciation of the significant educational and religious difficulties which affected Catholic families such as the Bewerunges. It also highlights an affinity between Germany and Ireland, based on Catholic struggles in the face of adversity. The chapter moves on to introduce Bewerunge's family background, using a number of surviving documents including letters, memoriam cards, and newspaper reports. The family's status within German society necessarily had a bearing on Bewerunge's own attitudes and expectations when he moved abroad. The third section of the chapter describes the German education system and shows how Bewerunge's education, including his priestly training, was shaped by anti-Catholic legislation. It has been argued that popular hostility to Catholics in Germany dated from 1866,[2] and noting that the last peace law of the *Kulturkampf* period was enacted in 1887, it is manifest that the politics

1 For instance, White and Lawrence, *IMS 2* (1993); White (1998).

2 Margaret L. Anderson, 'The Kulturkampf and the Course of German History', *Central European History*, vol. 19, no. 1 (March 1986), p. 89.

of anti-Catholicism dominated Bewerunge's life from early childhood until the late 1880s when he received an offer of work in Ireland.

Finally, the chapter traces the development of the German Cecilian movement for church music reform. It demonstrates how the influence of Cecilianism spread internationally, and shows how the strong links between the Irish Cecilian society and Regensburg ultimately resulted in Bewerunge's appointment at Maynooth.

1.1 Germany in the Mid-Nineteenth Century

In the nineteenth century Germany was a country of change and turmoil, particularly for Catholics. In 1862, the year of Bewerunge's birth, Otto von Bismarck was appointed prime minister by William I, King of Prussia (1861–1888). Bismarck was the driving force behind a new unified German empire following the demise of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806. The power struggle between Prussia and Austria was particularly significant from a Catholic perspective; the 1870 Franco-Prussian war gave Protestant Prussia the dominance of power.[3] The Catholic Centre Party was formed in the same year to safeguard a Catholic minority in the largely Protestant state.[4] Bismarck feared that the allegiance of the Centre Party might lie primarily with Rome rather than with Germany. This conflict between loyalty to the state and obedience

3 See Anthony J. Steinhoff, 'Christianity and the Creation of Germany', *The Cambridge History of Christianity, Vol. 8: World Christianities c.1815–c.1914* (2008), pp. 282–300, for a more detailed outline of religious and political identites in Germany.

4 The foundation of the Centre Party was galvanized by anti-Catholic riots in 1869, following firstly on the discovery of Barbara Ubryk, a mentally ill Carmelite nun incarcerated in appalling conditions in Kraców, and secondly when a hostile crowd damaged a Dominican orphanage near Berlin. These events were widely disseminated via the press, street ballads and theatre. For further details on Barbara Ulryk and the Moabit *Klostersturm* incident, see Michael B. Gross, *The War Against Catholicism: Liberalism and the Anti-Catholic Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001), pp. 158–163; George G. Windell, *The Catholics and German Unity 1866–1871* (Minneapolis: The Lund Press, 1954), pp. 235–239; and Manuel Borutta, 'Enemies at the gate: The Moabit *Klostersturm* and the *Kulturkampf*: Germany', *Culture Wars: Secular-Catholic Conflict in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, eds Christopher Clark and Wolfram Kaiser (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 237–241.

to an organised religion was debated in England with reference to the Irish Catholic issue, as well as in Germany. The doctrine of papal infallibility, issued following the first Vatican Council of 1869–1870, reinforced Bismarck's concerns regarding the primacy of Catholic fidelity to the state.[5] In 1871 the Vatican *Curia* declared its support for the Centre Party and thereby gave Bismarck an opportunity to launch an offensive against the Catholic church. The growth in Catholic orders undoubtedly increased his disquiet: by 1872 there were 8,795 members of 914 religious foundations in the Hohenzollern province of Prussia.[6] The Catholic clergy had become *Reichsfeinde* (enemies of the state). Liberal politician Rudolf Virchow (1821–1902) improvised the term *Kulturfkampf* to symbolise not just a struggle against the Catholic church but a campaign to free secular life from the domination of religion.

1.1.1 Anti-Clericalism, Anti-Catholicism and Catholic Persecution

The Chancellor dissolved the Catholic section of the Prussian Ministry of Educational and Ecclesiastical Affairs in July 1871, on the grounds that it had encouraged the Polish language rather than German in the Prussian province of Posen. On 10 December 1871 the *Reichstag* supported the *Kanzelgesetz* (pulpit law) which made it a criminal offence for clergy to preach on state affairs.

> A minister of religion or any other spiritual person who shall in the exercise of his office publicly, and before a numerous assemblage of persons, or in a church or other place of religious worship, in the presence of many people, treat of matters of state in a manner calculated to bring about a breach of the peace, shall be punished by imprisonment up to two years.'[7]

Bismarck appointed Adalbert Falk as his new *Kultusminister* in January 1872. One of

5 Ireland's Cardinal Paul Cullen played a vital role in drafting the doctrine of papal infallibility.

6 Ronald J. Ross, 'Enforcing the *Kulturkampf* in the Bismarckian State and the Limits of Coercion in Imperial Germany', *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 56, no. 3 (September 1984), p. 469.

7 J.F. Maclear, C*hurch and State in the Modern Age: A Documentary History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 264–265.

Falk's first actions was to abolish church supervision of schools (*Schulaufsichtsgesetz*). Thus the clergy, who traditionally acted as school inspectors, could now only do so with permission from the state. Although this impacted both Protestant and Catholic religions, in practice it was largely Catholic inspectors who were replaced by lay personnel.[8] On 4 July 1872, with Bismarck's authorisation, the *Bundesrat* passed a law against the Jesuit order which forbade new Jesuit establishments, dissolved existing foundations, and granted power of expulsion from the country against individual members of the order.

Further laws passed in May 1873 – the first of the *Maigesetze* (May laws) – increased state control over church affairs and raised the bar for ordination as a priest. Attendance at *Gymnasien* (academically oriented humanist second-level schools) became compulsory for young men who intended to join the priesthood, along with study at a state university or state-accredited seminary. Cultural examinations in philosophy, history and German literature became mandatory.[9] As priestly instruction was required to be in the German language, this militated against clergy who trained in Rome.[10] A newly-established court of ecclesiastical affairs abolished the authority of the Pope over the Catholic church in Prussia.[11] Further *Maigesetze* in 1874 empowered the Prussian government to imprison or expel any clerics who were practising without having fulfilled state requirements, and the same laws expanded on the strict conditions for clerical education.[12]

In his February 1875 encyclical *Quod nunquam* Pope Pius IX condemned the *Kulturkampf* laws, particularly the imprisonment and deposition of bishops from

8 Gordon A. Craig, *Germany 1866–1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), p. 73; Gross (2001), p. 255.

9 Craig (1981), p. 74; Ross (1984), p. 460.

10 Róisín Healy, *The Jesuit Specter in Imperial Germany* (Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2003), p. 77.

11 Gross (2001), pp. 256–257.

12 *Ibid*., p. 257.

the dioceses of Gniezno, Poznań and Paderborn. A number of Bewerunge family members resided in Paderborn and would have been directly affected by anti-Catholic measures. The German government reacted with the *Brotkorbgesetz* (breadbasket law), suspending state payments to the Catholic church until bishops agreed to be bound by *Kulturkampf* restrictions. The church's right of communication with the Vatican was also abolished.[13] The 1875 *Maigesetze* banned all religious orders from Prussia, with the exception of those involved in medical work and teaching. The property of expelled orders was annexed by the state.

The cumulative effect of *Kulturkampf* regulations was devastating. Over the next three years, approximately 1,800 priests were imprisoned or exiled, with 1,125 of 4,600 Prussian parishes left vacant.[14] Nine of the twelve Prussian dioceses were without bishops, either through expulsion or non-reappointment after death. Church property was confiscated by the state, to a value in excess of sixteen million Marks.[15] Catholic newspapers were taken under state authority, their editors were fined or arrested, numerous Catholic organisations and associations were dissolved, houses were searched, and public meetings were obstructed.[16] The worst period of *Kulturkampf* Catholic deprivations occurred during Bewerunge's teenage years, a formative period during which he was old enough to be politically aware but too young to take a political or religious stand.

1.1.2 Dismantling *Kulturkampf*

Kulturkampf legislation met with both passive and active resistance from Catholic laity and clergy, assisted by the confessional press. Although the pulpit law

13 *Ibid*.

14 Craig stated that by 1876 a total of 1,400 parishes were without priests. Craig (1981), p. 75.

15 James Retallack, ed., *Imperial Germany 1871–1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 86.

16 Gilley and Stanley (2006), vol. 8, p. 295; Gross (2001), pp. 257–258.

was in operation, there were no regulations against the press until 1874.[17] Catholic newspapers multiplied, especially in the Rhineland and Westphalia, where Catholics were more numerous.[18] Religious observance became politicised: public holidays and significant increases in pilgrimage activity provided opportunities for mass defiance.[19] Catholic organisations such as the *Katholische Volksverein* in Cologne campaigned against the *Kulturkampf*. Historical analysts suggested a number of reasons why anti-Catholic measures did not always succeed, including lack of public support;[20] lack of administrative procedures to support government policy;[21] and insufficient motivation for clergy to comply with government requirements.[22] A growing backlash against *Kulturkampf* gave the Centre Party a hugely increased vote and at the 1878 elections the party was on an equal footing with the National Liberal Party.[23]

Bismarck's opportunity for a rapprochement with beleaguered Catholics came when Leo XIII acceded to the papacy in 1878. The Vatican, the Chancellor and the Centre Party continued to negotiate between 1878 and 1880.[24] From 1881 to 1883 a series of moderating laws were passed on the *Maigesetze*.[25] Diplomatic relations with the Vatican were resumed in 1882, and after 1883 priests began to return to vacant parishes.[26] The ratio of clergy to population was extremely low, and a comment from 1885 (the year of Bewerunge's ordination to the priesthood) on the dearth of Catholic theological students revealed the ongoing depredations of *Kulturkampf*: 'The number

17 Ross (1984), pp. 472–473.

18 Thomas M. Bredohl, *Class & Religious Identity: The Rhenish Center Party in Wilhelmine Germany* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1998), p. 57.

19 *Ibid*., p 57.

20 Owen Chadwick, *The Secularization of the European Mind in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), p. 127.

21 Ross (1984), p. 460; Jonathan Sperber, *Popular Catholicism in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984), pp. 241–242.

22 Sperber (1984), p. 249.

23 Craig (1981), p. 76; Borutta (2003), p. 251.

24 Rudolf Lill, 'The Conclusion of the Kulturkampf in Prussia and in the German Empire, *History of the Church Vol. IX: The Church in the Industrial Age*, eds Hubert Jedin and John Dolan (London: Burn & Oates, 1981), pp. 58–61.

25 *Ibid*., pp. 61–62.

26 *Ibid*., pp. 64 and 66.

of students comes so far short of the requirement that the clergy must shortly die out [...] unless there is a speedy change for the better.'[27]

Negotiations between Bismarck and Rome continued until 1886. The Pope continued to seek ecclesiastical freedom for the training and appointment of priests; the state continued to implement *Kulturkampf* requirements for the education of clergy and maintained its right of veto in filling clerical appointments.[28] The *Friedensgesetzen* (peace laws) of 1886–1887 finally marked an official end to *Kulturkampf*. Although a more equitable balance was achieved in church-state relations, the reverberations of *Kulturkampf* continued for three-quarters of a century. The requirement for civil marriage outside the church and the ban on church supervision of schools persisted.[29] Anti-Jesuit laws remained on the statute books until 1917,[30] and criminalisation of clergy speaking on state affairs survived until as late as 1953.[31]

1.2 Bewerunge's Family Background

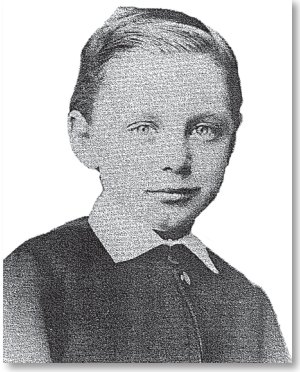
1.2.1 Parents and Siblings

Heinrich Wilhelm Hubert Bewerunge was born on 7 December 1862 in Letmathe, Prussia (approximately eighty kilometres north-east of Düsseldorf, in the diocese of Paderborn). The only extant document which gave Bewerunge this full set of Christian names was an 1888 note from the reference books of Cologne archdiocese, listing priests on furlough. In all other surviving documents, including for example a post-war British government travel pass and Irish census returns, he was named as

27 Johannes Conrad, *The German Universities for the Last Fifty Years* (Glasgow: David Bryce & Son, 1885), p. 114.
28 Lill (1981), pp. 66–67.
29 Healy (2003), p. 78.
30 Lill (1981), p. 73.
31 Gross (2001), p. 255.

Heinrich, or Henry, Bewerunge. He was the oldest of nine children born to Heinrich Hermann Bewerunge (1836–1901) and Maria Theresia Bewerunge, née Lipps (1835–1908).[32] Heinrich Hermann Bewerunge, originally from Lüchtringen,[33] attended a building construction vocational school in Holzminden.[34] Based in Paderborn with his brother Friedrich Wilhelm, he became involved in railway construction, specialising in tunnels. The brothers moved to Letmathe in 1860: this may have been prompted by the expanding railway network but it may also have been as a result of notable pre-*Kulturkampf* conflicts in Paderborn between the Prussian state and the Catholic church.[35] Friedrich Wilhelm remained in Letmathe while Heinrich Hermann and his growing family moved first to Solingen, then Ratingen, and finally settled in Düsseldorf in 1871.[36] Bewerunge thus had three changes of location during his first nine years.

Fig. 1.1 Bewerunge as a young boy[37]



32 The biographical information in this section is contained in a letter dated 23 September 1925 from Bewerunge's sister Maria to her nephew Norbert Bewerunge. This and copies of other Bewerunge family documents were kindly given to this author by independent researcher Peter Trotier, who published 'Die Letmather Bauunternehmer Friedrich Wilhelm und Heinrich Bewerunge und ihre Familien', *Der Märker*, vol. 51, no. 3 (July–September 2002), pp. 127–132, and vol. 51, no. 4 (October–December 2002), pp. 171–177. Further references to Bewerunge family documents provided by Trotier will be abbreviated to PT.

33 Lüchtringen is approximately 200 kilometres north-east of Düsseldorf.

34 This was probably the *Hochschule für angewandte Wissenschaft und Kunst* (now a university for applied sciences and art). Sperber commented that construction contractors were 'mostly or entirely Catholic': Jonathan Sperber, 'The Shaping of Political Catholicism in the Ruhr Basin, 1848–1881', *Central European History*, vol. 16, no. 4 (December 1983), p. 351.

35 Jonathan Sperber, 'Competing Counterrevolutions: Prussian State and Catholic Church in Westphalia during the 1850s', *Central European History*, vol. 19, no. 1 (March 1986), pp. 45–62.

36 They already had seven children by 1871, and two more were born in Düsseldorf.

37 Trotier, *Der Märker* (2002), p. 174.

His family was one of many thousands who moved to major urban centres throughout Europe during the age of industrialization. Germany's industrial revolution began in the 1840s, triggered by railway development.[38] In 1840 Düsseldorf had a population of 35,000; by the time the Bewerunges arrived in 1871 it had doubled to over 70,000 and the city continued to expand rapidly in the following decades.[39] During the 1870s, Heinrich Hermann remained in railway construction. From 1875 to 1877 he worked in Hückeswagen, fifty-five kilometres east of Düsseldorf, with a routine of eight days work followed by eight days off. By the late 1870s he had moved into property construction in Düsseldorf. Writing to her nephew Norbert, Maria Bewerunge listed entire streets which were built by her father. Current maps show these consist of numerous blocks of city property in the Düsseldorf-Unterbilk and Düsseldorf-Friedrichstadt areas, although his buildings were destroyed during the second world war.[40] Heinrich Hermann's concerns for the well-being of his family are evident in a number of different sources. Maria recollected that he changed his employment so that he could spend more time with his family, and she also recalled him bringing sweets for the children whenever he had been working away from home.[41] An unidentified newspaper obituary notice after his death in 1901 noted that one of the reasons he moved to Düsseldorf was so that his children could have a better education.[42] In addition to his success as a business entrepeneur, Bewerunge's father was a dedicated family man.

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38 Peter N. Stearns and Herrick Chapman, *European Society in Upheaval: Social History Since 1750*, 3rd edn (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1992), pp. 98–99.

39 Stadtarchiv Landeshauptstadt Düsseldorf <http://www.duesseldorf.de/stadtarchiv/stadtgeschichte/gestern_heute/b_09_stadtgeschichte.shtml> [accessed 13 March 2013].

40 Maria Bewerunge to Norbert Bewerunge, 23 September 1925. (PT)

41 *Ibid*.

42 Unidentified newspaper obituary. (PT)

1.2.2 The Bewerunge Family in the Community

In most European countries, workers who migrated to cities following industrialization broke their traditional ties with religious activity, as they left the familiarity of parish and small community behind.[43] This was not so for Heinrich Hermann and Maria Theresia, whose ongoing activities show that their religious convictions remained strong. Westphalia and the Rhineland had a greater Catholic population than elsewhere in Prussia and so the Bewerunges were not an insignificant minority in the practise of their religion. The heavily industrial Rhineland was a prime area for social Catholicism: traditional objectives of religious conversion and poverty relief were augmented by assistance to workers in their quest for improved employment conditions. This was spurred on by the work of priest Adolf Kolping (1816–1865), who founded *Gesellenvereine* (journeymen's unions) to provide free vocational training for young Catholic men. Theologian Wilhelm Emmanuel von Ketteler (1811–1877), Bishop of Mainz and an outspoken opponent of *Kulturkampf*, argued that the church had a duty to help the working classes by providing co-operative societies, Christian trade unions and recreational facilities.[44] The development of Catholic social and cultural organisations can be regarded as a positive legacy of the 'culture war'. Societal integration of the new Catholic middle class (*Bürgertum*) – which included the Bewerunges – was generally linked with liberalism but as Jonathan Sperber has shown can also be attributed to mobilisation of Catholics against *Kulturkampf* restrictions, particularly in urban areas of the Rhineland.[45]

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43 Sean Connolly, *Religion and Society in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Dundalk: Dundalgan Press, 1985), p. 59.

44 Wilhelm Emmanuel von Ketteler, *Die Arbeiterfrage und das Christentum* (Mainz: Franz Birchheim, 1864). Ketteler canvassed for just wages, abolition of child labour, and co-ownership of production plants so that workers would have a stake in profits. He also argued for freedom of the church from government interference.

45 Jonathan Sperber discussed differing academic approaches to categorisation of *Bürgertum* in his review article 'Bürger, Bürgertum, Bürgerlichkeit, Bürgerliche Gesellschaft: Studies of the German (Upper) Middle Class and Its Sociocultural World', *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 69, no. 2 (June 1997), pp. 271-297.

The Bewerunge family exemplified urban upward mobility and improved educational opportunities in the third quarter of nineteenth-century Germany. Their activities within the community emphasized their social standing and their Catholic piety. Heinrich Hermann was a co-founder of the Düsseldorfer Volksbank, a savings and loan society, and remained on the board until his death in 1901. Maria Bewerunge described how he loaned money to people 'when he surely could have done with the money himself'.[46] Shortly before his death he showed her a list of debtors and itemised many who were not to be pressed for repayment of the money. Neither the Bewerunges' social status nor their business- and charity-related involvement with the organs of state prevented them from taking an active part in defying the anti-Catholic laws of the *Kulturkampf*. Bewerunge's uncle Friedrich Wilhelm was involved in the covert exchange of correspondence between Paderborn's Bishop Konrad Martin, exiled in Belgium, and the Paderborn diocese, as Bishop Martin attempted to administer his diocese from abroad.[47] Maria commented on her father's help for the clergy: 'God only knows how many priests he sheltered during that awful time of the cultural war'.[48] She had great admiration for her father:

> [He] was an upright man, honest, courageous, truth-loving, filled with a sense of honour, chivalrous, full of gentle emotions […] He was unable to send any beggar away […] Many parish priests can vouch for his benevolence, especially the Dominicans.[49]

The unidentified newspaper obituary already referred to included an account of Heinrich Hermann's funeral which revealed the respect in which the community held him.[50]

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46 Maria Bewerunge to Norbert Bewerunge, 23 September 1925. (PT)

47 Trotier, *Der Märker*, vol. 51, no. 3 (2002), p. 131.

48 Maria Bewerunge to Norbert Bewerunge, 23 September 1925. (PT)

49 *Ibid*.

50 A letter of commiseration to Bewerunge from Daniel O'Loan (former professor of ecclesiastical history at Maynooth and a friend of Bewerunge's) dated 22 November 1901 indicated that Heinrich Hermann had died some days before this date. (LDA)

After a detailed description of the pomp and ceremony with which the *St Sebastianus-Schutzenvereins* (of which Heinrich Hermann had been president) followed the coffin, the account continued:

> [...] there followed the many representatives of all the other clubs and societies, in which the deceased had been a member, as well as a great number of mourners from all spheres of the township.

The funeral procession was described as 'almost unmanageable' in size, and the report concluded: 'The funeral service was the best proof of the high esteem given by a large part of the population in our town to the deceased for his public spirit and dutifulness'.

Maria Theresia, Bewerunge's mother, was a devoted Catholic. Despite the difficulties of anti-Catholic legislation she was a member of the Third Order of St Dominic, a lay fraternity of Dominicans. Many of her charitable works were carried out in secret. She was also president of the *Müttervereins* (a mothers' society which promoted philanthropic causes, visited the sick, hosted lecture evenings etc.). All nine of Maria Theresia's children survived to adulthood, although her special favour appeared to be reserved for her eldest, whose vocation to the priesthood was a particular joy to her.[51]

The deeply-held Catholic tenets of the Bewerunge family were enacted daily by Heinrich Hermann and Maria Theresia in the course of their work. The family dedication to charitable causes and a belief in the importance of service to others was reflected in the extended family too, as Bewerunge's uncle Friedrich Wilhelm had founded a charity hospital in Letmathe using his own funds.[52] Bewerunge absorbed these Catholic values throughout his childhood and teenage years, and their importance in the formation of his character is evident in light of his own commitment to helping others without seeking reward or acknowledgement.

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51 A memoriam card for Maria Theresia noted that: 'It was her pride and joy to have seen one of her sons as a priest at the altar'. (PT)

52 Trotier, *Der Märker*, vol. 51, no. 3 (2002), p. 130.

Fig. 1.2 The Bewerunge family [53]

L. to R.: Josef, Hubert, Wilhelm, Heinrich, Karl (rear), Änne (front), Maria Theresia (rear), Heinrich Hermann, Therese (rear), Anton (front), Maria. This undated photograph was taken during the period when Bewerunge was studying for the priesthood in Würzburg, between 1881 and 1884.

1.3 Bewerunge and the German Education System

Following four years of elementary school, the German education system was bifurcated. Families of higher social status with adequate finances and the foresight to plan ahead could send their children to secondary school, thus leaving open the option of third-level education; but the vast majority of children remained in elementary

53 Trotier, *Der Märker* (2002), p. 172. Individuals were not named in the journal photograph, but were identified in a letter dated 12 January 1999 from Lucie Bewerunge to Peter Trotier. (PT)

school for eight years with no expectation of further education.[54] Heinrich Hermann Bewerunge was able to send his sons to university, showing that he had both the financial ability and the ambition to advance their education as far as they desired. Before considering Bewerunge's educational path, a brief overview of the German education system will contextualise educational standards, establish the position of music in early education, and highlight the dual interests of church and state.

1.3.1 Primary Education

Literacy levels were high in nineteenth-century Germany. Boys and girls alike were required to attend *Volksschule* (elementary school) for eight years from the age of six or seven.[55] The school curriculum encompassed reading, writing, arithmetic, singing and religious instruction.[56] Geometry, geography, history, and civic studies were added for older classes.[57] The interests of state and religion in education were recognised in the constitution, and there was a strong emphasis in the classroom on discipline, order, and obedience to authority. Not only were religious instruction books approved by the church, but also the curriculum itself.[58] A Catholic priest sat on the board of examiners for Catholic teacher training examinations.[59]

Prior to *Kulturkampf*, the role of the church in the supervision of schools ensured that singing was directed toward liturgical service. The teacher played the organ for church services, and teaching seminaries included organ tuition as part of their training

54 'Two educational routes existed – one for the controlling classes and one for the controlled masses'. Harold H. Punke, 'Recent Developments in German Secondary Education I', *The School Review*, vol. 38, no. 8 (September 1930), p. 576.

55 In 1857, less than half a percent of German children did not attend school, compared to almost one-third of non-attenders in France. Arthur Bott, *Prussia and the German System of Education* (Albany: Joel Munsell, 1868), p. 5.

56 Craig (1891), p. 189.

57 Bott (1868), p. 25.

58 Marjorie Lamberti, 'State, Church and the Politics of School Reform during the Kulturkampf', *Central European History*, vol. 19, no. 1 (March 1986), p. 67.

59 Bott (1868), p. 40.

courses.[60] It was not until 1922 that a delineation was made between the duties of teachers and those of church musicians.[61] During the nineteenth century, folksongs and patriotic songs became more important as concepts of nationhood grew, and singing helped support German national identity from a young age.[62] A specific repertoire of songs had to be memorised. Sight-singing and basic theory were taught. Most learning was done by rote, often with the teacher playing a violin.[63] During his 1879 visit, John Hullah (1816–1880) – who secured a permanent place for music in the British school system – found the standards of music teaching in Germany elementary schools to be low compared to those in Switzerland, Holland and Belgium.[64] John Spencer Curwen (1847–1916), who continued his father's pioneering work on the tonic sol-fa system in England, was a later visitor to Germany.[65] He commented adversely on German teachers' violin playing, noting 'not one in ten of the teachers I heard played in perfect tune'.[66]

1.3.2 *Kulturkampf* and Primary Education

The abolition of church supervision of schools in 1872 was a nexus of contention for the Catholic church. Mid-century dualism was replaced with state sovereignty over public and private schools. Although the provisions of the law were non-confessional and affected Protestants as well as Catholics, implementation of school reform was in practice focused on Catholic school inspectors. School reforms were extensive in the

60 Bott (1868), p. 39

61 Alexandra Kertz-Welzel, 'The Singing Muse? Three Centuries of Music Education in Germany', *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education*, vol. 26, no. 1 (October 2004), p. 17.

62 Wilfried Gruhn, 'Germany: Educational Goals, Curricular Structure, Political Principles', *The Origin and Foundations of Music Education: Cross-Cultural Historical Studies of Music in Compulsory Schooling*, eds Gordon Cox and Robin Stevens (London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2010), p. 52.

63 Singing as a subject was not considered to be either artistic or academic, but rather technical, in the category of drawing or calligraphy. Gruhn (2010), p. 52.

64 Bernarr Rainbow, *Music in Educational Thought and Practice: A Survey from 800 BC* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006), p. 249.

65 Bewerunge approved of the tonic sol-fa system and wrote a series of articles in 1895 for church music journal *Musica Sacra* (Regensburg), despite the disinterest of Franz Haberl, the editor.

66 John Spencer Curwen, *School Music Abroad* (London: J. Curwen & Sons Ltd, 1901), p. 2.

Rhine province, including Düsseldorf where the Bewerunges lived. Administrators saw the opportunity to professionalise school supervision and to release teachers from church obligations.[67] However, the number of clergymen discharged from school inspection duties far exceeded the number of state inspectors appointed. A mere 119 full-time inspectors replaced 373 Catholic and nineteen Protestant clergymen by June 1875, mainly in the Rhineland.[68] Two further issues complicated the already mixed motivations for school reform. One was the hostility engendered by Protestant schools sidelined during reform, thus reinforcing the confessional divide. The second involved Old Catholics, who had rejected the dogma of papal infallibility instituted at the First Vatican Council in 1870, and were no longer in full communion with Rome. Their appointment as secular but confessional school inspectors did not sit well with Catholics loyal to the Vatican.[69] While *Kulturkampf* was at its peak in the mid 1870s, huge numbers of Catholic priests were proscribed from overseeing religious education in schools, and their work was assigned to lay teachers.[70] Catholic perceptions of school reform as religious persecution led to political activism against school reforms *in toto*, and did not acknowledge that secular inspectors could in fact be more effective in their work than clerical inspectors.

1.3.3 Second-Level Education

Post-primary schools generally took on students at the age of ten, after four years of elementary school. As mentioned above, transfer to secondary education was an expensive commitment and was restricted by social class. In 1885 less than 3.2%

67 Marjorie Lamberti, *State, Society, and the Elementary School in Imperial Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 40, 43.

68 Lamberti (1986), p. 70.

69 *Ibid*., p. 74.

70 Lamberti stated: 'During Falk's administration, 2,204 priests were prohibited from giving and directing religious instruction in the schools'. Lamberti (1986), pp. 74–75.

of primary school attenders went on to secondary school.[71] Until the mid eighteenth century the traditional secondary school was the humanistic *Gymnasium*, which focused on Greek, Latin, and mathematics.[72] The advent of semi-classical *Realschulen* offered a greater focus on natural sciences and modern languages, and in 1882 the foundation of the modern *Oberrealschule* continued this trend. Secondary schooling took nine years, during which time pupils were examined regularly, culminating in the *Abitur* state examination.[73] The *Abitur* was classically-based and thereby enforced a division between *Gymnasien* students whose classical training allowed them to perform well in the examination and gain entry to university, and *Realschulen/ Oberrealschulen* students, where modern curricula necessitated a modified *Abitur* and guaranteed entry neither to university nor to state examinations for state positions such as teaching.[74] It was only in 1900 that *Oberrealschulen* students were granted admission to university.[75]

Gymnasien took most of their students not from *Volksschulen* but from private schools, or from the preparatory division of the *Gymnasium*, the *Vorschule*.[76] Free places were available at *Gymnasien* for exceptional *Volksschulen* pupils, with up to 10% of *Gymnasium* students derived from this sector.[77] However, parents had to make decisions about their children's long-term education at a very young age, and their choices were limited by economic factors.

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71 Ringer (1967), p. 132.

72 Harold H. Punke 'Recent Developments in German Secondary Education II', *The School Review*, vol. 38, no. 9 (November 1930), p. 682.

73 Fritz K. Ringer, 'Higher Education in Germany in the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 2, no. 3 (July 1967), p. 129.

74 Ringer (1967), pp. 129, 131.

75 Wilhelm Münch, 'A General View of German Pedagogy for the Benefit of Foreigners. II', *The School Review*, vol. 16, no. 1 (January 1908), pp. 1–11, p. 7.

76 Ringer (1967), p. 128; Conrad (1885), p. 216; Peter Lundgreen, 'Industrialization and the Educational Formation of Manpower in Germany', *Journal of Social History*, vol. 9, no. 1 (Autumn 1975), p. 66.

77 James Donaldson, *Lectures on the History of Education in Prussia and England* (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1874), pp. 32–33.

1.3.4 Educational Path

Heinrich Hermann's aspiration to see his sons at university reveals a man who saw no conflict between worldly ambition and religious piety. His achievements serve also as confirmation that *Kulturkampf* notwithstanding, it was possible for Catholics to improve their status. The upwardly mobile social trajectory of the Bewerunge family continued as Bewerunge and his brothers followed their chosen professions: Karl became a doctor of medicine, Anton a district court judge, and Josef a barrister.[78] Given the forward planning required to attend university, it appeared that Heinrich Hermann knew from an early stage that he wanted his sons to have every opportunity. As the Bewerunge family relocated several times before settling in Düsseldorf, it is unlikely that young Heinrich or his next brother Wilhelm attended several different *Vorschulen*. Instead their father probably obtained permission to allow his sons to be privately tutored, which was permitted by the state on application.[79] Heinrich Hermann must therefore have derived a reasonable income from his work on the railways from early on in his marriage. The teaching ratio in private schools in 1857, five years before Bewerunge's birth, was approximately twenty-three students per teacher.[80] No information is available on Bewerunge's early musical training. Musicologist Hugo Riemann – some of whose works Bewerunge later translated – remarked: 'because of the usual lack of music teaching in the schools [the student] is almost entirely dependent on private instruction'.[81] Bewerunge's sister Maria became an artist, specialising in paintings of the Eifel region between the Rhine and the Moselle,[82] and Bewerunge

78 The occupations of Bewerunge's siblings were listed in his 1912 Will. (MCA)

79 James E. Russell, *German Higher Schools: The History, Organisation and Methods of Secondary Education in Germany* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1899), p. 408.

80 Bott (1868), p. 5.

81 Hugo Riemann, trans. E. Bomberger, 'Our Conservatories', *The Bulletin of Historical Research in Music Education*, vol. 15, no. 3 (May 1994), pp. 220–335, p. 222.

82 Lucie and Robert Bewerunge to Peter Trotier, 12 January 1999. (PT)

referred to having heard Beethoven's opera *Fidelio* as a boy, so it seems that Heinrich Hermann's children were exposed to artistic culture and were given opportunities for education in art and music.

The Catholic *Gymnasium* in Düsseldorf was the *Königliche Katholische Gymnasium* (Royal Catholic High School).[83] Children usually began secondary education at age ten, in which case Bewerunge would have attended this school from 1872. During the 1870s, for every 4,000 head of population just one student attended a *Gymnasium*, and only one *Abitur* was awarded for every 10,000 of the population, statistics which reveal that only a select top tier of the population could expect to achieve this validation of their education.[84] Conrad's plan of *Gymnasium* studies (see Table 1.1 below) reflected the curriculum during Bewerunge's time.[85] There were six classes: three lower classes in which students spent one year each, and three upper classes which each lasted two years. More time was spent on Latin than on any other subject. During his life Bewerunge occasionally lamented his poor standard of French, and this lesson plan indicates why this was the case. English did not feature at all for *Gymnasium* students, although *Realgymnasium* pupils had three or four classes a week during their first three years of study.[86] This begs the question as to where and when Bewerunge learned English, in which he was fluent on his arrival in Ireland in 1888.[87] Perhaps English language lessons formed part of his early private tutoring.

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83 Now the Görres-Gymnasium. This school traces its history back to the sixteenth century, with changes of name and location along the way. Famous alumni included the poet Heinrich Heine (1797–1856). <http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/G%C3%B6rres-Gymnasium_%28D%C3%BCsseldorf%29> [accessed 13 March 2013].

84 Conrad (1885), p. 232.

85 *Ibid*., p. 324.

86 Conrad gave comparative study plans for *Gymnasien* and *Realgymnasien*: Conrad (1885), p. 324.

87 If his opening editorial in *LE* was to be believed, he apparently felt some sense of inadequacy regarding his command of English even after two years in Ireland. He stated: 'Being a foreigner, and, therefore, not familiar with the English language ...'. *LE*, vol. 12, no. 37 (January 1891), p. 1. However, as he had already contributed a perfectly-written article to *LE* in April 1889, just seven months after his arrival in Ireland, it seems apparent that for tactical reasons he wished to appear humble and unassuming.

Table 1.1 Plan of studies in a Gymnasium *c.*1885

CLASS	VI	V	IV	III	II	I
Religion	3	3	2	2	2	2
German	2	2	2	2	2	3
Latin	10	10	10	10	10	8
Greek			6	6	6	6
French		3	2	2	2	2
History & Geography	2	2	3	3	3	3
Mathematics	4	3	3	3	4	4
Physics					2	1
Natural History	2	2		2		
Drawing	2	2	2			
Writing	3	3				
Hours per week	28	30	30	30	30	30

1.3.5 University Education

In 1880 approximately 21,000 students were enrolled at university,[88] from a population of circa 45 million: just 0.05% of the population. Third-level graduates therefore constituted an intellectual élite and were highly respected.[89] The classically educated had a monopoly on even relatively minor state posts.[90] While the majority of university students in the first half of the nineteenth century had fathers who had also been to university – thus protecting academic exclusivity – by the time Bewerunge received his *Abitur* in 1880 only one third of university students' fathers had themselves attended. Heinrich Hermann, it will be recalled, attended a vocational *Hochschule* to learn the building trade.

Bewerunge's priestly vocation restricted his university choices. The education of young men for the priesthood created tensions between state requirements and Vatican

88 Ringer (1967), p. 136.
89 *Ibid*., p. 127.
90 *Ibid*., p. 129.

preferences. The state specified that seminarians were to study only in the theology faculties of state universities, whereas the church and many bishops stipulated that teaching should be in church-controlled seminaries.[91] There were six state universities in Germany offering a faculty of Catholic theology: three in Prussia (Bonn, Breslau and Münster) and three in Bavaria (Freiburg, Tübingen and Würzburg).[92] Of these, Bonn, Breslau and Tübingen had both Catholic and Protestant faculties of theology; Freiburg, Münster and Würzburg had Catholic faculties only.[93] During *Kulturkampf* Catholics took advantage of greater confessional freedom in Bavaria and student numbers in southern theology faculties increased. Many students also went abroad. When Bewerunge enrolled at the university of Würzburg in 1880–1881, there were 160 students in the faculty of theology.[94] University teaching staff consisted of full and associate professors appointed by the state on a fixed salary to teach a specific subject, but also entitled to deliver lectures on any subject within their faculty and to be paid an honorarium per lecture. Instructors (*Privatdozent*) were not salaried by the state, but could use university facilities and draw honoraria for lecturing in subjects for which they were qualified. They might also receive a teaching commission.[95] Students had to pay lecture fees and lecture-room fees.[96] Bewerunge spent three years studying at Würzburg. Unlike the many sources destroyed during the world wars, records have survived for his studies there. Table 1.2 below provides a summary of the subjects taken by him.[97] The *Kulturkampf* requirements for *Kulturexamen* in philosophy, history and German literature are evident in this layout of courses. During his time at Würzburg Bewerunge may also have attended the Royal School of Music, which in 1875 had

91 Lill (1981), pp. 64 and 66.

92 Conrad (1885), p. 108.

93 W. Lexis, trans. G.J. Tamsin, *A General View of the History and Organisation of Public Education in the German Empire* (Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1904), p. 4.

94 *Ibid*., p. 35.

95 *Ibid*., pp. 5, 8.

96 *Ibid*., p. 11. For medicine and natural science subjects students also had to pay practical experiment fees and institute fees.

97 Information kindly provided to this author on 13 August 2013 courtesy of Würzburg University's administrative archives. These were the subjects in which he sat for examination.

separated from the university.[98] However, records for the music school prior to 1907 were destroyed and this hypothesis cannot be confirmed.[99]

Table 1.2 Bewerunge's studies at the University of Würzburg

Summer Term 1881	Church History; Propaedeutics in Philosophy; Propaedeutics in Philosophy and Theology; Homiletics; Encyclopaedia of Theology; History of Philosophical Theology.
Winter Term 1881–1882	Apologetics; Metaphysics; Aesthetics; Dänte; Introduction to the New Testament; Ecclesiastical Art; Epistemological Logic.
Summer Term 1882	Dogmatics; First Epistle to the Corinthians; Church History; History of New Philosophy; History of Frederick the Great and Maria Theresa.
Winter Term 1882–1883	Dogmatics; Apologetics; Exegesis of the Infancy Story of Jesus; Morals; Epistemological Logic; Homiletics.
Summer Term 1883	Prophet Daniel; Introduction to the Old Testament; Morals; Psychology; Pedagogy; History of German Literature.
Winter Term 1883–1884	Dogmatics; Canon Law.

1.3.6 Training for the Priesthood

Following his time at university, Bewerunge had to spend at least eighteen months at a seminary in order to receive holy orders.[100] *Kulturkampf* legislation ensured that all (non-state) seminaries and theological colleges in Prussia were closed, and the training of priests virtually ceased.[101] It was only after the *Erste Friedengesetz* (first peace law) in 1886 and the abolition of the *Kulturexamen* that priestly training began to resume in Prussia.[102] Between 1878 and 1887, seventy-eight priests for the Cologne diocese were

98 'There is also a Royal School of Music at Würzburg, founded in 1801, which is well attended ... there are seventeen teachers and over five hundred and fifty pupils.' Hugo Riemann, *Dictionary of Music* (London: Augener & Co., *c*1896), p. 160.

99 Information provided to this author on 6 August 2013 by Hochschule für Musik-Würzburg.

100 Conrad (1885), pp. 112–113.

101 Bredohl (1998), p. 55; Joris van Eijnatten and Paula Yates, *Dynamics of Religious Reform in Northern Europe 1780–1920: The Churches* (Belgium: Leuven University Press, 2010), p. 172.

102 Van Eijnatten and Yates (2010), p. 172.

ordained at one seminary in the Netherlands,[103] and many others went to alternative locations in the Netherlands and Belgium. Bewerunge went to Eichstätt in Bavaria, and studied at the *Bischöfle Lyzeum* from 1883 to 1885.[104] The dates of Bewerunge's studies at Eichstätt, commencing in 1883, appear to overlap with the end of his studies in Würzburg, which ran until 1884. This must have resulted in some practical difficulties, as the two locations are 190 kilometres apart. Another possible explanation is that he completed his university studies early despite being registered until 1884. A private memoir referred to his 'brilliant' career at university,[105] and a private obituary mentioned that he went through his studies rapidly and very successfully.[106] Eichstätt was described as 'a model of ultramontane clerical education'.[107] Bewerunge later commented that 'we who came from other dioceses never went into town with the boys',[108] suggesting a clear divide between Eichstätt seminarians and those who were displaced from their own dioceses. Bewerunge was ordained to the diaconate on 8 December 1884, and to the priesthood on 19 July 1885, at twenty-two years of age.[109] He said his very first Mass in the parish of St Peter's, Düsseldorf.

On his tombstone, Bewerunge is described as a priest of the Paderborn diocese.[110] At that time Paderborn was a suffragan diocese of Cologne, and the region struggled with church-state power balance not just during *Kulturkampf* but also earlier, in the 1850s and 1860s.[111] In the 1870s, Rhenish-Westphalian bishops Konrad Martin of Paderborn and Johannes Brinkmann of Münster, along with Archbishop Paul Melchers

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103 *Ibid*., p. 172.

104 Information from the archives of the Archdiocese of Paderborn, 30 April 2013.

105 Stanbrook Abbey House Chronicles, 6 September 1907. (SAA)

106 *Ibid*., 5 December 1923. Interestingly, this source mentioned Bewerunge's excellence in mathematics at university, a subject which is not listed in the Würzburg records.

107 Van Eijnatten and Yates (2010), p. 171.

108 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 17 February 1921. (SAA)

109 Confirmed by the Archdiocese of Cologne, 16 May 2013.

110 At his own request, Bewerunge was buried in the graveyard of St Patrick's College Maynooth.

111 Sperber gives a fascinating account of social struggles between church, state and citizens in Paderborn, concluding: 'I am struck by the ignorance, paranoid suspicions, lack of understanding, and general bad faith so many Prussian officials displayed towards the Catholic Church and political Catholicism.' Sperber (1986) p. 61.

of Cologne, were fined and jailed for refusing to comply with the *Maigesetze*: they all appointed priests to vacant positions in their parishes without government approval.[112] After their terms of imprisonment ended, they went into exile rather than face further custodial sentences, whereupon the state declared them deposed from office.[113] Bewerunge should have been answerable either to Martin or Melchers. However, as both of these ecclesiasts were in exile, Bewerunge, along with many priests in his situation, was left without diocesan guidance. By special permission, he received holy orders in the diocese of Eichstätt (itself a suffragan diocese of Bamberg archdiocese), from Bishop Franz Leopold von Leonrod. Archbishop Melchers granted letters dimissory in 1884 for Bewerunge and three other students from the Cologne diocese to be ordained by Bishop Leonrod.[114] Bewerunge did not have any allegiance to Eichstätt or Bamberg, as it was only because of *Kulturkampf* that he had to leave his own diocese for education and ordination. Although frequently described in biographical material – and on his tombstone – as a priest of Letmathe in the Paderborn diocese, Bewerunge's ordination scroll named him as a priest of the archdiocese of Cologne.[115]

Cologne archdiocese was without a resident archbishop until 1885, and while its exiled archbishop refused to accept laws requiring government approval for clerical appointments, no provision could be made for Cologne's newly-ordained priests. Finally, as part of *Kulturkampf* negotiations between Bismarck and the Pope, Leo XIII elevated Paul Melchers to cardinal and appointed Philipp Krementz as Archbishop of Cologne in 1885. This diplomatic move granted the state its goal in removing Melchers, a staunch *Kulturkampf* opponent, but also ensured that diocesan administration could resume when state funds were released to Krementz. The timing of Bewerunge's ordination, on 19 July 1885, came just eight days before Melchers's elevation to

112 Between 1873 and 1884, no new [state-approved] priests were appointed in Prussia. (Sperber (1984), p. 252.)

113 Sperber (1984), p. 227.

114 Letter from Eichstätt diocesan archives dated 27 October 1998. (PT) See Appendix D, p. 348.

115 Confirmed by the Archdiocese of Paderborn, 30 April 2013.

cardinal. Krementz was installed as archbishop in December 1885. No provision was made for Bewerunge during this lacuna between the two archbishops. He was later appointed by Archbishop Krementz as secretary to the vicar-general in Cologne, and also as chanter in Cologne cathedral.[116] No records exist for him in Cologne until a brief note for 1888 indicated that he was teaching at Maynooth.[117] It seems likely that Bewerunge anticipated his appointment at Cologne might be a long-term position. A musician of high calibre who had been taught to exacting standards, his brief would have been to raise the benchmark for music in the cathedral after a period of financial and administrative stagnation. To this end, he continued his music education at the school of church music in Regensburg. He was taught by Franz Haberl, whom Riemann described as 'one of the best living authorities on matters connected with Catholic church music and its history'.[118] Haberl was director of music at Regensburg cathedral from 1871, and in 1874 founded the Regensburg *Hochschule für katholische Kirchenmusik*. Through Haberl, Bewerunge's grounding in church music was based on the ideals of the Cecilian movement, a reform movement discussed in the next section of this chapter. The only record remaining for Bewerunge at Regensburg is a note of the year he graduated: 1888.[119] However, Bewerunge himself later provided a list of the subjects he studied there. These included (but were not necessarily restricted to) liturgy and liturgical language, the history and aesthetics of church music, counterpoint with particular reference to vocal compositions, organ performance and the accompaniment of plainchant, and choir training.[120] The date of Bewerunge's

116 This information came from Bewerunge himself in bibliographical material published frequently during his lifetime, but it is not clear when the appointment was made.

117 Information kindly given to this author by the Historic Archive of the Archdiocese of Cologne, which specifically remarked upon the impact of *Kulturkampf* on ecclesiastical administration.

118 Riemann, *Dictionary of Music* (*c*.1896), p. 315.

119 *Gloria Deo Pax Hominibus: Festschrift zum 100-jährigen Bestehen der Kirchenmusikschule Regensburg* (Regensburg: Franz Fleckenstien, 1974), p. 392.

120 Bewerunge's list of subjects features in his handwriting on the rear of a letter to him from Pettit (secretary to William Walsh, Archbishop of Dublin) dated 22 May 1902. (LDA) Pettit's letter asks Bewerunge, on Walsh's behalf, to 'please fill up the subjects taught at the Ratisbon school'. See Appendix D, p. 349.

graduation from Regensburg confirms that he moved to Maynooth just months after completing his studies with Haberl.

There were a number of reasons why Bewerunge might have been drawn to the position offered in Ireland. First and foremost, the insecurity and disquiet of the *Kulturkampf* era had only just concluded with the z*weiten Friedengesetz* (second peace law) of 1887, and there were no guarantees that anti-Catholic sentiment would not be reinvigorated in future political manoeuvres. Secondly, whatever knowledge he had of Ireland would certainly have included an awareness that Irish Catholics had only relatively recently won freedom of religious observance. The similarities between Irish religious oppression and the German situation might have given him a feeling of common ground with Irish Catholics. Finally, the prospect of introducing church music reform in a country where the hierarchy had declared their support for such a project must have seemed like a golden opportunity.

1.4 The Movement for Church Music Reform

1.4.1 The Secularisation of Sacred Music

The aesthetics of post-Enlightenment and Romantic music were in direct competition with those of sacred music. The former focused on new conceptions of originality and the emotional expression of composer-artists, whereas the latter enshrined the edicts of the Council of Trent regarding primacy of voice and restrictions on instrumentation. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the *stile antico* was upheld as an ideal for sacred music. In Germany, Cäcilien-Bündnisse (Cecilian alliances) promoted chant and unaccompanied choral singing. In this context the nineteenth-century church music reform movement can be seen as part of an ongoing

reaction against the encroachment of secular music styles into church music.[121] The results of secularisation in church music included the adaptation of operatic arias for use during Mass, highly extended concerted movements of the Mass ordinary, and a focus on popular theatrical soloists. The behaviour of fashionable congregations during church services was often less than devotional – for instance Johannes von Geissel, Archbishop of Cologne, complained to the papal nuncio in a letter dated 30 December 1854:

> During the Kyries, Glorias, Credos, and so forth, they walk up and down in the nave, even with a lady on the arm, and converse as if they were in a public place. They stop with their backs to the altar so they can look the soloist in the face and hang on her cadences, flourishes and trills. Then they resume their stroll, conversing in loud voices, etc., as if it were a promenade or a hall or musical programme. And of all these abuses I have only too much proof. It is an outrage.'[122]

This lack of devotional attention to the liturgy was mirrored in urban centres across Europe, including London and Dublin, as can be seen from a review article in the *Dublin Review* of September 1844:

> Devout Christians were doomed, Sunday after Sunday, to hear the most holy of names minced with the insinuating effeminacy, or trilled out with the tutored grace, of the theatre or the concert-room.[123]

The controversy regarding appropriate liturgical music was fed by Romanticism's 'rediscovery' of Renaissance and early Baroque art. In the nineteenth century Palestrina and Italian Renaissance sacred music became a touchstone for church music as writers, polemicists, and historians characterized growth and development towards a 'golden age' – that of Palestrina – and a subsequent decline as art music impinged on the

121 Although seventeenth- and eighteenth-century efforts to promote chant and polyphony also took St Cecilia as a patron, the nineteenth-century reform movement was designated as Cecilianism.

122 Eric Yonke, 'The Problem of the Middle Class in German Catholic History: the Nineteenth Century Rhineland Revisited', *The Catholic Historical Review*, vol. 88, no. 2 (April 2002), pp. 267–268.

123 Frederick Oakley, 'Church Music and Choral Regulations', *Dublin Review*, vol. 21 (September 1846), p. 204.

sacred.[124] Radical changes in social order during the nineteenth century, and the great shift in population towards urban centres as the industrial revolution reshaped Europe, fed into a new *Zeitgeist* which necessitated a re-evaluation of earlier artistic norms, with an attendant a rise in historicism. Church music faced the twin difficulties of exalting Renaissance music (thus rooting sacred music firmly in the *stile antico*) whilst debating whether it was appropriate to incorporate the ongoing technical and harmonic developments within orchestral and vocal Romantic music in newly-composed liturgical music.

1.4.2 Early Cecilianism

Early nineteenth-century advocates of a return to Palestrina and the Italian model included Johann Kaspar Aibilinger (1779–1867), *Kapellmeister*, and Munich-based Kaspar Ett (1788–1847), organist and composer. Ett also focused on plainchant, further simplifying the already reduced melodies of the early seventeenth-century Medicean chant editions.[125] Although his efforts did nothing for the restoration of medieval chant, Ett raised awareness of chant as a musical form in its own right. King Ludwig I of Bavaria was an Italian Renaissance enthusiast and in 1830 he gave a royal command concerning church music:

> It is the will of His Majesty the King to restore, for the greater dignity of divine service, choral singing and music in the churches, above all in the cathedrals, in accordance with the old, true style. For this end seminaries, monasteries, and schools shall provide the necessary training...[126]

Karl Proske (1794–1861) was another early Cecilian. A medical doctor and priest who devoted himself to the cause of church music, he worked under Johann

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124 James Garratt discussed the 'romantic idealization' of Palestrina through the works of E.T.A. Hoffmann and A.F.J. Thibaut, among others. James Garratt, *Palestrina and the German Romantic Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 36–42.

125 Fellerer (1961), p. 185.

126 Karl Weinmann, *History of Church Music* (Ratisbon: Pustet, 1910), p. 164. Weinmann asked Bewerunge to translate into English the German edition of this publication, but Bewerunge declined as he wished to give his time to a different project.

Michael Sailer, Bishop of Ratisbon, to improve standards of music at Regensburg.[127] Proske valued plainchant above all other forms of sacred music, but he also cherished Renaissance polyphony. He brought old manuscripts back to Regensburg from visits to Italy, and published edited versions of these between 1853 and 1862 in his four-volume *Musica Divina*. The first volume contained works by Praenestinus (Palestrina), Lassus, Victoria, Lotti, Gabrieli, Asola and Pitoni.[128] Proske believed that the task of a contemporary composer was simply to emulate the old style, without any concession to modern harmonic developments. This restrictive view of liturgical composition was an aspect of Cecilianism which detracted from the worthy aims of the movement.

1.4.3 The Cecilian Society: *Allgemeiner Deutscher Cäcilien-Verein*

> In 1860, a provincial council of bishops in Cologne decreed:
>
> 'Choir directors should revert to those works which are written in a sublime and devout style, of which the author in first place is Johannes Aloysius Praenestinus and second is Orlandus Lassus.'[129]

However, it was Regensburg that finally became the centre of a co-ordinated attempt at church music reform through priest and composer Franz Xaver Witt (1834–1888). He founded the journals *Fliegende Blätter für katholische Kirchenmusik* (1866), *Musica Sacra* (1868), and the *Allgemeiner deutscher Cäcilienverein* (also 1868). At its foundation membership of the *ADCV* numbered 500 and quickly rose to several thousand.[130] The organisation was given papal sanction by Pius IX in his *Multum ad commovendos animos* of 16 December 1870.[131] In the same year the *ADCV* published

127 August Scharnagl and Raymond Dittrich, 'Proske, Carl', *Grove Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/22433> [accessed 23 May 2013].

128 Bewerunge's own copies of Proske's *Musica Divina* survive in the Russell Library, St Patrick's College Maynooth.

129 Garratt (2002), p. 144.

130 *Ibid*., p. 145.

131 Paul Collins, ed., *Renewal and Resistance: Catholic Church Music from the 1850s to Vatican II* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010), p. 156.

its first *Vereins-Katalog*, a list of approved church music which distinguished between liturgical music, sacred music, and religious concert music.[132] Primacy was given to Gregorian chant, followed by vocal polyphonic music.

Witt argued against both the artistic and liturgical merit of many Mass settings by Renaissance masters including Lassus and Palestrina. He decried extensive imitation, excessive lyricism, and any working of the text which strayed from a liturgically correct iteration – including a condemnation of lengthy settings of short texts.[133] These were precisely the aspects of polyphonic writing which were censured by the Council of Trent three hundred years earlier. Witt pointed to Palestrina's 'Stabat mater' and *Missa Papae Marcelli* and the Lassus motet 'Justorum animae' as being the summit of Renaissance church music.[134] Thus, the *ADCV* under Witt promulgated homophony and textually concise polyphony rather than elaborate and extended forms. Some members of the *ADCV* reduced the scope of musical composition even further. Michael Haller (1840–1915) took the position that chromaticism was unbecoming to church music because it could arouse passionate feelings, rather than elevate the listener toward God.[135] Witt intended his principles of reform to reach out not only to cathedrals but also to every village church. This broad ambition was both a strength and weakness for Cecilianism: although it aimed for equality amongst church musicians, in practice it meant that poor quality compositions abounded and complex music was often badly performed.

1.4.4 New Compositions, Worthy and Unworthy

The mission to spread the work of church music reform resulted in an outpouring of new church music. Efforts to participate in the revival of chant and emulation of

132 Siegfried Gmeinwieser, 'Cecilian Movement', *Grove Music Online* http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/05245 [accessed 14 May 2014].

133 Garratt (2002), pp. 147–148.

134 *Ibid*, p. 148.

135 *Ibid*., p. 162.

polyphony had mixed outcomes. Contemporary and subsquent commentators – including Bewerunge – agreed that a great deal of poor quality music was published in the name of Cecilianism. Musicologist Karl Fellerer explained why the criteria for inclusion and methods of refereeing for the *ADCV* approved music catalogues resulted in so many second-rate compositions:

> Hundreds of persons, often with more good will than ability, contributed compositions from which publishers expected to make great financial success. Thus, along with many valuable works, a flood of poor Cäcilian church music was printed. It was accepted indiscriminately and even judged to be good as long as the text was complete and the composition was diatonic and simple.[136]

An artistically inferior work which satisfied liturgical requirements met approval more easily than a compositionally sound work which might – even slightly – contravene liturgical rules. A listing in the *Vereins-Katalog* was not intended to confer a seal of artistic approval on a piece of music, but merely to indicate its suitability for liturgical use.

The Cecilian movement did motivate scholarship in the publication of new editions of masterworks. Michael Haller contributed to the Breitkopf & Härtel complete edition of Palestrina's works, supplying choral parts for large-scale works missing in manuscript form.[137] Franz Haberl, Bewerunge's mentor and Witt's successor as president of *ADCV*, took over editorship of the distinguished Palestrina *Gesamtausgabe* in 1878. His aim was to provide a practical performing edition and a model for composers. A referee for the *Vereins-Katalog*, Haberl was critical of the inclusion of liturgically functional works devoid of artistic merit. As the reform movement grew and further approved music catalogues were circulated, the debate regarding *ADCV* music choices spread to the press and even to the Bavarian parliament.[138] It was argued that a narrow perception of church music, kept within the confines of chant and emulation of Trent-

136 Fellerer (1961), p. 188.
137 *Ibid*., p. 168.
138 Garrett (2002), p. 175.

approved Renaissance style, could only generate a barren art form. Witt responded that 'art intended for the church must serve the church and its liturgy, otherwise it does not fulfil its purpose and inevitably becomes inartistic'.[139] He emphasised the necessity of providing music suitable for village churches as well as cathedrals, and that simple inartistic pieces which satisfied a liturgical function therefore had their place. Karl Weinmann (1873–1929), Haberl's successor as head of the Regensburg church music school, carefully distinguished between liturgical and artistic requirements as set out in the *Vereins-Katalog*:

> For excellent and worthy sacred music exists outside the Catalogue, while much that finds a place within it that can claim no artistic merit but merely liturgical correctness.[140]

He went on to admit tacitly the aridity of much compositional output, and recommended both a higher standard of artistry and a broader path within church music which encompassed Romantic composers of 'artistic genius'.[141] Fellerer later noted that ecclesiastical authority gave a seal of approval to music which would otherwise have met with trenchant criticism:

> Cecilianism endeavoured to create a musical form from an ecclesiastical vantage point. This was the revolutionary attitude of the Cecilian movement, and it held a danger of negating the artistic.[142]

It should of course be remarked that second-rate compositions are endemic to all genres and epochs. Much poor-quality material has undoubtedly been lost from past centuries through lack of transmission. The ease with which music was printed in the nineteenth-century and the relatively low cost of publication along with speedy dissemination ensured that second-rate Cecilian compositions were all too easily seen, performed, and criticized.

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139 *Ibid*., p. 175.
140 Weinmann (1910), p. 175.
141 *Ibid*., p. 176.
142 Fellerer (1961), p. 189.

1.4.5 *Motu proprio: Tra le sollecitudini*

The aims of the Cecilian reform movement were in effect codified by the *Motu proprio* of Pope Pius X dated 22 November 1903. This set of instructions on church music gave Gregorian chant pride of place, followed by vocal polyphony 'of the Roman school', specifically Palestrina.[143] Like Cecilianism, *Tra le sollecitudini* emphasized chant and polyphony. These two forms of music were to be 'in a large measure restored to the functions of public worship.' In the realm of modern music, a theatrical style was not to be countenanced; solo singing was not to predominate, and secular forms of music such as romanzas, cavatinas, etc. were not to be imposed on hymns. Liturgical texts were to be rendered faithfully. The piano and other 'frivolous' instruments were forbidden. And infamously, women were banned from church choirs: '[…] singers in church have a real liturgical office, and […] therefore women, being incapable of exercising such office, cannot be admitted to form part of the choir'. Soprano and alto parts were to be sung by boys. This decree was highly divisive and alienated many of the faithful.[144]

While justifying the cause of the Cecilian movement, *Tra le sollecitudini* also effectively concluded its reforming power. The church music dialectic moved on to take plainchant as its focus during the first decade of the twentieth century. Controversies regarding the varying standards of music published under the *aegis* of Cecilianism continued, however. Anti-German nationalism engendered by the first world war brought a further wave of antagonism towards Cecilian publications. The damage which Bewerunge's reputation suffered as a result of wartime propaganda will be explored in chapter six below.

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143 This and subsequent quotes in this paragraph are taken from the translation provided by *Adoremus*, <http://www.adoremus.org/TraLeSollecitudini.html> [accessed 17 August 2010].

144 James Joyce included adverse comment on the decree in his short story, 'The Dead'. James Joyce, *Dubliners* (London: Grant Richards Ltd, 1914), p. 241.

Conclusion

This chapter has investigated a number of issues which contextualise Bewerunge's social and educational background. The ease with which he moved among the educated élite during his professional life is explicated by the improved societal status of his family and his privileged education. The profoundly disturbing politico-religious forces which formed a backdrop to his childhood and early manhood predisposed him to sympathise with Irish Catholics. It is arguable that Bewerunge's independence was also fostered by *Kulturkampf* and its aftermath. A number of circumstances fed into this. Firstly, the unusual nature of his priestly formation outside his own diocese, in a setting where he had to contend with a two-tier community of seminarians: those from Eichstätt diocese and those like himself from elsewhere who were shunned. Secondly, the hiatus between the elevation of Paul Melchers to cardinal and the appointment of Philipp Kremenz as Archbishop of Cologne gave Bewerunge the freedom to occupy himself as he saw fit rather than as his diocese ordered him. Thirdly, the license he was given by Cologne to pursue further music studies under Haberl at Regensburg fostered his confidence in himself as a musician and scholar. One more factor is worth considering: the positive impact of travel on his self-reliance. The apparent overlap between the completion of his university course at Würzburg and his time as a seminarian at Eichstätt must have necessitated regular travel between the two locations, which are almost 200 kilometres apart. Cologne and Regensburg are more than 500 kilometres distant from each other, so his period of study under Haberl while a chanter at Cologne cathedral involved a significant commute. Bewerunge's path to the priesthood was thus quite different from that of a young man who spent all his time in a diocesan seminary and was then immediately appointed to a church position. The exposure to secular university education, the divisiveness of a *Kulturkampf*-driven seminary experience, combined with regular travel between Düsseldorf, Würzburg, Eichstätt, Cologne, and Regensburg, gave Bewerunge an unusual degree of independence. It is likely that his

readiness throughout his life to make decisions without reference to higher authority had its roots in this period. Whether this was always of benefit to his reputation is an issue which will be reconsidered at the conclusion of this thesis.

One final matter remains to be construed in this chapter: the significance of Bewerunge's association with Haberl, now considered 'one of the pioneers of modern musicology'.[145] There were positive and negative aspects to this relationship. Haberl's research into primary sources, particularly for the complete editions of Palestrina and Lassus, and his work on the church music anthology *Musica Divina*, gave Bewerunge an exposure to the importance of scholarly research. The breadth of Haberl's efforts, which encompassed editions of plainchant and polyphony in addition to journal publications and teaching, provided a model for Bewerunge's own endeavours throughout his life. However, his connection with Haberl tied Bewerunge very closely to Cecilianism and required him to publicly defend Cecilian ideals when he was not entirely in agreement with aspects of the movement's work. This is discussed further in chapter four below. In the field of plainchant, Bewerunge's loyalties were divided between Haberl's 1869 Ratisbon edition and the works published by the Benedictine monks of Solesmes in France. The former was based on post-Tridentine abridged chant melodies and was the official Roman version until 1900; the Solesmes editions incorporated restored medieval chant melodies and a more fluid performance method. Bewerunge's international profile in the first decade of the twentieth century was driven by the contentious debate surrounding conflict between these two chant traditions. This is considered in detail in chapter five below. Ultimately, however, it was Haberl who secured Bewerunge's position at Maynooth by recommending him to Nicholas Donnelly, founder of the Irish Society of St Cecilia.

145 Dieter Haberl, 'Haberl, Franz Xaver', *Grove Music Online* <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/12120> [accessed 24 August 2014].

CHAPTER TWO

Catholicism and Church Music in Ireland prior to 1888

Introduction

Bewerunge began his work in Maynooth almost sixty years after the 1829 Roman Catholic Relief Act was passed. The hostility towards Catholicism which had so recently shaped his own upbringing was long concluded in Ireland, but its after-effects still continued. In order to elucidate the religious temperament of Bewerunge's newly-adopted country, this chapter first looks at the forces that shaped Ireland's heritage in the decades prior to his arrival, with a particular focus on church music. The changes in religious observances brought about by Paul Cullen, the single greatest influence on Irish Catholicism in the nineteenth century, are outlined. The second section of the chapter examines church music perception and reception among Irish Catholic congregations by exploring contemporary sources including newspapers and social commentaries. This section concludes by introducing Nicholas Donnelly, who founded the Irish Society of St Cecilia.

The third part of the chapter explores the archives of St Patrick's College Maynooth, along with external sources where relevant, to highlight ecclesiastical music tuition in the college prior to Bewerunge's appointment. This constitutes the first systematic effort to weave together various strands of administrative information to form as complete a picture as possible of the provisions for music and music teaching during the first one hundred years at Maynooth. Principal sources include minute-books for the Board of Trustees, the Administrative Council and the Scholastic Council (also known in its early years as the Council of Studies). Both these councils were established in 1871 under the influence of Cardinal Paul Cullen as chairman of the Board of Trustees. An increasing interest in music teaching at Maynooth can be

charted during the latter part of the nineteenth century, clearly influenced by some of the external events documented in the first part of the chapter. This culminated in the establishment of a chair in Gregorian Chant and Organ in 1888. The examination of early approaches and practices at Maynooth creates a significant baseline from which to evaluate the impact of Bewerunge's arrival, and allows his revitalization of teaching in the college to be appraised.

2.1 Irish Catholicism after Emancipation

2.1.1 A Cataclysm of Changes

Like Germany, Ireland in the nineteenth century was a country in transition and in turmoil; politically, socially, and culturally. A number of significant events contributed to societal change. The mid-century famine caused a large decrease in population and subsequent changes in land ownership structures. The general provision of education in English contributed to the decline of the Irish language, with a consequent impact on national identity. Catholic church disciplinary reform had significant ramifications for religious observance among the population at large. The political activities of the Land League, through Charles Stewart Parnell and Michael Davitt, sought agrarian security for tenant farmers. The intertwining of religion and nationhood which created the still-pervasive synonyms of 'Irish' and 'Catholic' planted its roots here. The long and difficult journey towards independence created a concomitance between Irish nationhood and Irish Catholicism, forging a pivotal link between religion and national identity. The issues of education and church reform were particularly relevant to the work which Bewerunge undertook at Maynooth and in Ireland as a whole.

2.1.2 Shaping the Irish Church: Paul Cullen

Paul Cullen (1808–1878) was appointed apostolic delegate to Ireland in 1849, which gave him complete authority over the Irish Catholic church. He was appointed Archbishop of Armagh in 1850 and was translated to the archdiocese of Dublin in 1852. He became Ireland's first cardinal in 1866. Having spent almost thirty years in Rome, Cullen's aim on his return to Ireland as apostolic delegate was to align Irish Catholic practices with those of the Roman church. An ultramontanist, he believed that the Catholic church in every country should abide by the Roman model in matters of teaching and discipline, ensuring universal homogeneity of practice. His connections and the authority conferred by his high-ranking position made him a powerful force in Irish church reform. Cullen included members of the *Curia* as well as two popes, Gregory XVI and Pius IX, among his friends and associates. He had a prominent role in drafting the declaration of papal infallibility following the First Vatican Council of 1869–1870, and he was described by the Roman Propaganda Press as 'rather a Roman than an Irish priest'.[1]

Cullen presided over a period of major institutional expansion in the Irish Catholic church. He also involved himself in education and politics, specifically on the vexed questions of a Catholic university and the 'godless' Queen's colleges.[2] In 1854 he created a diocesan seminary for Dublin at Holy Cross College, Clonliffe. He established the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* in 1864. Its motto, '*Ut Christiani, ita et Romani sitis*', clearly pointed to an intention to solidify links between Ireland and

1 [Anon.], *Ireland and the Holy See, A Retrospect 1866–1883: Illegal and Seditious Movements in Ireland Contrasted with the Principles of the Catholic Church as Shown in the Writings of Cardinal Cullen* (Rome: Propaganda Press, 1883), p. 4.

2 The Queen's Colleges of Belfast, Cork, and Galway, established by charter in 1850, did not teach theology and were decried by the Catholic hierarchy.

Rome.[3] Cullen wielded considerable influence in the appointment of Irish bishops. Unsurprisingly, he selected ultramontane priests. His nominees were rarely parish priests with pastoral experience: instead he generally chose academics or members of religious orders.[4] Cullen was confident and strong-willed in reorganising the Irish church, but he was also divisive. Two quotations may serve to illustrate this.The 1908 *Catholic Encylopedia* gave a favourable gloss on his activities:

> Throughout his episcopate it was his most anxious care to check proselytism, to promote the beauty of the House of God, and to multiply institutions of enlightenment, charity and benevolence.'[5]

The phrase 'most anxious care' can be interpreted as an iron hand. Almost a century later historian K.T. Hoppen itemised the long list of those whom Cullen perceived as his opponents in his quest for reform:

> ... among the Cullenite circle of the damned were virtually all Protestants, all the English (especially English Roman Catholics), Gallican ecclesiastics, political revolutionaries, and anyone associated with Archbishop MacHale of Tuam ... .[6]

Cullen was also suspicious of St Patrick's College Maynooth. He considered it too independent, as its Trustees were responsible to the state and the board numbered laymen amongst its members. Additionally, he regarded its theological teaching as Gallican.[7] The number of bishops who were educated at Maynooth or who were elevated from Maynooth staff decreased significantly during Cullen's reign. It was at

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3 This long-running monthly journal, 'conducted by a society of clergymen under episcopal sanction', is a treasure-trove of information on theology, liturgy, canon law, and scripture, and also for history, education and the arts. The list of editors over the years constituted a roll-call of future bishops, archbishops and cardinals.

4 Sean Connolly, *Religion and Society in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Dundalk: Dundalgan Press Ltd, 1985), pp. 14–15.

5 P.F. Moran, 'Paul Cullen', *The Catholic Encyclopedia* , <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/04564a.htm> [accessed 24 May 2013].

6 K. Theodore Hoppen, *Ireland since 1800: Conflict and Conformity*, 2nd edn (London: Longman Ltd, 1999), p. 157. Cullen's antipathy towards MacHale stemmed from the latter's advocacy of Gallicanism, a nationalist form of Catholicism, which naturally opposed Cullen's Roman ultramontanism.

7 J.H. Whyte, 'The Appointment of Catholic Bishops in Nineteenth-Century Ireland', *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. 48 (1962), p. 29.

least partly on foot of his distrust of the college that he founded the diocesan seminary at Clonliffe. He subsequently brought Maynooth under episcopal control by changing the formation of the Board of Trustees, and was himself chairman of the Board of Trustees for many years.

2.1.3 The Synod of Thurles, 1850

Thurles was the first full plenary canonical synod convened in Ireland since the Reformation.[8] Convening the Synod in 1850 was Archbishop Cullen's first move towards reorganising the Irish church. The agenda for debate included overtly political issues, principally the new Catholic university and episcopal commitment to confessional national education.[9] Clerical duties, discipline, and administration of the sacraments were also examined. The necessity for clerical reform arose following the process of Catholic emancipation. Practices had necessarily been clandestine during penal times and there were no homogeneous nationwide procedures to deal with financial policy or breaches of priestly conduct. Clerics were dependent for their income on fees from baptisms, marriages, funerals, and the stations; and many charged sums which were disproportionate to the monetary circumstances of their often extremely poor parishioners.[10] Neither did priests demonstrate exemplary piety: clerical laxity extended to hunting, sexual activity, excessive drinking, and neglect of pastoral duties.[11] Synod proceedings were discussed and voted on by four archbishops, twenty-three bishops, and the Cistercian abbot of Mount Melleray. The decisions of

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8 Desmond Bowen, *Paul Cardinal Cullen and the Shaping of Modern Irish Catholicism* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1983), p. 113.

9 Gillian M. Doherty and Tomás A. O'Riordan, 'The Synod of Thurles, 1850', *UCC Multitext Project in Irish History*, <http://multitext.ucc.ie/d/the_synod_of_thurles_1850> [accessed 13 May 2013].

10 Emmet Larkin, 'The Devotional Revolution in Ireland, 1850-75', *The American Historical Review*, vol. 77, no. 3 (June 1972), p. 632.

11 An apposite reflection of the prevalence of alcohol consumption: 'Bishopswater' was the trade name of a whisky distilled in Wexford. Michael McCarthy, *Priests and People in Ireland* (Dublin: Hodges Figgis & Co., 1902), p. 469.

the Synod were sent to Rome for ratification, after which all Irish bishops were bound by the decrees.[12] New disciplinary measures forbade priests to hunt, attend theatre, or drink in public; these measures were enforced by episcopal parish visitations.[13] Decrees relating to clerical discipline essentially enforced those laid down by the Council of Trent three hundred years earlier, except that Irish bishops reserved wide powers to regulate the actions of their clergy.[14]

Some of the Synodal decrees relating to administration of the sacraments had a significant impact on socio-cultural aspects of Catholic practise in Ireland. As a consequence of the penal laws, baptisms, confessions, marriages, and wakes had been carried out in people's homes, the priest's house, or at private locations. Following the Synod these had to be administered in church. The Synod was sensitive to the disquiet which too much forced change might have on Irish Catholics, but Cullen pressed Rome to ensure that Irish practises were brought into line. Some of the decrees were therefore strengthened prior to ratification.[15] One ceremony, that of the 'stations' (mass and confessions for the community held in a private house) was proscribed by Rome,[16] but the difficulties attendant upon pressing Roman observances on Irish Catholics is evidenced by survival of the 'stations' into the twenty-first century.

2.1.4 Church Music and the Synod of Thurles

Music played an important part in augmenting ecclesiastical pomp and awe during the Synodal ceremonies, particularly the opening.[17] The well-known hymns

12 Patrick Corish, *The Irish Catholic Experience: A Historical Survey* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1985), p. 197.

13 Connolly (1985), p. 12.

14 Corish (1985), p. 201.

15 *Ibid*., p. 197.

16 Larkin (1972), p. 637.

17 The *Tuam Herald* gave a full description of the impact of the magisterial opening ceremonies in its issue of 31 August 1850: 'The National Synod of 1850', p. 4.

'Veni creator spiritus' and 'Ave maris stella' featured during the procession, and Handel's 'Halleluiah' chorus was played on the organ. The choir of St Patrick's College Carlow apparently performed a Palestrina mass (including the 'Credo'), a significant achievement if the press report was correct.[18] The mixture of sacred and liturgical music was indicative of a heterogeneous and pre-Cecilian approach to church music. Although music was used to heighten the sense of occasion, synodal focus on the twin targets of opposition to the inclusionary Queen's Colleges and clerical delinquency left matters of ecclesiastical art as a low priority. Two decrees were made concerning church music, specifically in the context of Mass,[19] embedded in a long section of decrees which dealt with sacramental procedures:[20]

> No singing is to be carried out in the churches unless it is solemn and ecclesiastical in nature. Rectors of seminaries must ensure, even to the extent of offering prizes, that students are well instructed in chant so that they may properly learn the sacred ceremonies.
>
> During solemn masses, nothing but Latin may be sung, neither is anything to be found outside of mass in churches, unless it is contained in the approved ecclesiastical books, or permitted by the Ordinary.[21]

The first decree could be interpreted broadly, insofar as it only required singing to be 'solemn and ecclesiastical'. On this basis sacred (as opposed to liturgical) music was not ruled out. The requirement that a good grounding in chant was essential for seminarians put forward the expectation that priests would sing at least some components of the liturgy and emphasised that music had an essential place within

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18 *Ibid*. The reporter stated that the Mass parts were 'chanted by the choir from the sublime music of Palestrina': use of the word 'chanted' raises the query as to whether it was in fact a Gregorian mass; also, performance of a polyphonic 'Credo' would have been unusual.

19 Richard Hackett, *A Grammar of Gregorian Music* (Dublin: James Duffy, 1865), p. xvi.

20 P.C. Barry, 'The Legislation of the Synod of Thurles', *Irish Theological Quarterly*, vol. 26, no. 2 (1959), p. 132.

21 The translation of the first decree disseminated in a number of modern Irish publications omits the very interesting reference to prizes, stating instead that 'Rectors in seminaries must ensure as a primary responsibility that their students […]'. See Harry White (1998), pp. 75–76; Gerard Gillen, 'Irish Catholics and Hymns', *The Furrow*, vol. 51, no. 10 (October 2000), p. 551; Gillen and Johnstone, *IMS 6* (2001), p. 28. All these citations may be traced back to Kieran A. Daly, '*Lyra Ecclesiastica*: Bulletin of the Irish Society of St Cecilia' (unpub. MA thesis: Queen's University Belfast, 1991), p. 460.

the liturgy. Encouraging seminarians' chant studies by way of prizes was a novel approach.[22] Nothing was said about congregational participation in chant. The second decree was more restrictive: it rejected any possiblity of vernacular hymnody, either in Irish or in English, during high Mass. It also raised issues for the provision of music in the various devotional and missionary liturgies introduced by Cullen. These included adorations, novenas, benediction, and triduums, and were a means of bringing congregations into churches. Whether by oversight or design, neither decree made any reference to instrumental music. White (1998) argued that these decrees showed a commitment to Roman practices and 'an awareness of that widespread movement for reform in church music […] in Europe'.[23] There may well have been an awareness of the reform movement among the ecclesiastical hierarchy, but the mixture of sacred and liturgical pieces used at the Synod and Cullen's tolerance of concerted music in Dublin's Pro-Cathedral (see section 2.2.2 below) revealed that implementation of reform in Ireland would be a slow process.

It is worth moving forward in time by a quarter century to make a comparison with the 1875 Synod held at Maynooth. This made no changes or amplifications to the 1850 music decrees. There was an additional paragraph which recommended the newly-published Ratisbon plainchant editions for Mass and vespers.[24] Hymns in the vernacular in private Masses were permitted, although this information did not form part of the synodal decrees.[25] The ongoing lack of attention paid to liturgical music by the ecclesiastical authorities during the third quarter of the century is understandable. The phrase 'hearing mass' is still used in some parts of rural Ireland: a telling reference to the silence and extreme discretion required for Catholic practice during

22 This suggestion was not acted upon in the national seminary for more than forty years.

23 White (1998), p. 76.

24 *Acta et Decreta Synodi Plenariae Episcoporum Hiberniae 1875* (Dublin: Browne & Nolan, 1877), p. 82.

25 *Ibid*., p. 46.

the penal laws.[26] Church music, of its nature a demonstrative and glorious call to the Almighty, did not sit well with a congregation trained to muteness. The concept of congregational participation in hymnody or chant was not an intrinsic part of the Irish Catholic disposition, a matter which has sadly changed little over the ensuing 150 years. It might be argued that the receptiveness of Irish Catholics to music as a natural adornment of the liturgy would have blossomed had church leaders given it more than fleeting attention during the half-century following emancipation.

2.1.5 The Irish Church and Society

In the early decades of the nineteenth century a small cohort of priests ministered to a large population. In 1840 there were approximately 2,150 priests for 6,500,00 Catholics.[27] This was a wholly inadequate ratio for successful provision of pastoral care. The Catholic population decreased by almost one third between 1847 and 1861 following the devastation wrought by famine (1845–1852). The ratio of priests to faithful thereby improved, with 1,783 Catholics in the care of every priest by 1861.[28] Nonetheless, few Catholics received mass and confession regularly during the year, and many were never confirmed.[29] Instead, religious observances centered around patron saints, seasonal festivals, holy wells, and the stations. Owing to their non-conformity with Roman practices, these were devotional patterns which Cullen wanted to abolish. Part of his mission in reorganizing religious customs for both clerics and the faithful devolved around the church edifice itself: bringing the congregation and the priest together into a consecrated space for sacramental obligations. This necessitated a programme of church construction around the country, with an attendant elaboration

26 The author can attest to the use of this phrase by churchgoers in Roscommon and Leitrim to the present day.

27 Larkin (1972), p. 627.

28 Hoppen (1999), p. 158.

29 Connolly (1985), p. 48.

of altar furniture, settings, and vestments.[30] Although church-building had been ongoing since the end of the eighteenth century, many parishes either did not have a church at all or used a building insufficiently large for a full parish congregation. Pre-emancipation celebrations of mass in the open air or in small chapels were liturgies of simplicity and austerity, and the change to sacramental celebration within a more ostentatious building required a corresponding alteration in mindset among the people. The reluctance to change was manifest in the habit, which persisted for more than a century, of men remaining outside the church building during mass.[31]

2.2 Irish Catholicism and Music

2.2.1 '*Bocht an eaglais a bhíos gan ceol*'[32]

The religio-societal issues discussed above had ramifications for the development of church music in Ireland. Church art in all its dazzling display – architectural, visual and aural – was a new concept for the majority of Catholics.[33] Because music required ongoing resourcing, planning, and teaching, it was the most difficult of all the ecclesiastical adornments. The *Nenagh Guardian* of 18 September 1844 regretted the 'absence of sacred music from our parish church, through the want of an organist', and

30 A sum of four million pounds was spent on ecclesiastical architecture between 1847 and 1882. P.A. Sheehan, 'The Effect of Emigration on the Irish Church', *IER*, vol. 3 (October 1882), p. 604. This equates to (very approximately) £480 million today, based on Robert Twigger's 'Inflation: the Value of the Pound 1750–1998', *House of Commons Research Paper 99/20*, 23 February 1999.

31 The author has personal experience of this tendency in Connemara in the 1960s and 1970s, where men smoked and discussed farming issues outside the church while women and children attended mass within. The practice may still be witnessed among the travelling community.

32 Old Irish proverb: 'Poor is the church without music'. This may be a nineteenth-century alteration of '*Is bocht an croí a bhíos gan ceol*': poor is the heart without music.

33 Many churches in poor areas, particularly in rural Ireland, remained unadorned. A farmer's daughter described her post-famine Co. Limerick church: 'There was no singing, no incense, no candles, no pictures nor stations of the cross.' Mary Carberry, *The Farm By Lough Gur: The Story of Mary Fogarty (Sissy O'Brien)* (Cork: Mercier Press, 1973) p. 26.

encouraged parishioners to make contributions toward an organist's salary.[34] A letter of 5 July 1845 in *The Nation* remarked: 'It is an acknowledged fact that the great bulk of music for the Catholic church in Ireland is very defective, particularly in the rural districts.'[35] Twenty years later, Cullen's *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* stated that priests 'cannot do anything in the country districts in the way of singing the hymns and the psalms'.[36] It continued: 'if the priest could have the singing, it would, of course, be most desirable and very edifying, but not at all necessary'. This was a clear indication that the primary organ of instruction to the Irish clergy did not hold the improvement in church music standards as an important aim. Nonetheless, the *Record* took seriously its function of reporting decrees and edicts from Rome, even if there was little in the way of support structures by which the clergy and congregation might follow them.

Advertisements for church music publications in Ireland around the mid-century revealed an appetite for plainchant – in urban centres at least – prior to the Synod of Thurles. Prefatory comments from *A Manual of Instructions on Plain Chant, or Gregorian Music*, advertised in *The Nation* of 18 October 1845 were informative of both the condition and aims of church music:

> The object of the following pages is to supply a concise and easy explanation of the rules of Plain Chant, as differing from those of modern music, and also a sure guide for the chanting of the principal Offices of the Church. Both have of late been much called for, by many desirous to propagate the knowledge of pure Gregorian music […] To such this manual is offered; not only for the use of the clergy, but of the laity also, to direct the priest chanting at the altar and to enable the people to respond, either in choir or throughout the congregation.

The preface also reassured readers that the rubrics and chants came from 'the two highest authorities in Rome', thus showing a predilection for ultramontanism before

34 'Church Music', *Nenagh Guardian*, 18 September 1844, p. 3.

35 'A Lover of Church Music', *The Nation*, 5 July 1845, p. 12. Among the anonymous letter-writer's suggestions to ameliorate the situation was the establishment of a professor of music at Maynooth. Another forty-three years elapsed before this suggestion came to fruition.

36 'Liturgical Questions', *IER*, vol. 1 (April 1865), p. 342.

Cullen's appointment.[37] That the manual was directed towards the laity as well as the clergy suggests that it could only have been of use for literate city congregations. In 1847 *A Grammar of Gregorian, or Plain Chant Music* was advertised in *The Nation* (July) and the *Freeman's Journal* (August). This volume included 'A Dissertation on Music, its Notation or Characters', and 'An Explanation and History of all the Characters used in Plain Chant', in addition to voice exercises and instructions for singing the divine office.[38] Again, this would only have been applicable to a select few. *The Complete Gregorian Plain Chant Manual* dated from 1849 and was published in London and Dublin.[39] Muir noted that this was aimed at the urban Catholic working class.[40]

2.2.2 Music in Urban Centres

Greater wealth and a more sophisticated congregation permitted more opportunities for musical display in major urban centres. However, the increasing secularization of church music (described in 1.4.1 above) was also occurring in Ireland. The author of a review of plainchant publications from London, Dublin, and Belgium in the *Dublin Review* of September 1846 pleaded for a return to chant and lamented the music of the Mass being treated as 'a kind of Sunday opera'.[41] Press accounts of ceremonial Masses in large towns around the country during the 1850s itemised concerted music by Handel, Haydn, Mozart, Rossini, and Weber; and the

37 *The Nation*, 18 October 1845, p. 1.

38 'New Catholic Works', *FJ*, 12 August 1847, p. 1.

39 William Kelly, *The Complete Gregorian Plain Chant Manual* (Derby, Dublin and London: Richardson, 1849).

40 Muir (2008), p. 98.

41 Frederick Oakley, 'Church Music and Choral Regulations', *Dublin Review*, vol. 21 (September 1846), p. 205. This article has previously been adverted to in chapter one, section 1.4.1. One of the books reviewed by Oakley was *A Choir Manual in Three Parts*, the first music publication prepared especially for the students of St Patrick's College Maynooth. The *Choir Manual* is examined in more detail later in this chapter.

widespread use of solo vocalists.[42] From its opening in 1825 Dublin's Pro-Cathedral adopted concerted music and a theatrical style. Haydn Corri (1785–1860), of Italian descent, was the first organist and director of music there. The overlap between church and stage in nineteenth-century Dublin was typified by Corri's successor, John William Glover (1815–1899), who was a theatre orchestra violinist as well as director of music at the Pro-Cathedral.[43] Glover's grandson, James M. Glover, also combined church and stage in his youth before he became master of music at London's Drury Lane Theatre. He recounted:

> For all the artistes sang in one or other of the Catholic churches on Sunday, and this replenished the poor-box. This also created rivalry among the churches, all of which struggled for the better 'programmes'. Imagine it! A Mass service sung by Tietjens, Sinico, Santley, Vizzani, Cotogni, Trebelli, Bettini.[44]

Glover's remarks divulge an unexpected motivation for ecclesiasts to retain a theatrical element to church music: economics. The provision of concerted music ensured congregations from a higher social class who could contribute larger sums to the church collections.

Following his translation to Dublin in 1852 Cullen did not make any significant changes to music in the Pro-Cathedral until it became necessary. J.M. Glover described Cullen's transition to Cecilianism:

> He [...] encouraged the Italian florid style of music in Church service to such an extent that [...] Pope Pius IX interfered, and he had to issue an edict enforcing a return to the St Cecilian or more serious form of church music now generally in use.[45]

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42 For special occasion liturgies a relatively small repertoire of works was favoured; Handel's 'Hallelujah' chorus and extracts from Rossini's *Stabat Mater* were especially popular. *Inter alia*, *FJ* of 21 October 1852, p. 3 referred to Mendelssohn's *Athalie*, Haydn's *Imperial Mass*, Rossini's 'Quis est homo' and 'Cujus animam', and Handel's 'Hallelujah' chorus; *FJ* of 12 April 1853, p. 3, listed Mass parts by Haydn and Weber and extracts from Haydn's *The Creation*; *FJ* of 12 July 1860, p. 3, again gave Mass parts by Haydn and Weber.

43 J.A. Fuller Maitland and Joseph J. Ryan, 'Glover, John William', *Grove Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/11296> [accessed 14 February 2013].

44 James M. Glover, *Jimmy Glover: His Book* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd, 1912), p. 23. The names listed here were singers with the Grand Italian Opera Company.

45 *Ibid*., p. 27.

Although Cullen may have had an eye to the financial gains which concerted music generated, the importation of Cecilian reform to Ireland was entirely in line with his Rome-centered perspective. Early Cecilianism took as its model the repertoire and activities of the Sistine Chapel choir and the papal style of church music.

2.2.3 Nicholas Donnelly and the Irish Society of St Cecilia

Nicholas Donnelly (1837–1920), bishop, musician and historian, formed the nexus between Ireland and Cecilianism. A frequent traveller to Europe, he was highly impressed when in 1873 he first heard Haberl's choir sing plainchant at Regensburg cathedral.[46] The men were introduced through the publisher Pustet. Donnelly described the position of church music in Ireland in his first letter to Haberl, making the point that since the country had no resources by which church musicians might be trained, there was no alternative but to use theatre artists,[47] a point which underscores the argument that Dublin and other urban centres had a robust secular music life. Donnelly continued to visit Regensburg annually and undertook an English translation of Haberl's *Magister Choralis: A Theoretical and Practical Manual of Gregorian Chant*. The two men formed a close relationship as Donnelly worked 'with the author's permission and under his personal direction'.[48] The *Magister Choralis* was a hugely successful manual, with twelve editions over a forty-year period and translations in six languages.[49] The

46 Daly (1995), p. 20.

47 Donnelly to Haberl, 7 December 1874. (D-Rbza) This letter also divulged the information that Dublin's Pro-Cathedral had a budget of £200 to pay an organist, three sopranos, one contralto, one tenor, and one bass. Donnlly commented that these professional singers 'were paid, and paid well'. He lamented the endless succession of Masses by Beethoven, Haydn, Mozart, Rossini and Weber. Donnelly had already begun to teach more appropriate church music to boys, but he found it difficult to find adult male voices.

48 F.X. Haberl, *Magister Choralis: A Theoretical and Practical Manual of Gregorian Chant*, trans. Rev. N. Donnelly (Ratisbon: Frederick Pustet, 1877), p. xi.

49 The second English edition of 1892, also translated by Donnelly, included in the preface his thanks to Bewerunge for revision and corrections of proof sheets and 'valuable suggestions and amendments'. F.X. Haberl, *Magister Choralis: A Theoretical and Practical Manual of Gregorian Chant*, 2nd English edn, trans. Rev. N. Donnelly (Ratisbon: Frederick Pustet, 1892), p. iv. Publication of the Vatican chant editions rendered the *Magister Choralis* obsolete, as it was based on post-Tridentine abridged melodies.

ongoing work of the *Allgemeiner deutscher Cäcilienverein* impressed Donnelly and in 1878 he founded the Irish Society of St Cecilia, becoming its first president.[50] He also founded the society's organ, *Lyra Ecclesiastica*, which ran (albeit non-continuously) from 1878 to 1894. A subheading on the first page of early issues stated that its aims were 'the promotion and cultivation of true liturgical music'. It adhered closely to German Cecilian ideals and promulgated approved Cecilian music. Donnelly edited the journal for its first five years, then handed over to organist Joseph Seymour. *Lyra* was temporarily suspended in 1885 as the Society became inactive following the death of its patron, Cardinal McCabe. Bewerunge took over the editorship in 1891. *Lyra* has often been described as the first English-language Cecilian publication, but it seems this is not quite accurate. An American journal called *The Echo* ran from 1872 to 1874, published by Pustet in New York.[51]

Donnelly was one of the most important figures in Irish church music reform in the last quarter of the century. It was Donnelly who wrote to Haberl seeking his recommendation for a suitable musician to take up a teaching position at Maynooth. Having briefly considered coming to Ireland himself, Haberl instead recommended Bewerunge, who had just completed his church music studies at Regensburg.

2.3 Music at Maynooth

The college at Maynooth was initially established as 'The Royal College of St Patrick'. It was also referred to in various parliamentary papers and reports as 'The Royal College of Maynooth', or 'The Royal College of St Patrick, Maynooth', and 'The Roman Catholic College of Maynooth'. The governing body for the college

50 Not to be confused with the Harmonic Society of St Cecilia which was founded in Dublin in 1864 and presented large- and small-scale sacred works in a concert format with the aim of popularising Catholic church music; this society was not congruent with the aims of the Cecilian movement.

51 W.A. Reilly, 'Publisher's Announcement', *Caecilia*, vol. 83, no. 6 (October 1956), p. 198.

comprised a Board of Trustees, empowered to appoint a president and staff, to make rules and set up financial endowments. Trustees comprised laymen – members of the Catholic aristocracy and gentry – and bishops. When the Irish Church Act of 1869 was enacted, Maynooth's governmental links were dissolved and all but one of the lay Trustees resigned. The ecclesiastical authorities thereby gained full control over the college. The 'royal' appellation was no longer required as Maynooth severed its connections with secular authority.

The following evaluation of music precepts and teaching in the college during its first century is distilled from a diverse range of primary sources in the Maynooth College archives and supplemented by documents in online repositories. This is the first search of the archives dedicated to the subject of music. The archival holdings are large and diverse. They were partly reorganized in the late 1980s and early 1990s in preparation for the college's bicentenary history. At the time of research for this thesis some twenty years later, key changes in library personnel left gaps in corporate knowledge whereby the existence and location of significant resource materials was unknown. All the sources were handwritten in large hardbound volumes, with the exception of printed government papers.

The most fruitful sources included the *Journal of Trustees of the Royal College of Maynooth*, which recorded the resolutions of the Board of Trustees at their biannual meetings from the foundation of the college in 1795;[52] a number of general account books; and information provided to the British parliament by way of annual visitors' reports.[53] Various account books overlapped each other in time and recorded information in different ways, making it difficult to trace expenditure. From 1871 onwards the Administrative Council and the Scholastic Council, committees established by Paul Cullen in his capacity as chairman of the Board of Trustees,

52 Known as the *Journal of Trustees* or merely the *Journal*. (MCA)

53 DIPPAM parliamentary papers (Documenting Ireland: Parliament, People and Migration) include Maynooth *Visitors' Reports* and are available online at <http://www.dippam.ac.uk/>.

dealt with the practicalities of teaching, class resources, and student discipline. These committees usually met monthly, and their reports yielded more detailed information than the *Journal of Trustees*. The formalities of minute-taking were conscientiously observed by the Trustees and by the various committees. The *Journal of Trustees* recorded resolutions but rarely board discussions, thereby leaving many 'why' and 'how' questions unanswered.

2.3.1 From Establishment to Catholic Emancipation

The *Journal*'s first mention of music came in 1800, five years after the foundation of the college, when it was resolved that the professor of natural philosophy, Gascon priest Abbé Darré, should 'instruct the scholars in the knowledge of the church cantus'. He was to be given twenty guineas for the task.[54] 102 new students were admitted in the year 1800, which when combined with another one hundred from the previous two years gave Darré a large body of young men to train.[55] Financial records for 1802 confirmed a payment of eighty-six pounds seven shillings and sixpence for his professorial duties and mathematics classes, including six months' lectures in church music.[56] Darré's lasting contribution to teaching at Maynooth lay not in music but in mathematics: his *Elements of Geometry* textbook remained in use at the college for a century.[57]

Accounts for 1804 to 1807 showed payments to Matthias Crowley for lectures in church music or as master of church music,[58] although Darré was in the college until

54 *Journal of Trustees*, vol. 1, p. 23. (MCA)

55 Figures from 'Account of the College of Maynooth', *Belfast Monthly Magazine*, vol. 3 (1809), pp. 15–16.

56 *Accounts of Maynooth College from 1795 to 1832*, year ending 5 January 1803. (MCA)

57 Rev. André Darré, *Elements of Geometry: with both plane and spherical trigonometry, designed for the use of the students of the R.C. College, Maynooth* (Dublin: H. Fitzpatrick, 1813).

58 *Accounts of Maynooth College from 1795 to 1832*, years ending 5 January 1804–1807. (MCA)

he took a year's sabbatical in 1806.[59] Crowley's principal duties were as lecturer in theology; in addition to providing church music lectures he also acted as under-librarian for a year. He was documented as receiving ten pounds in 1807 for teaching church music.[60] Crowley is given only a fleeting mention in Patrick Corish's 1995 history of Maynooth,[61] but Healy's 1895 centenary history has more details.[62] A student of the college, Crowley was appointed lecturer in dogmatic theology in 1802, a position from which he resigned six years later. After two years as a curate in Cork he was appointed to the Maynooth chair of scripture in 1810, but in 1811 he abjured the Catholic faith and left the college.

Rev. Darré resumed the lectures in church music after Crowley's resignation,[63] continuing until 1813 when he took leave of absence for health reasons.[64] The *Journal of Trustees* for 26 June 1817 recorded the order 'that ten pounds be given to the singing master'.[65] There was no further mention of music in the *Journal* for the next thirteen years. The college's financial records, however, provide a little more information. The terminologies 'lecturer on church music' and 'master of church music' previously used in the college accounts changed to 'director of singing class' as various scholars from the Dunboyne establishment – the college's postgraduate department – took on church music duties.[66]

The 1817 order of the Trustees seems to have finally taken effect in late 1823, when a 'teacher of church music' was recorded with a payment of ten pounds for one year.[67] The next two years saw Cornelius Denvir (1791–1866), later bishop of Down

59 Patrick Corish, *Maynooth College 1795–1995* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1995), p. 451.

60 *Papers presented to the House of Commons relating to the Royal College of St Patrick Maynooth* (1808, reprinted 1813), p. 30.

61 Corish (1995), p. 77.

62 John Healy, *Maynooth College: A Centenary History* (Dublin, 1895), pp. 230, 722–723.

63 *Accounts of Maynooth College from 1795 to 1832*, years ending 5 January 1808–1813. (MCA)

64 Healy (1895), p. 200.

65 *Journal of Trustees*, vol. 1, p. 77. (MCA)

66 *Accounts of Maynooth College from 1795 to 1832*, years ending 5 January 1817–1822. (MCA)

67 *Accounts of Maynooth College from 1795 to 1832*, years ending 5 January 1823. (MCA)

and Connor,[68] listed in the accounts as 'professor of natural philosophy and church music' at a salary of £120.[69] This was a somewhat deceptive title, as although Denvir was indeed professor of natural philosophy, he was not professor of church music as there was no chair for music. He resigned his position in Maynooth when he was appointed parish priest of Downpatrick. Two years of external teachers followed, with payment close to the Trustees' preferred ten pounds.[70] It was possible to distinguish external or lay teachers from scholars by virtue of their respective placements in the strictly hierarchical listing of salaries, which began with the college president and finished with external, non-clerical, and occasional staff.

2.3.2 From Emancipation to the Synod of Thurles

The year 1830 signaled the first real interest on the part of the Trustees in teaching liturgical music. At that time there were almost 450 students in the college.[71] A resolution of 25 June 1830 recorded:

> Resolved that the President be instructed to inform the students that the Board will expect them henceforward to apply themselves with assiduity to the study and practise of the Gregorian rite and of the Ceremonies of the Church, and that the President is hereby authorised to defer the advancement of holy orders of any student whom he shall discover to be culpably inattentive to these duties.[72]

This order deserves attention for both its timing and its content. It was the first order of governance in Maynooth directly concerned with music practices as opposed to financial outlays. It followed close on the heels of the 1829 Roman Catholic Relief Act, suggesting that the Trustees – laymen and ecclesiastics alike – now believed that the promulgation of music was a necessary part of Catholic freedom and renewal. It

68 Corish (1995), p. 451.
69 *Accounts of Maynooth College from 1795 to 1832*, years ending 5 January 1825–1826. (MCA)
70 *Accounts of Maynooth College from 1795 to 1832*, years ending 5 January 1828–1830. (MCA)
71 Corish (1995), p. 63.
72 *Journal of Trustees*, vol. 1, p. 157. (MCA)

accepted without question that the required music of the church was Gregorian chant. Finally, it was an extremely assertive resolution, with the grim threat that a seminarian who was unable to include music in his ecclesiastical portfolio would not be ordained to the priesthood. This enshrined the expectation that clerics should be able to conduct portions of the liturgy in song.

This seminal resolution regarding church music did not, however, prompt the Trustees to review music teaching protocols in the college, and in fact no further orders regarding music were made for another decade. The practice continued of using Dunboyne scholars, interspersed occasionally with external teachers, all variously described as 'teacher of singing', 'teacher of church music', or 'singing master', with an annual salary of approximately ten pounds.[73] Unfortunately, the financial records then discontinued (for six years) the procedure which listed duties alongside the names of those in receipt of salaries. However, based on the value of sums disbursed it is reasonable to assume that the assignation of church music duties continued along the same lines as previously.

The Trustees next took an interest in music teaching in 1840, when the *Journal* recorded:

> Ordered that Rev. M. Renehan be requested to prepare for publication the choir manual proposed by him for the use of the students; and that he be further requested with the President and Secretary to contract for 500 copies of it ... at 2s/6d per copy.[74]

This provided the first evidence of a specific music book used by the college. *A Choir Manual in Three Parts* was eventually published in 1844,[75] and thus after a period of fifty years, Maynooth finally had its own printed music book. Laurence Renehan

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73 *Accounts of Maynooth College from 1795 to 1832*, years ending 5 January 1831–1835. (MCA)

74 *Journal of Trustees*, vol. 1, p. 237. (MCA) The 'M.' here is not a forename initial but an abbreviation of 'Mister'.

75 Laurence Renehan, *A Choir Manual in Three Parts* (Dublin: John Coyne, 1844). Special thanks to antiquarian Tim Moriarty for loaning a copy of this publication.

(1797/98–1857) was a Maynooth student, appointed professor of scripture in 1827, vice-president in 1834 and president in 1845. He was also bursar between 1841 and 1843/45.[76] The demands on his time as both bursar and vice-president, when debts were mounting and the college finances were in need of improvement, undoubtedly accounted for the delay in publication of the *Choir Manual*. His legacy to Maynooth – in additon to his official administrative work – encompassed history as well as music. He was also responsible for commissioning the architect Augustus Pugin (1812–1852) to design the gothic ranges which now form the nucleus of St Patrick's college buildings.[77]

The *Journal of Trustees* recorded an order in June 1844 to purchase 200 copies of 'Dr Renehan's Grammar of Music […] at 4s per copy'.[78] It is not clear whether this was in addition to or instead of the 500 copies mentioned in 1840, but in order to have a copy for each student and a few in reserve, it must have been an additional set. The college accounts inspected do not show any bulk purchase of music books following on the Trustees' orders of 1840 and 1844. Recording methods were at fault: specific books were rarely itemised in the book expenditure section of the college accounts and sums were simply listed as paid to various printers.

The *Choir Manual* was a significant publication for Irish church music. It pre-dated the Synod of Thurles by six years, and appears to be the earliest of the post-emancipation chant books published in Ireland.[79] The music typesetting, using the four-line stave, was inelegant and unsophisticated, reflecting the limited technical

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76 There are discrepancies of birth date and bursar dates between the biography of Renehan in Patrick Corish's bicentenary history, p. 481, and Renehan's entry in the *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (David Murphy, 'Renehan, Laurence F.', *DIB, <http://dib.cambridge.org.jproxy.nuim.ie/quicksearch.do;jsessionid=A89521B25C98E91780CFCB786946C48#>* [accessed 14 August 2013].

77 Pugin too advocated a move away from concerted church music and a return to plainchant. Bennett Zon, *The English Plainchant Revival* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 246.

78 *Journal of Trustees*, vol. 1, p. 256. (MCA)

79 Based on (i) a search of newspaper advertisements, and (ii) publication listings in the online historical resource *Dublin Music Trade*, < http://dublinmusictrade.ie/> [accessed 31 August 2014].

resources of a relatively early Irish publication. In any event, the Maynooth authorities were looking only for a serviceable and budget-friendly publication and would not have allocated the resources necessary for the Dublin printer to produce typesetting as elegant as his counterparts in Europe. The *Choir Manual* had three divisions. First was an eighty-six page section on music and singing theory: 'a grammar of Gregorian and modern music'.[80] This theory section contained twelve chapters, covering plain chant notation, scales, intervals, the tonic sol-fa method, psalmody, choral singing, modern mensuration, musical terms, the minor scale, and transposition. Intended for students with no prior musical knowledge, it took nothing for granted in its instructions. The second and weightiest part of Renehan's publication comprised 175 pages, described in the title page as 'psalms, hymn, and antiphons for vespers of all the holydays, festivals, common of saints and the Sundays through the year' – essentially a vesperal. The third part contained ninety-two pages of Mass settings, lamentations, collects, and litanies. Each section was prefaced with a number of quotations, the first from from St Augustine and the last from a Vatican decree of 1842. This latter prohibited instrumental music in church without ecclesiastical license, and forbade the use of drums, harps, and loud instruments.[81] The quotations were in their original languages (Latin and Italian), and from their largely decorative positioning prior to each section it is unclear whether strict attention was to be paid to them by rubricists. The 1842 decree extract very definitely militated against concerted music and focused on unaccompanied music. Its inclusion in the *Choir Manual*, along with an extract from an 1749 papal bull sanctioning plainchant and polyphony, identified Renehan as an early Cecilian and church music reformist. Renehan's introduction to the volume revealed his awareness of the importance of his publication:

> The volume now offered to the public contains, perhaps, more comprehensive

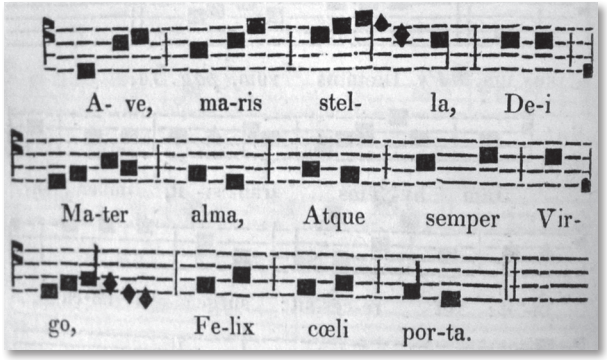
80 This subtitle accounted for the 1844 'Grammar' description in the *Journal*, a reference which pre-dated the altered title on its republication in 1858.

81 Renehan (1844), p. 184. The decree from which Renehan quoted was issued by Cardinal Patrizi, Vicar-General of Rome, dated 16 August 1842.

> elementary instructions, and a greater portion of the Mass and Office set to notes, than had ever before been printed, for popular use, within the vast range of British dominions.[82]

Renehan advised that his material was taken from editions of the vesperal and gradual compiled by La Feillée and Le Sage respectively. The former, François de la Feillée, was an eighteenth-century French theorist who wrote a popular treatise on the performance of plainchant, and the latter, H.M. Le Sage, was a French priest who took refuge in London, where his gradual was published in 1799. The Maynooth *Choir Manual* therefore took as a precedent not the seventeenth-century post-Tridentine Roman editions of chant, but rather the eighteenth-century French editions which had a neophyte awareness of the need for medieval chant restoration. This was explicable in terms of the close link between Ireland and France, as generations of priests went to continental seminaries during penal times, rather than as a deliberate avoidance of Medicean chant. However, the juxtaposition of Renehan's entreaty for a Roman model of liturgical music alongside his choice of a French chant tradition remains somewhat of a conundrum. It also entailed a difficult and lengthy period of adjustment for Maynooth when the Medicean-based Ratisbon chant editions were ratified by the Vatican in 1870.

Ex. 2.1 Renehan's *Choir Manual*: 'Ave maris stella'[83]



82 Renehan (1844), p. ix. Oakley declared: '[It] is one of the most valuable compendiums of Gregorian music with which we are acquainted'. Oakley (1846), p. 202.

83 Renehan (1844), p. 92.

2.3.3 After the Synod of Thurles

There were no immediate changes in the arrangements at Maynooth following the Thurles Synod. Postgraduate students continued to act as teachers of sacred music for a fee of approximately ten pounds annually.[84] In 1853 the Trustees resolved, on the motion of Archbishop Cullen (who had joined the Board of Trustees in 1850), that:

> […] in future, it shall be the duty of each of the Deans, by a distribution of labor [sic] among themselves, to teach the Students all the Ecclesiastical Ceremonies, and to superintend the singing classes […][85]

This alteration in procedure had its roots in the first Synodal decree on music, which required seminarians to be instructed in chant. Deans were recently ordained seminarians who acted as a type of prefect, providing religious instruction to students and enforcing discipline in each of the houses – there were variously three and four house divisions of students, divided according to seniority. Corish indicated that the responsibilities of a dean were onerous,[86] and it is therefore unlikely that they were happy about this extra burden of music and ecclesiastical ceremonies. It was both a money-saving measure as part of Renehan's drive to improve the college finances, and a method of reinforcing ecclesiastical music training among young priests. The disadvantage of financial prudence in this instance was a persistently amateur approach to music teaching at Maynooth. There was no ambition to achieve a real standard of excellence which would allow future priests to bring music to their congregations around the country and abroad.

In 1854, along with an order for a new chapel for junior students (the existing chapel being too small to accommodate everyone), the Trustees ordered that there

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84 William Kelly, an early English chant enthusiast who visited Maynooth in the mid-century, commented that 'five or six of the students at Maynooth […] sang plainchant music well'. These were probably the postgraduate chant teachers. Kelly (1849), cited by Bewerunge in *LE* (July 1891), p.52.

85 *Journal of Trustees*, vol. 1, p. 329. (MCA)

86 Corish (1985), p. 68.

should be high Mass and vespers in both senior and junior chapels of the college on all Sundays and holy days of obligation, except during the summer holidays.[87] By its nature high Mass required much of the ceremony to be sung, so this official order for a weekly service put a greater focus on singing and thereby a greater onus on the choir. The choir comprised the entirety of the student body and the college clergy: there was no differentiated specialist choir. By this time, Paul Cullen's presence on the Board of Trustees was ensuring the college kept its theology strictly ultramontane and its ceremonies following a Roman model.

In June 1855 the Trustees resolved to receive estimates for an organ for the main chapel, with the proviso that costs should not exceed £400.[88] All singing to this date was carried out without accompaniment; the accounts showed no references to any instrument purchase and all references to music tuition refered to singing only. An organ was duly procured, and in October 1856 the Trustees resolved that:

> Mr John Keane be appointed provisionally organist to the College, with a salary of £15 pounds Stg. per quarter, to preside at the organ on Sundays and holidays [sic] of obligation and on three festivals of the B. Virgin – during High Mass, Benediction and Vespers, and to teach the students, that shall be presented to him by the President, for one hour on Saturdays or Sundays as the President shall arrange.[89]

A payment of sixty pounds annually was a reasonable sum for an organist, who had most of his weekdays and the lengthy summer vacation period available for private tuition to supplement his income. But for the college it was a significant expenditure. Thus the purchase of the organ and the appointment of a regular organist represented a milestone in the progress of church music at the country's national seminary. Music

87 *Journal of Trustees*, vol. 1, p. 337. (MCA) The college was a quiet place during the three-month summer vacation, as almost all students went home and most of the academic staff left the premises.

88 *Journal of Trustees*, vol. 1, pp. 342–343. (MCA)

89 *Journal of Trustees*, vol. 1, p. 347. (MCA) Various press references identified John Keane as organist at services in Dublin churches (for example, *FJ* of 3 July 1855 and 3 September 1855), but no information regarding his background or education has been uncovered.

teaching, however, remained in the hands of the deans, apart from the select students who were approved by the president to learn organ with Mr Keane.

Renehan's *Grammar* was republished posthumously in 1858 as *A Grammar of Gregorian and Modern Music*.[90] Healy attributes this edition to Richard Hackett (1823–1887), who was made dean in 1853.[91] Although the 1858 *Grammar* exactly copied Renehan's 1844 music theory section, the notated music contents were much reduced. Notehead size was smaller than the large 1844 music typeface and thus appeared less unsightly. Hackett added thirteen pages of singing exercises on the four-line stave to assist students in learning the tonic sol-fa method and how to vocalize. Otherwise, however, the 1858 edition was a much more condensed publication: chants were included as two appendices rather than two substantial parts and comprised only sixty pages. All Renehan's vesperal music was omitted along with many Mass settings and hymns. The 1844 *Choir Manual* cost students two shillings and sixpence, as opposed to one shilling for the 1858 *Grammar*: this lower price reflected the lesser content of the new edition. Indeed this may have been a subsidised student price, as June 1858 also saw the Trustees reinforce the requirement for each student to have a copy of the *Grammar*. No issue was taken with some students having the 1844 *Choir Manual* and others having the new 1858 *Grammar*: as long as each student had either one or the other the Trustees were satisfied.[92]

Despite ongoing difficulties in procuring funding for essential college maintenance, during the 1860s the Trustees referred to music more frequently than in any previous decade.[93] In 1860 came the resolve 'that twenty guineas be allotted

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90 [Richard Hackett], *A Grammar of Gregorian and Modern Music: Compiled Chiefly for the Use of the Students of St Patrick's College Maynooth. Reprinted from the Choir Manual* (Dublin: James Duffy, 1858).

91 Healy (1895), p. 609.

92 *Journal of Trustees*, vol. 1, p. 355. (MCA) The Trustees ordered that 'those of the advanced students who do not already possess copies of the *Choir Manual* be required to procure the *Grammar*'.

93 The *Report of a Visitation held at the College of Maynooth* dated 20 June 1860 (one of a number of reports ordered by the House of Commons) detailed the financial difficulties of the college since 1852 and the resulting defects in sanitation, buildings, lighting, and furnishings.

for the purchase of an harmonium for the chapel of the junior students'.[94] A second pipe organ would undoubtedly have been considered an unnecessary expense for this smaller chapel, but the provision of a basic instrument to support the singing of the less experienced students was certainly a positive move. The harmonium was ultimately financed from a bequest.[95]

By 1863 the choir was under the charge of, or about to be under the charge of, Richard Hackett, professor of philosophy since the previous year. The *Journal* recorded a resolution in June 1863 that 'the President be requested to communicate with Rev. Mr Hackett on the subject of his undertaking the management of the college choir'.[96] Interpretation of this entry was clarified in the October meeting, where it was resolved:

> That the Board are gratified at the offer of Rev. Mr. Hackett to assume the direction of the singing classes for one year and they regret that the state of the funds does not enable them to offer him a suitable remuneration during the present year, but they request him to accept the sum of ten pounds.[97]

This sum of ten pounds for teaching singing appeared not to have changed since 1819, and thus it was appropriate that apologies should accompany its offer to a professor over forty years later. Hackett's significant contribution to music at Maynooth was his enlarged version of Renehan's *Grammar*, which still incorporated the first section from 1844 but was otherwise Hackett's own work.[98] In his preface he lamented the ongoing poor standard of church music in Ireland, and commented: 'This ignorance of music among the clergy is especially to be regretted in the present age, in which musical

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94 *Journal of Trustees*, vol. 1, p. 361. (MCA) The same set of resolutions also approved the president giving permission for concerts 'whether vocal or instrumental' at Christmas and on St Patrick's Day.

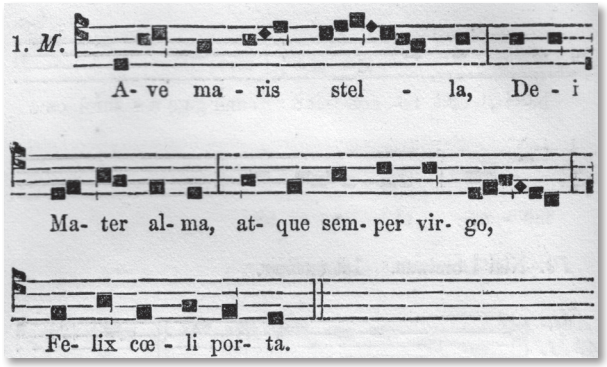
95 *Journal of Trustees*, vol. 1, p. 368. (MCA) A power of attorney was authorised 'for the sale of the funds remaining out of the bequest for the purchase of an organ'.

96 *Journal of Trustees*, vol. 1, p. 379. (MCA)

97 *Journal of Trustees*, vol. 1, p. 381. (MCA)

98 Richard Hackett, *A Grammar of Gregorian and Modern Music: New and Enlarged Edition* (Dublin: James Duffy, 1865). Again, special thanks to Tim Moriarty for loaning a copy.

instruction is so generally diffused […]'.[99] The 1865 *Grammar* contained five parts: (i) Renehan's music theory; (ii) vocalization and solmization excerises; (iii) chants for the office of the dead; (iv) chants for high Mass; (v) chants for vespers and holy week. It also contained an appendix with practical instructions on ceremonial rubrics and organ-playing. Hackett explicitly corrected many traditional Irish inflections in chanted prayers and epistles and replaced these with the Roman model.[100] Unlike Renehan, whose chants came from eighteenth-century France, Hackett reverted to the Medicean (sixteenth-century post-Tridentine) Italian tradition.[101] This was entirely in keeping with the Cullenesque message of conformity with Rome.

Ex. 2.2 Hackett's *Grammar*: 'Ave maris stella' [102]

Before Hackett's enlarged version of the *Grammar* was published, he had already given up the college choir. On 21 June 1864 the Trustees resolved:

> That Rev. Mr. Lennon be requested to assume the direction of the singing classes in the College – Rev. Mr. Hackett having expressed a wish that it should be placed in his hands; and that an addition of ten pounds per annum be made to the salary of Rev. Mr. Lennon.[103]

99 Hackett (1865), p. xviii.

100 Typically, by inserting 'si' between ascending notes 'lah'–'doh' of a minor third.

101 In addition to Vatican decrees, Hackett frequently cited Giovanni Guidetti (1530–1592), the most influential chant editor in the immediate aftermath of the Council of Trent.

102 Hackett (1865), p. 184.

103 *Journal of Trustees*, vol. 1, p. 383. (MCA)

Francis Lennon (1838–1920) resigned from the singing classes in 1866. The deans continued to introduce the junior students to singing, as evidenced by the *Journal*'s reference to 'Singing Masters of the Junior Classes'.[104]

The size of the student body by 1864 was was 534, with twenty teaching staff.[105] Gas lighting was installed and heating and water provision had improved. Despite these modernisations there were many basic deficiencies: the college chapel was inadequate for student numbers and inappropriate for teaching sacred ceremonies; there was no hall sufficiently large to accommodate the whole academic body; and food costs had increased, leading to inadequate supplies for the students at mealtimes.[106] All of these practicalities created a difficult teaching environment, and it is unsurprising that no further mention was made of music in the *Journal* for some years. Paul Cullen's influence on administrative matters was apparent, particularly when he became chairman of the Board of Trustees. Funding was kept under tight control: salaries were reduced, students' annual pension payments were increased, and servants and tradesmen came under rigorous scrutiny.[107] Healy's views on Cullen and his attitude to Maynooth were revealed between the lines in these remarks:

> It might be said that, personally, Dr. Cullen knew little or nothing of the College of Maynooth; for no man can thoroughly understand the College, either in its strong or its weak points, who has not passed through its halls as a student. He took, however, a great interest in its administration; and sought, as far as possible, to mould it in accordance with his own Roman ideas.[108]

2.3.4 Post Disestablishment

The Royal College of St Patrick, Maynooth, was disestablished in 1869 by *The Irish Church Act*. The college was well compensated for loss of its annual

104 *Journal of Trustees*, vol. 1, p. 389. (MCA)
105 *Report of the Visitors of Maynooth College, 1864*, p. 2. (DIPPAM)
106 *Report of the Visitors of Maynooth College, 1864*, pp. 3–5. (DIPPAM)
107 Details of all such restrictions are in the *Journal*. (MCA)
108 Healy (1895), p. 459. Cullen continued on the board of Trustees until his death in 1878.

parliamentary grant, but financial reorganisation was necessary to ensure an annual income commensurate with the grant. Cullen would not have been overly worried had removal of the grant forced closure, as he favoured his own seminary establishment at Clonliffe, and he noted: 'The loss of Maynooth would do us very little damage'.[109] Nevertheless disestablishment had advantages for Cullen, as all but one of the lay Trustees resigned and the bishops took complete control of college governance. The episcopal Trustees' visitors, comprised of men trusted by Cullen, exerted a major influence on college affairs.[110] Councils and committees were constituted to deal with college statutes, enforcement of Trustees' resolutions, and educational matters. The minute-books of the Administrative Council and the Scholastic Council, both established in 1871, provide some details of music teaching. The *Grammar* was still in use, as evidenced by an Administrative Council resolution of September 1874.[111] A reprint of the *Grammar* the following month cost the college eighty-five pounds, with students paying just under two shillings per copy.[112] Deans and senior academic staff were expected to take turns singing high Mass on Sundays and holy days.[113] In June 1874 it was ordered that less teaching time should be given to mathematics and physics and more to English. More attention was also ordered to be paid to tuition in rubrics, sacred ceremonies, and singing, with regular examinations to be instituted in these subjects.[114] The emphasis on English was a reflection of ongoing difficulties with basic literacy in the college.

In early 1876 William Walsh (1841–1921), at that time professor of theology, suggested that prizes should be awarded in the singing examinations, as had been

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109 Jeremiah Newman, *Maynooth and Victorian Ireland* (Galway: Emerald Printers, 1983), p. 205, quoting from Newman's letter of 10 May 1868 to Tobias Kirby, then rector of the Irish College in Rome.

110 Corish (1995), p. 179.

111 *Minute Book of the Administrative Council*, 28 September 1874. (MCA)

112 *Ibid*., 5 October 1874.

113 *Journal of Trustees*, 24 September 1872, vol. 1, p. 414. (MCA)

114 *Ibid*., vol. 1, p. 431.

directed by the Thurles Synod in 1850. (The practice of prize-giving had already been introduced in other subjects.) This resulted in formation of a special committee to consider the 'propriety' of awarding prizes for singing – Cullen's fears regarding Maynooth's independence were shown to have some basis here, given that the seminary was questioning the wisdom of a decree made by the national synod and ratified by Rome.[115] Two months later it was decided that prizes would not be awarded in singing. This was in fact a conspicuous admission that music teaching standards were insufficient: the committee recommended that prizes should not be considered until there were improvements in class content and structure.[116] Despite this, the senior seminarians continued to teach singing classes, under the superivison of a senior staff member.[117] In 1877 William Walsh withdrew from superintending the singing classes.[118] His withdrawal coincided with his appointment as vice-president of the college. He became president in 1880 and was appointed archbishop of Dublin in 1885, the year in which he published his handbook on plainchant.[119]

The 1870s featured music orders in the *Journal* as well as in the minutes of the Administrative Council. Despite their withdrawal from singing teaching, Francis Lennon and William Walsh were both pressed into service again in October 1877 in the absence of any other provision being made by the board.[120] Walsh and Lennon, along with two other members of staff, were also required to report on the qualifications and abilities of prospective organists for the college church.[121] This resulted in the appointment of Rev. Dr Freidel in October 1877 as the first resident organist and music

115 *Minute Book of the Council of Studies*, 7 February 1876. (MCA) The Council of Studies was also known as the Scholastic Council.

116 Report of the special committee, inserted in the *Minute Book of the Council of Studies*, 3 April 1876. (MCA)

117 The *Minute Book of the Administrative Council* annually recorded the names of students appointed as 'master of the choir' or 'having charge of the singing classes'. (MCA)

118 *Minute Book of the Administrative Council*, 6 March 1877. (MCA)

119 Walsh's 1885 publication is examined below.

120 *Journal of Trustees*, vol. 1, p. 467. (MCA)

121 *Ibid*., p. 464.

master in the college, with a salary of sixty pounds annually with commons.[122] The appointment of a resident organist was a major departure from previous arrangements, under which the organist had played and taught only at weekends. The salary offered for this new full-time position was very low when it is recalled that the same sum was paid to the part-time organist twenty-one years previously. The necessity for a full-time music teacher was partly driven by an increasing focus on church music reform in Ireland. Nicholas Donnelly had published his English translation of Haberl's *Magister Choralis* earlier in the year, and he was to found the Irish Society of St Cecilia the following year. In addition, the Maynooth Synod of 1875 had re-iterated the decree requiring chant to be well taught at seminaries.

Freidel died before he could take up his appointment,[123] and after a search for a teacher the Trustees ordered in October 1878 that:

> 'The organist of St Andrew's Westland Row, be employed pro-tem at the rate of £50 per annum to give lessons in Plain Chant in the College on two days in each week, those days and other details to be fixed by the Administrative Council'.[124]

This return to a part-time teacher may have been dictated by the lack of applicants for a poorly-paid full-time position. The organist at St Andrew's at that time was German musician and composer Alois Volkmer (1857–1899),[125] who later taught at the Royal Irish Academy.[126] He taught chant at Maynooth, but did not play the organ as he was already engaged at weekends. During the 1878–1879 college year William Walsh acted

122 *Ibid*., p. 467.

123 Corish p. 201. No additional information has been discovered concerning Freidel.

124 *Journal of Trustees*, vol. 1, p. 476. (MCA)

125 W.G. Henshaw, 'Alois Volkmer', *Biographical Dictionary of the Organ*, <http://www.organ-biography.info/index.php?id=Volkmer_Alois_1857> [accessed 27 August 2013].

126 Mary Regina Deacy, 'Continental Organists and Catholic Church Music in Ireland, 1860–1960' (unpub. MLitt thesis, National University of Ireland, Maynooth, 2005), p. 37.

as organist.[127] At both meetings in 1879 the Trustees resolved again to seek a full-time organist and singing teacher, this time with a salary of eighty pounds per annum.[128] It appears that this time the board was successful, as in the college *Kalendarium* for 1880 Edward Houghton was listed as 'Organist and Lecturer on Ecclesiastical Music'. Six years later, in October 1885, the Trustees resolved:

> That the salary of the College Organist be increased by £20 in consideration of his giving additional assistance in teaching singing to the students and that the details of such assistance be arranged by the Administrative Council.[129]

The Administrative Council did discuss the matter, but 'no definite arrangement was agreed to, as further consideration of the matter was deemed advisable'.[130] An increase of twenty pounds would have brought the organist's salary to one hundred pounds and it is possible the council did not feel this extra expenditure was justified. In the meantime, the Trustees ordered that students' ability in plainchant was to be examined and prizes awarded.[131] Houghton continued as organist and church music teacher.[132]

As mentioned above, 1885 saw the publication of a new music book for students at Maynooth: William Walsh's *A Grammar of Gregorian Music*.[133] As Ireland's most senior cleric,[134] Walsh had considerable influence over ecclesiastical matters. By this time some progress had been made in church music reform in Ireland. The Irish Cecilian society had been pursuing its aims since 1878, and the *Irish Ecclesiastical*

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127 Corish (1995), p. 201. Paul Collins incorrectly stated that Volkmer taught organ in the college. See Paul Collins, 'Emissaries to a 'believing and singing land': Belgian and German Organists in Ireland, 1859–1916', *Renewal and Resistance: Catholic Church Music from the 1850s to Vatican II*, ed. Paul Collins (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010), p. 45.

128 *Journal of Trustees*, vol. 1, p. 489. (MCA)

129 *Journal of Trustees*, vol. 2, p. 569. (MCA)

130 *Minute Book of the Administrative Council*, 13 November 1885. (MCA)

131 Congruent with the Synodal decrees of 1850 and 1875.

132 *Journal of Trustees*, 27 June 1882, vol. 2, p. 531, (MCA); *Kalendaria* for 1882 and 1885 (IRL-Mrjp).

133 William Walsh, *A Grammar of Gregorian Music with Numerous Exercises and Examples* (Dublin: M.H. Gill & Son, J. Duffy & Sons, Browne & Nolan, 1885), p. iii.

134 The Primacy of Ireland devolves on the archbishop of Dublin, as opposed to the Primacy of All Ireland which falls to the archbishop of Armagh.

Record, the monthly journal for clergy, now gave more consideration to church music. An article by Irish Cecilian Arthur Ryan in the *Record* of February 1883 exhorted Maynooth in particular to cultivate plainchant.[135] Three months later in the same journal Walsh called attention to various decrees of the Vatican Sacred Congregation of Rites which endorsed the Ratisbon chant editions (based on the Roman-approved Medicean chant) and granted the publisher a thirty-year monopoly.[136] Walsh entirely supported the Roman position and was scathing of propaganda on behalf of French scholarship which had begun to restore pre-Tridentine chant melodies.

In the preface of his *Grammar*, Walsh advised on the importance of conformity with Rome as regards the use of Vatican-authorized editions of chant. Walsh discussed Gallican chant, which had influenced Irish priests trained in France and whose varieties were then passed on in Ireland. He accepted that older priests could not be expected to relearn a form of chant which they had sung all their lives, but he urged young priests to maintain the necessary conformity with Rome by using the Vatican-approved Ratisbon editions. Walsh acknowledged his debt to Haberl's *Magister Choralis* as a guide for his *Grammar*, and thanked Haberl for his assistance in revising the exercises and chants in accordance with the Ratisbon editions.[137] As might be expected, the content headings of the *Grammar* were largely the same as that of Renehan's and Hackett's works, but the layout and details were modernised and – most importantly for an ultramontane seminary – were in accordance with the requirements of the Sacred Congregation of Rites.

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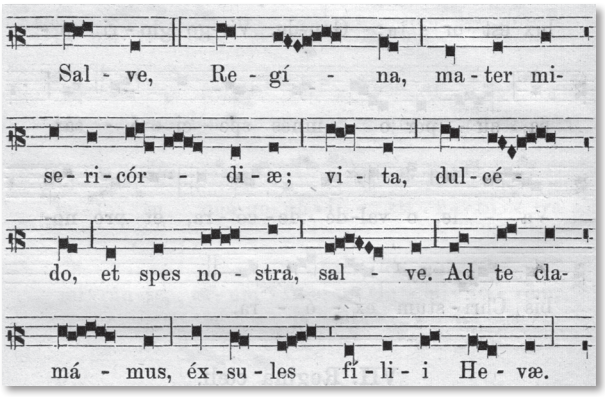
135 Arthur Ryan, 'Church Music in Ireland', *IER*, vol. 4 (February 1883), p. 167.

136 William Walsh, 'The True Gregorian Music of the Church: 'Ratisbon' or Roman', *IER*, vol. 4 (May 1883), pp. 437–447.

137 The close association between Nicholas Donnelly and Haberl was documented at 2.2.3 above. Evidence of a working relationship between Walsh and Haberl serves to cement Haberl's position as an intimate affiliate and supporter of Irish Cecilianism.

Ex. 2.3 Walsh's *Grammar*: 'Salve regina' [138]



At Maynooth the next three years saw a continuation of the appointment of senior scholars as choir-masters, with along with Houghton as organist. In 1886 the harmonium purchased for the junior chapel twenty-six years previously had to be protected from damp.[139] Also in 1886 changes were made in the schedule of singing classes, to 'provide for more effective working'.[140] A number of meetings of the Administrative Council considered choral tuition and the best method of distributing work among several assistants. In 1887 the Trustees resolved that the small remuneration given to senior scholars choir-masters would be withdrawn in the following academic year, presumably in preparation for a new regime of teaching. The president's report for 1887–1888 stated:

> The provision made for the teaching of Gregorian chant in the College is not satisfactory and the sooner the remedy is applied, the better. This is the more desirable and even necessary in view of the opening at an early date of our new chapel in which all the students will occupy places in Choir and be expected to take part in all the choral services.[141]

Finally, in June 1888 came the order which would radically change the status of music at Maynooth:

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138 Walsh (1885), p. 150.

139 *Minute Book of the Administrative Council*, 8 March 1886. (MCA)

140 *Ibid*., 8 November 1886.

141 'Report of the President of St Patrick's College', *Maynooth Kalendarium 1887–1888*. (IRL-Mrjp)

> That to secure the efficient teaching of Church Music in the College, a resident and Clerical Organist and Choir Master be now appointed and that the President be authorised to entrust that office, for the present, to Rev. H. Bewerunge at a salary of £100 per annum with Commons, the duties to be arranged by the Administrative Council.[142]

The process of recruitment had been ongoing behind the scenes prior to this resolution. The search for a suitable candidate moved outside Ireland to Regensburg, facilitated by Nicholas Donnelly and possibly also by William Walsh.[143] Ninety-three years after Maynooth's foundation, the college at last secured a full-time resident clerical teacher.

Conclusion

Church music reform in Ireland showed itself willing to take on the continental model of Cecilianism at a relatively early stage, thanks to the work of Nicholas Donnelly, later supported by William Walsh. However, the remnants of French chant traditions continued through the third quarter of the century. The tensions between Gallicanism and ultramontanism which were exemplified by the division between MacHale and Cullen were also revealed in church music by the continuing usage of eighteenth-century French chant after Roman endorsement of the Ratisbon editions. Bewerunge's appointment would have been expected to finally bring Irish church music practices wholly into line with Rome, by virtue of his priestly formation at an ultramontane establishment (Eichstätt), his immersion in the values of the Cæcilian movement, and his close association with Haberl.[144]

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142 *Journal of Trustees*, vol. 2, p. 603. (MCA)

143 Although no direct archival evidence was found to support Walsh's involvement, it has already been shown that both Walsh and Donnelly were in close contact with Haberl, and Walsh was involved with music teaching at Maynooth until 1885.

144 Plainchant interpretation ultimately became more complex and schismatic, and Bewerunge's role in the conflict meant that Maynooth was at the heart of European discourse on chant in the decades that followed his appointment. This is elaborated on in chapter five below.

The narrative extracted from Maynooth's archives shows a very poor record in the matter of music teaching for the college's first ninety years. Undoubtedly many of the external teachers were excellent, but these part-time men could not possibly have successfully tutored upwards of six hundred seminarians. Even worse, for many decades there was no professional tuition whatsoever as the task was relegated to senior students. On this basis, the repertoire included in Renehan's 1844 *Choir Manual* was quite ambitious. Hackett's shortened 1858 edition was more pragmatic. Even with the establishment of the Administrative and Scholastic Councils in 1871 very little progress was made. This was the barren terrain in which Bewerunge was expected to plough a fruitful furrow as first professor of Gregorian chant and organ.

CHAPTER THREE

Bewerunge at Maynooth

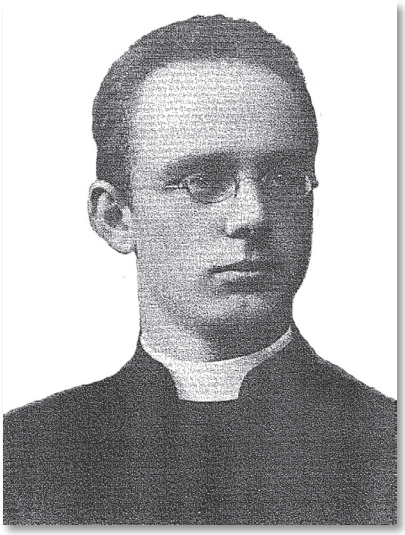
Introduction

Having investigated Bewerunge's education and cultural environment in the first chapter, and contextualised music teaching within Maynooth in the second, this third chapter brings together the man and the institution. It explores the changes in music pedagogy made by Bewerunge after his arrival in Maynooth, and his establishment of a system of tutelage to improve chant performance standards. Through a new examination of archival information and private correspondence, it makes clear the difficulties inherent in teaching liturgical music to a very large number of students, and reveals also the extent to which Bewerunge's efforts were hampered by the slow pace of change within the college.

The chapter continues with an exploration of Bewerunge's significant input into the design and construction of the new college chapel organ. His collaboration with Aachen-based organ-builders Georg Stahlhuth (1830–1913) and his son Eduard (1862–1916) created a technologically modern instrument which constituted a landmark for Irish organ building. Irish organs until then were designed either by English organ-builders or by Irish builders trained in the English tradition, and the new Maynooth instrument with its German heritage initially divided critical opinion. Previously unexamined notebooks from the Stahlhuth factory workshop allow an intriguing glimpse of the organ which might have been Bewerunge's ideal instrument had funds permitted. These and other newly investigated documents – including experimental materials requisitions – provide an insight into the practicalities of the organ build and its ongoing maintenance.

The third section of the chapter demonstrates how the public perception of music performance at Maynooth directly reflected the improvements under Bewerunge's leadership. It reviews Bewerunge's surviving arrangements and transcriptions of Renaissance vocal polyphony, and appraises his original compositions. Using press reports and college documents, it constructs a reception history for both the *schola* and the massed choir's performances. Finally, it charts the progress of secular music performance and tuition at Maynooth under Bewerunge's influence.

Fig. 3.1 Bewerunge as a young priest [1]



1 Trotier, *Der Märker* (2002), p. 174.

3.1 Improving the System: One Step Forward, Two Steps Back

> I have a great confidence that you will be most happy here, and I shall take care that nothing will be left undone by us to make your stay in our College agreeable to you and useful to the cause of church chant.[2]

Thus Robert Browne, president of St Patrick's College, responded to Bewerunge on 12 July 1888 following Bewerunge's acceptance of the professorship at Maynooth. His acceptance of the post came less than two weeks after the resolution of the Board of Trustees establishing the new chair on 28 June 1888, described by Browne in his letter as the 'professorship of church music and chant'. The last clause of Browne's sentence – 'nothing will be left undone by us to make your stay in our College agreeable to you and useful to the cause of Church chant' – carries within it an implication that Bewerunge's work was expected to encompass a wider programme of church music reform than simply the tuition of Maynooth seminarians. Bewerunge's letter of acceptance of the post does not survive, so it is not possible to ascertain his understanding of the position at that early time. However, he may have been somewhat dismayed on his first arrival in Maynooth. Many seminarians were from impoverished farming backgrounds and the standard of general education was low.[3] Bewerunge's direct dealings with the poor up to this point were probably confined to charitable acts; suddenly he found himself in close proximity to hundreds of young men from a low socio-economic stratum. The physical environment was also less than ideal. Food was often sub-standard,[4] and bathing facilities were limited.[5] Many of the college buildings

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2 Robert Browne, president of St Patrick's College, to Bewerunge, 12 July 1888. (LDA)

3 Walter McDonald, a Maynooth student and later professor of theology, remarked: 'What is wrong with Maynooth, and has been wrong with it while I know it, is that we aim at producing good average men. The worst of it is that we succeed, for, while our average man is very good, our best men are poor […]' Walter McDonald, *Reminiscences of a Maynooth Professor* (London: Johnathan Cape, 1925), p. 177.

4 The *Journal of Trustees* recorded many student complaints over the decades regarding food quality and quantity. (MCA)

5 In October 1888 the Trustees ordered that a system of shower-baths should be constructed. *Journal of Trustees*, 9 October 1888, p. 610. (MCA)

were in a bad state of repair, with rooms inadequately heated and ill-lit.[6] The prevailing damp and chill were to have a significant adverse effect on Bewerunge's health during the years to come.

3.1.1 From Plainchant to Polyphony

It is unsurprising that an institution struggling with the provision of adequate heating, lighting, and diet also had insufficient teaching resources. Despite Browne's promise, Bewerunge was not given the necessary support in his new position. The enlightened decision of the Board of Trustees to create a new chair did not extend to a commensurate budget for the necessary facilities. The extent to which Bewerunge succeeded in implementing changes in a financially poor and administratively stagnant organization was a testament to his strength of character and his professionalism.

One of Bewerunge's first actions was to assess the standard of musicianship amongst the senior students. His recommendations to the Administrative Council guided its appointments of leaders for junior and senior choirs and a harmonium player for the junior chapel. Within months he had introduced new classes in organ playing and music theory, and arranged a new singing class timetable.[7] A fundamental lack in music teaching resources was immediately evident: the college had no piano. The only instruments were the organ in the main church and the harmonium in junior chapel, and although organ lessons could be undertaken in these sacred spaces, the music theory classes could not. In order to proceed with the theory classes, permission was granted for Bewerunge to teach in his own rooms using his personal piano.[8] In August 1889 (while in Germany visiting his family) Bewerunge wrote to Robert Browne

6 Corish (1995), pp. 189, 191. Gas lighting had been installed in the 1860s but students were expected to provide candles for their own rooms at their own expense.

7 All teaching and timetabling issues had to be discussed and sanctioned by the Administrative Council and/or the Scholastic Council before any changes could be implemented.

8 Most of the professors apparently had a suite of three rooms: parlour, study, and bedroom.

seeking his authority to purchase a grand piano for the college, as the price was much lower than an equivalent instrument in Dublin.[9] Browne refused. In October 1889 Bewerunge applied to the Trustees for a piano 'for the purposes of teaching the choir certain parts of the choral music'.[10] His request was turned down on the grounds that money was not available. The significance of this minute lies not just in the refusal of his request for a piano, but in the first mention of choral music as distinct from plainchant. It reveals that Bewerunge had almost immediately begun to teach polyphonic music. The grounds for interpreting this minute as indicating polyphony are strong. Firstly, an instrument was not necessary for learning plainchant and for sixty years the college had managed without any instrument at all. Secondly, a select choir was performing polyphony by June 1890 and considerable rehearsal time would have been needed to familiarise the students with this more complex style of music. Thereafter the minute-books of the administrative and Scholastic Councils had to distinguish between the main choir and the select group which undertook polyphony: generally the *schola cantorum* was described as 'the singing choir' or 'the special choir'.[11]

A number of letters surviving letters from Bewerunge to his mentor Haberl provide a fascinating insight into the obstacles which he encountered and his reaction to them. In October 1889, Bewerunge described the new classes. He said he would have preferred to begin teaching counterpoint rather than harmony, but in order to facilitate progress for his new organ students 'I had to choose harmony'.[12] He had more than twenty students for the first couple of classes, but expected this number to decrease, saying 'even if only half a dozen remain, I would be happy'. He revealed his frustrations at the lack of resources, as he lamented that he had 'neither an instrument nor a blackboard available when I taught the different positions of the triad'. The

9 Bewerunge to Browne, 17 August 1889. (IRL-Mrjp)

10 *Journal of Trustees*, vol. 2, p. 623. (MCA)

11 For example, *Minute Book of the Administrative Council*, 12 April 1892. (MCA)

12 Bewerunge to Haberl, 26 October 1889. (D-Rbza)

absence of so basic a teaching tool as a blackboard underscored the college's difficulty in providing suitably equipped classroom space for the huge number of seminarians. Bewerunge faced a challenging task in encouraging the entire cohort of students to take an interest in the history and aesthetics of music. He commented: 'I find in the regular classes little appreciation for the theory of choral music'.[13] His despondency at the lack of participation ('I just lose my interest') may have been an indication of early inexperience in teaching large classes. He would quickly have learned how to tailor his material to better suit the ability of his classes, and an increasing understanding of Irish educational standards and literacy levels undoubtedly assisted him in this.

Despite these adverse beginnings, Bewerunge did not show any desire to move on from Maynooth after his initial three-year period of engagement. The Trustees were also satisfied, and resolved in late 1890 to extend his appointment. They raised his salary to the level of a junior professor and promised him a piano for music lessons.[14] In 1892 the Trustees requested that the archbishop of Cologne might allow Bewerunge to remain in the college for a further period. This was granted in a letter from the archbishop dated 29 July 1892 which agreed that he could remain for another two years.[15] No further records exist of requests for extensions to Bewerunge's stay. It seems that there may have been some doubt during the mid 1890s about him remaining in Maynooth. John Healy, Bishop of Clonfert, wrote to Bewerunge in September 1896:

> Let me say in the first place that I am exceedingly glad you have returned to the College, though it is only for a time; for we can hardly cope to get any man now or hereafter capable of filling your place in the way you have filled it.[16]

The letter went on to discuss John Horgan, a seminarian with great musical ability whom Bewerunge suggested as a possible replacement for himself.[17] Nonetheless,

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13 *Ibid*.

14 *Journal of Trustees*, vol. 2, p. 633. The cost of the piano was not to exceed £40. (MCA)

15 Archbishop Hubert Simar to Robert Browne, 29 July 1892. (IRL-Mrjp)

16 Healy to Bewerunge, 22 September 1896. (LDA)

17 An undated letter survives from John Horgan to Bewerunge, lamenting his misfortune in being sent away from Maynooth to take up parish duties in Athenry, Co. Galway. (LDA)

Bewerunge remained at Maynooth. He may have received the necessary permissions from the Archbishop of Cologne during annual summer visits to Germany, or permissions may have been overlooked after some years.[18]

3.1.2 Consecration of the College Chapel

The foundation stone for a new college chapel had been laid in 1875. The building was urgently needed to accommodate the large number of seminarians and to increase the prestige of the college. Imminent completion of the building in 1887 provided the Trustees with another spur to improve music standards for sacred ceremonies by appointing a full-time resident musician. The chapel, still incomplete, was blessed for divine service on 5 June 1890. The new organ was not ready, and the harmonium from junior chapel was pressed into service to accompany the singing.[19] The small instrument was inadequate to support the full choir of students and clerics. The *Freeman's Journal* noted that the music of the mass – consisting of plainchant – was 'well sung by the choir and students, under the direction of the Rev. Professor Beverunje' [sic].[20]

Formal consecration of the completed chapel took place on 24 June 1891. Maynooth ecclesiasts returned to their *alma mater* from Europe, Africa, America, and Australia to join in celebrating a great milestone in the college's history. This was a significant public event – 'unquestionably the grandest and most impressive ecclesiastical function […] perhaps ever witnessed in Ireland'[21] – and Bewerunge had to ensure his students gave a good performance. He chose approximately thirty of his best voices and supplemented them with about ten more experienced singers

18 See footnote 282, chapter five below.

19 Heinrich Bewerunge, 'Die neue Orgel in St Patricks-College zu Maynooth (Irland)', *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* (1891), p. 123.

20 'Maynooth College: The Blessing of the Beautiful New Church by the Archbishop of Dublin', *FJ*, 6 June 1890, p. 5.

21 'Consecration of St Patrick's College Church, Maynooth', *LE* (July 1891). p. 49. (Anon.)

drawn from the Dublin clergy.[22] Bewerunge selected polyphonic music by German Cecilian composers including Peter Piel (1835–1904) and Michael Haller (1840–1915). These men were both members of the historical faction within Cecilianism, which advocated a replication of Palestrinian musical ideals rather than including contemporary developments in music such as chromaticism. During the service Bewerunge conducted the choir while German organ-builder Eduard Stahlhuth played the new organ. The *Freeman's Journal* reported that the choir 'rendered the music with deep feeling and solemnity'.[23] *Lyra Ecclesiastica* commented particularly on the refinement of the performance: 'It was a great tribute to the ability of the Professor, and we look forward to abundant and widespread fruit from seed so carefully sown.'[24]

3.1.3 Classrooms and Performance Requirements

Bewerunge spent quite some time persuading the Trustees as well as the administrative and Scholastic Councils of the necessity for separate chant classes for each division of the college. It took almost three years of lobbying by him before a junior class was established, providing incoming students with a class of their own for the first time. Because of space strictures, the availability of classrooms was limited. The Trustees did not wish to heat and light rooms unnecessarily, and ventilation was also an issue. Holding three classes in a row in the same hall led to complaints of poor ventilation, so either a class had to move or additional time had to be scheduled so that the hall could be aired between classes. By its nature, a practical chant class would be inclined to consume the air in a room more swiftly than a passive lecture class. The combined impediments led to a long delay in the provision of class time for the junior

22 *Ibid*.

23 'St Patrick's College, Maynooth: Consecration of the New Chapel', *FJ*, 25 June 1891, p. 5.

24 *LE* (July 1891), p. 50. It is not surprising that the journal of the Irish Cecilian society was fulsome in its praise for this event. However, Bewerunge himself always gave honest performance critiques, no matter how worthy the occasion. This policy was clear during the period of his editorship of *LE* (1891–1893).

college division. In May 1892, after many requests, Bewerunge finally wrote a stiff letter to the Scholastic Council. The letter is cited here in full since it gives insights into college conditions as well as Bewerunge's pedagogical approach. The brisk but comprehensive narrative also reveals a flavour of his strong-willed personality.

> Gentlemen,
>
> I beg to propose that it be brought officially under the notice of the Bishops that there is no provision made for a class in Gregorian Chant with the first years philosophers.
>
> The desirability of such a class seems to be evident. Apart from its appearing strange that, if there is room for a class in Gregorian Chant in the *Horarium* of the second years philosophers and first years theologians, there should be no time for the first years philosophers, — there is a special reason which makes musical instruction for that class a matter of great importance. The junior students have their own solemn services and in order to render the music at these services decently, they require preparation. Now as the philosophers form the large majority of the junior students, if they get no musical training, the singing at the religious services in the junior chapel cannot but be very miserable.
>
> As a matter of fact, too, a class for Gregorian Chant has always been on the programme for that division of the students, but for varying reasons it has not effectually been carried into practice. When I came to this house first, a class was set aside for these students on Sunday. But as there is another class in Gregorian Chant on that day for the second years philosophers, inconveniences arise, which prevented the class from being continued. After some intervall, [sic] then, an evening class was arranged which was continued for the rest of the year. In the following year, through a multiplication of my other evening classes, it was made impossible for me to continue this evening class. So after some time a class was started on Wednesday between the two ordinary classes. This continued up to Lent, when the change in the order of the day left no time between these two classes. Moreover it had been found impracticable to have the class hall occupied for almost three hours in continuation. So the music class was not resumed for the rest of the year. In the third year, to obviate this difficulty, it was decided that my class should be held in the study hall. But when, after about four or five classes, the students came to study in their study hall, it was found impossible to arrange the hall so as to serve both purposes. So my class was again interrupted. I then applied to the Scholastic Council to set aside one of the ordinary class hours for the teaching of Gregorian chant, and the council agreed. But as it was thought necessary to have the consent of the bishops for this arrangement, it was not carried into effect that year. The matter was brought before the bishops at the end of the year – June 1891 – but their Lordships refused to allow one of the other classes to be sacrificed. At the beginning of this year I had again about four or five

> classes on Wednesdays in the study hall, until the approaching winter put an end to it. I then applied to the Scholastic Council to fix 3/4 of an hour on Fridays from 1.30 to 2.15 for my class, but although the proposal was received favourably, nothing practical has been done. So again this year the first years philosophers have been without musical instruction.
>
> As therefore the Scholastic Council does not seem to consider itself competent to solve this question, I wish to propose that their Lordships the Trustees be asked to decide what is to be done. I therefore move that this report be embodied in the Minute Book and the attention of their Lordships called to it.
>
> I am, gentlemen,
> Your obediant [sic] servant,
> H. Bewerunge[25]

The letter was, as he requested, embodied in the Scholastic Council's minutes. His candid recitation of unfolding events carried with it a tangible sense of frustration that so much teaching time had been lost. The weight of his argument that first years should have their own class was undeniable. At their next meeting in October 1892 the Trustees resolved that the students of all classes should 'have the advantage of Fr Beverunge's [sic] teaching'.[26] Whether the Scholastic Council suffered any embarrassment, or any rebuke by the Trustees for the delay in implementing Bewerunge's requests, was not recorded. Further promptings by Bewerunge to the Scholastic Council finally resulted in a separate chant class being instituted for the junior division by December 1892. The reorganization had a domino effect on timetabling for various other lecturers, but by February 1893 the new system was running smoothly.[27]

The October 1892 meeting of the Trustees also brought into being a new requirement for student progression. Any candidate who failed to secure a pass in Gregorian chant at his end-of-year examination had to be re-examined 'in the presence of the whole community' after the summer break. In the event of failure at this second examination, the student's bishop would decide whether the student should continue

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25 *Minutes of the Scholastic Council*, 2 May 1892. (MCA)

26 *Journal of Trustees*, vol. 2, p. 661. (MCA)

27 *Minutes of the Scholastic Council*, 5 December 1892 and 6 February 1893. (MCA)

on to the next year. Alongside the damp conditions and lack of heating at Maynooth, the rule of silence within the college must have contributed to the difficulties involved in training young men to sing. Silence was observed for the greater part of the day: it was required both for the maintenance of discipline in a large community and as an aid to spirituality. One of Bewerunge's early reports to Haberl included the comment that 'half the singers are sick or hoarse now and then'.[28] To sing without the voice previously having being used – even for speech – undoubtedly caused hoarseness and poor tone quality. Records showed that Bewerunge came under pressure from both the Scholastic Council and students' bishops to give seminarians a pass grade in their chant exams.[29] This must have irked Bewerunge's uncompromising nature, but he was pragmatic and understood that not every student could sing. A memoir of Maynooth included the story of Bewerunge's examining and passing a candidate who sang the prescribed examination piece extraordinarily badly but with great vigour and enthusiasm. All examinations were in public so the entire class was present; Bewerunge and his students were complicit in the tragicomedic farce of the seminarian's pass:

> Father Bev smiled a deep smile and gave more sign of being overpowered by his feelings than ever I had seen him give before. […] This was one of the few occasions on which I saw the heavy reserve of Father Bewerunge seriously threatened.[30]

The question of a new class-book for music was raised by the Scholastic Council in November 1892. William Walsh, then archbishop of Dublin, was asked if he would compile a new edition of his *Grammar*, but he demurred.[31] The minute-books did not discuss this issue again, and Bewerunge was confined to working from the legacies of Renehan, Hackett, and Walsh, supplemented by his own personal resources. Library

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28 Bewerunge to Haberl, 26 October 1888. (D-Rbza)

29 For instance, the *Minutes of the Scholastic Council* on 28 June 1894 stated: 'Fr Bewerunge, having examined a second time students reported by him as deficient, withdrew his first unfavourable report, and declared them to be entitled to pass.' This was not the only instance of such comments in the minutes. (MCA)

30 Neil Kevin, *I Remember Maynooth* (London: Longmans, Green & Co. Ltd, 1938), p. 185.

31 Walsh had written to his publisher in July 1888 seeking costs for a reprint of the *Grammar*. Pustet replied with costs for a print run of 2,000 copies. Pustet to Walsh, 28 July 1888. (LDA)

facilities in the college were poor and it was not until 1899 – a full eleven years after his arrival – that funds were made available for him to purchase a selection of twenty-three music books.[32] The complete editions of Palestrina and Lassus, edited by Haberl and bearing Bewerunge's pencilled notes, still grace the shelves of the Maynooth University library today.[33]

3.1.4 Balancing Practicality and Professionalism

Although Bewerunge's influence with the Maynooth Board of Trustees was evident in the achievement of his teaching provisions, his professional authority outside the college was occasionally disregarded. An illustration of this arose during an initiative to improve congregational hymn-singing in the college. Bewerunge proposed that students should be trained in singing hymns, and in late 1892 the Trustees requested the president to make it known that they 'regard this department of musical training as of the very first importance in our college'.[34] Congregational involvement in Irish Catholic services was still beset by the legacy of the silent Mass, and the perception of sung Mass as 'too Anglican, too English' constituted a politically sensitive nerve.[35] The ecclesiasical hierarchy saw that community involvement in church music required positive action including the promulgation of hymnbooks with true hymn tunes as opposed to melodies with sentimental or pseudo-religious texts which were used in schools, convents, and for devotions. Bewerunge's action in encouraging hymn-singing within Maynooth was a move which would yield results in parishes countrywide when ordained priests could lead their congregations in song.

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32 *Library Purchase Record 1889–1938*, 24 November 1899. (IRL-Mrjp) Many books were purchased in 1899, particularly for history, English and music. The preceding decade saw very few purchases. Bewerunge's selection comprised music history, theory, aesthetics, and plainchant studies, but no scores.

33 It is time that these historic editions were removed for safe-keeping to a closed collection. As the volumes are now freely available online no loss would result to readers.

34 *Journal of Trustees*, vol. 2, p. 661. (MCA) Bewerunge had also attempted to heighten the profile of English-language hymns as part of his first editorial in *LE*. *LE* (January 1891), p. 3.

35 Thomas Day, *Why Catholics Can't Sing: The Culture of Catholicism and the Triumph of Bad Taste* (New York: Crossroads Publishing Co., 1998), p. 22.

In early 1893 the Administrative Council ordered an 'English hymn-book' (by which was meant an English-language hymnbook rather than one emanating from England) to be procured for the college.[36] *St Patrick's Hymn Book* was edited by Cork-based Vincentian priest Edward Gaynor (1852–1936) and an edition with music was published by Dublin printers Browne & Nolan in late 1892. It appears to have been the first indigenous post-emancipation publication of Catholic hymns with notated music (it included tonic sol-fa and staff notation). Archbishop William Walsh requested Bewerunge to assess the hymnbook so that it might be approved by the Dublin Diocesan Commission for ecclesiastical music.[37] Gaynor's production did not impress Bewerunge:

> In reporting on the work submitted to me for examination [...] I cannot help remarking that the task alloted to me was a very disagreeable one. Mediocrity and sentimentality characterize the vast majority of the tunes, while tunes possessing excellence and expressive of sound piety are very rare indeed. If there were question, therefore, of recommending the book, I should have no hesitation in giving my answer in the negative. But as a place on the Diocesan List of approved music means only, I suppose, a permission, I cannot say that the majority of the tunes are so bad as to deserve exclusion from the list.[38]

He went on to expressly condemn twenty-three melodies as 'unfit for religious service [...] either in themselves or in their harmonisation'. Nonetheless the hymnbook was approved by the diocese. It received a glowing review in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, written by Bewerunge's colleague Daniel O'Loan, professor of ecclesiastical history at Maynooth.[39] Since Bewerunge had been acting as the *Record*'s music book

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36 *Minutes of the Administrative Council*, 30 January 1893. (MCA)

37 In March 1892 Bewerunge – along with organist, composer, and ardent Cecilian Joseph Seymour – had been asked to act as an assessor for the Dublin Diocesan Commission for ecclesiastical music. The appointment of Bewerunge and Seymour as assessors was announced in *LE* (April 1892), p. 25.

38 From a draft letter by Bewerunge to the Dublin Diocesan Commission for ecclesiastical music. (LDA)

39 *IER*, vol. 12 (November 1892), pp. 1052–1054. Some extant personal correspondence from O'Loan to Bewerunge revealed the former to have a sharp sense of humour. O'Loan's comment in his *IER* review, that the hymnal 'was submitted to the Dublin Diocesan Commission for ecclesiastical music and came through that severe ordeal successfully', may have been penned tongue-in-cheek. O'Loan would have known that Bewerunge had criticized it severely, as the two men were friends as well as colleagues.

reviewer from 1891 onwards, it can be inferred that the task was assigned elsewhere on his refusal to pen a positive review of the hymnal. The ecclesiastical hierarchy would not have considered it politically judicious to castigate an innovative Irish publication compiled by a priest in the pages of an influential Catholic journal – particularly as the critic was a foreigner. Perhaps as a result of Bewerunge's trenchant criticism, the hymnal underwent a major revision. The 1893 edition was reviewed in *Lyra Ecclesiastica* by Bewerunge. He welcomed the volume as an aid to promoting congregational singing and confirmed it was being used in Maynooth. While still critical of its editorial approach,[40] he stated it was 'a decided advance on former publications of the kind'.[41]

The history of the 1892 *St Patrick's Hymn Book* reveals that although Bewerunge's professional judgement was sought and undoubtedly valued, it was overridden by his superiors when expediency dictated. Not only was Gaynor's publication given Archbishop Walsh's *imprimatur*, it was also approved by the Maynooth Trustees for use by the students, despite Bewerunge's views. Undoubtedly Bewerunge entirely avoided the melodies he considered unfit for religious use and re-harmonised others.[42]

3.1.5 Establishing a Teaching Routine

Bewerunge now established his annual system of instruction, underpinned by the schedule of classes he had created and the resources he had won. In the course of this research, a worn journal was discovered among copies of choir music.[43] This proved to be a class-work notebook, itemising theory topics and repertoire taught to

40 Daly (1995), p. 135.

41 John Begley, *The Diocese of Limerick Ancient and Medieval* (Dublin: Browne & Nolan, 1906), publisher's catalogue section, p. 59.

42 Bewerunge's relationship with Edward Gaynor had a number of low points over the years, some of which are referred to in chapters four and five below.

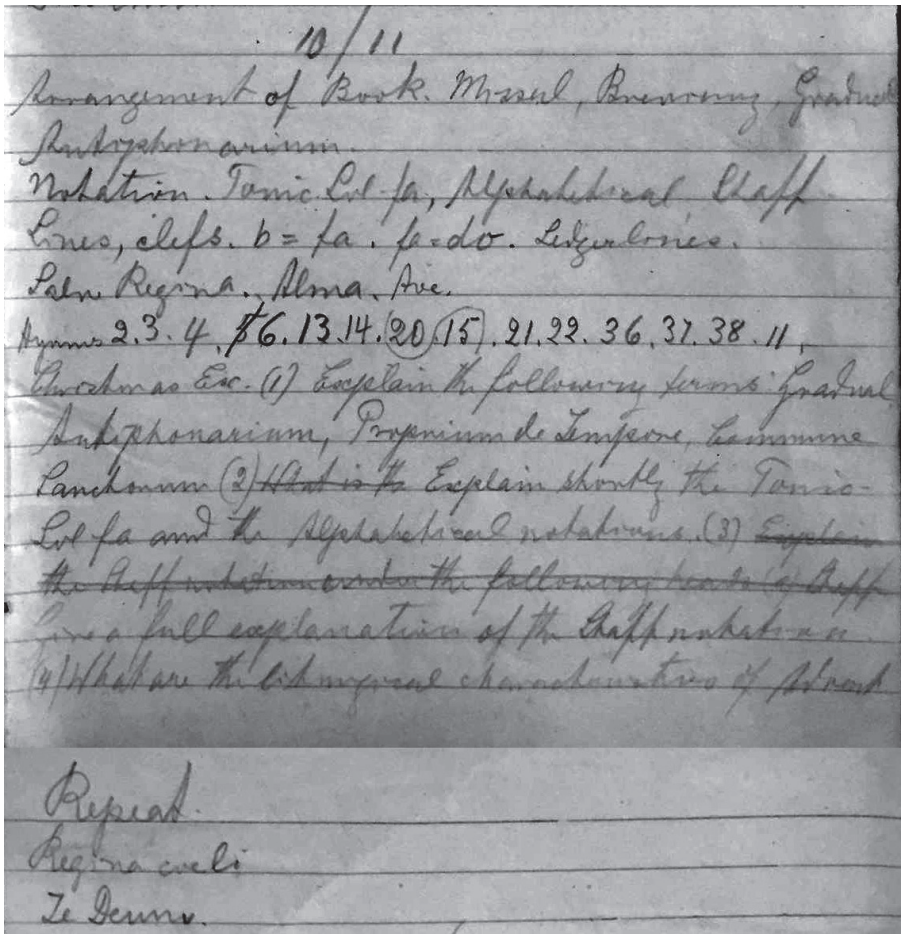
43 The notebook was in box seven from the Bewerunge collection (see section 3.3 below and Appendix B regarding boxes one to six). Box seven also included a bound collection of printed music presented by Nicholas Donnelly to the choir in December 1888, and a set of parts for the 'Maynooth Centenary Chorus' for the college centenary in 1895, set to music by J. Van Craen, organist at Phibsborough (Dublin).

the junior classes, covering the academic years 1909 to 1914, and from 1920 until his death in 1923. Presumably a separate notebook which did not survive covered the period 1888 until 1909. The similarity in course content from 1909 to 1923 suggests that essential topics remained unchanged, and the notebook gives a most valuable insight into examination material studied by the junior students. Fig. 3.2 overleaf is a scan of the notebook's handwritten pages for a representative year, and Fig. 3.3 is a typed facsimile of the same portion.

A careful frugality was revealed in Bewerunge's continuing to use the same notebook when he returned to Ireland after six years in Germany. His editorial eye is apparent even in his rough scribble, as he marked the hymn numbers to show correct numerical progression. The repertoire reveals a large number of hymns, showing Bewerunge's ongoing commitment to congregational singing.[44] It has not been possible to identify which hymn book was in use by the college in 1910, but as *St Patrick's Hymn Book* underwent further revision in 1906 it seems likely that this publication continued to be favoured by the Trustees. The chant items listed above are the four Marian antiphons, which along with the 'Te Deum' were used regularly in the divine office or on major occasions during the liturgical year. In addition to the listed examination items, the students learned a number of settings of the Gregorian Mass ordinary.

44 An Irish language hymn was included for the first time in 1913, and by 1923 there were six Irish hymns on his list.

Fig. 3.2 Bewerunge's class worklist for 1910–1911 (scan of original)



10/11
Arrangement of Book. Missal, Breviary, Gradual
Antiphonarium.
Notation. Tonic Sol-fa, Alphabetical, Staff
Lines, clefs. b=fa. fe=do. Ledger lines.
Salve Regina. Alma. Ave.
Hymns 2. 3. 4. ~~5~~ 6. 13. 14. 20. 15. 21. 22. 36. 37. 38. 11,
Christmas Ex. (1) Explain the following forms: Gradual,
Antiphonarium, Proprium de Tempore, Commune
Sanctorum. (2) ~~What is the~~ Explain shortly the Tonic-
Sol fa and the Alphabetical notations. (3) ~~Explain~~
~~the Staff notation under the following heads (a) Staff~~
Give a full explanation of the Staff notation.
(4) What are the liturgical characteristics of Advent.
Repeat.
Regina caeli
Te Deum

Fig. 3.3 Bewerunge's class worklist for 1910–1911 (transcribed text)

At first glance the music theory topics may appear simplistic. As has been mentioned previously, however, the average educational standard of young men entering the seminary was poor. The minute-books of the Administrative Council showed an ongoing preoccupation with the standard of reading and elocution. The ability to sing or read music was rare. The majority of seminarians came from farming backgrounds;[45] their opportunities to access education were often limited and the rhythm of farming life frequently interfered with school attendance. The 1881 census figures revealed that in excess of forty percent of the population was illiterate.[46]

The 1894–1895 academic year saw 617 students enrolled at the college, the largest number in the history of the institution to that time. A newly-convened committee, of which Bewerunge was a member, met during 1896 to draft a report on studies, intended to tighten up academic procedures. In 1897 the Board of Trustees requested Bewerunge to publish in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* the recommendations he made to the Council of Studies for improvements to primary and secondary education standards throughout Ireland, so that school principals and managers could note his suggestions.[47] The Trustees thus showed their confidence in Bewerunge as an advocate for education nationally. Bewerunge duly published 'The Teaching of Music in Irish Schools'.[48] The article painted a very clear picture of music education in Ireland generally and the lack of musical attainments of young seminarians.

> [...] most of the students enter here with their voices and ears absolutely untrained. Most of the time, then, allotted to Gregorian Chant, has to be spent in teaching the very rudiments of music, awakening the first sensations of musical intervals, and trying to get some musical sound out of the rough and uncultured voices.[49]

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45 This is evidenced by information returned for fathers' occupations in Visitors Reports to Parliament.

46 A Guardian of the Poor, *The Irish Peasant: A Sociological Study* (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co, 1892), p. 121.

47 *Journal of Trustees*, vol. 2, p. 752. (MCA)

48 Heinrich Bewerunge, 'The Teaching of Music in Irish Schools', *IER* (December 1897), pp. 481–487.

49 *Ibid*., p. 483.

He revealed his dissatisfaction by noting that 'this occupation is not only unworthy of a professor of this College, [...] it is also a great waste of time', supporting his position by citing the view of Peter Goodman, the first music examiner for the Board of National Education:

> No one who has not had experience of it can form an idea of what a painful, laborious, and all but hopeless task it is to have to teach singing to adults who never had 'voice' or 'ear' developed in early youth.[50]

Bewerunge argued that adequate music teaching should form an essential part of primary and intermediate education in Ireland. He recognised that his problem in Maynooth was precisely replicated in the teacher training colleges, where trainees themselves had no prior music experience.[51] He referred to the position in Germany, where at least two hours a week was devoted to class singing, with members of the choir having another two hours' practise. Again showing his pragmatism, he suggested that even one hour a week in Irish schools would improve matters considerably. However, it was 1900 before the Commissioners of National Education began to promote music teaching in primary schools.

Critiques of the poor quality of Catholic church music in Ireland were aired in public. One newspaper debate in Dublin's *The Leader* ran for over four months, from September 1900 to February 1901. A contributor lamented the conditions under which Bewerunge had to train church musicians:

> When I was at Maynooth most of Fr Bewerunge's time was occupied in giving a large majority of the students elementary lessons in the Tonic Sol-fa Modulator!

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50 *Ibid*. Goodman (1849–1909) was Ireland's first school music inspector, a promotor of the tonic sol-fa system, and a supporter of church music reform. See Mary Ryng, 'A Really Good Man: Peter Goodman and his Contribution to Music in Irish Primary Education', *British Journal of Music Education*, vol. 19, no. 2 (July 2002), pp. 145–156.

51 The Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland for 1888 revealed an appalling lack of musical ability on the part of teachers in training: less than 50% of men who enrolled for two years training were able to sing the notes of a tonic triad (with instrumental accompaniment) after several weeks practising for two and a half hours per week. *The Fifty-Fifth Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland* (Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1889), Appendix B, p. 23.

> When I add that there were 350 students in the music class to which I belonged, many of whom were unable to sing the scale, some idea of the uselessness of his labour may be formed.[52]

A number of current writers have misrepresented this quotation from *The Leader* debate and attempted to use it in isolation as a means of indicting Bewerunge's teaching methods.[53] As shown above, it was not his tuition which was at fault, but rather the appalling standard of music literacy which he encountered among the young men who entered the seminary. *The Leader* contributor in fact went on to hope that basic music training could be carried out in primary schools, and that Bewerunge would be free to influence church music reform at a higher level by shaping ecclesiastical music tastes.

In 1903, in an effort to improve standards at Maynooth, the Trustees resolved that all candidates for admission should have such 'preliminary training' in music as would allow them to study chant. Further, they were to be tested on their proficiency as part of the entrance examinations.[54] This requirement does not seem to have made much difference to the standard, however, as Bewerunge commented in 1905 that the entrance candidates were 'very bad': of 101 new entrants only fifty-four were able to sing a given tone and sing the tonic, third, and fifth of the scale.[55] Ten years later the Trustees had to re-issue their resolution, as aspiring seminarians continued to be unable to hold a note.[56] Despite all the difficulties, however, Bewerunge succeeded in teaching plainchant to vast numbers of clerics, to a standard which made compelling memories for listeners and for the seminarians themselves. This is considered further in the discussion of the reception history of Bewerunge's choir and *schola* at section 3.3.4 below.

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52 'Catholic Church Music in Dublin', a letter from 'D', *The Leader*, 24 November 1900, pp. 199–200.

53 Jerry Nolan, *Six Essays on Edward Martyn (1859–1923), Irish Cultural Revivalist*, Irish Studies vol. 11 (Lampeter: Edwin Mellon Press, 2004), p. 104; and Ian Curran, 'Late Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Catholic Church Music Reform and its Impact on Ireland' (unpub. MA thesis: Mary Immaculate College, University of Limerick, 2007), pp. 65–66.

54 *Journal of Trustees*, 23 June 1903, p. 843. (MCA)

55 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 7 September 1905. (SAA)

56 *Journal of Trustees*, 24 June 1913, p. 965. (MCA)

3.1.6 Choral Discipline and Rewards

The choir formed by the entire student body was organised into divisions according to seniority. Each division had at least one choir leader. Leaders were appointed annually by the Administrative Council, following Bewerunge's recommendations. There were also choir prefects, whose duties included 'guiding the choir in the ceremonies of the sacred functions'.[57] The sheer size of the choir necessitated strict regulation regarding such practicalities as including processing, choral dress, the order of precedence within the choir stalls (the chapel at Maynooth was and reputedly remains the largest stalled chapel in the world), and of course the music to be sung at weekly liturgies. During the early 1890s issues relating to ceremonial and singing featured increasingly in the minute books, particularly for Holy Week and Easter. One of the key reasons for the increasing importance attached to liturgical music was Bewerunge's presence as a resident music teacher and his establishment of a pedagogical system.

Every student had to demonstrate his knowledge of ceremonial rubrics including music, and this was done during Sunday ceremonies in the chapel. In 1897 the Administrative Council ruled that any student who reached the required standard on his first appearance did not have to perform again, but those who failed to perform adequately after attempts on three successive Sundays might lose a grade in holy orders. Bewerunge drew up the rota for student performances.[58] There were also annual examinations in plainchant performance, at which each student had to perform in front of his division (already mentioned at section 3.1.3 above). Failure in this examination and failure in a repeat examination prior to commencement of the next academic year resulted – in principle – to the student losing his year. In practice very few men lost their place as a result of a fail in chant performance. Students who combined a fail in elocution with a fail in chant were at greater risk. Frequently it was left to the student's

57 *Minutes of the Administrative Council*, 29 March 1895. (MCA)

58 *Ibid*., 8 November 1897. (MCA)

bishop to make the final decision as to whether his seminarian could proceed. The awarding of prizes for singing, recommended by the Synod of Thurles in 1850 and considered but dismissed by the Scholastic Council in 1876, was only adopted in or around 1898 – almost half a century after the Synod. Even then, the value of the first prize in singing (fifteen shillings) was equivalent to sums awarded for third or fourth place in other classes. The only subject awarded a lower prize was elocution.[59]

Although Bewerunge expected the entire seminarian body to learn and perform the chants of the church as part of their general studies, he believed that members of the *schola cantorum*, which undertook the more difficult chant Propers and polyphonic material, should be rewarded for the extra burden of work they carried. To this end, as early in his appointment as April 1889 he requested permission for special meals and excursions for members of the choir who had made particular contribution to the music.[60] Feasts and/or excursions constituted a reward system, and were an annual treat after the exigencies of music during holy week and Easter.[61] These events did not always run smoothly, however, and there were occasions when drunkenness and indiscipline resulted in severe chastisement of the students and curtailment of their already extremely limited freedoms. Absentees from choir practise were also admonished, occasionally with the threat of being deprived of orders,[62] or more usually, by way of an oral censure from the president.

59 A prize value list was inserted into the *Minutes of the Scholastic Council* for 1898. (MCA)

60 *Minutes of the Administrative Council*, 8 April 1889. (MCA)

61 In addition to the extensive Holy Week services in the college itself, singers and ceremonialists were also provided by the college to the neighbouring Presentation convent to assist the nuns. *Inter alia*, *Minutes of the Administrative Council*, 4 April 1892. (MCA)

62 For instance, *Minutes of the Administrative Council*, 15 March 1895. (MCA)

3.2 The College Chapel Organ

The Bewerunge-Stahlhuth organ embodied a milestone in Irish organ design. Although there may have been some rare examples of continental organs in Ireland prior to this time, the vast majority of instruments manifested the English organ-building tradition, which was heavily reliant on 8' ranks and utilised little in the way of bright sonorities. The Maynooth organ broke away from this conventional British soundscape and also adopted the most modern technology for its innovative layout and console design.

3.2.1 Ingenious Techniques and Extravagant Ideas

In addition to settling into his new environment and his teaching responsibilities in the college, Bewerunge had to immerse himself very quickly in the design and specifications of the new pipe organ for the college chapel. The organ-builders were Stahlhuth of Aachen: Georg (1830–1913) and his son Eduard (1862–1916). It has not been possible to establish the initial connection between Bewerunge and the Stahlhuths, but it is clear that he knew them before his arrival in Ireland.[63] A draft letter from Georg Stahlhuth's workshop notebooks is dated mid-October 1888, just six weeks after Bewerunge moved to Maynooth.[64] Stahlhuth thanked Bewerunge for 'remembering me [...] on the Green Island'. He recommended electro-pneumatic action for the new organ. This technology had been developed in England during the 1860s as an alternative to traditional mechanical (tracker) action or tubular-pneumatic action. The great advantage of electric action was a reduction in bulky physical

63 Bewerunge and Eduard Stahlhuth were exact contemporaries and apparently became good friends. Of all his correspondents, even his longterm and close friends, Eduard was the only person outside Bewerunge's family to address him informally, as 'dear Heinrich' or 'my dear friend'. The surviving letters from Eduard to Bewerunge span the last decade of the nineteenth century, although some are undated.

64 Special thanks to Sven Dierke (Düsseldorf) for providing copies of the Stahlhuth workshop notebooks. Further references to material provided by Dierke will be cited as SD.

connections between the organ console and the pipework. Bewerunge's first article in an Irish journal, published only seven months after his move to Ireland, revealed his preoccupation with improvements in organ technology.[65] He explained electro-pneumatic and tubular-pneumatic action to the readers of *Lyra Ecclesiastica* and extolled Stahlhuth's adoption of the best English and German advances. Bewerunge believed that an electric system could offer simplicity of action, a light touch, flexibility for couplers and pistons, take up less space, and – most usefully – permit the console to be placed at a physical distance from the pipework.[66]

One of the primary concerns regarding the adoption of modern electric action centered on the damp Irish climate. As far as can be ascertained, this was the first electric action organ in Ireland, and no Irish organ builder had yet adopted this new technology. Electric action for the console was produced by batteries, and any dampness would render the many contacts inoperable. No doubt Bewerunge had advised Stahlhuth that heating was kept strictly to a minimum in the college. Stahlhuth responded that he had designed access to the organ which enabled the organist 'to wipe off all contacts in the organ within ten minutes, without even having to loosen a single screw'.[67] Another practical concern centred on the production of sufficient and reliable wind to sound the pipes.[68] Bewerunge had decided on a hydraulic water-driven motor: both he and Browne requested feedback from various churches and organists in order to establish the most reliable manufacturer.

65 H.B., 'Electricity applied to organ building', *LE* (April 1889), pp. 29–31.

66 Responding in May's *LE*, Dublin organ builder John White took issue with some of the technical points made by Bewerunge concerning tubular-pneumatic systems, and a number of letters were exchanged between them in subsequent issues of *LE*. They agreed, however, that electro-pneumatic action was a superior technology.

67 Stahlhuth workshop notebook, 17 February 1889. (SD)

68 An organ which is under-winded cannot successfully be played with all stops drawn as the pitch will drop with a most distinctive and unpleasant wailing sound.

The Maynooth organ contract was formally signed on 28 July 1889.[69] The build was to cost twelve hundred pounds, not including transport, packing, erection costs or the organ case. By then a great deal of preparatory discussion and investigation had already been carried out by Bewerunge and the Stahlhuths. Eduard Stahlhuth, along with some other workers from the Stahlhuth workshop, visited Maynooth in May 1889. Further redesign work had to be done while the workers were on site, and small space miscalculations had major knock-on effects for placement of pipework and wind chests.[70]

One important issue under consideration was whether it would be possible (both practically and financially) to situate the console in the sanctuary, controlling not just the main organ in the west gallery but also a choir organ in the east end. Bewerunge provided Stahlhuth with sanctuary dimensions. An entry in Stahlhuth's workshop notebook indicates that the idea was to locate pipework on both sides of the sanctuary, with the wind apparatus on the north side and the keyboard on the south side above the sacristy, accessed by a staircase.[71] A passage constructed under the sanctuary would bring wind to both sides of the church, in addition to the separate wind mechanism for the main gallery organ. This, along with the comprehensive specification of stop combinations at the console (each extra one of which caused additional drain on electrical resources) would be a very complex and expensive build. Another potential hazard to effective amalgamation of a gallery and sanctuary organ was that of tuning. Temperature anomalies between the two parts of the church were significant (being much colder at the west end), creating a difference in air density and thereby giving

69 Organ contract including specification and design signed by Browne and Georg Stahlhuth, dated 28 July 1889. Robert Browne made it a strict condition of the contract that the instrument would be completed by 20 June 1890, the date set for the formal opening of the new chapel. (MCA)

70 Stahlhuth workshop notebook, May and June 1889. (SD)

71 *Ibid*., 16 November 1889.

variations in tuning.[72] Additionally, any restrictions on speech and projection of sound caused by a lower ceiling or protruding walls would result in non-homogeneity of tuning between the west and east end. The final organ specification which formed part of the signed contract made no reference to a sanctuary organ, so this adventurous plan must have been abandoned during the first half of 1889. Cost was probably the ultimate prohibiting factor: Browne kept tight control of the finances and even argued over the price of packing boxes.[73]

After the contract was signed, Dublin organ-builder John White expressed his disappointment that his tender for the project had not been accepted.[74] He provided a specification in May 1889. In February 1889 Bewerunge had given a set of competition conditions for the Maynooth organ to Nicholas Donnelly, which Donnelly passed on to William Walsh. Bewerunge wanted both men to approve the conditions of competition.[75] It is likely that Browne wanted some comparison between what he was getting from Stahlhuth and what was available locally. It is also possible that awarding such a large project to a foreign builder caused some unease among the Trustees. The competition and the tender from White were a palliative for both these concerns. White's build cost was eleven hundred pounds, again excluding transport, packing, erection and case. Although this was one hundred pounds cheaper than Stahlhuth's price, there were some requirements (for instance a pedal crescendo) which White was not technically competent to provide.[76] Later on, in August 1889, White provided an estimate of £345 for the organ case, but he was also unsuccessful in this bid.

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72 The effect of temperature changes is apparent in Galway cathedral, where the Swell division is isolated in a chamber with three external walls. The temperature difference between this division and the rest of the instrument during wintertime requires two additional heaters to keep the Swell in tune with the rest of the instrument.

73 Addendum added by Browne to organ contract document, 28 July 1889; Stahlhuth to Browne, 6 August 1889. Bewerunge acted as a broker between Browne and Stahlhuth, smoothing the way where necessary. (MCA)

74 White to Browne, July 1889. (MCA)

75 Nicholas Donnelly to William Walsh, 13 February 1889. (LDA)

76 White to Browne, May 1889. (MCA)

Fig. 3.4 Organ specification and design

2 Manuals C–g3 (56 keys)		**Pedal** C–F1 (30 keys)	
Great (divided)	**Swell**	**Pedal**	**Secondary stops & pedals**
First Part	14. Principal 8’	25. Principal 16’	1. Full Great
1. Principal 16’	15. Bourdon 16’	26. Subbass 16’	2. Full Swell
2. Octave flute 4’	16. Salicional 8’	27. Dulciana 16’	3. Pedal to full Swell
3. Bombard 16’	17. Gedact 8’	28. Fifth $10^{2}/_{3}$’	4. Full Pedal
Second part	18. Aeoline 8’	29. Principal 8’	5. Full organ with couplers C-C
4. Principal 8’	19. Octave 4’	30. Flute 8’	6. Full organ with all couplers
5. Harmonic flute 8’	20. Concert flute 4’	31. Octave 4’	7. Full organ without couplers
6. Soft flute 8’	21. Piccolo 2’	32. Trombone 16’	8. Great close
7. Gamba 8’	22. Mixture III ranks	33. Trumpet 8’	9. Swell close
8. Octave 4’	23. Fagott bass 8’	34. Clarion 4’	10. Pedal close
9. Twelfth flute $2^{2}/_{3}$’	24. Oboe discant 8’		11. Reeds close
10. Fifteenth flute 2’		Octave coupler	12. Pistons (preparatory)
11. Tierce $1^{3}/_{5}$’	Octave coupler	Swell to Pedal	13. Control piston for Great pedal
12. Mixture V ranks	Great to Swell	Great to Pedal	
13. Trumpet 8’			
Octave coupler Swell to Great Swell sub-octave to Great			
Stops 2, 5, 9, 10 & 11 together formed a 5-rank cornet			

3.2.2 The Final Product

The final organ specification was for a two-manual instrument with pedal division. The west-facing rose window in the college chapel presented some challenges for Stahlhuth, as the Great division had to be separated on either side of the window, with separate wind provision to each section. White had expressed concern about this difficulty. He also declared himself unable to provide a crescendo pedal ‘as it would be rather complicated’.[77] Bewerunge admired the pedal coupler system devised by organ

77 White to Browne, May 1889 (n.d.). (MCA)

builder Thomas Casson, which allowed wide variation in pedal sounds depending on the stops drawn on the manuals.[78] Stalhuth offered to manufacture something similar for Bewerunge, but either Casson learned of this and objected to his technique being copied, or Bewerunge himself did not feel comfortable with a copy. Stahlhuth brushed aside the objection on the grounds that it was unlikely that Casson had taken out a patent on his designs in Germany.[79] The more usual German method deployed a crescendo roller,[80] but it appeared from the specification that, at Maynooth, Stahlhuth used a crescendo pedal rather than a roller.

Work on the build continued for a year in the Aachen workshop. Georg and Eduard Stahlhuth and two workmen brought the instrument to Maynooth for installation. The two-manual console was positioned on floor level at the west end of the chapel, looking towards the altar at the east end. Locating the keyboard at a distance from the pipework in the gallery allowed the organist, while playing, to conduct the choir in the stalls. In addition to the two manuals were two miniature 'keyboards' controlling the stop action: the lower of these was designed to draw the stops and the upper to release them.[81] This method of drawing stops was unusual, probably the most singular of the innovative design aspects in the Maynooth organ. There were also six combination pistons between the manuals, which were used to pre-set combinations of stops and

78 Welsh-born Casson (1842–1910) was a bank manager before he moved to London and devoted himself to organ building. Stephen Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 284. Bewerunge extolled Casson's pedal system in the May 1889 issue of *LE*, and his endorsement along with other testimonials was used for many years by Casson when advertising. Casson's speciality was small, durable organs for rural churches, which could be played by a pianist rather than a trained organist.

79 Stahlhuth workshop notebook, 12 June 1889. Stahlhuth wrote: 'I know of a particular case where a Belgian machinery manufacturer has delivered a bellow-producing machine, for which someone else had a patent for the bellows. This manufacturer made the machine in his factory and afterwards had it sent into German territory, where it was reassembled and imported again into Belgium as a German product, without the owner of the patent being able to prevent it.' (SD)

80 Use of the crescendo roller can be seen for example in the organ music of Max Reger (1873–1916), which requires *pp* to *fff* in the space of a bar or two.

81 The organ contract stated: 'Instead of the usual draw stops two rows of short keys will be applied, forming a 3rd and 4th manual, the lower of which is destined for drawing, the other for shutting off the registers.' (MCA)

bring them into action only when required, by use of a preparatory pedal piston. There was of course a pedalboard (not visible in Fig. 3.5 below). The pedals, in addition to having their own drawstops, were controlled by two pistons which brought on different sets of pedal stop combinations depending on which manual was in use. This was inspired by Casson's pedal innovations (see fn. 77 above).

Fig. 3.5 The organ console [82]

82 Healy (1895), p. 645.

3.2.3 Critiques and Criticisms

The organ – without the mellowing effect of its case – was publicly tested in August 1890.[83] Those gathered for the unveiling included notable musicians and organ-builders.[84] Bewerunge explained the technical construction of the organ and the reasons behind its design and console placement. Five organists contributed to a recital: Eduard Stahlhuth, Joseph Smith, T.R.G. Jozé, R.W. Oberhoffer and Bewerunge.[85] The organ contract specified that a commission of experts would test the instrument in the presence of the builder 'in order to certify that the work has been carried out fully in accordance with the conditions of the contract'.[86] Jozé and Smith spent some time testing the instrument and compiled the required report.[87] They were extremely critical of the organ, largely because it represented a tradition of organ-building which was at variance with British conventions. The crucial factor as they saw it was the paucity of foundation stops.[88] Looking at the specification, however, it is clear that the organ lacked nothing, rather it reflected its German origins. Although generous in their praise of Stahlhuth's ability to cope with the many technical difficulties inherent in the

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83 Press commentary featured in the *FJ* of 7 August 1890 ('Maynooth College: The First Electro-Pneumatic Organ in Ireland', p. 4), English Catholic newspaper *The Tablet* of 16 August 1890 ('Maynooth College', p. 266), and September's issue of *LE* ('The New Organ at Maynooth', pp. 66–68).

84 The *FJ* and *LE* listed, *inter alia*, Joseph Smith and Joseph Seymour (both organists, composers and leading members of the Irish Society of St Cecilia), T.R.G. Jozé (organist and secretary of the Royal Irish Academy of Music), John Glynn, Edward Houghton, John Keane and Brendan Rogers (organists), William Telford and John White (organ-builders), Rev. Jules Botrel (president of Blackrock College, Co. Dublin), Archbishop William Walsh, representatives of the Catholic University and the Royal University, and William Hague (architect of the college chapel). Bewerunge, Georg Stahlhuth and Eduard Stahlhuth were of course also present.

85 R.W. Oberhoffer, originally from Luxembourg, was organist at St Wilfrid's church, York, and music master at Benedictine Ampleforth College (Yorkshire). He was a composer and proponent of Cecilian ideals. The recital pieces were listed in *LE*. They comprised works by Bach, Mendelssohn, Hesse, and – interestingly – a nocturne by Field.

86 Organ contract, clause 5. (MCA)

87 Thomas Richard Jozé (1853–1924) and Joseph Smith (1856–1907).

88 Broadly speaking, English organs relied on a larger number of eight-foot stops and fewer mutations than their European counterparts. Reporting on necessary repairs to the Maynooth organ in 1928, English organ builder Henry Willis (1821–1901) commented: 'The tonal scheme is typically German, but not in accordance with the accepted canons of British organ building, there being a paucity of true foundation tone.' Willis to James MacCaffrey, president of Maynooth, 24 February 1928. (MCA)

project,[89] Jozé and Smith were flummoxed by the unusual stop-drawing arrangement, commenting that it was 'more calculated to serve as an embarassment than as an assistance to the player'.[90] They went beyond the remit of their report (and revealed their anti-German bias) by drawing up a British-style specification and asserting that an organ of that type could have been built in Ireland for a similar cost. Their specification stated that tubular-pneumatic action was sufficient, but in fact only electro-pneumatic action would have allowed the organ console to be placed so conveniently in the nave at such a distance from the pipework. The conclusion of Jozé and Smith's report revealed that despite their predilection for the English style, they were aware that British organ-builders were not as proficient as they might be in technical innovations:

> We may safely congratulate you on possessing a highly interesting and ingenious specimen of the modern Organ-builders [sic] art; and one which may indirectly have the effect of stimulating our local artists up to the point of being able to hold the field in all branches of their craft against their foreign competitors.[91]

The September 1890 report in *Lyra Ecclesiastica* also commented critically on the lack of foundation registers and the apparently complicated drawstop arrangements. Bewerunge replied in October's *LE*, providing a useful insight into his approach to the build. With regard to the diapason issue, he quite rightly stated that it was 'simply a matter of taste', and confirmed that he had requested Stahlhuth to use more refined, smaller-scale foundations as opposed to the British system of 'massive diapason tone'.[92] With regard to the drawstops, Bewerunge was of the view that it was 'a great improvement' on the usual arrangement. It was clear he wanted to use whatever modern technology was available to provide the organist with maximum flexibility both for accompaniment and for organ repertoire. He took the view that the accompaniment of

89 In their report, they remarked: 'the mechanism of the instrument is a remarkable solution of some very difficult scientific and engineering problems'. 'Report upon the new Organ built for the chapel of St Patrick's College, Maynooth', August 1890. (MCA)

90 *Ibid*.

91 *Ibid*.

92 *LE* (October 1890), 'Correspondence: The New Organ at Maynooth', p. 76.

plainchant required great control over the organ. His aim was to minimise any possible disruption to the music caused by registration changes, yet still employ maximum tonal colour. In his letter he also commented on a point which did not feature in any of the media reports of the organ testing, or indeed in Jozé and Smith's report. This was the acoustical delay between the organist's playing a note on the keyboard and his hearing the sound coming back to him at his great distance from the pipework. Bewerunge remarked that he had been disconcerted by this effect when he tried out an electric action organ at Canterbury, but that he had been reassured by the organist advising him he would soon get used to it.[93]

3.2.4 Perfecting the System

Leeds-based William Speight, hydraulic and organ blowing engineer, provided the hydraulic engine for the organ. His firm had been recommended to Bewerunge and Browne by other organists and church administrators. However, Bewerunge and Stahlhuth condemned the engine immediately after the August 1890 test, stating that its power was insufficient.[94] By February 1891 it appeared that difficulties with wind had been resolved ('I am glad to hear you have now enough wind for your organ'),[95] but in June 1891 a new, larger engine had to be fitted prior to the formal opening of the chapel.[96]

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93 A not dissimilar acoustical effect – which competent organists take in their stride – is that necessitated by accompanying a choir situated at a distance from the console. The organist must play 'ahead' in order for the choir and its conductor to hear the organ on the conductor's beat instead of behind it.

94 'The undersigned testify that the above engine is not sufficient to feed the organ for which it was erected and also is not in accordance with the contract, giving only 13 strokes per minute instead of 25 as stipulated.' 'Opinion on the Hydraulic Engine supplied by Mr. W. Speight Engineer in Leeds, for the new Organ in St Patrick's College Maynooth', dated 6 August 1890. (MCA)

95 William Speight to Bewerunge, 24 February 1891. (LDA)

96 The hydraulic engine was reviewed again in 1902, when Bewerunge requested the Trustees to authorise the purchase of a new machine. In 1904 the Trustees sanctioned a move from hydraulic to electric power. *Journal of Trustees*, June 1902, October 1902, and October 1904. (MCA)

During the remainder of 1890, Bewerunge continued to correspond with both Eduard and Georg Stahlhuth, dealing with various mechanical and electrical niggles, particularly with regard to the batteries.[97] Difficulties with the batteries continued for several years, as evidenced by letters and invoices from various engineering firms in Great Britain and Germany. Bewerunge experimented with a variety of battery plate materials and chemical solutions in order to obtain the necessary current. He may have achieved a satisfactory arrangement by 1895, as no extant documents referred to the problem after that date.

3.2.5 Bewerunge's Unique Instrument

Bewerunge must have enjoyed a great sense of satisfaction as he oversaw the design and installation of the organ. It was a major project for a young man to manage. In addition to his skills as a performer and designer, it tested his diplomatic abilities as he liaised between the Stahlhuths, the college president, and the Trustees; his financial acumen as he negotiated economical prices for experimental materials; and his administrative competence in organising multiple components from many sources in Ireland, Britain and the continent.

The technical modernism of the Maynooth organ project and the selection of a non-British tonal specification were both testament to Bewerunge's mettle as organist and innovator. He did not unthinkingly bring his own German organ heritage to Ireland: his October 1890 letter to *Lyra Ecclesiastica* showed that he weighed up the relative merits of British versus German foundation registers, and made his choice

97 Stahlhuth also adverted to some unexpected incidents. For instance, on 28 September he wrote: 'Thanks be to God that the affair with the worms, which is none too pleasant, has been solved. It is possible that the 'mother' of the nest found her way there.' On 8 December he reminded Bewerunge to 'make sure that the mice cannot get into the organ'. (Mice consider many different components of organ action to be edible, including leather, glue and even wood.) Sadly only the Stahlhuth side of the correspondence survives; the tone of the correspondence is very friendly and includes snippets of personal information. (LDA)

based on his convictions regarding the best techniques for choral accompaniment and organ performance. His willingness to experiment with novel stop and piston arrangements showed the enthusiasm of a young man embracing technology. The resulting instrument certainly laid down a challenge to established British and Irish organ-builders. Stahlhuth summed up Bewerunge's input into the Maynooth organ: 'A not inconsiderable contribution was made by yourself, especially in regard to practical composition, making the work an excellent one'.[98]

A brief comment on the lifespan of the Bewerunge-Stahlhuth organ is apropos to conclude this section. Ongoing maintenance is essential for any organ. The Maynooth chapel instrument was given the very minimum of maintenance (a new motor and some other small repairs were carried out in the early twentieth century). It endured very well for decades despite cold and damp conditions, demonstrating the quality of Stahlhuth's materials and workmanship. During Bewerunge's absence between 1914 and 1920 it was under-used and inadequately looked after. The political climate after the first world war was such that there was no possibility of retaining a German firm to carry out repairs. Bewerunge's successor was not appointed until 1927, and it was not until 1928 that the organ was examined by Henry Willis, one of England's foremost organ builders. Despite a lingering anti-German bias, Willis commented: 'The construction is sound, the materials mostly good and the pipe-work is on the best German lines.'[99] Some of the Stahlhuth pipework survived until the most recent rebuild of the chapel organ in 2013,[100] and one rank of pipes is still in use in a Catholic church in Galway city.[101]

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98 Stahlhuth to Bewerunge, 29 December 1890. (LDA)

99 Willis to James MacCaffrey, president of Maynooth, 24 February 1928. (MCA)

100 For an account of the 1929, 1978, and 2013 rebuilds of the instrument, see Gerard Gillen, 'The College Chapel Organ: A 125-Year Journey', in a booklet published to commemorate the inauguration of the new Ruffatti organ (2014).

101 The 16' Bourdon rank from the Stahlhuth swell division was removed by organ-builder Kenneth Jones during a 1977–78 rebuild and incorporated by him in the new organ at St Oliver Plunkett Church, Renmore, Galway. (Information provided by organ-builder Trevor Crowe.)

3.3 'Worthy of a Continental Cathedral' [102]

Another aspect of Bewerunge's modernisation of the music programme at Maynooth was his establishment of the *schola cantorum*. This select group performed polyphonic repertoire incorporating his transcriptions of Renaissance masterworks for male voices, his own compositions, and contemporary Cecilian works. By tracing the increasing prestige of the choir as Bewerunge raised performance standards, in tandem with the development of secular music in the college, his augmentation of the scope of his role is revealed. Public acknowledgement of the quality of music performance also served to raise the college's profile at home and abroad.

3.3.1 Transcriptions and Arrangements for the *Schola Cantorum*

Once his teaching routine was established and students gained an understanding of what was required from them, Bewerunge could focus on building up a repertoire of polyphonic works for the Mass in addition to the chant ordinary. For the *schola cantorum* he selected the best voices from the general choir. As discussed above, Bewerunge began teaching polyphony and chant propers as early as 1889. His interest in French plainchant scholarship (as exemplified by the Benedictine monks of Solesmes) was revealed in the early 1890s during his editorship of *Lyra Ecclesiastica*. Although uncomfortable with Haberl's Ratisbon chant books, loyalty to his mentor and friend along with the required obedience to Archbishop William Walsh confined Bewerunge to the post-Medicean tradition at Maynooth until the 1903 *Motu proprio* watershed. He introduced Solesmes editions to Maynooth in March 1904,[103] and the choir began to perform more chant propers from that time.[104]

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102 'Music in Dublin', *Musical Times*, vol. 35, no. 616 (June 1894), p. 408. See p. 134 below for the full quote and its context.

103 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 8 March 1904. (SAA)

104 Later in 1904 he commented that much time was spent rehearsing plainchant, and acknowledged 'the Graduals are pretty stiff for ordinary singers'. Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 25 October 1904. (SAA)

White and Lawrence included a list of Bewerunge's surviving transcriptions and arrangements of Renaissance polyphony for male voices, in addition to his own compositions.[105] All these items are held in the Russell Library archives at Maynooth; the material is stored in folders within six acid-free boxes.[106] Bewerunge's preference for Palestrina and Vittoria is evident. The mass parts include only the 'Sanctus' and 'Agnus Dei'; not the 'Kyrie', 'Gloria', or 'Credo' since these latter parts were generally sung in plainchant by the entire choir. However, this list of transcriptions should not be understood as a complete summary of the *schola*'s repertoire. Some polyphonic items needed only transposition rather than rearrangement.[107] In addition, the *schola* performed many works for equal voices from published scores purchased by Bewerunge which needed no rearrangement to suit his male choir.[108]

There was no pre-existing repertoire of male voice Renaissance polyphony from which Bewerunge could draw. The majority of institutions at which such music had been sung – cathedrals, large churches, and choir schools – had access to boys' voices for the upper parts. As this was not the case in a seminary reserved exclusively for adult males, Bewerunge had to create his own transcriptions. Male voice polyphony involves a restriction of the overall vocal range by one quarter to one third, depending on the abilities of the upper tenors.[109] Transcribing for men necessitates weaving treble and soprano material into the lower voice parts. Unless skillfully done, such transcriptions can degrade the originals: melodic and harmonic effects can be distorted and the archetypal rise and fall phrase structure between the voice parts disrupted.

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105 White and Lawrence, *IMS 2* (1993), pp. 99–104.

106 See Appendix B.1 for a full list of surviving transcriptions.

107 Newspaper references to repertoire include other items of music which might only have needed transposition rather than rearrangement – for instance Palestrina's *Missa Aeterna Christi Munera*, referenced in the *FJ* of 26 June 1903, p. 4, in a report on the Maynooth Union.

108 The Russell Library in Maynooth has many boxes of cheap printed music used by the choir in Bewerunge's time and afterwards. These mass-produced scores are deteriorating: cataloguing and digitisation is needed.

109 During and after the Renaissance, treble and soprano parts would have been sung by boys rather than ladies, giving a distinctively pure and asexual sound. See chapter four, section 4.1.2 below for a contemporary discussion of the issue of women's voices in choir.

Bewerunge's practice was to move material between voices with minimum possible sonic alteration to the originals, and he used his compositional ability to weave in additional material only where strictly necessary. Ingrid Cunningham has offered an analysis of his techniques, with a specific focus on Palestrina.[110] Bewerunge's delicate touch in arranging music for male voices with a minimum of disruption to the originals was one of the pillars of his status as a practical musician, and his skill was acknowledged publicly in the media, as is discussed in section 3.3.4 below.

Virtually all of Bewerunge's transcription work took place during his first few years in Maynooth. The arrangements show that he had a wide vocal range at his disposal, although this varied over time as different students passed through his hands. Tenors were expected to sing a' and b' regularly, and on some occasions c'' and d''.[111] Basses often produced D and E, and sometimes C.[112] Bewerunge must have given additional theoretical training to members of the *schola cantorum*, as manuscript copies used a wide variety of clefs, with the movable C clef appearing in almost every position and the F clef featuring on both the third and fourth lines of the five-line stave. On some manuscripts it is possible to see that letters of the tonic sol-fa were faintly pencilled in above the notes by singers less confident in reading music.[113] The manuscripts are in a variety of copyists' hands as well as Bewerunge's own writing, and as he checked over the copyists' work he often added dynamics to their scores.[114] Dynamic markings

110 Ingrid Cunningham, 'Heinrich Bewerunge's Arrangements and Transcriptions of Works by Palestrina' (unpub. MA thesis: National University of Ireland, Maynooth, 1998).

111 Palestrina's 'Ave Maria' has c'', and Bewerunge's 'Magnificat' (tone II) calls for d''. These notes presumably would have to be sung falsetto. Media reports on the choir's performances occasionally refer to some strain on the part of the upper tenors in sustaining many high notes!

112 Palestrina's 'Homo quidam' requires C.

113 For example, a Bass I copy of the 'Benedictus' from Palestrina's *Missa Sine Nomine*, and a Bass II copy of Victoria's 'Caligaverunt oculi mei'.

114 On at least one occasion Bewerunge did not adequately check the copies. The parts for Vittoria's 'Duo seraphim' are in two different keys (A flat major and G major), with the key signatures occurring only on the first stave of the copies. The copyist in G major contradicted the F sharp key signature by inserting F flat (!) on several occasions in the manuscript. Although Bewerunge added some dynamic markings to this G major part, he did not pick up on these anomalies. Given the burden of work which he undertook some errors were bound to occur.

range from none (although this is rare) to comprehensive. Bewerunge's performance reviews showed that he always expected considerable attention to be paid to dynamics.

That the *schola* was a small group can be deduced from Bewerunge's comment in a letter to Haberl in 1890:

> I am rehearsing some Benedictus from the Masses by Palestrina with three of my best singers. We have started with those from *Brevis* and *Lauda Sion* and the students are showing great interest. In addition, I composed the Hosanna according to Palestrina's motives.[115]

His reference to using just three singers for the 'Benedictus' is significant: he was confident enough of his men to have one voice per part in this three-part section of the mass. To balance the vocal sound successfully, the subsequent 'Hosanna' with the whole group could not have been so large as to entirely overpower the three voices of the 'Benedictus'. A further clue as to *schola* size can be gleaned from another letter to Haberl, dating from 1893, where he ordered just four Mass parts per division for a performance of Palestrina's *Missa Ecce Ego Joannes*.[116]

Bewerunge's arrangements of six of Palestrina's five-part motets were published by Schwann of Düsseldorf as *Sechs Fünfstimmige Motetten von Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina für fünfstimmigen Männerchor*.[117] These were very positively reviewed in the German Cecilian society's 1893 *Cäcilienvereins-Katalog*.[118] Bewerunge described

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115 Bewerunge to Haberl, 20 November 1890. (D-Rbza)

116 Bewerunge to Haberl, 18 December 1893. (D-Rbza)

117 This collection contained the motets 'Diffusa est gratia', 'Domine Deus', 'Improperium expectavit', 'Terra tremuit', 'O admirabile commercium' and 'Exsultate Deo'. The publishers must not have inscribed a date, as international library holdings give no date or various different dates in the 1890s. The most likely date is 1892, as a review appeared in 1893 (see fn 118 below). This writer has seen only a partial photocopy (IRL-Mrjp) which does not bear a date and whose page is marked not by Schwann but by Breitkopf and Härtel. The date cited by a number of authors, including Aigran (1931) and Muir (2008), is 1898, which suggests there may have been a republication.

118 'The difficult task of editing polyphonic motets written by Palestrina for mixed voices in such a way that they can also be sung by a male choir without losing a great deal both of the aim of polyphonic forms as well as the clarity of voice-leading has been solved with great understanding and skill by Bewerunge.' *Cäcilienvereins-Katalog* (1893) (p. no. n/a).

one of these motets, 'O admirabile commercium', as 'perhaps the finest thing we have on our list of polyphonic compositions'.[119] (See Example 3.1 overleaf.) In addition to the Palestrina edition published and disseminated by Schwann, Bewerunge's unpublished arrangements were also in use not just in Ireland but also in England. Fr Robert Eaton (1866–1942), musical director at the Birmingham Oratory, a religious house of St Philip Neri, particularly wanted one of Bewerunge's six-part Palestrina mass settings for the tercentenary of St Philip (a friend of Palestrina) in 1895.[120] The published motet transcriptions featured in a 1903 list of approved church music for the Salford diocese.[121] Later again, a correspondent of Bewerunge's remarked in a letter of 4 October 1909: 'I noticed in the programme of the music at Manchester one of your arrangements of Palestrina.'[122] This was a reference to music used for the Catholic Truth Society silver jubilee conference, at which the archbishop of Westminster enlarged the organization into a National Catholic Congress.[123] These latter two celebratory and high profile events are illustrative of the exposure given to Bewerunge's arrangements. His recognition as an expert musician within the Catholic hierarchy in Great Britain is thereby endorsed. Details of his influence outside Ireland are explored more fully in chapter five below.

119 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 24 April 1906. (SAA)

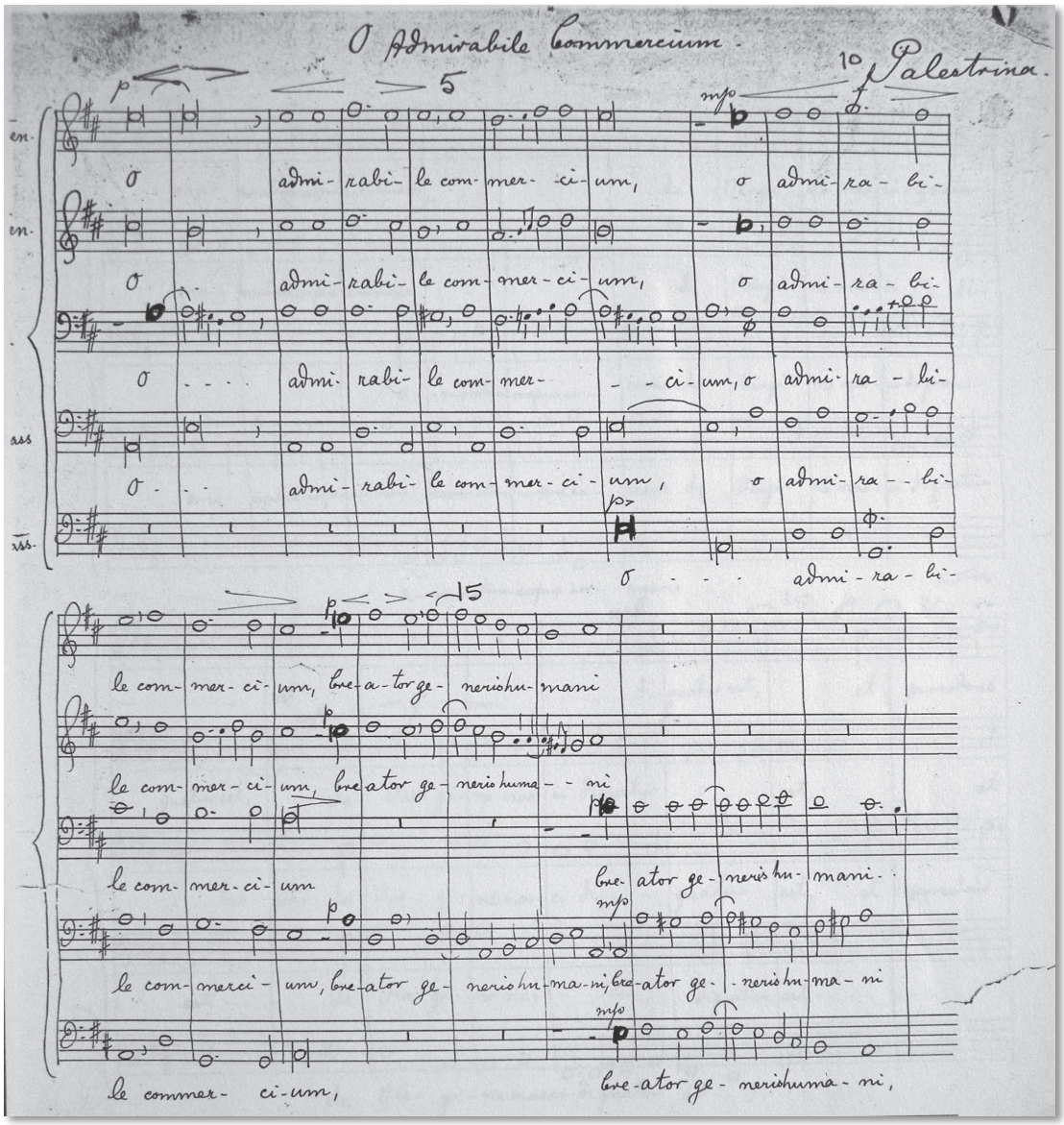
120 Fr Robert Eaton to Bewerunge, 27 March 1895. (LDA)

121 Muir (2008) p. 130.

122 Dame Laurentia to Bewerunge, 4 October 1909. (SAA)

123 Bewerunge replied on 6 October: 'I dare say it was Fr Donovan's choir performed my arrangements. He is doing good work there, but mainly for polyphonic music.' Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 6 October 1909. (SAA)

Ex. 3.1 The opening of Bewerunge's 'O Admirabile Commercium'



3.3.2 Bewerunge's Compositions

In addition to his transcriptions of Renaissance works, Bewerunge also composed a number of small-scale settings for the college choir. Surviving items include two settings of the 'Benedictus' (tone I and a setting of tone II specifically for funeral rites), eight settings of the 'Magnificat' (on all eight tones), 'Miserere' (a setting of psalm

fifty), and 'Dies irae' (a requiem sequence).[124] Structurally the compositions alternate between chant and four-part *falso bordone*, usually with even-numbered verses chanted and odd-numbered verses harmonised. The harmonisations followed Cecilian ideals of sixteenth-century polyphony. Bewerunge never described himself as a composer and disliked writing for adult male voice choirs:

> The composer is cramped, having to sacrifice either full harmonious sound or free melodic movement. […] male voices by themselves are wanting in brilliancy. Moreover, it is difficult to get the tenors that can stand the strain.[125]

His short pieces show, however, the skills of an accomplished musician who had to satisfy a variety of liturgical requirements with the available vocal resources. The compositions are chorally satisfying without being too demanding on the performers, and are uplifting for the listener. Bewerunge adapted some of these pieces for female voices and they were sung by nuns in a number of convents in the Dublin and Kildare area. His requiem 'Benedictus' is the most well-known of the compositions. It achieved iconic status not just within Maynooth but around Ireland, and is still in regular use.[126] Along with the 'Miserere' and one of the 'Magnificat' settings, it was composed specially for ceremonies surrounding the interment of Eugene O'Growney (priest, scholar and Gaelic revivalist who died in Los Angeles in 1899 and whose

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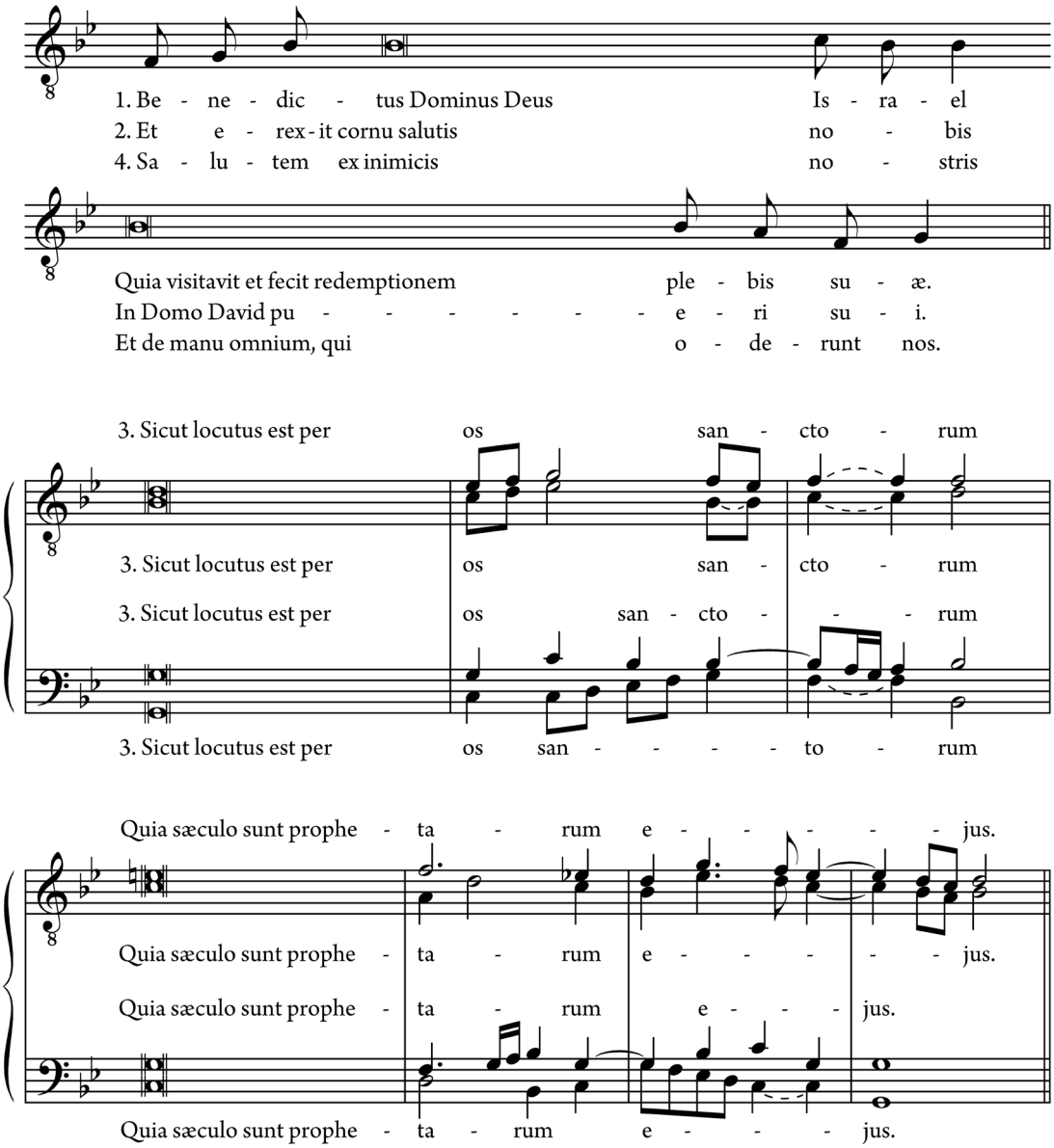
124 See Appendix B.2 for a list of Bewerunge's compositions. The Lawrence catalogue includes another setting of the 'Benedictus', also on tone II, but this was not present in the Bewerunge archives during examination of materials for this research. Lawrence also listed a setting of 'Jerusalem', a responsory from the Holy Week lamentations, but no contemporary manuscript was found. It has been suggested by college alumni who were students in the 1960s that this piece was in fact arranged by Rev. Charles O'Callaghan, professor of music at St Patrick's from 1951 to 1967. Variants of this 'Jerusalem' melody harmonisation survive in churches around the country (for instance in Galway cathedral and Celbridge church).

125 *IMM*, vol. 1, no. 6 (September 1902), p. 74.

126 Neil Kevin, in his memoir *I Remember Maynooth*, said: 'No hymn, of all those we heard again and again from the college choir, will echo through the chambers of the mind as vibrantly as will that opening peal of harmony on which was lifted up the words, 'Sicut locutus est per os sanctorum'. All over the world, men who once stood there will find stirring again in their memory the springing, staccato line of notes that went hurrying along to join the superb swell of heavenly harmony at the close of every verse. The kith and kin of the dead, who lie beneath the little headstones there, will remember it to the end, for it will have made a path through their hearts as it did through ours.' Neil Kevin, *I Remember Maynooth* (London: Longmans, Green & Co. Ltd, 1938) p. 162. The choir's performance of the 'Benedictus' at the funeral of Patrick Corish in 2013 demonstrated that the music has lost none of its simple but effective emotive power.

body was returned to Ireland in 1903).[127] Bewerunge's alternative second section to the Holy Week setting of 'Ecce quomodo' by Jacob Gallus Handl (1550–1591) utilised a different text (Isaiah 53:7–8). The passage marries well with Handl's first part. The Bewerunge version is still in use.[128]

Ex. 3.2 Bewerunge's *Benedictus Tone II* (requiem setting) [129]

127 Agnes O'Farrelly, *Leabhar an Athar Eoghan: The O'Growney Memorial Volume* (Dublin: M.H. Gill Ltd, 1904), p. 73.

128 For instance, in Tralee cathedral at least until the 1960s ('Holy Week Ceremonies in St John's, Tralee', *The Kerryman*, 23 April 1960, p. 12) and in Galway cathedral where it is used annually during Holy Week services to the present day.

129 This edition is transcribed from the separate voice parts (box 5/36, see Appendix B.2).

Research for this thesis has identified eight additional compositions by Bewerunge.[130] He composed and arranged simple material suitable for schools and rural church choirs, a number of which were published as music supplements with his 1902–1903 journal, the *Irish Musical Monthly*. Although these – with the exception of one item – were not part of his work in Maynooth and strictly speaking fall outside the remit of this chapter, it is nonetheless opportune to consider them briefly here in order to complete this survey of his compositional output. The Palestrina madrigal and Vittoria motet are included in this list rather than with the college material as they are mixed voice rather than male voice settings. Bewerunge transposed the music, halved the time values, added accidentals, and included dynamic markings. The madrigal appears to be the only secular piece he edited. 'Laudate Dominum' was performed at the opening of a new parish church at Bray in 1898 and was unusual – and undoubtedly dramatic – in its arrangement for brass septet. The existence of this piece is adduced from one newspaper and one journal report.[131] It was stated to be harmonised but the number of voice parts was not specified; it seems likely that it was for four voices. The *Musical Times* congratulated Bewerunge on his choral training and his composition:

> Not only was the performance remarkable for its excellence and for its selection […] The choir was trained to a marvel […] the conductor's 'Laudate' was unimpeachable in the severity of its style.[132]

This was one of only two occasions when Bewerunge was acknowledged as a composer in this English journal. Bewerunge also scored a 'Te Deum' by Joseph Auer (1855–1911) for four-part choir and brass for the Bray church dedication.

The hymn 'O thou undaunted daughter of desires' was published in 1915. Bewerunge had not seen the printer's proofs as he was detained in Germany for the duration of the war. The lack of opportunity to revise his work resulted in a weak

130 See Appendix B.3 for a list of these items.

131 'The New Church at Bray', *FJ*, 11 July 1898, p. 6; *Musical Times* (August 1898), pp. 545–546.

132 *Musical Times*, vol. 39, no. 666 (August 1898), pp. 545–546.

harmonisation, including a pair of consecutive fifths with an exposure. These errors, along with many others throughout the hymnal which were not spotted by the editor, resulted in withdrawal of the publication in 1916 following excoriating reviews.[133] Bewerunge's setting of an Irish hymn text to St Brigid coincided with the early period of his intense interest in Irish music, and was performed at the 1902 St Patrick's festival in London.[134] The poem 'Ceád fáilte ó gach croí' was written by a senior Maynooth student as a lament for Eugene O'Growney, whose funeral music was mentioned above. Bewerunge composed a melody for the poem and it was sung as O'Growney's body was brought into the college grounds.[135] The 'Stabat mater' setting was performed by Cavan cathedral choir during holy week ceremonies in 1931, demonstrating that music supplements from *The Irish Music Monthly* were still in use almost thirty years after their publication.[136]

3.3.3 The *Schola Cantorum* Outside Maynooth

Bewerunge's work with the select choir was mainly confined within the walls of the seminary. However, there were occasions when the choir received permission to perform outside the college, and these events created direct links between Bewerunge's work within Maynooth and broader efforts at church music reform. The choir performed at funerals, conventual professions, and other significant liturgical events in the Kildare area. Although their geographical ambit was not large, the solemn nature of the ceremonies ensured that the choir's music was heard by substantial congregations. Substantial may be understood here in its two contexts of size and social standing. The

133 This incident is considered again in chapter six in the context of wartime attacks on Bewerunge's reputation.

134 The text has been attributed to Gaelic scholar Tomás Ó Flannghaile (1846–1916). A slightly modified version of the hymn, entitled 'Gabham Molta Bhríde', appeared in Ireland's first post-Vatican II hymnal, *The Veritas Hymnal*, ed. Jerry Threadgold (Dublin: Veritas Publications, 1974). Bewerunge was not attributed and the hymn was marked 'Traidisiúnta'.

135 'Father O'Growney's Funeral', *FJ*, 28 September 1903, p.6; 'The O'Growney Funeral', *Meath Chronicle*, 20 January 1962, p. 8; and O'Farrelly (1904), p. 73.

136 'Holy Week Ceremonies in Cathedral, Cavan', *Anglo-Celt*, 11 April 1931, p. 2.

choir also occasionally journeyed to Dublin, typically to provide music for high mass at a convent. Bewerunge was himself a fine singer, and often chanted at funeral masses outside Maynooth. Congregations – and just as importantly, other clergy – therefore had opportunities to hear his style of plainchant interpretation in the requiem liturgy.

Bewerunge's earliest contact with Irish nuns was probably through the Presentation convent in Maynooth. Founded in 1823, the house had a close connection with the college.[137] In October 1891 Bewerunge provided singers and directed the music for the funeral of a nun at the convent. This is the first reference to him taking the choir outside the college.[138] It may have marked the beginning of a regular musical relationship between the convent and the seminary, as from the following year the college provided singers and ceremonialists to the convent for the liturgies of Holy Week.[139] By 1895 Bewerunge was providing and conducting a choir for profession ceremonies.[140] In 1897 the Presentation nuns in their Kildare house took the unusual step of having a profession ceremony in the parish church rather than their own chapel, and themselves sang under Bewerunge's direction.[141] Thus it is evident that by this time Bewerunge was teaching chant to the nuns; an aspect of his work which is further explored in chapter four, section 4.3.1.

Newspaper reports of the choir's extra-Maynooth activities after the turn of the century are few, although it is clear from Bewerunge's private correspondence that such occasions had not ceased.[142] One final report is worth mentioning: it was undoubtedly the *schola*'s last appearance outside Maynooth under Bewerunge's direction. Less

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137 The convent was originally founded when a Maynooth professor expressed concern at the lack of an educational facility for girls in the area.

138 'Death of an Irish Nun', *The Tablet*, 17 October 1891, p. 620.

139 *Minutes of the Administrative Council*, 4 April 1892. (MCA)

140 'Religious Ceremonies at the Presentation Convent, Maynooth', *FJ*, 24 April 1895, p. 6.

141 'Kildare: Religious Profession at the Presentation Convent', *New Zealand Tablet*, 28 May 1897, p. 11.

142 For instance, on 13 May 1905 Bewerunge wrote to Dame Laurentia: 'We buried a nun in the Maynooth convent this morning. I took out my choir, and we gave them a fine Office and Mass.' (SAA)

than two months before his death, he conducted and played the organ for centenary celebrations at the Maynooth Presentation convent.[143]

3.3.4 Bewerunge's Choir and *Schola*: A Reception History

The number of college events which permitted public access and consequent media review were necessarily limited. Occasions which attracted press coverage were generally high profile and allowed the college to show itself in the best possible light. Music at such events was reported, but analytical reviews were uncommon. Most journalists had very little musical knowledge themselves, and nothing can be read into such euphemisms as 'well-given'.[144] It is probably safe to assume, however, that superlatives of description would not have been used unless the performance was pleasant to an untrained ear.[145] Generally, the *Irish Times* was not overblown in its language, whereas the *Freeman's Journal* tended towards the effusive. Articles in *Lyra Ecclesiastica* would by their nature have been positively biased.[146] However, these reviews were generally written by musicians and thus encompassed some level of professionalism.

On 16 May 1892 the annual festival of the Irish Society of St Cecilia was held at Maynooth. The improvement in musical standards brought about by Bewerunge was acknowledged in speeches at the meeting, and Robert Browne, president of the college, stated that he hoped Bewerunge could be induced to stay permanently.[147] The festival

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143 'Presentation Nuns: A Centenary Celebration at Maynooth', *FJ*, 8 October 1923, p. 4.

144 'St Patrick's College Maynooth: Consecration of the New Chapel', *FJ*, 25 June 1891, p. 5. As Michael Murphy pointed out, non-specialist reporters were cheaper to employ. Michael Murphy, 'The Musical Press in Nineteenth-Century Ireland', *IMS 9: Music in Nineteenth Century Ireland*, eds Michael Murphy and Jan Smaczny (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007), p. 253.

145 At least, as regards liturgical music. Conventionally, reviews of operatic performances were highly lauded. (Murphy and Smaczny (2007), p. 254.)

146 With the exception of reviews by Bewerunge himself, who never shirked from calling a spade a spade or a bad performance bad.

147 'Annual Meeting of the Dublin Diocesan Society of St Cecilia: The Meeting', *LE* (June 1892), p. 43. Browne acted on his hope and wrote to the Archbishop of Cologne the following month requesting that Bewerunge be permitted to stay.

provided Bewerunge with an opportunity to showcase his *schola cantorum* after several years' work. A report in weekly British newspaper *The Tablet* stated that 'the music of the mass was Gregorian', but this may be an example of the lack of journalistic knowledge adverted to above.[148] Although the propers of the mass were Gregorian (with organ accompaniment), the remainder of the music was largely polyphonic, including Michael Haller's four-part *Missa Assumpta Est Maria*, his eight-part 'O sacrum convivium', and Palestrina's 'Surrexit pastor bonus'.[149] A review in *Lyra Ecclesiastica* dealt in some detail with the music: Bewerunge was editor of *Lyra* at the time and to avoid any suggestion of impropriety, the notice carefully stated that the information was 'communicated by a visitor'.[150] The reviewer had sufficient musical knowledge to describe motivic material and contrapuntal techniques. He reported that the college choir sang 'with admirable precision and delicacy'; Bewerunge's conducting of the schola 'was marked with consummate ability'; the plainchant accompaniment was 'characterised by the utmost ecclesiastical purity, all modern license as to discords being sedulously avoided'; the sound of the massed choir 'produced an effect of truly overwhelming grandeur, that will long rest in the minds of those present'.[151] The festival was also reported in Haberl's journal *Musica Sacra*.[152]

The next major public event for Bewerunge and the choir was a commemoration in 1894 of the 300th anniversary of Palestrina's death. The chapel galleries were crowded with dignitaries and aristocracy, as the Maynooth celebration was the first in Great Britain to mark the occasion. The choir performed Palestrina's six-part *Missa Ecce Ego Sum Joannes* and motets 'Confirma hoc Deus' and 'Homo quidam'. Boys from the Richmond Street Christian Brothers school provided soprano and alto

148 'Musical Festival Society at Maynooth', *The Tablet*, 18 June 1892, p. 934.
149 Front page advertisement, *LE* (May 1892), p. 33.
150 'Annual Meeting of the Dublin Diocesan Society of St Cecilia', *LE* (May 1892), p. 41.
151 *Ibid*., p. 42.
152 'Kirchenmusikalisches aus Irland', *Musica Sacra* (July 1892), p. 102.

lines.[153] Bewerunge had originally planned to use boys from Clongowes College, just a few miles away from Maynooth, but he remarked in a letter to Haberl that 'alas, the boys cannot sight-sing and about the rhythm of old they have absolutely no idea'.[154] The mass propers were Gregorian, and the *Freeman's Journal* remarked that the creed was sung by the entire student body 'with magnificent effect'.[155] In the Aula Maxima, Bewerunge delivered a lecture on Palestrina and Lassus, later published in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*.[156] His lecture had such an impact that six years later one of his listeners publicly recalled it as 'one of the most stimulating lectures I have ever heard'.[157] The tercentenary was also reported in the *Musical Times*, which commented:

> The excellence of the performance was worthy of a continental cathedral, and reflects great credit on the Maynooth Professor of Sacred Music, Rev. H. Bewerunge, who directed the Palestrina music and accompanied the Gregorian with a skill which is the result of profound study of these little known springs of the musical art.[158]

Although Bewerunge had been mentioned *The Tablet* on at least four occasions previously, this review in the *Musical Times* gave him his first mention in an established secular music journal. The description of Renaissance and Gregorian music as 'little known' was an indication that church music reform in Great Britain was lagging behind progress in Ireland and on the continent.[159] Congratulating Bewerunge on the tercentenary, Nicholas Donnelly commented that the celebration was 'an event of which Maynooth may be justly proud'.[160]

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153 Again, the festival was reported in *Musica Sacra*. Bewerunge commented: 'It is not easy to do justice to Palestrina's anniversary when only male voices are available, but we have tried to offer our tribute to the prince of music through performance of his works'. *Musica Sacra* (July 1894), pp. 84–85.

154 Bewerunge to Haberl, 18 December 1893. (D-Rbza)

155 'Palestrina Festival at Maynooth College', *FJ*, 18 May 1894, p. 5.

156 Heinrich Bewerunge, 'Palestrina and Orlando di Lasso', *IER*, vol. 11 (December 1894), pp. 1088–1113.

157 'Catholic Church Music in Dublin', letter from 'D', *The Leader*, 24 November 1900, p. 200.

158 'Music in Dublin', *Musical Times*, vol. 35, no. 616 (June 1894), p. 408.

159 This is discussed further in chapter five below.

160 Donnelly to Bewerunge, 18 May 1894. (LDA)

Maynooth college celebrated its first one hundred years in 1895 with a three-day gathering of more than 2,000 alumni from all over the world.[161] Music played a significant part in the proceedings: in addition to sacred music for the liturgical ceremonies there were several secular music concerts performed by military bands and orchestras. The college choir was augmented by former members from around the country, singing Palestrina, Haller, Lassus, and plainchant. The *Irish Times* reported the music as 'beautiful'. The *Freeman's Journal* stated 'it would be impossible to say too much of the really excellent manner in which the music was rendered', and on the closing day, complimented Bewerunge's 'exceptional ability' and adverted to the 'almost phenomenal success' of the sacred music.[162]

The centenary celebrations marked the establishment of the Maynooth Union, a society of past students and friends of the college. The Union met every year thereafter, beginning in 1896. The liturgies which formed an essential part of these meetings were often reported in the press – including the music repertoire, which allows a glimpse into the choir's repertoire over a period of years. Bewerunge generally augmented the *schola* with some former members for these occasions. The *Freeman's Journal* annually gave high praise to the music. In 1897, for instance, it remarked of Haller's eight-part 'O sacrum convivium', one of the choir's regular favourites at major events: 'It was perfectly rendered not merely as regards time and tune, precision and attack, but in the observance of the light and shade and due attention to the requirements of expression.'[163] The *Irish Times* confined itself to declaring that the music was 'very artistically rendered'.[164] In 1899 the *Freeman's Journal* particularly lauded

161 'Maynooth Ecclesiastical College: Centenary Celebrations', *Irish Times*, 26 June 1895, p. 6; 'The Maynooth Centenary', *FJ*, 26 June 1895, p. 4.

162 'Maynooth Centenary Celebrations', *Irish Times*, 27 June 1895, p. 6; 'The Centenary of Maynooth College', *FJ*, 27 June 1895, p. 4, and 28 June 1895, p. 5.

163 'The Maynooth Union', *FJ*, 25 June 1897, p. 5.

164 [No title] *Irish Times*, 25 June 1897, p. 6.

Bewerunge's male voice transcription of Palestrina's *Missa Papae Marcelli*.[165]

By 1900 the choir's repertoire had expanded to include Peter Griesbacher (1864–1933).[166] Bewerunge's adoption of Griesbacher works suggests that he was experimenting with composers who favoured a more Romantic harmonic language, but this was short-lived, and 1901 featured a four-part mass by Aachen-based conservative Cecilian priest and composer Franz Nekes (1844–1914). The *Freeman's Journal* reserved its highest praise that year for an 'Ave Maria' by Lassus:

> Seldom, if ever, have [sic] a male choir been heard in Ireland to better effect than in this selection. [...] the powerful crescendos that Father Bewerunge evoked by a wave of his hand were worth travelling a distance to hear.[167]

The choir remained loyal to Renaissance polyphony for the next few years, and the *Journal* continued to heap praise on Bewerunge's male voice transcriptions.[168] In 1910 the choir performed Nekes but returned to Palestrina the following year. Little information can be gathered about the Union music thereafter, as 1912 showed a change in the editorial direction of all the main newspapers which focused coverage

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165 'The selections from the *Missa Papae Marcelli* were arranged by the Rev. H. Bewerunge. The word "arranged" conveys no idea of the share which the distinguished professor of the organ and Gregorian chant at Maynooth had in the preparation of the music. [...] The *Missa Papae Marcelli* was written for six voices – two female and four male voices. Yesterday it had to be sung in five male voice parts, and it was arranged by Father Bewerunge for two tenors, baritone and two basses. Nothing but unqualified praise can be given to the arrangement. The learned musician is to be congratulated on the ingenious way in which, while making necessarily very extensive changes, he has conserved so much of Palestrina, and preserved throughout his powerful characteristics and deep religious spirit. Having regard to the elaborate nature of the musical structure and the strictness of the counterpoint and harmony, it is an undertaking of very considerable difficulty to alter any of the text in the least degree. That Father Bewerunge has made considerable modifications without destroying the characteristics of the great master is a high compliment to his musicianly skill and his careful study of the works of Palestrina, both in their formal construction, characteristic expression, and ideal beauty.' 'The Maynooth Union', *FJ*, 23 June 1899, p. 4.

166 An eight-part 'O sacrum convivium' by Griesbacher was used for the offertory at solemn Mass for the Maynooth Synod, 1900. 'The National Synod', *Kildare Observer*, 15 September 1900, p. 4.

167 'The Maynooth Union', *FJ*, 28 June 1901, p. 6.

168 For instance, 'The Maynooth Union', *FJ*, 26 June 1903, p. 4: 'The effect of the rendering was inexpressibly beautiful.' On Bewerunge's transcription of Palestrina's 'Exsultate Deo': 'It would be difficult to imagine any original composition for five male voices being more clearly or more powerfully interpreted.' And 'The Maynooth Union', *FJ*, 16 June 1905, p. 5: 'musical knowledge and technique have improved enormously under the tutelage of Father Bewerunge […]' – although Bewerunge himself was of the view that the music 'was not as well prepared as in former years'. Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 11 August 1905. (SAA)

more on the papers delivered at the Union and less on the liturgy.[169] Bewerunge's skill was remarked on by a Maynooth priest in a 1912 American publication:

> With six hundred and fifty white-robed ecclesiastics chanting the solemn strains of Gregorian music antiphonally, and with one of the best choirs of trained voices in the world, the divine service was always a function well worthy of the most cherished traditions of the Eternal City.[170]

Paul Cullen would have been highly satisfied to hear this comparison of Maynooth with Rome.

3.3.5 Non-Liturgical Music in the College

Bewerunge and the choir were not always restricted to sacred music and on rare occasions indulged in secular entertainment. One such early instance was on college prize day in 1893, when they performed a glee.[171] The prize-giving took place in the Aula Maxima, which had opened that year: it would have been unthinkable to perform secular music in the college chapel. The Maynooth centenary celebrations in 1895 saw Bewerunge conduct the Rifle Band for the 'Prelude' and first tenor solo from Wagner's *Lohengrin*, Arthur Sullivan's 'Lost Chord', Michael Maybrick's 'Star of Bethlehem', and Gounod's 'Marche Romaine'.[172] The choir also sang three glees: Mendelssohn's 'The Hunter's Farewell' and 'The Merry Wayfarer', and Kreutzer's 'Hark, above us'.[173]

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169 There was no meeting of the Union in 1917, 1918 or 1919. Resumption of the Union's meetings in 1920 after suspension during the war saw a performance of Palestrina's *Missa Papae Marcelli*, but as Bewerunge had not returned as yet from wartime exile in Germany, the choir was conducted by a Dublin priest. There was no meeting in 1921 and no further coverage of the Union until 1924, after Bewerunge's death.

170 P. Sheridan, 'Reminiscences of Maynooth', *American Ecclesiastical Record* (July 1912), pp. 62–69.

171 'Prize Day at Maynooth College', *FJ*, 29 June 1893, p. 5.

172 Healy (1895), p. 131.

173 'The Maynooth Centenary', *FJ*, 26 June 1895, p. 6.

Amongst the Trustees, however, there was a sense of unease at allowing the students to practise instrumental music, and practise times were severely restricted.[174] At the end of 1898 Bewerunge made representations on behalf of the students in St Mary's (one division of the college) that the Scholastic Council either provide a second piano or allow the students to hire a piano at their own expense.[175] Permission for the latter option was granted; the students hired a piano, and by March 1899 they were permitted to practise during study hours. In 1898 the junior students' division also wanted to hire an extra piano for practise, coinciding with the formation of a choral society.[176] However, they were restricted to use of the college piano by order of the Administrative Council in 1899.[177] This is the first mention of a choral society in the college and was an initiative which could not have begun without Bewerunge's support and assistance. The Trustees relied on Bewerunge to monitor acceptable use of the pianos. No student could use any instrument without Bewerunge's express permission, and the maximum practise time allotted to any student was two hours per week. Given the strict regime of discipline within the college, with its focus entirely on priestly formation and obedience, the permission to hire pianos and practise on them were significant privileges which were enjoyed only through Bewerunge's intercession.

In 1907 matters were relaxed further and the Trustees resolved that the students could hire an instrumental music teacher at their own expense.[178] They also decided that a piano was to be purchased for the Aula Maxima (although students were not

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174 *Minutes of the Administrative Council* for 27 December 1894 stated: 'It was the feeling of the Council that the bishops should be consulted about the permission to practise during study. For the present [...] the students were to be allowed to practise; but on condition 1) that no student be allowed more than two hours a week during study; 2) that practise be not permitted during ordinary recreation hours, except on six o'clock evenings from 5pm to 6; 3) that only sacred music be allowed in the chapels and oratories.' (MCA)

175 *Minutes of the Scholastic Council*, 3 November 1898. (MCA)

176 This was mentioned in the *Minutes of the Administrative Council*, 14 November 1898, but no further details were given. (MCA)

177 Ten months elapsed between the students' request and the decision to decline it, a typical example of the slow pace of administrative proceedings in the college.

178 *Journal of Trustees*, p. 882. (MCA)

permitted to practise on this).[179] The end of 1907 also saw reference for the first time to music societies (plural), an advance on the 1898 reference to a choral society.[180] In 1910 Maynooth became a recognised constituent college under the aegis of the new national university. Bewerunge proposed a groundbreaking programme for music in both Maynooth and University College Dublin; somewhat to his surprise the programme was accepted at Maynooth and music was introduced as an approved subject for university study.[181] Bewerunge was appointed music examiner by the national university, with a payment of five pounds annually.[182]

Conclusion

Bewerunge's work at Maynooth utilised his skills as a performer (vocal and instrumental), composer, arranger, conductor, and pedagogue. His uncompromising adherence to high standards for church music and his blunt turn of phrase when communicating were extremely useful tools for his difficult task in the institution. His determination to improve the poor standards which he enountered on his arrival in Maynooth required him to engineer changes in mindset not just among the student body but also within the college authorities. The monolithic college administrative system, in which Trustees met only twice a year and the permission of all the country's bishops was required for anything which touched on the education of seminarians, could institute changes only at a glacial pace and was inclined to reject anything new and untried. The result was that although Bewerunge did, after much effort, get the classes and teaching times he wanted, the resources were not available to best implement

179 *Minutes of the Administrative Council*, 29 November 1909: 'Agreed to take measures to enforce the rule according to which practising on the college piano in the Aula Maxima is not permitted to the students.' (MCA)

180 *Minutes of the Administrative Council*, 2 December 1907. (MCA)

181 See chapter four, section 4.3.3 for a fuller discussion of Bewerunge's secular music teaching.

182 *The Daily Express*, 6 March 1914.

his teaching. The lack of items as basic as a blackboard, an instrument, and class books were extemely frustrating for him. Given these conditions, his achievement in improving chant performance standards among the massed choir of five to six hundred was significant in its own right. As has been shown, his impact was more extensive than this and his music was successfully disseminated around Ireland and abroad for many generations.

His collaboration with Stahlhuth to create the innovative new organ at Maynooth laid down a competitive marker to Irish organ builders, entailing a reassessment of their technical competency. He also challenged accepted norms for British organ tonality, choosing a specification with lighter foundation stops which suited his subtle approach to plainchant accompaniment and yet was sufficiently versatile for organ performance. However, the construction of a number of Stahlhuth organs around the country in the early twentieth century,[183] along with the ongoing practice of appointing non-national musicians to organists' posts, generated some criticism. The sources and dissemination of these animadversions are examined in chapter six below, with particular reference to their negative impact on Bewerunge's reputation.

Bewerunge's work with the *schola cantorum*, his arrangements of Renaissance repertoire, and standards of execution brought music at Maynooth to the notice of audiences in Ireland, England, Europe, and America. Bewerunge came increasingly to the attention of the Catholic hierarchy and church musicians in Great Britain through the private dissemination of his transcriptions. The published booklet of Palestrina arrangements had even wider distribution. His longstanding connection with Haberl ensured that major events in Maynooth were highlighted in *Musica Sacra*, the founding organ of Cecilianism in Germany. The teaching system and music repertoire which Bewerunge established at Maynooth continued under his successors for more

183 Stahlhuth built instruments in Stradbally (1903), Clane (1904), Tralee (1908), Ballymahon (1910), Rathfarnham (1911), and Longford (1912).

than forty years after his death. Surviving Radio Éireann broadcasts of Holy Week and Easter ceremonies from the college chapel in 1964 included many Bewerunge arrangements. It was the modernisations enacted by the Second Vatican Council that finally caused his repertoire to be laid aside.

CHAPTER FOUR

Beyond Maynooth: Bewerunge in Ireland

Introduction

Bewerunge's engagement with musical life in Dublin and nationally was highly significant. This chapter evaluates three key areas of his work beyond Maynooth: church music reform, Irish music, and secular music education. Previous commentary has focused only on the first of these, resulting in an over-emphasis on his Cecilian efforts. For the first time the scope of his involvement in traditional Irish music is explored, and reveals the pioneering nature of his scholarship. With regard to secular music pedagogy, it is argued that Bewerunge's inability to fulfil his potential owing to circumstances of war had long-lasting repercussions for music education in Ireland.

In the following discussion, multiple details from a diverse range of archival documents including correspondence, newspaper and journal reports, and minute books, are drawn together to create a profile revealing the range and consequence of Bewerunge's endeavours. Many of his activities placed him within a social and cultural milieu which represented a modernising Ireland. He was a member of numerous literary and musical societies,[1] and associated with such figures as conductor and composer Michele Esposito (1855–1929), musician and historian W.H. Grattan Flood, dramatist and patron of the arts Edward Martyn (1859–1923), and Douglas Hyde (1860–1949), Gaelic League founder and first president of Ireland. Bewerunge's independence of thought, discussed in chapter two above, ensured he eschewed those ultra-conservative

1 A representative sample includes the Dublin Orchestral Society, the Dublin Musical Society, the Incorporated Society of Musicians, the Gaelic League, the Irish Folk Song Society, and the Feis Ceoil Association. His strong sense of advocacy prompted him to take his turn at committee duty for most of these organisations.

forms of Catholicism which precluded fruitful collaboration with Protestants such as Hyde.[2]

Outside his post at Maynooth, Bewerunge's portfolio of activities reflected the diversity of tasks undertaken by a well-educated and proficient musician. He undertook innumerable engagements as performer and conductor, many of which entailed travel around the country. A multi-faceted professional, he was in demand as a solo chanter, organist, pianist, choral trainer and conductor.[3] Part of his remit for church music reform required him to visit dioceses on episcopal request to advise on sacred music. Correspondence reveals that he visited, *inter alia*, Caherciveen and Tralee (Co. Kerry), Limerick, Monaghan, Fermoy (Co. Cork), Ennis and Lisdoonvarna (Co. Clare) and Kiltimagh (Co. Mayo). Although the railway system in Ireland was extensive, travel was a slow and often difficult undertaking.[4] Bewerunge was almost always unwell for some days after a long journey, which caused him great frustration as he had to restrict his activities until his health improved.

His involvement with intermediate education began as early as 1891. For four years he was one of a panel of examiners for examinations in German.[5] From 1895

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2 Some clerics involved in the cultural revival saw it as an opportunity for sectarianism. O'Growney and other Maynooth clerics such as Michael O'Hickey (who succeeded O'Growney as professor of Irish) took a non-confessional approach. Timothy G. McMahon, *Grand Opportunity: The Gaelic Revival and Irish Society, 1893–1010* (New York: Syracuse Press, 2008), pp. 45–47.

3 An example of his extra-Maynooth work as a choir trainer and conductor can be seen in the 1898 dedication of Nicholas Donnelly's new church at Bray. Bewerunge prepared a choir of 120 voices, using about forty men (former Maynooth *schola cantorum* members), eighty young girls and a number of women soloists. They performed Palestrina's six-part *Missa Ut Re Mi Fa Sol La*, which according to a press report was the first time this had been sung in its entirety in Ireland. 'The New Bray Church', *FJ*, 9 July 1898, p. 5. Bewerunge had performed the same mass without the 'Credo' at Rathfarnham the previous year. The 'Te Deum' by Joseph Auer which Bewerunge arranged with brass septet accompaniment, and his own 'Laudate Dominum' composed for the occasion, have already been discussed in chapter 3, section 3.3.2. A six-part mass for large choir was a significant undertaking in terms of rehearsal time, added to which was the arrangement, composition, and preparation of the celebratory pieces.

4 The journey from Maynooth to Caherciveen, for instance, took a day and a half. He wrote to a friend: 'I was examining a new organ there, and gave two recitals. The parish priest had announced these from the pulpit the preceding Sunday, but had not told me a word about them! Fortunately I had brought some music with me.' Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 15 March 1908. (SAA))

5 *Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1891* (Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1892), p. 5. Ditto the reports for 1892–1894.

onwards he was a member of the panel of examiners for music, an examination which until 1904 included only theory of music.[6] He also acted as syllabus consultant, examiner, and teacher for the Leinster School of Music.[7]

A further strand of Bewerunge's work was as a translator, writer and reviewer. During the early 1890s he translated into English two major works by musicologist Hugo Riemann.[8] He provided reviews and articles for a number of national and international periodicals including the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, Cologne-based *Gregoriusblatt*, and *Musica Sacra* (Regensburg). A full list of Bewerunge's published articles is provided at Appendix A.1. The content of some of these was mentioned in chapter three above, and others will be considered in the course of this chapter. A somewhat breathless account from Bewerunge's own correspondence in 1905 adds to the picture of his busy and varied life – he was apologising to a friend for the delay in responding to a letter:

> I had to go to Dublin on Friday to attend a concert. Then Saturday and Sunday are my busy days in the college, and in addition I had to write out an organ accompaniment for the two Masses of Forty Hours Adoration for Rathfarnham. Then I had a friend on a visit, we had a burial on Tuesday morning, some gentlemen came to see my organ about the middle of the day and I had to be in Rathfarnham at 4:00p.m. to give them a final practice, the exposition beginning on Wednesday, and I did not get home till last night.[9]

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6 *Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1895* (Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1896), p. 9. Ditto the reports for 1896–1901. In 1902 the reporting format changed and examiners' names were no longer listed. In 1904 music examinations changed from theoretical to practical. His recommendations for basic music education have already been adverted to in chapter three at section 3.1.5.

7 This work is evidenced by surviving letters (1907 to 1912) from musician Samuel Myerscough (1854–1932), a convert to Catholicism who founded the Leinster School of Music in 1904. (LDA) Bewerunge also tutored Sam Myerscough (junior) in the art of organ accompaniment. Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 25 October 1904. (SAA)

8 Riemann, *Catechism of Musical Aesthetics* (1895), and *Harmony Simplified* (1895). These translations of Riemann have not been bettered since. Because of the time-consuming nature of book translations, Bewerunge was not keen to take on further projects of this scale and only translated two more books in the following decade.

9 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 3 March 1905. (SAA)

The pace was relentless, and Bewerunge's summer months spent abroad helped him return to his work with new vigour each September.

4.1 Bewerunge and Irish Church Music Reform

After nine years in Ireland, Bewerunge wrote with passion and dismay concerning the condition of church music:

> I have heard, within recent times, church music that is an outrage and a scandal; I might almost say, a blasphemy; for the character of that music would seem to presuppose qualities in God that are derogatory to His sanctity. I have heard such music even in the convents of nuns. I have heard those sacred virgins defile their lips with strains suitable only for the expression of sentiments that they would utterly abhor, the mere suggestions of which, in spoken language, would make them blush and fly away. Is it the utter absence of an appreciation for the fitness of things or the overpowering influence of early associations and continued habitude that make these things possible?[10]

Bewerunge was not generally given to flowery rhetoric, and this rather uncharacteristic jeremiad may have been prompted by some particularly deplorable music choices from the nuns during his various conventual visits.[11] One of Bewerunge's regular tasks was replying to correspondents who wrote asking for music recommendations, and the *raison d'être* for the article in which this lament featured was the publication of a list of liturgically appropriate but relatively simple music.[12] His list was aimed principally at small, inexperienced, or equal voice choirs; all of the music was intended to have organ accompaniment and hence no Renaissance works were included.

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10 H. Bewerunge, 'A List of Church Music', *IER* (May 1897), p. 434. His comments were reported as far afield as Boston, with the aim of motivating reflection on the condition of church music in America. *Sacred Heart Review* (Boston), 29 May 1879.

11 On one occasion in private correspondence to an English Benedictine friend he described the music in a Jesuit church as 'seventh-rate comic opera'. Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 11 June 1907. (SAA) His reform work in convents is examined at section 4.1.3 below.

12 A recurring joke between Bewerunge and Dame Laurentia was the frequency with which correspondents asked them for plainchant pieces in three or four part harmony, thus revealing the general abyss of ignorance regarding Gregorian music.

Bewerunge also recommended a number of two-part Mass settings for mixed male and female voices, commenting that 'the effect of all the female and all the male voices combining is very good, giving considerable fullness even with small choirs'.[13] He was in the minority among church music reformists in his preference for female voices, and as discussed in section 4.1.2 below, adherence to the 1903 *Motu proprio* which banished women from sanctuary choirs may have caused him some disquiet.

The activities of the Irish Society of St Cecilia and its journal, *Lyra Ecclesiastica*, were of paramount importance in disseminating awareness of appropriate liturgical music. Daly's publication is considered here only in regard to his criticism of Bewerunge's editorial style, and the remaining matters under consideration in this section consist of some previously unexamined documents which shed new light on the demise of *Lyra*. It should be noted that Cecilianism was important to Bewerunge only insofar as it had the capacity to galvanize and effect change. He was a pragmatic man and was willing to implement church music reform using whatever methods were available. For fifteen years (1878–1893) Cecilianism was a useful vehicle for Irish church music education, but as will be shown, the failure of its journal and the dissolution of the Irish society at the beginning of 1894 did not mark an end to Bewerunge's work (as posited by White),[14] but rather a beginning.

4.1.1 *Lyra Ecclesiastica*

Despite the Cecilian tenet that music should serve the liturgy and not distract from it, reports on church music in Cecilian journals often wrote in terms of enjoyment of liturgical music in a secular sense. A typical example was the instance of a centenary Mass described in *Lyra* as '[…] a rich treat for lovers of genuine ecclesiastical music'.[15]

13 'A List of Church Music', p. 438.

14 White and Lawrence, *IMS 2* (1993), p. 78: 'Bewerunge's own career […] mirrors the upward curve and subsequent decline of the essentially Germanic Cecilian movement […]'.

15 *LE* (August 1887), reporting on a centenary Mass at the Ursuline convent in Thurles, p. 61.

This tendency points to an odd dichotomy within Cecilianism, whereby many Cecilian composers rejected modern harmonic progressions because congregations might be distracted from their devotions, yet congregations were tacitly encouraged to listen to church music in a way not entirely consistent with liturgical devotion. This anomaly might perhaps be read as a reflection of the Victorian mindset, where a prudish society had to be seen to observe the proprieties whilst concealing a far more licentious underbelly. Bewerunge, however, took a strict view on appropriate liturgical music, actuated by his vocation to the priesthood. He believed that church music was more than an adornment of the liturgy. When the words of the liturgy were sung, music itself became the liturgy and participated in its 'theandric, mediatory character'.[16] He drew a clear distinction between liturgical music in this very special sense and sacred music which treated a religious subject but had aesthetic enjoyment as its main aim. He articulated his view as early as 1891 in his first *Lyra Ecclesiastica* editorial. The same editorial was unique among his published writings in its modesty and its emphasis on his supposed deficiencies:

> I feel bound to apologize for my seeming audacity in undertaking the difficult task of editing the Organ of the Irish Society of St Cecilia. Being a foreigner, and, therefore, not familiar with the English language, nor well informed about the condition and wants of the Cecilian movement in this country, and being, moreover, only a beginner in the study of musical matters, I feel vividly my shortcomings, and do not close my eyes to the difficulties that are awaiting me. However, I considered it my duty not to refuse when called upon, and not to withhold whatever acquirements I may possess from a cause towards which personal predilection, and, as I hope, God's will, incline me.[17]

Throughout his career he wrote with confidence and authority, never hesitating to enter into forceful debate with anyone whom he considered to be misinformed. His command of English was quite evidently excellent in this editorial; he had already published items in English in *Lyra* as early as April 1889 and written a paper on Palestrina's

16 'Invitation and Programme', *LE* (January 1891), p. 2.

17 *Ibid*., p. 1.

Missa Papae Marcelli for the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* in January 1890.[18] In this context, Bewerunge's uncharacteristically humble approach might be regarded as a strategic effort to persuade his readers to accept a foreign editor. By the 1890s *Lyra* was essentially the organ of the Dublin Diocesan Cecilian Society rather than the separate and largely stultified nationwide Society. Its membership was dormant and Walsh more than once paid off annual debts. It might be argued that Bewerunge was presented with a poisoned chalice which he could not refuse without alienating Walsh and Donnelly. By appointing a foreign editor the central council was perhaps setting up a scapegoat to take the blame for the inevitable collapse of the journal. At the very least it was impractical to choose an editor who was absent from Ireland for several months annually.

Bewerunge's stewardship of *Lyra* has been documented by Daly in his *Catholic Church Music in Ireland*. One of Daly's major criticisms of Bewerunge's editorship is that the journal did not centre sufficiently on the activities of Irish Cecilianism and gave too much space to international events and publications.[19] This criticism overlooks a number of important contextual issues. The Society's leadership had all but abandoned the country outside the Dublin diocese, and administrative matters within the central council were frequently disorganized. Thus it was not surprising that Bewerunge needed to import material for the journal from more successful Cecilian

18 H.B., 'Electricity Applied to Organ Building', *LE* (April 1889), pp. 29–31; Heinrich Bewerunge, 'Palestrina's Missa Papae Marcelli', *IER* (January 1890), pp. 53–59. British Cecilian H.S. Butterfield lauded Bewerunge for his Palestrina article, commenting that the English was 'excellent' and that it was to his knowledge the 'first article in English which gives the true account of the *Missa P. Marcelli*'. Butterfield to Bewerunge, 4 December 1894. (LDA) Butterfield translated a number of music and religious publications from German into English and translated German Cecilian material for *Lyra*. He was an early Cecilian, introducing readers of *The Tablet* in Britain to Witt's work as early as 1874, and writing pieces for the *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*. No further biographical information has been found.

19 For instance, Daly (1995), p. 122: 'The tendency during 1891 was […] to provide non-Irish material […] This shift in emphasis was even more obvious in the editor's stated intention to provide the Irish reader with new opportunities to assess cecilian progress abroad.' And p. 123: '[…] his dogged single-mindedness led to personality clashes among the Irish cecilians and in the final analysis, his heart was seen to be still in Germany. […] He preferred to promote the reform through extracts from works by established German cecilians.'

societies abroad. Additionally, an editor who spent two or three months every year in Europe was more likely to have a particular interest in Cecilianism beyond Ireland. It must also be considered that the journal was always under the scrutiny of its governing council. The dual authorities of Walsh and Donnelly were the guiding forces behind church music in the Dublin diocese and they were the final arbiters of the Cecilian movement's activities. The strict discipline inherent in the ecclesiastical hierarchy meant that Bewerunge was answerable both to Donnelly as his Irish patron and Walsh as his superior (*in loco* the Archbishop of Cologne and in his own right as head of the diocese). Any ideas which Bewerunge produced for church music reform had to meet with their approval, and this of course influenced not only the contents of *Lyra* but also any educational initiatives.

One source which casts some light on Bewerunge's management of the journal is private correspondence from English church music reformist Henry S. Butterfield. Twenty-seven letters survive which encompass the period of Bewerunge's editorship; only Butterfield's side of the correspondence survives. Butterfield was pleased to have a clerical editor, and he approved the use of material from international Cecilian journals:

> Your programme is rich in every respect, and I am very glad that more use is to be made of the rich material from German and other papers. In this business it is most essential that a priest should lead.[20]

Butterfield also noted that Bewerunge's approach was that of an educator: 'We are in safe hands under your guidance, for you take it all up as an educational matter'.[21] Although Butterfield was a helpful contributor to *Lyra*, the tone in his private letters was unremittingly doleful regarding church music reform in England and Ireland.[22]

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20 Butterfield to Bewerunge, 16 March 1891. (LDA)

21 *Ibid*.

22 Some examples of Butterfield's rather dejected comments include: 'I am sorry to say very, very few take the least interest in the subject', (14 May 1891); 'I hear from Bishop Donnelly that no-one takes any interest etc. Heartrending!', (26 October 1891); 'So far as a mere nonentity can be of use I shall be most happy to assist you in any way', (15 November 1891). (LDA)

Butterfield became increasingly deaf during the 1890s and resultant melancholy no doubt fed into his gloomy outlook. This pessimism could not but have affected Bewerunge's vision and approach to work on the journal.

A letter from Butterfield in October 1891 hinted at a crisis for the Irish Society of St Cecilia and the publication of its journal: 'I am very sorry indeed to hear that *Lyra* must be given up, as well as the Society.'[23] It is likely that this was precipitated by dwindling numbers of subscribers and an excess of unpaid subscriptions. By November 1891 the crisis had been averted and Butterfield wrote wishing Bewerunge success with the 'new plans'.[24] In this letter Butterfield gave a long list of methods by which English subscribers to *Lyra* could be encouraged, indicating that Bewerunge had ambitions to target a significant number of subscribers across the Irish Sea.[25] Butterfield recommended various organisations and personnel who should receive an advertising circular, and he suggested emphasising that *Lyra* was the only English-language periodical for the improvement of Catholic church music, that it had already been in publication for thirteen years, and that it was under the editorship of a clerical music professor at a major seminary. The journal continued for a further two years, but Bewerunge received very little information on Irish activities.

The ultimate demise of the journal calls for some recontextualisation. In his MA thesis, Ian Curran devotes an interesting chapter to the publication's collapse, using correspondence between Walsh, his secretary Petit, Donnelly, and Haberl.[26] The main thrust of Curran's argument centres on Donnelly's protection of Bewerunge in the face of Walsh's desire to establish a new education supplement, published with *Lyra* but under separate editorial control. Outlining a personality clash between Bewerunge

23 Butterfield to Bewerunge, 13 October 1891. (LDA)

24 The governing council of the society altered its format towards the end of the year (Daly, pp. 127–128), most likely a reflection of the society's difficulties at this time.

25 Butterfield to Bewerunge, 15 November 1891. (LDA)

26 Curran (2007), chapter seven. Petit to Donnelly, 13 January 1894 (D-Rbza); Donnelly to Walsh 14 January 1894 (DDA); Bewerunge to Haberl, 21 Febuary 1894 (D-Rbza); Donnelly to Haberl, 26 February 1894 and 9 March 1894 (D-Rbza).

and the Archbishop, Curran drew on a letter to Donnelly from Walsh's secretary, Pettit, which stated: '.. the real difficulty his Grace has in the *Lyra* affair is that he will not work with Fr Bewerunge...'.[27] Curran hypothesised that Donnelly rejected Walsh's attempts to manipulate Bewerunge's resignation from *Lyra*, and that Walsh's trenchant attitude to Bewerunge led not only to the downfall of *Lyra* but also the non-appearance of Walsh's preferred alternative publication, *Lyra Catholica*, which was to have focused on education.

Much of Curran's explanation is persuasive, but there are certain important aspects which call for reconsideration. Some items of correspondence survive which were not treated by Curran but serve to further elucidate the sequence of events.[28] On 29 December 1893 Donnelly wrote to Bewerunge to let him know Walsh's new plans for a school supplement to *Lyra*. He stated that Walsh had asked Edward Gaynor to edit this section. Bewerunge indicated that he was pleased with this idea and hoped it would be followed through. Not having succeeded in meeting Walsh or Donnelly to obtain details of the scheme, he went to see Gaynor on 8 January 1894. Believing that they had satisfactorily discussed the new supplement, he left the same day for a post-Christmas visit to Germany. However, he received a telegram from Donnelly dated 10 January 1894, saying:

> Since you left we have had a catastrophe. Yesterday morning I had a letter from Father Pettit saying that you had expressed a decided opinion against any change in title or subtitle of the *Lyra* and as a consequence the Archbishop withdrew from all negotiations and with Father Gaynor purposes to start an independent church music paper and leave the *Lyra* to its fate.[29]

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27 Pettit to Donnelly, 13 January 1894. (DDA)

28 These items include a letter from Bewerunge to Walsh dated 12 January 1894 (DDA), a letter from Donnelly to Bewerunge, dated 29 December 1893, a telegram from Donnelly to Bewerunge dated 10 January 1894, and a postcard from Donnelly to Bewerunge dated 16 January 1894 (LDA). These items are reproduced in Appendix D, pp. 350–354.

29 Donnelly to Bewerunge, 10 January 1894. (LDA)

Bewerunge immediately wrote to Walsh.[30] He accused Gaynor of misrepresenting his position to the Archbishop and emphasised his approval of the school supplement. However, it was too late. Walsh was unwilling to alter his position and Donnelly formally dissolved *Lyra Ecclesiastica* and the Irish Society of St Cecilia.

Haberl received accounts of the story from both Bewerunge and Donnelly the following month. Bewerunge was still vexed with Gaynor's careless – or perhaps vengeful – passing on of Bewerunge's confidential remarks, and with Walsh's reaction to them:

> […] the Archbishop […] seemingly considered these remarks as an expression of an unsatisfactory appreciation of his own meritoriousness, and in a fit of rage he decided to establish his own institution for school music and to abandon *Lyra* to its fate.[31]

The most startling revelation in Donnelly's account to Haberl was Donnelly's belief that Walsh wanted to remove Bewerunge not only as editor of *Lyra* but also from his position in Maynooth, and replace him with Gaynor. This was entirely unacceptable to Donnelly, who declared himself immensely satisfied with Bewerunge. He did not consider Gaynor to be a skilled musician. He told Haberl: 'the only way of escaping the impasse was to surrender the Society and *Lyra* and leave the field free to His Excellency.'[32] The profundity of Donnelly's belief in Bewerunge's capabilities was thus demonstrated by the bishop's willingness to abolish the Society which he had founded in order to keep Bewerunge safely in Ireland. However, Donnelly wondered why Walsh had suddenly turned against Bewerunge, as they had been friends.Curran suggested a premeditated campaign by Walsh against Bewerunge, which attempted but failed to enlist Donnelly's assistance. This is too complex a plot. But certainly Donnelly's

30 Bewerunge to Walsh, 12 January 1894. (DDA) The letter was written in a much neater hand than normal and was undoubtedly copied from a draft. The tone was irate and occasionally peevish, despite the fact that he was addressing his ecclesiastical superior.

31 Bewerunge to Haberl, 21 February 1894. (D-Rbza)

32 Donnelly to Haberl, 9 March 1894. (D-Rbza)

perplexity about Walsh's suddenly intemperate attitude towards Bewerunge revealed that something had caused the Archbishop's displeasure. A possible explanation lies with whatever unguarded comments Bewerunge made during his 8 January meeting with Gaynor, which were passed onto Walsh by Gaynor. These may have concerned the proposed abolition of subtitles for *Lyra*, which as Bewerunge understood it would remove 'Organ of the Irish Society of St Cecilia' and 'Official Gazette of the Dublin Diocesan Commission for Ecclesiastical Music'. Bewerunge stated that he expressed 'a strong opinion that these titles should not be omitted',[33] and Gaynor may not have held back from the Archbishop the strength of Bewerunge's views.

One cannot but wonder whether Gaynor passed on Bewerunge's comments as an act of revenge for Bewerunge's criticism of his hymnbook. Eleven years later Bewerunge gave an entertaining account of Gaynor to Dame Laurentia:

> Well he is a very energetic man and has done a lot of good for music. For many years he interested himself in school music, taught a great deal in various schools, and published a few little books too – very useful. Some years ago he turned his attention to Palestrina and trained an excellent choir. He enjoys a good deal of liberty in his order […] partly on account of his health, partly perhaps because they are afraid of him. A 'spitfire' somebody here called him lately. I met him first a good many years ago when the Archbishop of Dublin took it into his head to reconstruct the *Lyra Ecclesiastica*, of which I then was editor. Fr G. was to be the co-editor with me and manage the school-music department. He came up to Dublin and I had an interview with him, which he reported to the Archbishop with the result that there were terrible ructions which killed not only the *L.E*. but also the Irish Society of St Cecilia. He became great friends again afterwards, but lately I had to cross swords with him on the question of Irish music. He and Dr Henebry got into a row. But Dr H. ignored him, which set him simply mad. Then again he wrote an attack on my review of the Solesmes books. But the editor of the Irish Ecclesiastical Review refused it. Gaynor then published it in several papers. I saw it in the Freeman in very small type stowed away in a hidden corner. So I took no notice of it.[34]

Gaynor and Bewerunge crossed swords again in 1905 in *The Tablet*, in a somewhat testy exchange regarding editorial decisions on syllabic placement in Palestrina. Gaynor

33 Bewerunge to Walsh, 12 January 1894. (DDA)

34 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 3 March 1905. (SAA)

called Bewerunge 'somewhat trying' and Bewerunge cast aspersions on Gaynor's qualifications for discussing chant and polyphony.[35]

Conspiracy theories aside, the demise of *Lyra* resulted from bad timing and stubborn personalities.[36] Bewerunge's absence at the crucial period when various misunderstandings could have been resolved allowed various miscommunications between the parties to escalate to a point of no return. Nonetheless, Bewerunge and Walsh mended their fences and continued to have a close working relationship in matters musical. This is attested to firstly by extant correspondence from Walsh to Bewerunge, particularly concerning revisions for Walsh's *Officium Defunctorum*.[37] A revised edition was published in 1900 and Bewerunge provided extensive help with chant and rubrics throughout the latter part of 1899 and the first few months of 1900. Secondly, Walsh involved Bewerunge as an advisor in the foundation of the Palestrina choir at Dublin's Pro-Cathedral from the beginning of 1902. Thirdly, the Archbishop's hopes for a schools supplement eventually found their reality in Bewerunge's establishment and editorship of the *Irish Musical Monthly* in 1902. The groundwork for this publication began in 1899, as evidenced by a letter from Butterfield revealing that Bewerunge had informed him of the Archbishop's plans.[38] Unfortunately this useful

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35 'The Solesmes Plainsong', *The Tablet*, 28 January 1905 (p. 136), 4 February (p. 176), 11 February (p. 216), 18 February (p. 257), and 25 February 1905 (p. 299).

36 Walsh's occasional intemperance can also be seen in his address to the 1891 annual Cecilian meeting, when he threatened with banishment choirs who were not compliant with Dublin church music regulations: 'The time is not now far distant when they will have to choose between obeying the ecclesiastical legislation of the diocese and remaining altogether silent. Music is by no means an essential element of even the public worship of the Church.' It seems extraordinary that an archbishop should make such a bald pronouncement to a gathering of people dedicated to church music reform. His comments were published in *LE* (December 1891) as part of the report on the Cecilian festival, and also in Britain via *The Tablet* on 28 November 1891, p. 862. James Joyce infamously described him as 'Billy with the lip', underscoring the petulance which led to situations such as that with *LE* and Bewerunge. James Joyce, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (New York: B. W. Huebsch, Inc., 1922), p.33.

37 William Walsh, *Officium Defunctorum et Ordo Exequiarum* (Dublin: M.H. Gill & Son, 1884). A revised edition was published in 1890 with Haberl's help in harmonising the 'Dies Irae'. Walsh was trying to eliminate remnants of the old French chant tradition as sympathetically as possible for older priests, and he asked Haberl to retain at least some of the familiar harmonies.

38 Butterfield to Bewerunge, 19 December 1899. (LDA) 'As regards the periodical, the Archbishop's idea about school work is an excellent one, I think, and might secure more subscribers.'

periodical lasted for only one year.[39] Finally, Walsh was supportive of Bewerunge's appointment as professor of music at University College Dublin in 1914.[40]

4.1.2 Edward Martyn and Bewerunge: At Odds or *Ad Idem*?

Close contemporaries Edward Martyn (1859–1923)[41] and Bewerunge were mutually involved in dual strands of Irish cultural rejuvenation: church music reform and traditional music.[42] The latter is examined in secton 4.2; the former is dealt with here. The extent to which they were united in their views on church music begs further consideration. Two very public points of contact between the men occurred in the context of newspaper debates at the turn of the century concerning this subject. The first debate took place in the pages of the *Freeman's Journal* and the *Daily Nation* in late November and early December 1899. The second began in *The Leader* in September 1900 and continued until February 1901; it was summarised and augmented in the monthly journal, *New Ireland Review*, during January, February and April 1901. Additionally, sets of letters from Martyn to Bewerunge have been discovered in two separate archives in the course of research for this thesis. By examining statements from the media dialectics, alongside the surviving letters, it is possible to explore the commonality of views on sacred music reform held by these blunt-speaking men. Because the letters constitute only Martyn's half of the epistolatory conversation, Martyn's words must be used to extrapolate Bewerunge's views.[43]

The Martyn family was one of the famous fourteen tribes of Galway; Edward was its last representative. He was among a minority of Catholics educated in Oxford during the 1870s, and following the usual aristocratic procedure he toured Europe as

39 *IMM* is considered in sections 4.2 and 4.3 below.

40 See section 4.3.3 below.

41 Born three years apart, the two men died within days of each other in December 1923.

42 They were also both members of the Dublin Orchestral Society.

43 Two letters from Martyn to Bewerunge are included in Appendix D, pp. 355–356. These give a flavour of the topics discussed between the men and the informality of their correspondence.

a young man. Throughout his life Martyn's interest in art, literature, and nationalism involved him with the Gaelic League (as a member of the *coisde gnótha*), the Feis Ceoil (as founder member and first vice-president), the Abbey theatre (member of the founding board), and Sinn Féin (first president). He also gave financial support to all of these associations. His enchantment with Renaissance polyphony was documented somewhat acerbically by novelist George Moore.[44] Moore laid Martyn's aesthetic judgement open to question when he recounted an incident in Paris wherein Martyn mistook a middle-aged woman's voice for that of a boy soprano and believed 'Adeste fideles' to be a plainchant melody.[45] More recently, Jerry Nolan's work has given Martyn a much-deserved recontextualisation,[46] the first since historian Denis Gwynn's treatment of him in 1930.[47] Further research on this complex personality, a man who contributed so much to the Irish cultural revival, is severely hampered by the loss of his papers, which disappeared from the Carmelite archives in Clarendon Street, Dublin.[48]

Despite its hyperbole, Martyn's preview of the 1899 Dublin St Cecilia festival in the *Freeman's Journal* espoused an interesting opinion regarding hypocrisy in church music reform. He condemned poor quality Cecilian compositions, but not the Cecilian movement itself. He suggested:

> I suspect that the real reason why these musicians try to hoist this modern stuff above the old liturgical music is that they dislike the whole movement of reform. They prefer to go on in their old way, with their bevy of screaming women,

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44 Martyn's European travels were in the company of his cousin, novelist George Moore (1852–1933), and he first heard Renaissance polyphony during these trips. Moore's Irish memoirs, written as a trilogy and published between 1911 and 1914, often caricatured Martyn's enthusiasms..

45 George Moore, *Vale* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1914), pp. 268–270. The French choir which Martyn heard was directed by Charles Bordes, on whose work for church music reform Bewerunge had reported positively in *LE*. *LE* (September 1892), p. 67.

46 Jerry Nolan, *Six Essays on Edward Martyn (1859–1923), Irish Cultural Revivalist*, Irish Studies vol. 11 (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 2004).

47 Denis Gwynn, *Edward Martyn and the Irish Revival* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1930).

48 Nolan blamed Gwynn for loss of the papers (Nolan (2004), pp. 2, 16), but it seems that the Carmelites were responsible, as confirmed to this author in 2013 by Lord Charles Hemphill, whose family inherited Tulira Castle, the Martyn estate.

> soulless music, and organ to muffle up all the faults of execution […] They therefore draw this red herring from Germany across the line of reform, thinking it will probably disgust the public, who will say, 'oh, if this is what the St Cecilia Society means, we don't want to have anything to say to it. We would much rather have our Mozart and Haydn, which although operatic, is still music.[49]

Martyn then affirmed the aims of Cecilianism, insofar as these concerned the revitalisation of the Palestrina school, but he went further in seeking to have Renaissance polyphony sung by men and boys rather than by mixed choirs. His desire to banish women's voices from church choirs significantly anticipated the 1903 papal *Motu proprio*.[50]

A very positive review of the festival in the *Daily Nation* contained the information that both Martyn and Bewerunge were in the choir.[51] On the same day the *Freeman's Journal* published a letter from Bewerunge which chastised Martyn for his 'abusive attacks upon honest Irish musicians who venture to give expression to their convictions on matters artistic'.[52] Bewerunge went on to appeal for everyone concerned in improving church music in Ireland to work together 'amicably in accordance with the word of St Augustine: "*In dubiis libertas, in omnibus caritas*"'.[53] The debate concerning appropriate church music was taken up by the *Daily Nation*, commencing with a long contribution from 'C. Sharpe', who put forward strong arguments against the exclusive use of Renaissance polyphony and accused Martyn of favouring an 'aesthetic clique'.[54] In a later letter, after a contribution by Martyn, 'C. Sharpe' attempted to set Martyn against Bewerunge by highlighting Martyn's contention that sixteenth century secular

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49 'The St Cecilia Festival of Liturgical Music', *FJ*, 25 November 1899, p. 5. Also in the *Daily Nation*, 25 November 1899, p. 5.

50 Martyn's antipathy towards women extended beyond the sound of their voices. He never married and Moore commented on his discomfort in the company of women: 'Edward, which would you prefer to spend the evening with – a very clever woman, or a stupid man?' After three or four puffs at his pipe he answered: 'With the stupid man'. Moore (1911), p. 233.

51 'Annual Cecilian Festival', *Daily Nation*, 27 November 1899, p. 6.

52 'Mr Edward Martyn and Church Music', *FJ*, 27 November 1899. p. 5. Also in the *Daily Nation*, 27 November 1899, p. 5. (Curiously, the date at the bottom of Bewerunge's letter in both newspapers is 25 September 1899.)

53 'In the doubtful things, liberty; in all things, charity.'

54 'Impressions of the Annual Cecilian Festival', *Daily Nation*, 28 November 1899, p. 6.

and sacred music were very similar. Bewerunge was unwilling to enter into argument against Martyn, instead making the point that this was 'a strong argument in favour of having modern Church music very much distinct from modern secular music'.[55] A total of eighteen letters from seven contributors, along with one editorial, were published over a period of three weeks: four contributions in the *Freeman's Journal* and the remainder in the *Daily Nation*.[56] As was frequently the case with public epistolatory contests of the period, the correspondence was marred by point-scoring, pedantry and what can only be construed as wilful misunderstandings. However, the artistic concepts debated were of sufficient interest to merit condensing the content for two articles in the *New Ireland Review* of January and February 1900. These in turn prompted Bewerunge to pen 'Cecilian Music' for the April issue. While endorsing the work of the German Cecilian society and recommending its music lists, he did not advocate the restriction of modern music techniques provided their context was appropriate for the liturgy. For Bewerunge there was a compelling distinction between secular and liturgical music: the former could move the emotions of a church congregation in a sentimental way, but the latter could direct their emotions devotionally towards God. He set out his views very clearly:

> [The function of] church art, and church music in particular, is not to please people, it is to draw their hearts away from everything that is worldly, and to raise them to the Most High.[57]

This re-echoed his first *Lyra Ecclesiastica* editorial almost a decade earlier. His *New Ireland Review* article was notable for its measured and reasoned approach to church

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55 'The Cecilian Movement: The Merits of Palestrina', *Daily Nation*, 5 December 1899, p. 6.

56 In addition to Martyn, Bewerunge, and 'C. Sharpe', protagonists in the debate included Fr Maguire, 'J.B.', and two other anonymous contributors. The identity of 'J.B.' has been established during research for this thesis: he was French-born priest Jules Botrel (1843-1928), a conservatoire-trained musician and artist who worked in Blackrock College (Co. Dublin) for fifty-three years. Botrel and Bewerunge exchanged correspondence on a variety of musical topics. On one occasion Botrel took him to task for careless use of language following Bewerunge's negative review of Botrel's book, *Notes on Harmony and Harmony Analysis* (Dublin: Cramer, Wood & Co., 1911). There followed an apparently spirited exchange of letters, of which only Botrel's survive. (LDA)

57 Heinrich Bewerunge, 'Cecilian Music', *New Ireland Review*, vol. 13 (April 1900), p. 80.

music reform and culminated with his plea for improved music education:

> ... we are severely handicapped by the almost complete impossibility for our young musicians to get a proper training in church music. One of the results of this impossibility is that a considerable number of the more important positions of organists have to be filled with musicians imported from England or the Continent. This is not as it ought to be. But even apart from this, the general condition of church music in this country is sadly affected by the want of opportunities for the training of organists and choirmasters. If church music in this country is to be raised to its proper level, we must have a school where the Catholic organist will be taught the principles of sound church music, the spirit and the requirements of the Liturgy, and the legislation of the church, where he will be introduced to the understanding of Gregorian chant and Palestrina style; we want at least one model choir capable of giving adequate performances of all the best forms of church music, so that the aspiring church musician may, from listening to actual performances, train his ear and educate his taste.[58]

His hope for at least one 'model choir' was realised by Martyn's endowment of the Pro-Cathedral choir in 1903, and Bewerunge's input into this project is documented below. Bewerunge's comments on the importance of Irish musicians being appointed to church music positions were particularly opportune at a time when proponents of cultural reclamation – including Martyn – urged that Irish art and Irish music should be employed in preference to the adoption of foreign styles.

The spirited newspaper debate in *The Leader* newspaper concerning Catholic church music which began on 20 September 1900 and ran until 9 February 1901 involved fifteen different contributors.[59] *The Leader* had only been in print for seven weeks when this debate began. Its editor, D.P. Moran (1869–1936), produced an educational journal with uncompromising opinions and controversial discussions. He supported a language-centered, Catholic view of nationalism and *The Leader* was a forum for various aspects of the Irish cultural revival.[60] There was considerable support

58 *Ibid*., pp. 73-84, p. 84.

59 Two small corrections to Nolan's account: Nolan stated that Martyn began this debate, (Nolan (2004), p. 98) but in fact an anonymous contribution just over a fortnight prior to Martyn's first letter gave the opening salvo. The debate ran for five months and not three as Nolan thought. Nolan (2004), p. 101.

60 Patrick Maume, 'Moran, David Patrick', *DIB*, <http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a5957)> [accessed 24 August 2014].

among the clergy for the regeneration of Irish, particularly in Maynooth where an Irish chair was re-established in 1891. The apperception of Catholicism as a means of reconstructing Gaelic nationhood thus drew the dialectic on church music reform into the purview of cultural revival. It also brought about a significant overlap of personnel between the two fields, examples being Martyn, Archbishop Walsh, and Bewerunge.

Martyn, St Patrick's Cathedral organist Charles Marchant (1857–1920), Bewerunge, and two anonymous Catholic priests all contributed more than one letter to *The Leader* debate. Martyn lambasted musicians for their laziness, clergy for their want of knowledge and taste, and congregations for their laxity.[61] He returned to his theme of removing women's voices from church choirs and confining them to congregational singing. Martyn preferred boys' voices because of their pure, passionless sound, and he considered women's voices to be suitable only for the stage. Charles Marchant agreed with him:

> A woman's voice is so full of sentiment; she cannot help it; her place is the stage, concert, or oratorio platform. Now, a choirboy has not a scrap of sentiment in him. He does his church work, and away he rushes to play a game of football.[62]

In addition to sentimentality, Marchant specifically denounced the use of *portamento* and *vibrato* in women's singing. Bewerunge took a very different view:

> I can easily imagine an advocate of women's voices objecting to boys' voices on the very ground that they have no sentiment in them. And I must confess that with the major premise of such an argument I should be very much in sympathy.[63]

This argument revealed a vital distinction between the parties. Bewerunge disputed Martyn's and Marchant's views that sacred music should be passionless, opining instead that music could not reach the intellect or the will except through the emotions. He suggested that the positive force of human passion could turn congregations

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61 'Catholic Church Music in Dublin', *The Leader*, 6 October 1900, p. 88.

62 *Ibid*., 3 November 1900, p. 152.

63 *Ibid*., 17 November 1900, p. 184.

toward God and away from sin. 'If music can help us to produce these passions or to strengthen them, is it not a good thing?'[64] Bewerunge's personal preference was for mixed voice choirs, and he commented as early as 1891: 'I am not very fond of male voices alone. There is always something unsatisfactory in them, and all the little imperfections of voice production come out much more prominently than in a mixed choir'.[65] Bewerunge also disagreed with Martyn and other admirers of Palestrinian music that it was cold and passionless. He considered Palestrina's music combined deep passion with perfect artistic form.

> Were he cold and passionless, I should have no desire to see his scores taken down from the dusty shelves of libraries. And were I forced to believe that boys' voices are incapable of expressing passion, I should find my aesthetic convictions and ecclesiastical usage and law in irreconcilable contradiction.[66]

Nolan opined that 'Martyn ignored Bewerunge' in his quest for an improvement in church music,[67] but fourteen surviving letters from Martyn to Bewerunge reveal that this was not the case. It was Martyn himself who drew Bewerunge's attention to his letter of 6 October 1900 in *The Leader*, saying in private correspondence: 'You with your foreign training and good German taste must agree that the lack of musical taste in this country among the musicians and clergy is deplorable.'[68] The two men had been getting to know each other the previous month, and Martyn's letters indicated that they saw a good deal of each other during the early years of the new century. They met through their mutual membership of various committees, but they also visited each other's establishments. Martyn brought music back from Paris for Bewerunge, and Bewerunge sent Martyn material from German church music journals.[69] Martyn

64 *Ibid*., 15 December 1900, p. 248.

65 'The Feast of St Cecilia', *LE* (December 1891), p. 90.

66 'Catholic Church Music in Dublin', *The Leader*, 15 December 1900, p. 248.

67 Nolan (2004), p. 104.

68 Martyn to Bewerunge, 6 October 1900. (LDA) The surviving letters cover the period September 1900 to April 1902.

69 Some of the articles which Bewerunge sent to Martyn were written by Bewerunge himself – for instance, a set of three articles on the 1901 Ratisbon Cecilian festival which were published in *Gregoriusblatt*.

gave his opinions freely to Bewerunge on the standard of church music in Dublin, and it is clear he found himself bewildered by the attitude of the clergy and confused by liturgical music rubrics.[70] Wondering why the standard of music in Dublin's Pro-cathedral was so poor, he described the Archbishop as 'the most incomprehensible of men'.[71]

Martyn saw his opportunity to influence church music performance when he met Vincent O'Brien in 1898. O'Brien (1871–1948), organist, choirmaster, and composer in the Cecilian tradition, first brought his boys' choir to public attention in 1894 by winning first prize at the Dublin Schools Competition.[72] At Walsh's invitation the choir sang at that November's St Cecilia festival. Over the next few years the choir continued to win prizes in the Dublin Schools Competition and at *feiseanna* in Belfast and Dublin. From 1898, Martyn funded O'Brien to rehearse and conduct performances of Renaissance polyphony, deploying a choir of boys and men who became known as the 'Palestrina Choir'. Martyn's letters reveal that Bewerunge privately gave Martyn advice for O'Brien's performances.[73]

By the end of 1901, Martyn had begun discussions with that 'most incomprehensible of men', the Archbishop, with a view to providing funding for a Pro-cathedral choir – under O'Brien's direction – which would perform chant and Renaissance polyphony. Despite his dislike of modern Cecilian compositions, Martyn agreed that these could also form part of the choir's repertoire,[74] but were not to

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70 'Fancy refusing a Mass by Palestrina on the plea that it is against their rubric not to have organ on that day.' Martyn to Bewerunge, 21 March 1901, referring to the Dominican fathers' refusal to have an unaccompanied mass on Easter Sunday. (LDA)

71 Martyn to Bewerunge, 26 March 1901. (LDA)

72 O'Brien was a teacher at the Christian Brothers' school in St. Mary's Place, Dublin, and trained approximately forty boys in singing. Their repertoire included not only Renaissance sacred music, but also secular music which they performed at concerts and charity events in Dublin and around the country.

73 For instance: '[...] you seem pleased with the Kerle Mass – I will tell Vincent O'Brien your suggestions as to its execution'. Martyn to Bewerunge, 9 June 1901. And later: 'Your criticism is most interesting and stimulating […]'. Martyn to Beweruge, 14 December 1901. (LDA)

74 Martyn to Walsh, 6 March 1902. (DDA)

constitute more than one third of polyphonic music.[75] He also stipulated that modern compositions should be kept separate from Renaissance polyphony and should not be used in Holy Week or at other major liturgical festivals.[76] The minutiae of the deed of endowment took a year to negotiate, partly because the Archbishop did not have canonical authority to allow a layman such free reign over church music policy, and a formula had to be arrived at which fulfilled Martyn's wishes and satisfied the cathedral chapter.[77] Walsh sought Bewerunge's assistance on some points, including appropriate phraseology to 'define music of a thoroughly ecclesiastical character', and as a musically expert member of the choir committee.[78] Provision was made in the choir's endowment for three professional church musicians (trained at a recognised church music school such as Ratisbon) to sit on the committee.[79] It was Bewerunge who specified the subjects in which such a church music professional should be trained and his list, the draft of which survives, was incorporated almost verbatim into the choir foundation document at paragraph nine.[80] The choir was officially launched at the beginning of January 1903 and was welcomed by the media, including Bewerunge in the *Irish Musical Monthly*:

> We have no hesitation in describing [the new choir] as the most important event in the history of Church music in Ireland since the Irish Church was allowed to raise her voice again in public worship after the penal Days.[81]

Martyn and Bewerunge continued to correspond while the choir foundation took shape. Martyn was not initially optimistic that his negotiations with the Archbishop

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75 Martyn to Walsh, 28 May 1902. (DDA)

76 Martyn to Walsh, 6 March 1902. (DDA) The difficulty with this separation policy was that a number of liturgical events had no polyphonic music composed for them (including the 'Te Deum' and various sequences), and the prohibition on mixing had to have an exception clause to cover these instances. Gwynn (1930), pp. 205–206.

77 Gwynn (1930), pp. 198–200.

78 Pettit to Bewerunge, 20 May 1902. (LDA)

79 Deed of Endowment dated 26 November 1902 and amended 8 December 1903, between Edward Martyn and William Walsh. (DDA)

80 The subjects listed by Bewerunge included liturgy and liturgical language, history and aesthetics of church music, counterpoint, organ performance, chant accompaniment, and choir training. Bewerunge to Pettit, May 1902. (DDA)

81 'The New Choir in Dublin Pro-Cathedral', *IMM*, (January 1903), p. 115.

would bear fruit, and commented to Bewerunge: 'Whether I were to give ten, twenty, or thirty thousand, I fancy the result will be much the same, and I will have my money in the end.'[82] Despite Martyn's condemnation of the prevalence of foreign art and artists in Ireland (particularly as regards German music and stained glass), he had no difficulty confiding in Bewerunge. The atmosphere of cultural revival in which Douglas Hyde called for the de-anglicisation of Ireland and spoke of Irish instruments such as the harp and the pipes being 'menaced by the German band and the barrel organ',[83] led Martyn to believe that his censure of German artforms would not cause offence to a German national. He knew already that Bewerunge fully endorsed the concept of Irish musicians taking Irish posts. In any event, he judged his man well and knew that Bewerunge's natural clear-sightedness would always rate honest critique above national bias. The two men were well-matched in their willingness to speak honestly and directly. Martyn's dislike of hypocrisy was conspicuous in his comment to Bewerunge: 'There are so many crooked people in this country, who have a positive contempt and suspicion of a straightforward practical person.'[84] Martyn and Bewerunge were alike in their often uncompromising approach to realising deep-seated beliefs. However, Martyn showed himself cognizant of the ecclesiastical autocracy which constrained Bewerunge's efforts, and was thankful that his own status as a layman allowed him scope to act as he thought fit without having to seek clerical approval. He wrote: 'You must know that all these people around you do not want any reform. They may talk, but mean to do nothing. [...] But I mean business, and therefore they cannot bear me.'[85]

Thus, the relationship between Bewerunge and Martyn cannot be read in its entirety from the two major newspaper debates to which they contributed. They had

82 Martyn to Bewerunge, 13 March 1902. (LDA)

83 Douglas Hyde, 'The Necessity for De-Anglicising Ireland', *The Revival of Irish Literature*, Charles G. Duffy, George Sigerson, and Douglas Hyde (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1894), p. 155.

84 Martyn to Bewerunge, 13 March 1902. (LDA)

85 Martyn to Bewerunge, 11 March 1902. (LDA)

no qualms about disagreeing in public, surmising that their exposition of the questions in issue would contribute to the betterment of sacred music. Ultimately, the common ground between them was greater than their points of distinction. They diverged on the issue of boys' and women's voices in choir, and Bewerunge held more flexible views regarding modern liturgical compositions. ('As for the moderns, I suppose we shall never agree about them.')[86] But these nodes of separation did not minimise their mutual desire for the amelioration of church music. This essential nexus – along the difficulty of Bewerunge's limited sphere of autonomous action – was acknowledged by Martyn: 'I suppose you could not have done anything more to help my work which was identical with your own. You would probably have been restrained […]'.[87] This resigned comment, along with Martyn's other remarks, says much about the difficulties of the environment in which Bewerunge laboured.

4.2 Irish Music

As has been seen, a chair of Irish was re-established at Maynooth in 1891. Before that time the language was not high on the college's list of priorities. There was no expectation on the part of the trustees that priests should be able to minister to their congregations through Irish.[88] Post-disestablishment, postgraduate students of the Dunboyne House taught the subject. After 1879 efforts were made to employ a lay-teacher, but the salary was too small to attract any interest.[89] As will be recalled from chapter two above, this precisely mirrored the position regarding music tuition. The

86 Martyn to Bewerunge, 17 October 1901. (LDA)

87 Martyn to Bewerunge, 13 March 1902. (LDA)

88 Any services not conducted through Latin were carried out in English. Very few devotional works were published in Irish during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Ironically, Protestant communities had better Irish language resources during this time. See Brian Ó Cuív, 'Irish Language and Literature, 1845–1921', *A New History of Ireland VI: Ireland Under the Union 1870–1921*, ed. W.E. Vaughan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 393.

89 Corish (1995), p. 213.

appointment of Bewerunge and Eugene O'Growney within three years of each other in two newly-revitalised departments created a natural link between music and Irish at Maynooth. They were also emblematic of the college's efforts to modernise and improve its programme of studies. These young professors created a bridge between the stultification of Irish education in the hands of the Catholic hierarchy (as espoused by anti-clerical nationalists such as Michael McCarthy)[90] and the secular movements of cultural nationalism which had as their ambition the reconstitution of Gaelic traditions including Irish music.

4.2.1 Early Investigations into Irish Music

Bewerunge's attraction to Ireland's national music was already evident from the time of his editorship of *Lyra Ecclesiastica*, wherein he included a number of articles on Irish music. His interest was undoubtedly fostered by O'Growney, who along with Douglas Hyde and the Gaelic scholar and nationalist Eoin MacNeill, founded the Gaelic League in 1893. MacNeill also co-founded the Feis Ceoil, first held in 1897. As the following discussion reveals, to date Bewerunge has not been sufficiently credited with the scholarly contribution he made towards the analysis, preservation, and revival of Irish folk music in the early twentieth century. Bewerunge's public involvement with the Gaelic League coincided with increased politicisation of the movement in the early twentieth century, as cultural nationalism and political nationalism diverged. It is evident that some of his views on Irish music were used by others as a vehicle for political propaganda.

Bewerunge's first address on traditional music came in the form of a lecture delivered to St Mary's Literary Society in Maynooth, subsequently published as 'The Special Charms of Irish Melodies Sung 'Traditionally'' in the *Irish Ecclesiastical*

90 Michael McCarthy, *Priests and People in Ireland* (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co., 1902).

Record of August 1900.[91] At this time he had, he said, no experience of hearing melodies in this genre, but was interested in the concept of oral transmission of folk tunes by performers with no knowledge of either music theory or other forms of music practice. Bewerunge gave a mathematically complex exposition of Pythagorean tuning, Zarlino's theory of the primacy of triadic principles, and the development of twelve-tone equal temperament. He posed three questions: Was Irish melodic intonation closer to Pythagorean principles than to modern tuning? Was that where the 'charm' of the melodies lay? and was it therefore essential to preserve them?

Six months later Bewerunge was involved with the Feis Ceoil Association. At a meeting for the annual festival he gave a speech in which he spoke of the necessity for Irish composers to absorb the idioms of native music so that a school of national composition might evolve.[92] By this time he was familiar with the song competitions held at *feiseanna* and had further developed his views on the regeneration of Irish music. On 11 May 1901 he published an article in *The Leader* entitled 'A Neglected Aspect of Irish Music'. *Inter alia*, this discussed the difficulty of notating traditional Irish melodies using the modern staff system. Bewerunge must be credited here with what appears to be the first published discourse on this issue. He highlighted the increasingly apparent conflict in singing competitions between songs rendered by those familiar with what he described as the 'living tradition' and those presented by English-speaking singers. While sympathising with the difficulty for adjudicators, none of whom were competent in the field of both Irish and music, he regretted the tendency to award prizes to trained singers, thus disheartening traditional performers and further jeopardising the survival of a more authentic style of singing. He enjoined the setting aside of class distinctions in order to adequately study the living tradition:

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91 Heinrich Bewerunge, 'The Special Charms of Irish Melodies Sung "Traditionally"', *IER* (August 1900), pp. 141–154.

92 'Musical and Dramatic Notes', *Weekly Irish Times*, 30 March 1901, p. 3.

> It must be impressed on the people that the despised old man living in his wretched cabin, that the poor beggar-woman of the neighbourhood, are the real authorities on matters of Irish music. This, I fear, is not an easy task, especially with some of those who undertake to teach Irish singing. But until this prejudice that the poor Irish singer, who knows neither tonic sol-fa nor staff notation, cannot possibly teach anything to musicians, is eliminated, the revival of true Irish singing has a poor chance.[93]

Bewerunge thus advocated Irish and Irish music as a mediating force between traditional Irish society and a modernising country. This approach differentiated him from conservative clerical figures such as Cardinal Michael Logue (1840–1924), who saw in the language movement a means of opposing modernity – and thereby religious laxity – in Irish society.[94]

His article prompted three responses, all using pseudonyms (although it is likely that the individuals were known to each other). The first endorsed Bewerunge's recommendations and commented that 'we, Irish people, owe a debt of gratitude to Father Bewerunge'.[95] Although largely a romantic paeon to 'the lonely mountain, the little cabin and the heap of turf, the pure air of heaven and the simple good souls of the best of our people', the writer hoped that objections 'based on some nonsensical idea of respectability' would not hinder the process of learning from native singers. The second correspondent gave various insights into procedures at *feiseanna* which militated against the success of traditional singers – such as the requirement that singers should use 'approved' published accompaniments to their songs, and a chairman who stopped singers before they had begun to feel comfortable singing on stage. Emphasising the difficulty in notating traditional music, this writer opined that the piano should be kept 'under lock and key as far as Irish music is concerned'.[96] The third anonymous contributor had a different agenda. He attacked the previous writer and derided Irish traditional music:

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93 H. Bewerunge, 'A Neglected Aspect of Irish Music', *The Leader*, 11 May 1901, p. 165.

94 McMahon (2008), p. 83.

95 'Oscar', *The Leader*, 25 May 1901, p. 202.

96 'Ceolán', *The Leader*, 1 June 1901 (p. no. not available).

> I have heard a great number of country pipers and fiddlers, some half blind, some altogether blind, and others who should have been promptly blinded. […] Invariably their performances bristled with what the rustic describes as 'turns and twists and curifixes', all in shocking antagonism to every canon of Art and the cause of exquisite torture to cultured ears.[97]

This correspondent lamented the lack of cultural awareness which attempted to extol traditional music in favour of art music. He declared that if staff notation was good enough for Wagner and Gounod, it was good enough to record the music of the peasantry. The mockery and sarcasm employed to ridicule the earlier correspondent suggests it was unlikely that he was entirely sincere in his approval of Bewerunge's contribution.[98]

Martyn wrote to Bewerunge that his article had 'given great satisfaction to the Gaelic League' and explained that the society wished to prevent traditional styles of singing from dying out.[99] Martyn outlined his plan for the League to record as many traditional singers and instrumentalists as possible, and his idea for a school where the traditional style would be taught under the guidance of a professional musician.[100] He enlisted Bewerunge's expertise to assist the society. Bewerunge continued to speak in public to raise awareness about Irish folk music and the need to safeguard it. He took up the Gaelic League idea of a school for traditional music and discussed it in the *Irish Musical Monthly*. This periodical, edited by Bewerunge and describing itself as 'a journal devoted to the interests of music in church and school', ran from March 1902 to February 1903. Its declared aims accord it the status of Ireland's first music

97 'Cloyne', *The Leader*, 8 June 1901, p. 236.

98 The strong views expressed in *The Leader* were later recalled in a newspaper retrospective of the early days of the Gaelic League: 'Battles Royal in Gaelic Movement: A Veteran Remembers', *Irish Independent*, 22 May 1957, p. 7.

99 Martyn to Bewerunge, 3 June 1901. (LDA)

100 Martyn to Bewerunge, 9 June 1901. (LDA)

journal.[101] In his opening editorial, Bewerunge lamented the loss of the Irish language and the resultant loss to music:

> With the Irish language, the people also lost their tunes, which were wedded to Irish poetry, and folk music being the life-root of all music, with its disappearance the higher branches of musical art too were bound to wither.[102]

He kept a strong focus on Irish music in the journal and cited the success of the Gaelic League as one of the reasons for commencing the publication.[103] *Irish Musical Monthly* published a variety of articles on Irish native melodies, instruments, and performance styles. It included reports on activities and achievements at *feiseanna* around the country, and on Oireachtas competitions. Bewerunge used his editorial leverage to make recommendations and offer advice to organizers and *feis* committees.[104] For instance, he expressed his disappointment at the complete lack of traditional singing during the 1902 Dublin Feis Ceoil, and also decried overly complicated arrangements of Irish airs.[105] This article also featured a comment with political overtones, rare for Bewerunge. Critiquing an unspecified musical item performed adjacent to an Irish

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101 Although covering a variety of topics, *LE* specified as its aim the promotion and cultivation of liturgical music. *IMM* had a broader remit; had the journal continued for longer than a year it would have been a significant enlightening force. There is little doubt, however, that the magazine was controlled by ecclesiasts, and Bewerunge's efforts to improve music education (and thereby church music too) were hampered by this. See section 4.3.2 below.

102 *IMM*, vol. 1, no. 1 (March 1902), p. 1. Although this is reflective of J.G. Herder's nationalist thinking, there were also echoes of Eugene O'Curry's sentiments:

> 'Just as the myths and legends of an early age are the mine whence the poet, the painter, and the sculptor derive materials and inspiration for the works of a more artistic age; so the melodies which spring as it were spontaneously from the soul of a people […] foreshadow the special aesthetic qualities which ought to characterise their higher artistic creations […].'

Eugene O'Curry, *On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, vol. 1 (London: Williams & Norgate, 1873), p. dcxii. William Walsh had introduced Bewerunge to O'Curry's work in 1900. Walsh to Bewerunge, 12 February 1900. (DDA)

103 *IMM*, vol. 1, no. 5 (July 1902), p. 49.

104 These editorial articles showed Bewerunge's characteristically blunt style of criticism: he was never a man to sweeten his words even while sympathetic to a worthy cause. When he gave praise, therefore, it was genuine. Generally his writing for *IMM* was that of a man in a hurry with many projects to attend to – borne out by his apology in this same issue for not dealing with correspondence promptly owing to pressure of work. However, the utility of what he had to say was not lessened by his unwillingness to take time to look up a reference correctly or his carelessness in indexing.

105 *IMM*, vol. 1, no. 4 (June 1902), p. 39. Bewerunge described as 'vulgar' a tune arranged for chorus, organ, harp, cornet, drums and triangle.

song, he said: 'We suppose this was a trace of West Britonism, yet sticking to the Gaelic Leaguers like a piece of the egg-shell to the newly hatched chicken'.[106] This revealed his sensitivity to the nationalist connotations of traditional music and the extent to which he identified himself with Irish ethnicity.

In addition to his reportage, Bewerunge also his monthly music supplement to promote Irish language pieces or music of Irish derivation. Some were composed or arranged especially for the journal. He called on Irish composers to contribute pieces for the supplements, specifically seeking works based on Irish melodies or with Irish idioms, and compositions with Irish words. He advised that any compositions accepted would attract a fee. Table 4.1 below lists the resulting publications.

Table 4.1 *Irish Musical Monthly*: Bewerunge's Irish music publications

Issue	Title	Detail
March 1902	The Fairies' Lullaby	From Horncastle's *Music of Ireland*, 1844 Arr. for 4 vv. by Peter Goodman
April 1902	A Forest Breeze	Tune: 'Goirtín Ornadh' Arr. for 4vv. by Peter Goodman
May 1902	Bán-chnuic Éireann Óg	From P.W. Joyce's *Irish Music and Song*, 1888 Probably arr. for 4vv by Bewerunge
June 1902	Moladh Bhríghde Naomhtha Dóchas Linn Naomh Pádraic Muire Mhór A Bhainríoghan na bhFlaitheas	Four unison hymns selected and arranged for St Patrick's festival for London Gaels, 1902
July 1902	O Glorious Brigid With All Kildara's Holy Ones	Two hymns composed and harmonised by Bewerunge; 2 vv.
August 1902	Dia Libh, a Laochradh Ghaoidheal	Tune: 'Liam Ó Bhroin ó Bhaile Mhághnuis' Arr. for 4vv. by Robert Dwyer
September 1902	–	
October 1902	An Chláirseach Eibhlín a Rúin	Arr. for 3vv. by P. Ó Súileabháin
November 1902	O'Donnell Abú Avenging and Bright	Arr. for 4vv. by Ch. S. Craddock Arr. for 3vv. by Robert Dwyer

106 *IMM*, vol. 1, no. 5 (July 1902), p. 50.

Issue	Title	Detail
December 1902	The Holly and Ivy Girl The Songs Our Fathers Loved	Arr. for 4vv. by Ch. S. Craddock Arr. for 4vv. by Ch. S. Craddock
January 1903	The Bells of Shandon	Composed for 4vv. by Brendan Rogers
February 1903	O the Sight Entrancing	Arr. for 4vv. by Brendan Rogers

Bewerunge also exhorted composers to try their hand at an Irish madrigal genre. Edward Martyn offered a prize for an Irish madrigal at the 1902 Oireachtas, and Bewerunge hoped that composers would attempt material 'truly national and in the highest degree artistic'.[107] Precisely what he had in mind is unclear, but presumably he intended a synthesis of Irish melodic idiom and rhythm within the framework of madrigalian structure. In August 1902 and later issues of *Irish Musical Monthly*, Bewerunge offered to evaluate the works of aspiring composers. This might possibly have been intended as a positive response following his criticism of Thomas O'Brien Butler's Irish opera *Muirghéis* in July: 'We are very sorry to have to criticise so severely a work intended to be thoroughly Irish. But it would be a bad service to Irish music to praise a composition merely because it is Irish.'[108]

4.2.2 Bewerunge's Increasing Expertise

Publicising a public lecture in late 1902, the *Freeman's Journal* commented: 'Special interest attaches to the event, having regard to the labours of the reverend

107 *IMM*, vol. 1, no. 5 (July 1902), p. 49. The prize was not awarded, as Martyn condemned the arrangement of Irish melodies as part-songs. Bewerunge was not so trenchant: 'We do not quite agree with Mr Martyn's absolute condemnation […] but at the same time we have a very strong conviction that the madrigal is a much higher form of art, and we are most anxious to see this form cultivated.' (*IMM*, p. 49.)

108 *IMM*, vol. 1, no. 6 (August 1902), pp. 58–59. This contrasted with his opening editorial in *IMM*, in which he promised 'We shall […] always endeavour to take very lenient views and to be satisfied with what can be done under the existing circumstances'. *IMM*, vol. 1, no. 1 (March 1902), p. 3. It was typical of Bewerunge's adherence to high standards that he did not stop to consider his negative critique of *Muirghéis* might deter composers from sending him works.

lecturer in the field of Irish music in general.'[109] Over a short space of time, Bewerunge had acquired a considerable reputation in the field of Irish music. In this lecture Bewerunge answered some of the questions posed in his initial foray into the genre two years previously. He urged again the necessity for preservation of the traditional style of singing by means of traditional music schools in Irish-speaking areas.[110] He declared himself enraptured by the intense emotion and expression inherent in folksongs: the story recounted in the footnote below revealed his genuine captivation with the genre, but also demonstrated that Bewerunge, like many cultural revivalists, was beguiled into the romanticization of poverty.[111] He attempted to learn Irish himself, but did not have sufficient time to devote to it. As discussed in chapter three, section 3.3.2, newly-discovered records show that he did set at least two Irish texts to music. This, along with the many *feiseanna* he attended, provide evidence that he absorbed a sense of the language.

By 1902 Bewerunge was adjudicating at singing competitions for *feiseanna* around the country and at the Oireachtas. He adjudicated at the first *feis* held in Fermoy, reporting positively in *Irish Musical Monthly* about Irish singing there. He asserted that 'this experience […] has given us hope that there is yet a chance of the style

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109 'Irish Music', *FJ*, 12 December 1902, p. 4.

110 *IMM*, vol. 1, no. 11 (January 1903), p. 116.

111 'Irish Music', *FJ*, 16 December 1902, p. 6. At Martyn's urging, Bewerunge and another member of the Gaelic League travelled to the west of Ireland to hear and try to record indigenous singers. Bewerunge was particularly struck by the performance of an elderly woman:

> The most impressive Irish singing I ever heard was from a very old woman in the neighbourhood of Tuam. My companion and I called at a little cabin on the wayside, where, we had been told, some of the men had some Irish songs. There we found a poor, delicate old woman, with the signs upon her of her approaching end. She had been anointed a short time before, and though she had recovered for the present, there was no doubt that her days were numbered. We asked her to sing a song. She pleaded that her voice was gone, and that she had no breath left to her. Both things, indeed, were quite evident. But after some persuasion she began to sing. When she had finished the first line of her song, I forgot all about the miserable surroundings, and the poverty and age of the singer. I was carried away into the region of poetry. I was conscious of the music alone and enchanted by its effect. Never has the playing of a Paderewsky or the singing of an Albani touched my soul so deeply. This poor lady died a short time afterwards, and I am afraid there is no heir to her art.

Heinrich Bewerunge, 'Irish Traditional Singing', *New Ireland Review* (March 1903), p. 23.

of true Irish singing being preserved.'[112] He reiterated his concern regarding old and new styles of singing, expressed in *The Leader* the previous May. The Galway branch of the Gaelic League responded to this, saying that traditional singers of the older generation refused to compete with trained singers, and so the two categories had to be separated.[113] There were a number of valid reasons why this was so, not least being class distinction. Bewerunge was sensitive to the psychological and aesthetic difficulties suffered by an untrained singer performing in a large concert hall, and commented that the 'delicate flavour of the Irish melody suffered' when performed in such a setting.[114] He articulated this view nine years before musicologist Carl Hardebeck averred that:

> The traditional singer in the habit of singing in the kitchen by the fireside […] has no business to be dragged onto the concert platform. […] There he is nervous, and uncomfortable as a fish out of water, misunderstood by the public, and usually thoroughly unhappy.[115]

In 1903 Bewerunge was inducted as a member of the Oireachtas central committee.[116] His paper, 'Irish Traditional Singing', originally delivered before the Central Branch of the Gaelic League, was published in the March issue of *New Ireland Review*.[117] A second paper, 'The Modes of Irish Music', first delivered as a lecture with aural illustrations on 26 March 1903, was published three months later.[118] In his research into Irish melodies, Bewerunge examined the modality of approximately 1,500 airs. He specified that he omitted tunes by Carolan and other composers influenced by European art music, as he wanted to confine his investigation to older melodies. His

112 *IMM*, vol. 1, no. 6 (August 1902), p. 62.

113 *IMM*, vol. 1, no. 7 (September 1902), p. 80.

114 *IMM*, vol. 1, no. 5 (July 1902), p. 50.

115 Martin Dowling, 'Thought-Tormented Music: Joyce and the Music of the Irish Revival', *James Joyce Quarterly*, vol. 45, no. 3–4 (Spring–Summer 2008). p. 442.

116 This can be adduced from a committee member listing in 'Irish Ireland', *Donegal News*, 11 July 1903, p. 1.

117 Heinrich Bewerunge, 'Irish Traditional Singing', *New Ireland Review* (March 1903), pp. 20–32. This article was also announced in *Zeitschrift der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* (1902–1903), p. 437.

118 Heinrich Bewerunge, 'The Modes of Irish Music', *New Ireland Review* (June 1903), pp. 227–235. His lecture was epitomised in *Zeitschrift der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* (1902–1903), p. 497.

enquiry into modality constituted a pioneering ethnomusicological study of Irish music. This was acknowledged in the press at the time: 'We have men like […] Fr Bewerunge analysing, for the first time it may be said, the structure of our folk music.'[119] The list at Table 4.2 below sets out the main sources from which he drew his melodies. Bewerunge had been aware since 1891 of the melodic alterations made by Moore and others, as he had published Lacy's 'Notes on Irish Music' in *Lyra Ecclesiastica*.

Table 4.2 Bewerunge's principal sources for Irish melodies

Editor	Title	Publication Details
Joseph Walker	*Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards*	Dublin: White, 1786
Edward Bunting	*Ancient Music of Ireland* (vol. 1)	London: Preston, 1796
William Crotch	*Specimens of Various Styles of Music*	London: R. Birchall, 1807
Smollett Holden	*Periodical Irish Melodies*	Dublin: S. Holden, 1808
Edward Bunting	*Ancient Music of Ireland* (vol. 2)	Dublin: Power, 1809
Ludwig van Beethoven	Settings of Irish melodies	London/Edinburgh: 1814/1815
Edward Bunting	*Ancient Music of Ireland* (vol. 3)	Dublin: Hodges & Smith, 1840
Frederick W. Horncastle	*Music of Ireland*	London: Horncastle, 1844
James C. Mangan	*The Poets and Poetry of Munster*	Dublin: O'Daly, 1849
Thomas Moore	*Irish Melodies*	Possibly Robinson 1850, Glover 1859 or Balfe 1859
George Sigerson	*The Poets and Poetry of Munster*	Dublin: O'Daly, 1860
Patrick W. Joyce	*Ancient Irish Music* *Irish Music and Song*	Dublin: McGlashan and Gill, 1873 Dublin: M.H. Gill, 1888? 1901?
George Petrie	*Ancient Music of Ireland* (2 vols)	Dublin: M.H. Gill, 1882
Patrick W. Joyce	*Irish Music and Song*	Dublin: M.H. Gill, 1887
Alfred P. Graves	*The Irish Song Book*	London: Unwin, 1894
Alfred Moffat	*The Minstrelsy of Ireland*	London: Augener, ~1898

119 'Irish Language Notes', *Weekly Irish Times*, 9 January 1904, p. 11.

The prevailing theories of scale construction within Irish music were those espoused by musician and pedagogue James Culwick (1845–1907), W.H. Grattan Flood, and Irish scholar Eugene O'Curry (1794–1862). These posited that Irish music had five modes, each taking as its tonic one of the degrees of the pentatonic scale.[120] Grounds for this interpretation lay in the absence of the fourth and seventh (diatonic) scale degrees, or at least their treatment as passing notes only, in many old melodies. Fig. 4.1 below demonstrates the possibilities of these gapped scales. Using the pentatonic modes as a basis for Irish melody classification gave one major mode, lacking fourth and seventh scale degrees; two minor modes, one lacking the second and fifth and the other lacking the second and sixth; and two modes lacking the third, one of which also lacked the sixth and the other the seventh.

Bewerunge accepted this pentatonic scale theory in his early explorations of Irish music, but later developed an alternative model. His very different modal analysis scheme followed the precepts of chant modality, where the final note of a melody constitutes the tonic. His examination found that almost half the melodies were in a major mode and ended on the tonic. Of the remaining major key melodies, a small number ended on the mediant and a larger number on the dominant. He was satisfied that these final notes, being part of the tonic chord, represented the tonic. All major key melodies which concluded on tonic, mediant, or dominant, he therefore categorised as being in 'doh mode'.[121] Within the 'doh mode' he also itemised a small number of melodies which ended on the supertonic, the submediant and the leading note. The

120 James Culwick, *The Distinctive Characteristics of Ancient Irish Melody* (Dublin: Ponsonby, 1897), pp. 10–18; W.H. Grattan Flood, *A History of Irish Music* (Dublin: Browne & Nolan, 1905), pp. 26–31; Eugene O'Curry (1873), pp. dxc–dciv. W.K. Sullivan's introduction to O'Curry's work linked ecclesiastical modes with those of Irish melodies, a connection which drew Bewerunge's interest.

121 Bewerunge used the notes of the tonic sol-fa to describe the results of his analyses in this lecture. He was a supporter of the tonic sol-fa system as an early learning tool for singers, but he believed it should be allied to the linear staff notation system for best results. He wrote a three-part exposition of the system for Haberl's *Musica Sacra* in 1895, commending its success in the United Kingdom. Heinrich Bewerunge, 'Das Tonic Sol-fa System', *Musica Sacra* (February 1895), pp. 17–19; *Musica Sacra* (March 1895), pp. 42–44; and *Musica Sacra* (April 1895), pp. 49–51.

second principal modal category was ‘soh’, with a characteristic minor seventh leading note. Some ‘soh mode’ tunes avoided the leading note for much of their melodies, and others used the lowered leading note as an essential part of the melodic character. A group of melodies which alternated between raised and lowered leading notes Bewerunge described as employing a combination of ‘doh’ and ‘soh’ modes. He linked this characteristic to similar usages in the music of the ancient Greeks and in Gregorian chant. Alternatively, Bewerunge postulated a ‘neutral’ seventh, such as was found in bagpipes, which later differentiated into a raised or lowered seventh depending on the melodic context.

The minor modes included groups of melodies with a minor third and minor sixth (‘lah mode’), and groups with a minor third and major sixth (‘ray mode’). Like the mixed ‘doh’ and soh’ mode, there were also melodies using both minor and major sixth. Bewerunge particularly drew attention to minor melodies which ended on notes other than their tonic. The first category of these comprised minor melodies ending on the mediant, an effect which particularly interested Bewerunge.[122] Thomas Moore’s ‘Silent, O Moyle’ is probably the best known of these melodic types and is given at Fig. 4.2 below. Bewerunge also found a small number of minor melodies concluding on the dominant, which generally did not use the submediant within their melodic ambit.

Bewerunge’s analysis encompassed pentatonic scale usage within old Irish melodies as regards ‘doh’, ‘soh’, ‘ray’ and ‘lah’ modes. However, his use of a different prism through which to analyse melodies – that of the final note – pinpointed a flaw in Irish pentatonic theory. The difference between Bewerunge’s four modes and the five modes extrapolated from the pentatonic lay in the existence of a ‘mi’ mode, which

122 Thomas Moore’s ‘Silent, O Moyle’ is probably the best known of these melodic types. During his illustrated lecture Bewerunge had Ms Kerin, harpist and violinist, perform three of the melodies, demonstrating the difference between the alternative endings. He supported her with harmonies on the piano where necessary to exemplify tonality. E.g. ‘The Modes of Irish Music’, p. 229.

within the pentatonic context was a minor tonality. Bewerunge demonstrated that the adoption of a 'mi' mode necessitated its subdivision into both major and minor categories, on the basis that he found both major and minor melodies which had 'mi' as their final. As the concept of a single mode being either major or minor was implausible in the context of Irish melodic pentatonicism, Bewerunge thereby advanced his theory of four modes which included 'mi' melodies within either the 'doh' or 'la' categories.

Gaelic scholar, priest, and musician Richard Henebry entered into correspondence with Bewerunge following the latter's exposition of his Irish modal theory. Six letters survive from Henebry to Bewerunge, each demonstrating Henebry's impassioned style.[123] In their private correspondence, Henebry acknowledged Bewerunge's influence ('[…] your own study of the words was what decided me to write at all. […] it was from you I gleaned the knowedge that enabled me to bring the results of my researches into order.')[124] and re-iterated this debt in print in the preface to his 1903 *Irish Music*:

> I have to thank Rev. Prof. H. Bewerunge, of Maynooth, first for his examination of the modes of Irish music lately published in the *New Ireland Review*, without which I would not have been able to undertake this study; and, in the second place, for his kindness in reading the proofs and making many valuable suggestions and corrections.[125]

Some of Henebry's letters contained complex analyses of tunings given in a stream-of-consciousness style; in the absence of Bewerunge's side of the epistolatory conversation it is hard to guess what he made of Henebry's approach or what endeavours he made to

123 These letters cover the period October 1903 to April l905. (LDA) Henebry's letter of 1 December 1904 included an entertaining rant against music theorists:

> 'The Gregorian lost ancient tonality and kept only one octave. Then they eroded all the endings into that one octave and added some of their own. So every note of octave be it firm as D, E, G A - do re, fa, sol, or be it fluid and flabby as F and C got alike the dignity of tonics. […] Then the theoretikers started in and called things Greek names and the period of fakement began. And hence we have such a sink and mire of it in the domain of scientific musical archaeology. Such a one invented such a note such another such another, he put a bit here and he other another bit there and he other fellow discovered a mode and still another invented a tone and so the blithering drivel goes on. Oh cod!'

124 Henebry to Bewerunge, 9 October 1903. (LDA)

125 Richard Henebry, *Irish Music* (Dublin: An Chló-Chumann, 1903), preface.

temper Henebry's observations. The Henebry letters do, however, serve to show that Bewerunge was still interested in the modality of Irish music by 1905.

Bewerunge continued to adjudicate at *feiseanna* around Ireland over the next decade. He joined the Irish Folk Song Society in 1908 when it had its first meeting in Ireland.[126] He offered advice and assistance to folksong collectors such as Eileen Costello.[127] His ongoing involvement with the Feis Ceoil Association can be glimpsed through newspaper reports. The annual meeting of the 1911 Feis Ceoil Association was reported extensively in the *Freeman's Journal*; it included speeches by George O'Neill, Edward Martyn, and Bewerunge. It was Bewerunge's speech which made headlines in the *FJ*: 'Father Bewerunge's Criticism'.[128] Bewerunge praised the excellence of Irish folk music and the artistry of its rendering in Irish language areas of the country. He also extolled the work of the Association. However, he regretted the lack of public support for music generally, the lack of a professional concert society, and poor attendance at concerts in Dublin. He gave as an example the Dublin Orchestral Society's annual financial difficulties, where expenses were always in excess of receipts.[129] He lamented the number of foreign musicians in Ireland – another of many public occasions wherein he publicly decried the lack of education which prevented Irish nationals from taking up positions of musical influence. This was equally the case in traditional music as it was in church music; it created an uneasy nexus between idealists who tried to bring folksong into the arena of art music and those, like Bewerunge, who favoured the preservation of native culture. His speech prompted some critical response in the press, but there was little true ground for opposition to Bewerunge's opinions.[130]

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126 'Irish Folk Song Society', *Irish Times*, 18 November 1908, p. 7. Many years later Bewerunge and Pro-Cathedral organist Brendan Rogers were recalled as having 'a learned discussion on the characteristics of Irish music' at a Folk Song Society meeting. 'Traditional Irish Music: A Plea for its Revival', *Connaught Telegraph*, 28 February 1931, p. 6.

127 Diarmuid Ó hAlmhain, 'Amhráin Mhuighe Seola', *Irish Press*, 30 July 1960.

128 'The Feis Ceoil Association Annual Meeting', *FJ*, 17 October 1911, p. 4.

129 Bewerunge was a committee member for the Dublin Orchestral Society and was familiar with its financial travails.

130 For instance, 'Rev. Father Bewerunge at the Feis Ceoil', *FJ*, 19 October 1911, p. 5; T. O'Kelly, 'Music in Ireland: A New Society', *Irish Independent*, 25 October 1911, p. 4.

The Irish music modal debate continues to flourish, as evidenced by even a casual search of traditional music forums online. Some practitioners subscribe to four modes, others to five, and others again to six. Musician and collector Breandán Breathnach (1912–1985), for instance, followed Bewerunge's model and cited four modes in the preface to his *Ceol Rince na hÉireann* (1964).[131] The 'old' and 'new' styles of traditional singing were ensnared by class distinctions, and the modal debate is inextricably linked to issues of transmission, but both these aspects of Irish cultural heritage were inevitably absorbed into the politicisation of nationhood. Despite eschewing politics, Bewerunge contributed to the formation of cultural identity in Ireland. The importance of his role in this regard has been affirmed by the media,[132] but it is only more recently that modern ethnomusicological studies have followed suit.[133] Given that Bewerunge's principal work was as a church musician, it is ironic that in the decades following his death his contributions to the preservation of Irish musical culture were remembered more positively than his efforts for church music reform.

4.3 Furthering the Cause of Education

Bewerunge's readiness to share knowledge and information was one of his enduring characteristics. (This was often to his detriment in the public arena, as his didactic style of epistolatory debate did not always win him friends.) He undertook

131 Breandán Breathnach, *Ceol Rince na hÉireann* (Dublin: An Gúm, 1964). A reviewer gently chastised him for being too 'dogmatic' in his convictions regarding four modes, 'even though Dr Henebry and Father Bewerunge – doughty champions these – would both have agreed with him.' Sean Neeson, *Irish Press*, 18 April 1964, p. 12.

132 'Traditional Irish Music: A Plea for its Revival', *Connaught Telegraph*, 28 February 1931, p. 6; 'Aeridheacht at Lilliput', *Meath Chronicle*, 6 July 1935, p. 2; 'Wexford Feis Feature' (retrospective), *Irish Times*, 29 May 1936, p. 5; 'Mayo's First County Feis' (retrospective), *Connaught Telegraph*, 5 October 1940, p. 8; 'Music in Ireland' (letter to the editor), *Irish Independent*, 3 June 1947, p. 2; 'Battles Royal in Gaelic Movement: A Veteran Remembers', *Irish Independent*, 22 May 1957, p. 7; 'Amhráin Mhuighe Seola', *Irish Press*, 30 July 1960, p. 9; 'Towards A History of Meath', *Meath Chronicle*, 20 January 1962, p. 8; 'A Controversy Over Irish Singing', *Irish Independent*, 29 January 1964, p. 3; 'The Jigs and Reels', *Irish Press*, 18 April 1964, p. 12; 'Kinvara Plans Tribute to Balladist', *Connacht Tribune*, 7 May 1966, p. 3.

133 See the introductory chapter herein, section III, pp. 7–8.

much work which was time-consuming and not particularly financially rewarding.[134] Examples include his journal publications, translations and editorial work; his correspondence on church music, often with complete strangers who contacted him because he was known to be an expert in the field; the teaching he was committed to in addition to his duties in Maynooth; and the help and support he quietly gave to many musicians, educators and writers. While at least some elements of his busy public life can be observed through newspaper archives, his behind-the-scenes assistance to others is glimpsed only in surviving private correspondence.

Bewerunge's work as a knowledge facilitator in both private and public spheres may have stemmed from his experience of the difficulties of education in the shadow of Bismarck's anti-Catholic *Kulturkampf*. His role as an educator and enabler is a legacy which encompasses – but also goes far beyond – the precepts of church music reform. Although one of Bewerunge's principal motivations was to improve standards of church music performance and repertoire (to which end he taught at national and intermediate level), it was his interest in teaching secular music which involved him deeply in third level education. Two strands of his pedagogy are explored here: the first based on church and conventual music and the second encompassing wider aspects of secular music.

4.3.1 Conventual Teaching

There were eighty-three religious houses in Ireland by 1900, the majority of which were established after the famine.[135] Many of these were involved in education. European religious orders, usually from France, ran fee-paying boarding and day

134 For instance he was paid ten pounds by the publisher Schwann for a book translation, which seems to be very poor recompense for the work involved; and approximately five pounds per article for the American journal *Church Music*, a better rate of remuneration. Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, [n.d.] October 1905 and 26 October 1906. (SAA)

135 Gloria McAdam, 'Willing Women and the Rise of Convents in Nineteenth-Century England', *Women's History Review*, vol. 8, no. 3 (1999), pp. 413–415.

schools. The Irish Sisters of Mercy and Presentation Sisters ran day schools for girls from poor families.[136] Bewerunge recognised that by introducing nuns to good music practices he would also influence the children they taught. He had a number of plans to improve liturgical music in convents, but it is observable that nuns of a higher social class were more enthusiastic about such projects. This is easily explained: women from wealthier backgrounds were more likely to have had musical training.

One convent with which Bewerunge had a long association was Loreto Abbey, Rathfarnham where he taught every week for many years. It has not been possible to establish when he first undertook this work, as community annals from 1885 to 1913 are no longer extant, but he was certainly involved by 1897. The diamond jubilee of the house was celebrated in that year, hosting prelates from all around the world including the bishops of Capetown (South Africa) and Christchurch (New Zealand). The report of high Mass for the occasion in the *Freeman's Journal* was notably enthusiastic and detailed as regards the music.[137] Bewerunge conducted Palestrina's six-part *Missa Ut re mi fa sol la* – an ambitious undertaking – with the 'Credo' from the four-part *Missa brevis*.[138] The Mass propers were Gregorian. Unfortunately the media did not give any information on the make-up of the choir, but it seems that the upper parts were supplied by the Rathfarnham pupils and novices;[139] for the lower parts Bewerunge must have had to import some male voices – possibly some of his own Maynooth *schola*. The choir numbered sixty-five.[140] There were many international delegates in attendance

136 Aspiring nuns had to bring with them a significant dowry and thus only the daughters of wealthy farmers or the merchant class could afford to join a convent. This social status also presupposed a reasonable standard of education. Women with vocations but no financial resources could only join as lay sisters and essentially acted as servants to the nuns.

137 'The Loreto Convent Rathfarnham', *FJ*, 5 November 1897, pp. 5–6. It was presumably just a typing error which gave rise to the statement that the music of the mass was 'accompanied throughout, except in the portions sung to the Gregorian chant'. This should have read 'unaccompanied'.

138 He gave *Ut Re Mi Fa Sol La* another outing the following year, this time in its entirety, for the opening of Donnelly's new church in Bray. See fn. 3 above.

139 '[…] the present pupils of the convent did not constitute the whole choir […]'. *FJ*, 5 November 1897, p. 6.

140 'Diamond Jubilee of Loreto Abbey, Rathfarnham', *FJ*, 26 October 1897, p. 7.

and the event was reported in *The Tablet*, which commented: 'An important feature of the celebration was the revival of Palestrina's music under the direction of Father Bewerunge, Professor of Sacred Music at Maynooth College.'[141] Bewerunge was also involved in secular music for the jubilee event, as he conducted the school orchestra at a special concert.[142]

Gregorian chant formed the principal focus of Bewerunge's weekly classes at Rathfarnham. Correspondence in 1904 shows that they were working from the new Solesmes editions of plainchant.[143] He reported in 1905 that he was teaching two hours of chant per week,[144] and once expressed his pleased surprise that on a recreation day the girls still came to chant class.[145] He continued: 'I wish my students [at Maynooth] showed half that interest.' Bewerunge composed organ harmonisations for the music novice to accompany various chant Masses. (Some of these then circulated among a number of religious houses – this aspect of his work is examined in chapter five below). As the nuns developed an increasing facility with plainchant they continued teaching the pupils themselves, and Bewerunge was pleased that often there was little for him to improve. He was always impressed by their enthusiasm and ability in this field. A report in British newspaper *The Tablet* commented on the music at Rathfarnham for the feast of St Cecilia in 1907:

> The feast of St Cecilia was celebrated in Rathfarnham convent, as usual, by a *missa cantata*. The choir music of the mass was all rendered in plainchant by a large body of singers, children and nuns. The beauty of the youthful and well-trained voices, coupled with the high standard of musical taste which pervades the whole establishment, give the plainchant singing there a distinction rarely to be found. It is at once artistic and prayerful. At the end of mass, as if to show that they could do other music also, they sang an unaccompanied four-part 'Filiae

141 'News from Ireland', *The Tablet*, 6 November 1897, p. 735.

142 Loreto school magazine, 2/1897, p. 96. (LA)

143 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 25 October 1904. (SAA) Bewerunge had ordered the Solesmes books for Maynooth at the beginning of 1904, and probably converted Rathfarnham away from the Ratisbon tradition at the same time.

144 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 16 November 1905. (SAA)

145 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 25 November 1905. (SAA)

Regum' by Griesbacher with great precision and verve.[146]

Bewerunge finessed the choir's performances of sacred polyphonic works, which they initially learned under the direction of Sr Attracta, the convent's music teacher. He recommended various contemporary equal-voice arrangements, many of which he was already using for the *schola* in Maynooth. He also provided some of his own equal-voice compositions and used transcriptions of Renaissance works, again from his Maynooth repertoire.[147] Over time the reviews of music at Rathfarnham became more and more laudatory. In 1911 *The Tablet* reported on the 'high artistic excellence' of the music given at a 40-hours adoration in Rathfarnham under Bewerunge's 'unequalled training and conductorship'.[148] The polyphonic music was by Nekes, Haller and Griesbacher – there were no Renaissance composers as the choir did not include any male voices for this devotionary service. In 1911 Rathfarnham also inaugurated a new chapel organ built by Georg and Eduard Stahlhuth.[149] At the inauguration on 6 November 1911 a choir of one hundred girls sang plainchant mass propers with Bewerunge's organ harmonisations. These accompaniments were notable in not including the chant melody as part of the harmonisation. Bewerunge remarked: 'Owing to the splendid

146 'St Cecilia's Feast at Rathfarnham Convent', *The Tablet*, 30 November 1907, p. 855. It is likely that this report was sent to *The Tablet* by Bewerunge himself. (Dame Laurentia wrote on 3 December: 'We read the notice in *The Tablet*, from your pen I suppose.'). He would have intended it as motivation for the women of Rathfarnham and to point out to English establishments that church music reform was going well in Ireland.

147 Bewerunge gave an impressive list of music performed in 1912 by the Rathfarnham girls for a profession ceremony:

> The girls sang magnificently. Our programme was: 'Veni Creator', plainchant. Magnificat 8th tone with 4-part *falsi bordoni a capella*. 'Ave Maria' by Griesbacher, 3 parts with organ. 'Surrexit pastor bonus', 4 parts by Palestrina. 'Veni sponsa Christi', 4 parts with organ, by Griesbacher. 'O sacrum convivium' 4 parts *a capella* by Haller. 'Tantum ergo' 4 parts with organ (very chromatic) by Goller. 'Laudate Dominum', 8 parts *a capella*.

Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 18 May 1912. (SAA)

148 'News from Ireland', *The Tablet*, 11 March 1911, p. 374. This news item was not submitted by Bewerunge.

149 Opinion is divided on whether this was in fact a Stahlhuth organ. The Loreto archivist was not able to source any information. Professor Emeritus Gerard Gillen of Maynooth University took the view that it was a Walcker, but enquiries made of this German company received the reply that the firm had not built an instrument in Rathfarnham. Organ-builder Trevor Crowe believes it to be a Stahlhuth. Rathfarnham had organs in both chapel and music hall, but the deteriorating condition of the buildings, under the control of NAMA for the past few years, does not bode well for the instruments, if they are still *in situ*.

acoustic conditions of the chapel, organ and singing blended so perfectly that one could not notice at all that the organ did not play the melody'.[150] The performance of melodically complex chant propers with such a large choir serves to demonstrate the subtleties of Bewerunge's plainchant tuition. He also took a hand in Rathfarnham's secular music as he conducted the school orchestra at concerts,[151] and he conducted the choir for state examinations. Discussing the 1909 exam he commented:

> They sang two four-part prescribed pieces – very difficult and ugly, and a five-part 'O Sacrum'. They sang splendidly. […] Then they had to sing a four-part test piece at sight, including some fairly awkward modulations and fitted with expression marks […]. Well, they sang it as if they had been practising it for the last six months. I hope they will get full marks![152]

Following a successful series of public church music lectures during July 1904,[153] Bewerunge suggested to Walsh that nuns from around the country should be brought together for a course of church music lectures. Walsh refused to have different orders of nuns gathered together but he did sanction separate lectures for individual orders, suggesting particularly the Mercy nuns ('they being numerous and bad').[154] Sadly the Superior of the Dublin Mercy houses did not show great enthusiasm for the project, but one outcome of Bewerunge's efforts in this regard was that he began to assist in plainchant teaching at Sion Hill, Blackrock, Co. Dublin, and Eccles Street, Dublin, both Dominican convents.[155] His association with the Dominicans went back at least

150 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 11 November 1911. (SAA)

151 At a special summer concert he conducted in 1899, the orchestral programme included Mozart, Pergolesi, Haydn, and Reinecke. Loreto School Magazine, 1/1899, p. 96. (LA)

152 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 10 May 1909. (SAA) Bewerunge was not entirely happy with the girls' voice production, but that was not a matter he could rectify without a great deal more time.

153 These lectures were Bewerunge's brainchild. He had hoped they would be wide in scope, and indeed they included Fr Michael Moloney, a musician from Westminster Cathedral, but Walsh refused to have any Solesmes speakers on plainchant, saying: 'The unfortunate craze they have taken up about rhythm (combined with their utter inability to explain what they mean) is, to my mind, fatal'. Walsh to Bewerunge, 16 May 1904. (LDA)

154 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 26 October 1904. (SAA)

155 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 29 October 1904. (SAA)

to the mid-1890s, when he played the organ in a profession ceremony at Sion Hill.[156] Some time after he began teaching in these two houses, he brought the Maynooth *schola* to sing high Mass at the Eccles Street convent, with the dual aim of giving his men an opportunity to perform outside Maynooth and allowing the nuns a rare chance to hear a male voice choir rendering chant and polyphony.[157] His use of the male *schola* as a model for other choirs was a demonstration of his commitment to teaching technically correct and dynamically sophisticated performances.[158]

A further strand of Bewerunge's conventual work arose in his correspondence, as he advised on appropriate church music. A 1903 letter from a Sister Mary Leo of Kilkenny Presentation convent contained a list of music the nuns were performing (some items of which had been recommended previously by Bewerunge), along with a draft of further suggestions from him.[159] This list is given at Table 4.3 below. It revealed a strong German Cecilian influence – perhaps because many Cecilian compositions did utilise equal voice choirs. Bewerunge was unwilling by then to do any more transcriptions of Renaissance music, so there was no point in his recommending Palestrina and other masters to the nuns if he could not advise them where to obtain appropriate adaptations.

156 'Profession Ceremony at Sion Hill Convent, Blackrock', *FJ*, 25 November 1896, p. 6.

157 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 2 June 1906. (SAA)

158 The formal permissions and practicalities involved in bringing the men outside Maynooth ensured it was not something undertaken lightly.

159 Sister Mary Leo to Bewerunge, 18 July 1903. (LDA)

Table 4.3 Cecilian conventual music repertoire, Kilkenny (1903)[160]

Sister Mary Leo's List	Bewerunge's List
Unison masses: Mathias Beltjens (1820–1909 F. X. Brucklmayer (1855–1904) Josef Rheinberger (1839–1901)	—
Two-part masses: Carl Greith (1828–1887) Johann Habert (1833–1896) — *Missa Veni sponsa Christi* Michael Haller (1840–1915) — op. 7a Friedrich Koenen (1829–1887) Johann Singenberger (1848–1924) — *Missa Adoro te* Johann Stehle (1839–1915) Peter Thielen (1839–1908) — *Missa Iste confessor*	Two-part masses: Ludwig Ebner (1858–1903) — op. 22 & op. 45 Peter Griesbacher — op. 2 & op. 50 Michael Haller —op. 8a & op. 87 Köhler (probably Wilhelm Köhler (1852–1924)) — op. 7 Ignaz Mitterer (1850–1924) —op. 79 Ignas Mitterer — *Missa Veni sponsa*
Three-part masses: Johann Aiblinger (1779–1867) Gustav Bergmann (1837–1892) Engel (most likely David Engel (1816–1877)) Peter Griesbacher (1864–1933) — *Missa In honorem Ss. cordis Jesu* — *Missa St Raphael Archangeli* Josef Rheinberger (1839–1901)	Three-part masses: Ludwig Ebner — op. 44 Vinzenz Goller (1873–1953) — op. 25b Peter Griesbacher — op. 93 Michael Haller — op. 93
Ave Maria: Michael Haller (2vv and 3vv) Friedrich Koenen (2vv) Gabriel Rheinberger (unison and 2vv)	Ave Maria: Ludwig Bonvin (1850–1939) — op. 94 Peter Griesbacher — op. 57 pp. 240 & 400 Linzig? — VII *Motetta Mariana* Sner? — XII *Cantiones* op. 43

160 Composers' full names and their dates have been added to Sr Mary Leo's and Bewerunge's surname-only list. No information could be found for Linzig or Sner, if indeed their names have been interpreted correctly.

4.3.2 *Irish Musical Monthly*

Bewerunge's visits around Ireland upon episcopal request to advise on singing, plainchant performance, and organ-playing have already been mentioned. One example of such a visit was to Ennis, Co. Clare, in November 1908. Bewerunge made the following report, which undoubtedly mirrored the situation in many parishes nationwide:

> Ennis was very poor in the singing line. The organist is not much good, I am afraid. There are two boys' schools there, a national and a Christian Brothers. The national school teacher seemed an intelligent man. He knew very little about voice production, and of course nothing about plainchant. He said he had learnt a great deal from me and that he would be better able to teach hereafter. Let us hope so. In the Christian Brothers' school the cathedral organist had charge of the singing, and the tone there was also very bad. The regular music teacher there is another organist. So between the two I have not much hope. The nuns were awful. Well, if they are not very dense, they must have felt that they were making a show of themselves, and that may do them good. I was very much pleased with the girls (in charge of the nuns). Not that they were much better than the boys, but they took up my hints about voice production with a readiness that I think I have never experienced anywhere before. The Bishop himself remarked how quick they were. A young nun was in charge of the singing. If she is half as sharp as her pupils, she may do better in future.[161]

The intimate connection between church music and music education in schools stimulated Archbishop Walsh's interest in publishing a schools' supplement with *Lyra Ecclesiastica*, a plan which – as recounted earlier in this chapter – resulted in the termination of both the journal and the Irish Society of St Cecilia in 1894. Eight years later the Archbishop sanctioned the *Irish Musical Monthly*, a periodical aimed at both church musicians and schoolteachers, edited by Bewerunge. In his 1901 lecture to the Maynooth Union, Bewerunge highlighted once again the lack of opportunity for recruitment and adequate development of Irish musicians:

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161 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 2 December 1908. (SAA) The organist to whom Bewerunge referred as 'not much good' must have been Dominic Nono, a Belgian based in Ss Peter and Paul cathedral in Ennis from 1902 to 1915. Deacy (2005), p. 183.

> '[…] the supply of Irish musicians is inadequate. Most of these positions have to be filled by persons imported from England and the Continent. I have no hesitation in saying – although I am one of these intruders myself – that this is an unhealthy condition of affairs, and ought not to be tolerated. The reason for this state of things is not far to seek, I think. It is want of opportunities for studying music. I do not believe that there is a scarcity of musical talent in this land of song; but the chances of having the musical talent developed are scarce. Above all, there is not one place in Ireland where a young musician can learn anything about church music. A school for Catholic church music, is, in my opinion, a crying want in this country.'[162]

With this lecture, originally delivered before a large audience of clerics and seminarians, he hoped to motivate the ecclesiastical hierarchy, along with the National Education Board, to work towards increasing the number of schools nationwide in which music was taught.[163] His opening editorial for the first issue of *Irish Musical Monthly* demonstrated that he wanted to include all of Ireland, not just the greater Dublin area, in educational improvements.

The journal's triple brief of Irish music, music education, and church music made for an eclectic mix of content. Bewerunge wrote a considerable quantity of the text himself. Unlike *Lyra*, it focused almost entirely on Irish material, with a relatively small proportion of English and continental content. It was described as 'the only Irish music periodical' by its publishers in the *Irish Times*, testifying that it was more than a church music magazine and confirming its national approach.[164] Another feature which demonstrated its diversity was the advertising which wrapped the journal in eye-catching blue-printed pink pages. In addition to the expected advertisements for schoolbooks and all matters music-related were commercials for tobacco and tea. It represented excellent value for money: each issue cost only two pence and this included a music supplement. An annual subscription was two shillings and six pence,

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162 Heinrich Bewerunge, 'The Church Choir', *IMM*, vol. 1, no. 7 (September 1902), pp. 73–76.

163 According to Bewerunge, the number of primary schools which taught music at the turn of the century was only approximately 15%. *IMM*, vol. 1, no. 1 (March 1902), p. 1.

164 'Cork and Its Exhibition', *Irish Times*, 28 June 1902, p. 9.

including postage. A full list of *Irish Musical Monthly*'s contents has been catalogued for the first time in Appendix B.

Among the journal's historic milestones was the pre-publication of eight chapters of W.H. Grattan Flood's *History of Irish Music*. After the appearance of only two chapters, Flood was gently castigated by a subscriber for his lack of adequate referencing and his sweeping generalisations.[165] Rather than take these points to heart and improve his citations, Flood responded somewhat arrogantly to his critic, thereby sealing the modern reputation of his *History* as an unreliable source.

Although it was well received by the press during its run, ultimately it was a short-lived experiment as Bewerunge's energies were thwarted by the conflicting agendas of ecclesiasts and educators. Edward Martyn put the matter succinctly:

> Your ideas are good and sound, and you would be a great power for reform, if you could shake yourself free from those old women who are afraid of each other's shadows and who seem to control so largely this new publication.[166]

Martyn included Cecilians such as Peter Goodman in his category of 'old women'.[167] Martyn went on to say: 'I well knew what a wretched lot of people you had to deal with, who would vent all their pettiness on you if you displeased them.'[168] Even allowing for Martyn's acerbity, his comments painted a grim picture of Bewerunge's difficulties in attempting to push through reforms. Martyn contributed only one article to *Irish Musical Monthly*, on plainchant performance in Rathfarnham, where he gave the girls the great accolade that 'they might have been boys' as regards their singing discipline and emotional purity.[169] In this article Bewerunge used Martyn's voice to campaign for adoption of the new Solesmes chant publications in preference to the post-Medicean

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165 P. Sexton, 'Some Remarks on the 'History of Irish Music'', *IMM*, vol. 1, no. 4 (June 1902), pp. 45–46.

166 Martyn to Bewerunge, 11 March 1902. (LDA)

167 Goodman was a musician and committed Cecilian (see chapter three, fn. 49 above). Martyn's indictment was rather harsh.

168 Martyn to Bewerunge, 11 March 1902. (LDA)

169 Edward Martyn, 'Gregorian Chant at Loreto Abbey', *IMM*, vol. 1, no. 1 (March 1902), pp. 8–9.

Ratisbon editions. As has been mentioned, Bewerunge was enamoured of French Benedictine plainchant research from an early stage, but while the Ratisbon books still had papal approval he had no grounds on which to persuade Walsh and Donnelly to change the preferred chant. Martyn, unencumbered by ecclesiastical loyalty, was a useful mouthpiece for Bewerunge. However, Martyn declined to write any further church music reform articles, knowing that what he had to say would put Bewerunge in a difficult position with Walsh. While sympathetic to Bewerunge's aims, Martyn was contemptuous of the hypocrisy of church music reform in Ireland: 'I would like to show how Irishmen masquerade at [Cecilian] festivals as great liturgical music judges and reformers, and then instead of reform at home, possibly use their influence to even prevent others from reforming.'[170] Bishop Nicholas Donnelly took a similar view when sympathising with Bewerunge on the journal's cessation: 'Sorry to find that the *Irish Musical Monthly* has gone over to the majority. I am afraid that the development from within [Donnelly's emphasis] in musical matters has not even been initiated yet.'[171] Donnelly's phraseology – that *Irish Musical Monthly* had 'gone over to the majority' – along with the comment in a letter from Daniel O'Loan to Bewerunge, that 'you […] ceased your connection with it',[172] suggested that there was more to its conclusion than Bewerunge no longer having time for it. Given the history of *Lyra*'s sudden collapse, it is not difficult to postulate that Walsh had a hand in this demise also. The *Freeman's Journal* stated that it was stopped due to lack of support, but this may have been the Archbishop's official line.[173] Whatever the reasons, *Irish MusicalMonthly*'s collapse was a loss for music education in Ireland and marked a disappointingly abrupt end to the country's first music periodical.

170 Martyn to Bewerunge, 15 April 1902. (LDA)
171 Donnelly to Bewerunge, 28 February 1903. (LDA)
172 O'Loan to Bewerunge, 6 April 1903. (LDA)
173 'By the Way', *FJ*, 24 February 1903, p. 5.

4.3.3 Third-level Education [174]

The specifics of Bewerunge's work at St Patrick's College Maynooth have already been documented in chapter three. The aspects considered here concern a broader scope of third level education, and in particular secular music.

4.3.3(i) Bewerunge and the Royal University of Ireland

In 1896 Maynooth was empowered to confer pontifical degrees, including doctorates, in theology and the baccalaureate in philosophy. (The charter was expanded in 1900 to include all degrees, including doctorates, in theology, philosophy, and canon law.) In 1898 Bewerunge was one of five professors who proposed a fundamental change in the structure of studies at Maynooth to facilitate Arts degrees.[175] They suggested that courses should be redesigned to allow students to take Royal University degrees at pass and honours level in all subjects.[176] This required major reconfiguration, as students entering the seminary without having matriculated had to be given an opportunity to do so after a year. Final degree examinations were postponed until after ordination. The new system necessitated a scholarship system to match the existing scholarships in the pontifical faculties, and expected considerable additional commitments from staff. A new subdivision of the scholastic council, consisting of seven members including Bewerunge, prepared a report in June 1901 for the college Visitors concerning the restructuring,[177] and in the same year Maynooth students sat university examinations for the first time. Greater numbers of students registered for

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174 Some of the material in this section has already been published. See Darina McCarthy, '"How pleased Bishop Donnelly must be!" Heinrich Bewerunge (1862–1923): First Professor of Music at University College Dublin', *100 Years of Music at UCD 1014–2014: A Centenary Festschrift*, ed. Wolfgang Marx (Dublin: UCD School of Music, 2014), pp. 31–40.

175 The others were J.F. Hogan (professor of modern languages), Cornelius Mulcahy (professor of English), Michael O'Hickey (professor of Irish), and Michael Sheehan (professor of rhetoric).

176 Corish (1995), p. 258.

177 *Report to the Most Eminent and the Most Reverend Visitors of St Patrick's College, Maynooth*. 1901. (MCA)

university courses in the aftermath of programme changes. The proposals made by Bewerunge and his colleagues displayed a modernist approach to priestly formation which recognised the importance of a university education for seminarians. It also challenged the traditional view that additional secular studies would distract young men from their vocation. These documents reveal that Bewerunge can be placed at the vanguard of Ireland's progress towards third-level educational improvement.

4.3.3(ii) Bewerunge and University College Dublin

The National University was established in 1908, and in 1910 the senate granted recognition to Maynooth. By this time Bewerunge had been working in Ireland for twenty-six years, and was a musician and scholar of international status. He proposed music as a subject for examination at Maynooth and at University College Dublin (UCD), along with what he described in a private letter as a 'revolutionary programme'.[178] At that stage there was no provision for teaching music in UCD and Bewerunge knew that his proposals would be turned down. But his proposal revealed that he was already anticipating his campaign to obtain a music professorship there.[179] His examination proposals were accepted at Maynooth and music became an approved option for the Arts degree. Bewerunge was appointed as a music examiner by the National University. Later that year three candidates presented for examination, one for D.Mus and two for B.Mus. In 1911 another three candidates presented: two passed the B.Mus and one failed a doctorate. Bewerunge remarked: 'I am glad we were able

178 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 18 April 1910. (SAA)

179 Dame Laurentia's letter to Bewerunge of 10 January 1910 showed that they had been discussing the possibility of the Dublin post, and also the post of choirmaster at Cologne cathedral, which had fallen vacant. She wrote:
'As to Cologne, your health is the only thing that makes me doubtful whether you ought to take the post, and I feel some anxiety on that score. We should think, I suppose, of the possibilities of the work being too much for you physically, and of the position in which you would then be, having abandoned your prospects in Ireland. But you must not be anxious. Things will shape themselves, or rather, God's good providence will shape them; perhaps using the National University as its instrument. As I think things over, the Dublin post finds most favour in my eyes, and I do not think I am allowing selfish motives to influence me.' (SAA)

to pass two. [...] For two years we have been doing nothing but failing."[180]

In March 1912 Dublin County Council passed a resolution to establish a chair for Irish music at UCD. Bewerunge remarked that he did not intend to apply.[181] This decision revealed that despite his deep interest in Irish music, he was aware of his limitations in the field – principal among these being his lack of fluency with the language. It also underlined his ambition to compete for the chair of music when it was established. By October 1913 he was 'waiting patiently' for both chairs to be advertised together,[182] and the following month he was planning his campaign to canvass for the position: 'A lot of my time will be taken up with writing letters in connection with the Dublin professorship of music'.[183]

Nicholas Donnelly was also canvassing on Bewerunge's behalf during Christmas 1913 and into the new year. A letter from Donnelly to Monsignor John Hogan, president of Maynooth, included this information:

> I have secured a good majority on the Senate, but the Governing Body will require delicate manipulation as the cry has got up that this is essentially a layman's post, and that there are already too many priests amongst the professors.[184]

Donnelly's sensitivity to this issue proved well-founded. The Senate of the National University ratified Bewerunge's appointment as professor of music on 27 February 1914. The disappointed candidates were English organist Charles Kitson (1874–1944) and British-born composer Robert O'Dwyer (1862–1949). Bewerunge's appointment, along with that of Robert O'Dwyer as Dublin Corporation-sponsored professor of Irish music, was made public in the the *Irish Times*, *Irish Independent, Freeman's Journal*, *Daily Express*, and *Manchester Guardian* on 2 March 1914, and in the *Irish*

180 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 19 October 1910. (SAA)
181 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 15 March 1912. (SAA)
182 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 4 October 1913. (SAA)
183 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 21 November 1913. (SAA)
184 Donnelly to Hogan, 1 January 1914. (IRL-Mrjp)

Catholic on 7 March.[185] The choice of a foreign cleric for the chair of music did not go unremarked. Edward Martyn launched an attack in the *Freeman's Journal* of 3 March. Having stated that he had 'nothing to object to' in Bewerunge, that he held him in high esteem and valued him as a learned musician, Martyn then declared Bewerunge 'practically ineligible' for the position by virtue of his nationality and his religious calling. Despite asserting that he was 'a strong pro-cleric', Martyn opined that clerics should only be university professors in subjects involving 'faith and morals'. He lamented that an Irishman was not appointed to the UCD position (despite that fact that none of the aspirants for the position were wholly Irish). He wrote: 'I hear the clerical voters supported a layman; it was the parti-coloured and comic lay element on the grotesque Senate who prevailed, I hear, by a majority of one only.' Martyn's source was correct, and Donnelly's hope that he had secured 'a good majority' proved overly optimistic. The *Irish Independent* reported Martyn's attack, but did not commit itself to an opinion on the matter.

Another ten letters followed Martyn's in the *Freeman's Journal*. Of these, four writers took issue with Martyn's anti-clerical position and three endorsed it, including future president of Ireland Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh. The topic also featured in *The Daily Express*, which supported Martyn; and in *The Irish Catholic*, where 'A Dublin Priest' castigated him at length and astutely suggested that what Martyn really objected to was not just the appointment of clerical professors but any Catholic church involvement in the running of the university. The media flurry was short-lived, and Martyn's hopes of bringing about change through public opinion were confounded.

185 The appointments were also announced in America (*Sacred Heart Review*, Boston, 21 March 1914, p. 210). Across the Irish Sea the *Musical Times* remarked on the news (vol. 55, no. 854 (April 1914), p. 262). A correction to the item featured in the same periodical the following month, along with the barbed remark that only two of the aspirants for both positions held degrees in music.

During March 1914 Bewerunge interviewed potential university music students and in mid-April he began to lecture, scheduling six weeks' teaching for that Trinity term. He planned to 'deal with the fundamental principles of harmony and metre as a preparation for exercises in analysis.'[186] The first work he presented to his students for analysis was Beethoven's piano sonata in F minor, op. 2 no. 1. Fleischmann later commented that Bewerunge 'carried through the preliminary work with Teutonic thoroughness and set a high standard for the students'.[187]

Regrettably, the Trinity term of 1914 was the only period in which Bewerunge was able to devote himself to his new post. He spent July that year in Leipzig, investigating methods of teaching in the university there,[188] and he was still in Germany visiting his family at the outbreak of the first world war in August 1914. When he realised he was unable to get back to Ireland, it was his work at UCD which concerned him most. He wrote:

> I only hope I shall not be delayed too long from returning to my work at the University. There are examinations in September and it would be very inconvenient if I were not back for them. But perhaps before that all this turmoil will be over.[189]

By October he was more worried: 'I am quite perplexed to imagine what became of the University Examinations in Music [...] The examiner absent and no means of communication!'[190] In fact, Robert O'Dwyer had been appointed in October to temporarily replace Bewerunge for the Michaelmas term.[191] The professorship of Irish music, like the professorship of music, was a part-time post, so O'Dwyer had time to take on Bewerunge's duties in addition to his own.

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186 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 13 April 1914. (SAA)

187 Aloys Fleischmann, ed., *Music in Ireland* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1952), p. 17.

188 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 13 April 1914. (SAA) One of the world's oldest universities, Leipzig had expanded during the nineteenth century to become a renowned institution for higher education. Bewerunge's extended visit demonstrated his intention to bring the best possible teaching methods to UCD.

189 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 5 August 1914. (SAA)

190 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 3 October 1914. (SAA)

191 From the *Minutes of the Governing Body*, 10 November 1914. (UCD archives.)

War continued, and in May 1915 UCD sought legal opinion on whether Bewerunge could still be regarded as a professor, 'having regard to his position as a German subject'.[192] Despite war-generated difficulties in communications, by August 1915 Bewerunge knew that he was in danger of losing his position at the university. Various attempts to get him back to Ireland, through the Maynooth authorities and via influential contacts in England, were unsuccessful. In September 1915 the governing body declared his office vacant, as 'circumstances have rendered the discharge of his duties impossible'.[193] O'Dwyer was appointed acting professor for an interim period, and Charles Kitson was appointed professor in 1916.

Although the first world war concluded in 1918, Bewerunge was unable to obtain permission from the British government to return to Ireland until July 1920. His health had suffered during the war, not through physical hardships but from mental strain. Despite this, his passion for the work he had hoped to do at UCD was unabated, and in April 1921 he applied to the governing body seeking to recover the chair of music. The application did not succeed: Bewerunge was regretful but fatalistic – 'perhaps it is a sign [...] that I should devote myself more exclusively to church music.'[194]

Bewerunge's inability to return to Ireland following on the outbreak of war in 1914 was a critical circumstance in the history of both church music reform and secular music pedagogy in Ireland. He had always campaigned for improvements in music teaching standards in primary and secondary education. Having achieved professorships in two institutions, Bewerunge could have looked forward to significantly increased influence on educational policy. His enduring (albeit turbulent) relationship with the Archbishop of Dublin, who was also Chancellor of UCD, gave him a further advantage. It is clear from private correspondence that Bewerunge was excited by the possibilities offered by work in the National University. He – along with his Benedictine friends in England

192 *Ibid*., 11 May 1915.
193 *Ibid*., 26 September 1915.
194 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 3 July 1921. (SAA)

– prayed that he would be selected for the chair at UCD, and rejoiced when he was appointed. It is not difficult to postulate that being stripped of the position during the war was a major factor in the serious deterioration of his health. His hopes and aspirations for his adopted country were thwarted, and the story of Bewerunge as first professor of music at UCD carries with it a poignant sense of loss for the man, for the institution, and for Ireland.

Conclusion

The Dublin Feis Ceoil instituted the 'Father Bewerunge Memorial Cup' in 1962. Originally for children's choirs singing plainchant, the competition has now expanded to encompass sacred music. It is arguable whether this memorial was intended to credit Bewerunge's efforts in the realm of church music reform or acknowledge his contribution to Irish traditional song. The significant features of Bewerunge's work highlighted in this chapter demonstrate that he was worthy of the honour in both fields.

His early musicological achievements included the publication of Ireland's first music periodical, the *Irish Musical Monthly*. He also assisted in the establishment of an Irish branch of the International Musical Society in 1905, of which he was honorary secretary (James Culwick was president, succeeded by Samuel Myserscough).[195] He undertook pioneering work in ethnomusicology through his advocacy of preservation and his unique analysis of Irish airs.

The breadth and scope of his multi-faceted activities – briefly referenced at the beginning of this chapter – were carried out over a period of a quarter century,

195 Charles Maclean, *Report of the Fourth Congress of the International Musical Society* (London: Novello & Co., 1912), p. 392.

until the outbreak of war. During this time Bewerunge had a significant impact on attitudes to and performances of singing and church music around the country. His work incorporated all shades of the educational spectrum, from national school visits to policy-making, teaching, and examining at third level. Although never robust of health, he strove to keep up the gruelling pace of his endeavours. His exertions in Ireland, along with his international activities – examined in the next chapter – led to a gradual deterioration of his energies which caused him great frustration.

CHAPTER FIVE

Beyond Ireland: Bewerunge's International Status

Introduction

Bewerunge's work in Great Britain and internationally is explored here. To date, apart from his high-profile and widely disseminated critique of the Vatican *Kyriale*, Bewerunge's influence outside Ireland has not been fully investigated. This chapter reconstructs and re-evaluates the varied work in which he was engaged and assesses how his guidance shaped church music reform outside Ireland in both public and private domains. The *Vaticana* papers are also revisited in light of newly examined documents. Information on Bewerunge's activities has been extrapolated from private correspondence, newspapers, and periodicals. Cross-referencing of information between these sources repeatedly shows that a network of clerics, musicians, musicologists, and church music reformers across Europe and in America were in regular contact with each other. As this chapter reveals, Bewerunge was intimately involved with this community; through the following discussion his status as a musician of the highest expertise and as a leading figure in church music reform is clear.

Bewerunge also worked unobtrusively to advance the standard of liturgical music in religious houses not just in England but also in Holland and America. He devoted time and effort to the consideration of accompanied plainchant and appropriate organ harmonisations for singing which ideally should, but cannot always be, *a cappella*.[1] This examination of newly-discovered material reveals his approach to harmonisation. Bewerunge's deepening involvement with the paleology, philology, and musicology of plainchant brought him to the heart of French research at Solesmes and ultimately to

1 The requirement for accompanied plainchant varies according to the liturgical setting, choir size, and choir ability. Originally however, chant was an unaccompanied genre.

his *Vaticana* critique. The first part of this chapter sets out a historical background to the controversies embedded within the plainchant dialectic, in order to contextualise some highly significant aspects of Bewerunge's research.

Bewerunge's presence at Maynooth strengthened the connections originally forged by Nicholas Donnelly between the Irish Society of St Cecilia and Franz Haberl in Regensburg. Despite its location on the western fringe of Europe, Ireland's church music reform movement was not ideologically isolated. The early establishment of a Cecilian society and periodical attested to this, as did the views of British reformists who noted the advanced progress in Irish church music reform when compared to that in England. Many newspaper and journal publications in Ireland, England, France, Germany, and Italy regularly cross-referenced each other's material, and European magazines often carried items in English. As a result there was much scope for Bewerunge's work in Ireland to be documented abroad. He featured in England through Catholic newspapers such as *The Tablet*, *Catholic Book Notes*, and regional newspapers,[2] and in Germany via Cecilian journals such as Haberl's *Musica Sacra* (Regensburg), *Gregoriusblatt* / *Gregoriusbot* (Cologne), and *Kirchenusikalisches Jahrbuch*.[3] Thus, the disadvantage of his geographical isolation in Maynooth was mitigated by this comprehensive print media coverage and by his frequent travels to England and Europe.

2 Including regional newspapers in Aberdeenshire, Northamptonshire, and Yorkshire. An exhaustive evaluation of Bewerunge's media reception is beyond the scope of the present study, but the increasing availability of online commercial databases provides ample evidence of his inclusion in local and national newspapers.

3 As remarked on in the introduction to this thesis, a comprehensive search of all German church music journals for references to Bewerunge remains an area for examination.

The progress of church music reform in England was sporadic as various Cecilian societies formed and fell into abeyance.[4] It is likely that Bewerunge's earliest connections in England stemmed from his inheritance of useful contacts on taking up the editorship of *Lyra Ecclesiastica*, a typical example being the pessimistic English Cecilian Henry S. Butterfield.[5] Butterfield's letters to Bewerunge, particularly during 1891, gave him an effective grounding in personnel, organisations, and attitudes to church music reform in the UK.[6] In England Bewerunge acted as honorary consultant for a church music commission in the Salford diocese.[7] He contributed to a long-running public debate concerning the rhythmic theory of plainchant which pre-dated the controversy surrounding publication of the Vatican editions of chant. He also maintained a long and productive relationship with the Benedictine Abbey of Stanbrook in Worcestershire. Bewerunge's work for Stanbrook exemplifies his behind-the-scenes influence on the English plainchant revival and church music reform, including his input into *A Grammar of Plainsong*, arguably Stanbrook's most important plainchant *oeuvre*. Some of Bewerunge's more high-profile activities in Ireland were reported as a matter of course in *The Tablet* from 1890 onwards. He was known at the Birmingham Oratory from at least 1894: some of his unpublished male voice Palestrina arrangements were in use there,[8] and William Sewell (b. 1863), organist and choirmaster, was grateful to Bewerunge for his help with music suggestions.[9] Sewell's correspondence reveals that an exchange of music was made between Maynooth and Birmingham,

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4 The first Cecilian-style society was formed in Westminster in 1876 (Society of St Gregory and St Cecilia). This died out and was replaced by the Catholic Gregorian Association in 1882, which was subsequently replaced by the English Society of St Cecilia in 1888. (Weinmann (1910), p. 178.) Birmingham cathedral and Oscott College were active centres of reform, but it was the consecration of London's new Catholic cathedral at Westminster in 1903, along with Pius X's *Motu proprio* of the same year, which constituted real milestones for church music in England.

5 See chapter four, section 4.1.1 above, for a previous discussion of Butterfield.

6 As discussed in chapter four above, only the Butterfield side of the correspondence survives. It contains tantalising mentions of various controversies and disagreements on church music reform.

7 Muir (2008) mentions this role without comment as to its significance (p. 235).

8 Attested to by correspondence dated 1894 and 1895 from Fr Robert Eaton, Birmingham Oratory. (LDA)

9 A few letters dated 1895 and 1897 from William Sewell survive in the Limerick diocesan archives. Sewell later moved to Westminster cathedral.

with Sewell providing new publications for Bewerunge's renaissance arrangements. By 1902 Bewerunge also knew Fr Michael Moloney and R.R Terry, connecting him with music reform at Westminster cathedral from the time of its consecration in 1903.[10] Further links between Ireland and England are evident in some of the congratulatory letters written to Bishop Casartelli of the Salford diocese in the wake of his first efforts at church music reform. These included correspondence from A.K.B. Brandreth, one of Bewerunge's writers for the *Irish Musical Monthly*, and Edward Gaynor of Cork, Bewerunge's nemesis in the demise of *Lyra Ecclesiastica*.

Fig. 5.1 Bewerunge as a mature man [11]

10 In June 1902 Fr Moloney contributed the article 'St Patrick's Religious Festival for London Gaels' for Bewerunge's *IMM*. Bewerunge held Moloney in high regard and invited him to give a lecture in his July 1904 series of Dublin church music lectures. Fr Moloney died in 1905 while still a young man. Bewerunge's relationship with Terry is explored further in chapter six below.

11 White and Lawrence, *IMS 2* (1993), p. 80.

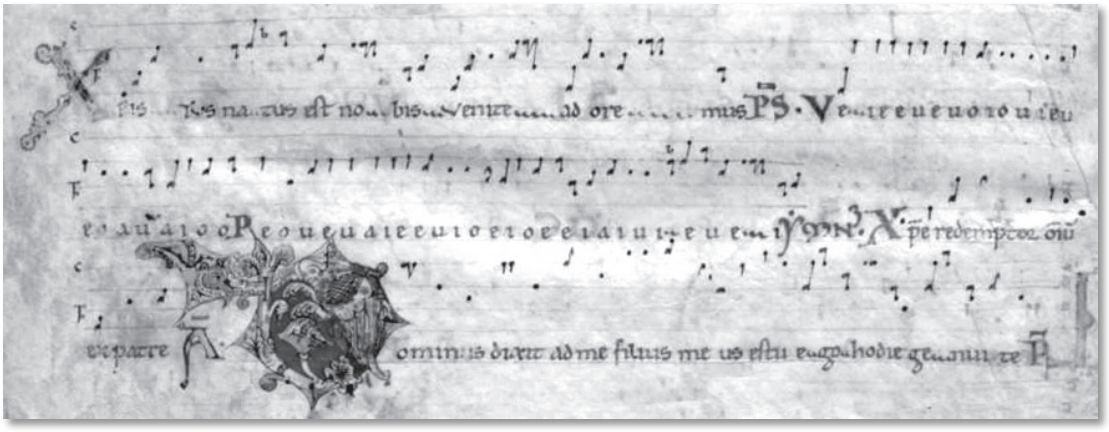
5.1 Plainchant Degradation and Restoration

Due to a French law banning religious orders except by special dispensation, the Benedictines of Solesmes lived in exile at Farnborough (Hampshire) from 1896 and at Appuldurcombe House in the Isle of Wight from 1901. They remained in the Isle of Wight until 1922. Consequently there was far more discourse between French and English plainchant revivalists than would otherwise have been the case. Irish and English chant reformers, including Bewerunge, could more easily visit the monks of Solesmes without having to travel to France. The differing schools of thought regarding plainchant rhythm was brought into sharp focus for English-speaking church music reformists by the presence of the Solesmes monks. Frequently, however, the advantages of open discourse were hampered by translational and conceptual differences in terminology. Moreover, the publically evident lack of cohesion around such a difficult topic engendered an understandable reluctance on the part of ordinary choirmasters to accept the plainchant revival.

5.1.1 A Brief Synopsis of Plainchant Degradation

An engagement with the arguments inherent in chant restoration necessitates a brief synopsis of the degradations which came to pass through the centuries. There were two separate phases of degradation, the first notational and the second on foot of liturgical regulation. Early notation consisted of staffless neumes. These acted as an *aide memoire* for singers who already knew the music, but could not assist a chanter learning *ab initio*. Eleventh-century theorist Guido d'Arezzo was the first to develop a system of lines and spaces to indicate pitch precisely. Staff notation gradually became a permanent feature of the literate music tradition (see fig. 5.2 below). A drawback of the diatonic staff system was loss of ornamental microtones or quarter tones, as lines and spaces indicated only tones and semitones.

Ex. 5.1 ‘Christus natus est’, Paris F-Pn lat. 12044, *c*.1100 [12]



The move to a literate rather than an oral tradition involved loss of pitch subtleties and rhythmic flexibility. Rhythmic indications contained within staffless neumes were discarded. Romanian letters which had implications for melody and rhythm remained untranscribed in the staff system. The increasing use of polyphonic music during the middle ages also abetted the decline of chant. The heavier square and diamond notation in the fourteenth-century example (see Fig. 5.3 below) is quite different in appearance from the delicacy of the twelfth-century notation, and the melody has lost some of its notes.

The second phase of deterioration occurred in the wake of the Council of Trent (1545–1563), originally convened by Pope Paul III and under the direction of four popes *in toto*. The Council’s requirements for music reform are well documented and a brief reminder will suffice here.[13] The separation of secular music from sacred music was one aim, and clarity of text was another. Complex melismas which excessively extended the duration of a word or syllable had to be condensed or excised. Tropes were abolished entirely and the number of sequences reduced to four. Following revisions of

12 CANTUS Database online, *cantusdatabase.org* [accessed 27 May 2014].

13 Fellerer’s 1953 article in *The Musical Quarterly* gave a comprehensive recitation of musical abuses and efforts at reform from the early sixteenth century. Karl G. Fellerer, ‘Church Music and the Council of Trent’, *The Musical Quarterly*, vol. 39, no. 4 (1953), pp. 576–594.

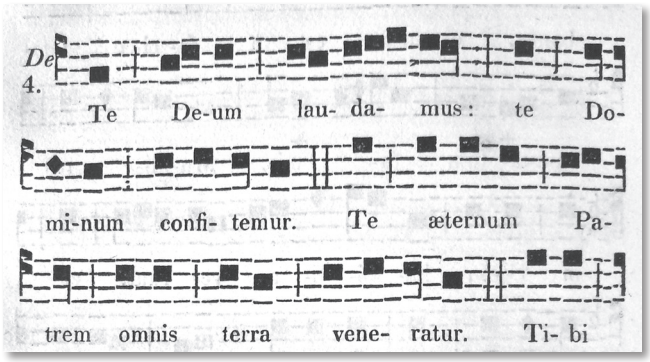
the missal and other liturgical texts, the work of abridging chant melodies commenced. The most significant edition of chants for the mass following Tridentine reform was the two-volume Roman *Temporale* and *Sanctorale*, printed by the Medici Press in Rome and hence earning its common title of Medicean chant. Along with removal or abbreviation of melismatic passages, chants were altered tonally by the introduction of B flat, and cadential patterns were reworked and standardised. A more declamatory and accented style of performance was introduced to reflect textual accents. Although the Medicean edition carried ecclesiastical weight by virtue of being printed in Rome, its use was not mandatory and other editions appeared during the seventeenth century. However, all editions maintained the pattern of abridgement, removal, and alteration, with elaborate chants particularly subject to extreme revision.[14] The practice of metrical or mensural chanting became widespread.[15] As can be seen from the ninteenth-century example (see fig. 5.5 below), the physical appearance of notes was substantial and aesthetically displeasing.[16] Each note was given a full vocal impulse, giving rise to a type of *martellato* (hammered) chant which was very far removed from early medieval performance style.

14 Hiley remarked that the abridgement process took away the 'ecstatic and other-worldly quality' of medieval chant. David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 618. This comment is far from being a mere romantic sentimentalism – the stripping of certain ornate repertory types such as responsories and the wholesale removal of wide-ranging, free-moving melodic passages and many examples of word-painting did take chant away from the realm of the euphoric.

15 Giovanni Guidetti produced a series of small books in the late 16th century: the most influential of these was his *Directorium chori* (1582) which used proportional note values.

16 This rare Irish-printed example is particularly extreme in its chunky appearance, and nothing in the way of ecstacy could possibly be rendered from its performance – probably precisely what was intended in a publication intended for seminary use. See chapter two, section 2.3.2, pp. 72–75 above for further information on the Renehan *Choir Manual*.

Ex. 5.2 ‘Te Deum’ extract, Renehan *Choir Manual* (1844)[17]



5.1.2 The Work of Plainchant Restoration

A movement for the reconstruction not just of pre-Tridentine chant melodies but of medieval chant began in France in the early nineteenth century, spurred by growing ultramontanism and the desire to return to Roman practice consequent on a period of anti-papal theological schism.[18] Two great challenges were inherent in this programme of chant reform: restitution of melodies and interpretation of rhythm. Melodic restitution was first construed as a return to pre-Tridentine chant; recovery of medieval melodies was considered later as early manuscripts were recovered. A series of French publications included the 1848 Mechlin edition, essentially based on the Medicean version and thus moving towards Rome but not towards reconstruction. In 1851 Belgian Jesuit Louis Lambillotte (1796–1855) published what purported to be a facsimile of a late ninth-century St Gall manuscript, but which proved to be inaccurate and abbreviated. The Rheims-Cambrai *Gradual* and *Antiphonal* of the same year used an eleventh-century Montpellier manuscript, but made alterations to note groupings and omitted phrases.

17 Renehan (1844), p. 218.

18 And probably also on foot of the more general Romantic movement with its rose-tinted views of the past, to which can be allied the architectural Gothic revival.

Meanwhile, the monks of Solesmes Abbey in north-western France, under the guidance of Dom Prosper Guéranger (1805–1875), adopted a more flexible and supple chanting style based on the free movements of prose speech. This was a radical approach compared to the prevailing heavy and unyielding rhythmic patterns. As early as 1840 Guéranger's guiding principle was that if chants from geographically distant locations were identical then these could be taken as 'pure Gregorian' – that is, uncorrupted by notational or liturgical alterations.[19] Guéranger wanted to return to manuscripts which pre-dated adoption of the Guidonian system. Guéranger gave to Dom Paul Jausions (1834–1870) and Dom Joseph Pothier (1835–1923) the task of recovering original manuscript sources in order to create an authentic edition of chant for their monastic offices. They began to borrow and copy medieval manuscripts, laying the foundation for what was to be an immense scriptorium at Solesmes. After a period of work, they confined their study to early manuscripts containing only staffless neumes, and Pothier began to teach and publish on the interpretation of neume symbols.[20] New concepts for their monastic edition of chant included abolition of strict time-values and arbitrary barlines, creation of a new lighter typeface for chant printing, and insertion of both grammatical and melodic accents according to oratorical rhythm. This was a move away from the fixed rhythms of mensurally-based chant theory.

Despite the benevolence of the Holy See towards the Solesmes archaeological work and chant restoration, a new Ratisbon edition was published by the Bavarian printing firm of Pustet in 1871. This publication came with papal authority for a thirty-year printing monopoly and had the *imprimatur* of the Holy See. Although not

19 Dom Prosper Guéranger, *Institutions Liturgiques* (1840), quoted in Combe (2003), p. 12.

20 His most influential work was *Les Mélodies Grégoriennes* (Tournai: Desclée, Lefebvre & Cie, 1880), published the year after the inaugural Gregorian chant congress was held, at which he gave lectures to many abbots and cantors from a number of different monastic orders. *Les Mélodies Grégoriennes* was essentially a treatise on chant rhythm. Early in the chant restoration movement, many believed that the original Gregorian melodies had been completely lost and could never be recovered. Numerous old manuscripts having been found in various monastic libraries, it was then feared that staffless neumes *in campo aperto* would not lend themselves to accurate transcription. This concern too was overcome, principally through the work of Solesmes.

strictly imposed on diocesan bishops, it was highly recommended, with the aim of uniformity in chanting practice. The Ratisbon books were based on the 1614 Medicean and 1848 Mechlin editions, thus entrenching the position of post-Tridentine chant as the official chant of the Vatican. Great controversy surrounded the Ratisbon edition and its thirty-year printing monopoly.[21] Notwithstanding this setback, the monks of Solesmes continued their work. Although there was no outright prohibition by the Vatican on the publication of alternative chant books, a decree was issued in 1883 upholding the privileges of the Ratisbon edition, thereby aiming to prevent Solesmes from publishing their own editions. Nonetheless 1883 also saw Pothier produce a *Liber Gradualis*. Bewerunge obtained a copy but was unhappy with the Frenchman's inclusion of newly-composed chant melodies without editorial indication that these did not belong to the early chant repertoire.[22] The *Liber Gradualis* continued to fan controversy between Romanists who supported the neo-Medicean Ratisbon chant and archaeologists who sought the restoration of early chant: a question of historical authenticity versus canonical legitimacy.

5.1.3 The Intractable Problem of Rhythm

Ideological differences arose both within Solesmes and in the wider movement towards chant restitution. Syllabic chant, in which text accents took precedence, was uncontroversial. But complex medieval melismas (and in particular groups of neumes which laid apparently undue melodic emphasis on textually weak syllables) created a division of opinion between those who believed that complete restoration of early chant was the ultimate goal – the 'archaeologists' – and those who wished to apply

21 Even as late as 1916, fifteen years after expiration of the monopoly and ten years after new Vatican editions of chant had been published, the circumstances surrounding Pustet's monopoly were still being hotly debated in English-language newspapers.

22 Pothier composed a significant number of chants, usually for feasts or liturgical occasions which were not celebrated in medieval times. These chants were not differentiated from traditional melodies in the Solesmes editions.

some judicious post-Tridentine-style editing. By the early 1860s Dom Guéranger was committed to the concept of complete archaeological restoration. However, Pothier did not entirely subscribe to restitution and preferred to apply some amendments to the chant.[23] The task of persuading bishops to adopt radically extended versions of chant for performance in their dioceses was not an easy one for archaeologists. This was exacerbated by the great difficulties which arose as to the interpretation of melismatic chant: where the correct melodic accents lay and how – or whether – to indicate such accents in printed editions. Entwined with this ideological debate was the contiguous dialectic on recognition and interpretation of the sparse rhythm indications in early manuscripts. Pothier's concept of oratorical rhythm was essentially equalist, as basic note values were taken to be the same and altered only in respect of their connection with the accents of the prose to which they were set. This provided a good theoretical basis for texted chant, but left the rhythmicisation of textless melismatic passages open to question.

Against the free rhythm approach were two mensuralist concepts. The desire to place chant within a metrical framework seemed to have been impelled by study of a series of medieval treatises which were interpreted in different ways by different theorists.[24] Swiss musicologist and Jesuit priest Antoine Dechevrens (1840–1912) fitted chant melodies strictly into modern 2/4 or 4/4 time.[25] Musicologist Hugo Riemann (1849–1919) – with whose work Bewerunge as his translator was very familiar – also followed strict mensural theory, dividing melodies into two-bar phrases with four accents.[26] Bewerunge was unimpressed by this and wrote in 1906:

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23 Pothier also composed many chants of his own which were published without editorial indication as to their modernity.

24 Such theorists included Hucbald (*c*.840–930), *De Harmonica Institutione*; Guido frater (14th century), *Ars Musice Mensurate*; Jerome (Hieronymus) of Moravia (13th century), *Tractatus de Musica*.

25 A. Dechevrens, *Du rythme dans l'hymnographie latine* (Paris: Delhomme et Briguet, 1895).

26 Hugo Riemann, *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1888).

> I am much disappointed with Riemann. He simply squeezes the melodies into his preconceived rhythmical scheme, or rather sometimes squeezes and sometimes pulls out, somewhat like old Procrustes.[27]

Metrical chants could successfully be fitted into strict mensuralist theory, but inevitably ornate and melismatic chants suffered distortion of their original rhythm. An alternative mensuralist theory was exemplified by Frenchman Georges Louis Houdard (1860–1913), who gave each neume group a beat equivalent to one crotchet.[28] Thus two-note neumes were transcribed as quaver pairs, three-note neumes as triplets, four-note neumes as semiquavers, etc. Although this might give the appearance of random note duration changes and unstable rhythm, there is certainly more merit in the concept of slightly varying speeds for different note groups than there is for the rigid school of 2/4 or 4/4 time.

5.1.4 Dom André Mocquereau and Plainchant Restoration

By now Dom André Mocquereau (1849–1930) had joined the community at Solesmes, first as assistant to Pothier and later succeeding him as choirmaster. He was more extreme in his desire to rehabilitate chant only from the oldest possible manuscripts. From 1889 Mocquereau began to publish *Paléographie Musicale*,[29] a long-running series of photographic facsimiles of early manuscripts including information on sources and analyses of their notation. In addition to his scientific stemmatic approach to chant restitution, Mocquereau was wholly absorbed by the

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27 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 16 January 1906. (SAA) Procrustes was a character from Greek mythology: offering hospitality, he boasted that the length of his bed fitted all guests. However, this was only achieved by stretching a guest on the rack if he was too short for the bed or cutting off his legs if he was too tall!

28 Georges Houdard, *Le rythme du chant dit grégorien d'après la notation neumatique* (Paris, 1898).

29 *Paléographie Musicale, fac-similés phototypiques des principaux manuscrits de chant Grégorien, Ambrosien, Mozarabe, Gallican, publié par les Bénédictins de l'Abbaye de Solesmes* (Solesmes: Imprimerie Saint-Pierre, 1889). The first issue contained material which demonstrated that Pothier's *Liber Usualis* contained authentic Roman chant. Bewerunge subscribed to the *Paléographie Musicale* and studied the ongoing restoration work at Solesmes.

rhythm question. He formulated a theory which fell somewhere between mensuralist and equalist views. It proved to be a contentious system and gave rise to much debate. Mocquereau's basic premise was that free rhythm, both rhetorical and musical, contained rhythmic subdivisions arranged in irregular binary and ternary groups.[30] Thus he was directly opposed to the binary-based mensuralist system. He set about creating a system which would allow for accurate identification of binary and ternary subdivisions in reconstituted Gregorian melodies, particularly in complex neumes, so that chant could be learned by cathedral and village choirs alike without variation in rhythmic style. He used the *ictus* (a dot) to demarcate binary and ternary note groups while keeping original neume groups intact. Mocquereau differentiated rising and falling rhythmic impulses (*arsis* and *thesis*, loosely equivalent to upbeat and downbeat) from Latin text accents. He argued that *ictus* could be either arsic or thesic (an *ictus* either of movement or of repose).[31] Because the *ictus* marked simultaneously a moment of repose and an impetus towards the next movement, an *ictus* was both an end and a beginning. He also emphasised the psychological nature of the ictus, that it was more mental than material.[32] Under his editorship Solesmes published a *Manuale Missae et Officiorum* in 1902 and a *Liber Usualis* in 1903.[33] Bewerunge disliked this edition of the *Liber Usualis* on the basis of its interpretation of the *pressus* (a long note formed from the last note of one neume group and the first note of the next) and

30 He accepted the analyses of medieval theoreticians, almost all of whom were monks and thus in daily contact with chant, and also cited research from modern experiments in rhythm at Harvard University. 'That fundamental law which requires that there should be at the base of every rhythmic composition a series of simple pulses […] arranged in duplex or triplex groups, distinguished by means of rhythmic *ictus* or *touches*, or, to use the terms of modern music, grouped in binary or ternary measures.' Mocquereau, *Le Nombre Musical Grégorien Tome I*, (1908), translated by Aileen Tone as *A Study of Gregorian Musical Rhythm* (Tournai: Desclée & Co., 1932), p.18.

31 The *ictus* (stress point, rhythmic or metrical accent) occured every two or three notes, showing a binary note pair or ternary note trio.

32 'The Solesmes Plainsong', *The Tablet*, 24 December 1904, p. 1017, letter from Dom Mocquereau's translator.

33 *Manuale Missae et Officiorum ex Libris Solesmensibus Excerptum* (Rome/Tournai: Desclée, Lefebvre & Soc., 1902); *Liber Usualis Missae et Officii pro Dominicis et Festis Duplicibus*, Editio Solesmensis (Rome/Tournai: Desclée, Lefebvre & Soc., 1903).

Mocquereau's view that one *ictus* could not immediately follow another.[34] Written in Latin, the prefaces to both these works outlined Mocquereau's notational method and rhythmic theory. His rhythmic theory, combined with English-language terminological and translational confusion, gave rise to heated debate. The strongly-held views of its supporters and critics created an apparent schism between the older work of Solesmes typified by Pothier, and Mocquereau's practices. As will be seen in the next section, Bewerunge was scathing of Mocquereau's rhythmic theory.[35]

5.1.5 Bewerunge and the English Plainchant Revival

Unlike France, England had adopted Ratisbon chant quite early, at the Fourth Provincial Council of Westminster in 1873.[36] The work of Solesmes began to be reported in England during the early 1890s, generally with approval for Pothier's melodic restorations.[37] In 1895 the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society published *The Elements of Plainsong*, a series of lectures presenting the work of Solesmes.[38]

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34 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 11 December 1903. (SAA) Mocquereau's theory included the rule that there could not be two *ictus* occurring on immediately adjacent notes; therefore the first note of a neume group might not have an *ictus* if there was one on the immediately preceding or following note.

35 'If you begin by telling a man that in a word like *Deus* the first syllable corresponds to the weak beat, the second to the strong beat of a modern bar, the one thing that will succeed in accomplishing is to bewilder him thoroughly.' Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 29 October 1994. (SAA)

36 The Fourth Provincial Synod of Westminster exhorted bishops to restore chant particularly in cathedrals and larger churches. Boys were to be taught chant so that women's voices – especially paid soloists – could be excluded from the choir. The synod issued commands regarding church music reform which reflected both post-Tridentine doctrine (requiring intelligible text 'without addition, omission or change') and Cecilian ideals (requiring that polyphony should be 'severe and simple' and proscribing the advertisement of particular music and musicians to attract congregations to churches). See Rev. Robert E. Guy, *The Synods in English: Being the Text of the Four Synods of Westminster* (Stratford-on-Avon: St Gregory's Press, 1886), pp. 187–188. However, the Benedictine order chose to keep the Mechlin edition which they had been using since the mid-nineteenth century. *The Tablet*, 20 May 1905, p. 781.

37 For instance, *The Tablet* of 2 January 1892 commented on the establishment of a church music school at Mechlin (Belgium) and the reformation of monastic chant by the Benedictines. *The Tablet* of 12 May 1894 reported on the use of Pothier's chant at the Benedictine nunnery in Teignmouth, Devon.

38 H.B. Briggs, *The Elements of Plainsong* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1895). This volume approached plainchant from an Anglican viewpoint. Briggs objected to Houdardian mensuralism.

Two years later the Benedictine nunnery of Stanbrook (Worcerstershire) published *Gregorian Music* (a synopsis of Mocquereau's *Paléographie Musicale*) and *Handbook of Rules for Singing and Phrasing Plainsong*.[39] Bewerunge reviewed the Stanbrook works very favourably in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* of May 1898. Their author was Dame Laurentia McLachlan (1866–1953), a Scottish-born nun and chant scholar who later became Abbess of Stanbrook. The connection made between Bewerunge and Dame Laurentia following his reviews led to an enduring friendship based on their mutual regard for plainchant.

The schism between England's enduring preference for Ratisbon chant versus the French work of restoration became apparent in an article by English Benedictine Thomas Anselm Burge (1846–1929), originally written for *The Ampleforth Journal* and reprinted on 10 August 1901 in *The Tablet*.[40] Burge gave a comprehensive history of the Medicean *Gradual* and its Ratisbon successor, and while approving the principles of Benedictine work he emphasized the support given to Ratisbon by the Sacred Congregation of Rites,[41] and the greater simplicity of the abridged chant for performance by relatively untrained church choirs.

Bewerunge had been following the work of restoration at Solesmes for some time (his copy of the 1883 *Liber Gradualis* is the most heavily marked and worn book in his personal library). As was explained in chapter three above, he was restricted to teaching Ratisbon chant as it was officially prescribed by the Dublin diocese.

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39 Benedictines of Stanbrook, *Gregorian Music: An Outline of Musical Paleography* (London: Art & Book Co., 1897); Benedictines of Stanbrook, *Handbook of Rules for Singing and Phrasing Plainsong* (London: Art & Book Co., 1897).

40 *The Ampleforth Journal* was the organ of Ampleforth Abbey, a prestigious Benedictine monastery and boys' school in Yorkshire. Burge, a former prior, was a somewhat controversial figure in the field of chant. He inclined towards the dogmatic without a depth of learning to support his views: his engagement with Bewerunge on the Vatican *Kyriale* was a typical example and is examined later in this chapter.

41 A congregation of the Roman *curia* established by Pope Sixtus V in 1588, with responsibility for liturgy and the sacraments.

Haberl, editor of the Ratisbon editions since 1887, focused on the musical value of abridgement work carried out by Anerio and Soriano, the practicality of simplified melodies, and the importance of obedience to Rome.[42] Despite his adherence to ecclesiastical requirements and his reluctance to disagree with his friend and mentor Haberl, Bewerunge took every opportunity to disseminate the work of chant restoration. The first issue of *Lyra Ecclesiastica* under his editorship included information on the publication of the Solesmes *Graduale* (January 1891). He introduced Solesmes publications to Maynooth in early 1904, as soon as was practicable following the 1903 *Motu proprio*, and simultaneously introduced them at Rathfarnham.[43] While approving the concept of archaeological restoration, Bewerunge initially believed that Mocquereau's rhythmic theory was the antithesis of his own thoughts on the subject. He remarked: '[he] strongly reminds me of a little boy who has got a new toy, and insists on showing it to everybody on every occasion, whether suitable or unsuitable'.[44] As he intensified his own studies, Bewerunge became frustrated with Mocquereau, commenting on one occasion: 'Really a man that cannot follow rhythm beyond two quavers ought to be restrained from writing on the subject.'[45] Bewerunge's view was that 'theory must be made to fit our musical experience'.[46] He did not believe that performance should be moulded to fit a theory, rather he considered that artistic, emotional, and reverential feeling could be productively channelled to create ideal chanting style. He did, however, commend the work of Suitbertus Birkle (1876–1926):

> He has developed into a complete system the idea of different orders of rhythm, which I proposed […] some time ago. Starting from the law of either binary or ternary rhythm, he lays down that any element of these may be subdivided. When there are groups of neumes on single syllables, Birkle states three orders

42 David Hiley, *Western Plainchant* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 626.

43 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 24 January, 8 March, and 25 October 1904. (SAA)

44 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 5 January 1904. (SAA)

45 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 8 March 1904. (SAA)

46 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 10 January 1905. Ten years later in his letter to her of 3 August 1915, he said: 'I am trying to keep as clear as possible from theories, or at least to test them from time to time by my musical feeling'. (SAA)

> of rhythm, that of neumes, that of groups of neumes, that of syllables. In this way a single note on one syllable may correspond to a group of neumes on another. I think this is a great contribution to the question of rhythm.[47]

Bewerunge first visited the monks of Solesmes at Appuldurcombe in autumn 1904, and he thought Mocquereau 'exceedingly kind'. They did not have an opportunity to discuss Mocquereau's rhythmic theory: 'We have no language in common, and there was no time.'[48] Bewerunge was not impressed by the performance of chant at Appuldurcombe on that occasion.[49] Shortly afterwards Mocquereau spent three days at Stanbrook Abbey and explained his theories in detail to Dame Laurentia. She passed on these explanations to Bewerunge, persuading him that he was not as antipathetic to Mocquereau's views as he might have thought. Gradually he came to accept that there were aspects of rhythmic theory which they held in common, including *theses* in the sense of places of rest. However, their point of difference on this issue was that Mocquereau attempted to place a *thesis* on the final syllable of a Latin word, despite the frequency of weak word-endings in Latin. Thus the tonic accent of words did not always coincide with the accents of melodic rhythm, creating tension between 'feminine' and 'masculine' cadences. Bewerunge was always firm in his categorisation of feminine endings, and in 1905 wrote:

> I believe that Dom Mocquereau's fundamental error is in trying to find the *theses* in the final syllable of the Latin words. I hold that these, as a rule, represent feminine endings, that is, movement carried beyond the point towards which it tends.[50]

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47 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 8 March 1904. (SAA) Birkle was a German Benedictine musician who advocated a return to plainchant.

48 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 25 October 1904. (SAA) Bewerunge's French was rudimentary; Dame Laurentia's was fluent.

49 Bewerunge remarked: 'If I had not been converted before I went there, I should have gone away unconverted.' (Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 25 October 1904. (SAA)) A rare recording of Dom Mocquereau conducting pupils of the French Seminary in Rome in 1904 is available online through the website *Rorate Caeli* < http://rorate-caeli.blogspot.com/> [accessed 21 February 2014].

50 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 20 January 1905. (SAA)

5.1.6 The Rhythm Debate in England

Mocquereau's 1902 *Manuale Missae et Officiorum* and 1903 *Liber Usualis*, along with translations of a series of articles by him which appeared in *The Tablet* between October and December 1904, triggered a controversy in England regarding his rhythmic theory which ran until July 1905.[51] The single most controversial issue in the debate centred on Mocquereau's use of the *ictus*, and how he determined its placement.[52] Often dubbed the 'mysterious *ictus*', there was to be no success in explaining it to an English audience despite the best efforts of Mocquereau's translator. A satisfactory explanation of *arsis* and *thesis* proved just as elusive, particularly a part of Mocquereau's theory which claimed that a single note could in certain circumstances be both arsic and thesic. English and French Latin word-accent placement was often different, thereby multplying inherent confusions.

By the time Bewerunge made his first contribution to the Mocquereau rhythm debate on 7 January 1905 the correspondence had become quite fraught with a rise in nationalistic divisions and anti-French slurs from the some of the English writers. Bewerunge attempted to pour oil on troubled waters by asserting that despite the strong opinions against Mocquereau's rhythmic theory in England there was in fact 'substantial agreement' as regards actual performance among chanters in France, Belgium and the United Kingdom.[53] This important practicality was cited by a number of contributors over the next few months as views became more heated. Bewerunge also pointed out the difference between rhythmical treatment of metrical texts as opposed to prose texts. Again, this was a critical issue, as Mocquereau's complex

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51 The contributors appeared to presuppose that their readers were familiar with Latin and French, as extensive quotations and *bon mots* were given in both these languages. This may have been a case of one-upmanship on the part of the writers, but it did show that *The Tablet*'s readers were classically educated..

52 On occasion his method seemed to be to place an *ictus* on the last note of a phrase, and work backwards dividing in twos and threes according to note groupings.

53 He excepted from this generalisation those who continued to follow mensural theory.

approach to texted chant gave little help in the rhythmicisation of elaborate melismatic chant. Bewerunge concluded his first excursion into the Mocquereau rhythmic debate by offering an early indication of his later research into 'feminine' cadences as he disagreed with Mocquereau's placement of a *thesis* on the final syllable. Bewerunge's next contribution came a month later on 4 February 1905, and he tactlessly began by poking fun at contributors on both sides of the debate. Then he commended Mocquereau for focusing attention on the vexed question of rhythm, and reminded those involved that they were free to 'sing the melodies according to their own theories'.[54] Bewerunge also endorsed a suggestion made by an earlier contributor that Solesmes should provide editorial information to indicate when a chant was not taken from manuscript sources.

Leaving aside a brief skirmish with his old antagonist Edward Gaynor,[55] Bewerunge's next contribution to the debate drew attention to a specific aspect of Mocquereau's rhythmic theory, the coincidence of *arsis* and *thesis*, which Dom Mocquereau's translator had made a number of efforts to explain. Bewerunge was concerned with the complexity of thinking required on the part of the performer:

> This is essentially a complicated process. It involves a difficult mental operation, a complete turning round […] of our perceptive mechanism. We first have the notion and feeling of an end, and then we must deny that notion, efface that impression, and substitute the notion and impression of a beginning. This means an effort and strain on the mind. […] Does it not seem somewhat suspicious for a theory, if in order to explain such a simple rhythm as that of the 'Cantate Domino', it must have recourse to such a complicated idea […]?[56]

Mocquereau's translator was unable to provide a satisfactory response to this, instead directing correspondents to study volume seven of the *Paléographie Musicale*, and otherwise leaving it to Dom Mocquereau himself to provide a fuller explanation. His reluctance to engage with the question confirmed Bewerunge's view that *arsis* and

54 'The Solesmes Plainsong', *The Tablet*, 4 February 1905, p. 176.

55 See chapter four, section 4.1.1 above, and particularly p. 53.

56 'The Solesmes Plainsong', *The Tablet*, 18 March 1905, p. 416.

thesis could not be contracted to the same note. Bewerunge gave his last input to the debate on 1 April 1905, drawing analogies with both movement and dynamics to show the illogicality of coinciding *arsis* and *thesis*.

The Tablet dialectic marked Bewerunge's first direct public engagement with chant polemics. During the course of the debate Bewerunge was named as a member of an international committee established to put into practice Vatican recommendations regarding church music. He was one of four representatives for Great Britain and Ireland: Mocquereau ranked as the most influential of these four, followed by Bewerunge.[57] The other two members were Dom Delpech of Farnborough (involved in the *Paléographie Musicale* project), and Fr Moloney from Westminster cathedral. A letter to *The Tablet* complained about the choices, objecting to Delpech and Mocquereau as they could 'hardly be said to represent English-speaking communities'.[58] Bewerunge attracted no criticism, despite being German.[59] The international commission constituted a roll-call of Europe's foremost clerics and church musicians, including Haberl, Molitor (a Benedictine from Beuron Abbey in Germany), Pothier, and Weinmann.

Although *The Tablet* debate continued for almost four months beyond Bewerunge's last contribution, there was considerable reiteration of material. Since he was not a man to waste time repeating his arguments it can be presumed this was why he did not write again. A number of important conclusions can be drawn from Bewerunge's foray into the English Catholic press. His arguments were entirely reasonable and cohesive. His characteristic pragmatism showed itself from the outset as he encouraged a practical emphasis on unity rather than difference in chant performance. He positioned himself

57 'The Cause of Church Music', *The Tablet*, 18 February 1905, p. 254.

58 'The International Gregorian Congress', *The Tablet*, 25 February 1905, p. 299.

59 A number of observations might be extrapolated from this: an Anglo-German axis of nations was regarded more favourably than an Anglo-French one; or a Hibernian connection – which included Bewerunge and Moloney – was acceptable where a Gallic one was undesirable; or simply that an English representative was expected to be able to communicate in English (which Mocquereau at least could not do).

neutrally outside the combating parties; geographical distance and a nonpartisan assessment determined that his views were regarded as independent and therefore reliable. Although sardonic on occasion, Bewerunge was careful to level his irony at parties on both sides of the correspondence. He did not participate in any personal attacks or nationalistic slurs,[60] of which there were many in the course of the debate.[61] As a result, he was treated with respect, not always a given between the correspondents.[62]

Muir (2008) deals briefly with this debate in the context of rival editions of plainchant in England. His account requires two small corrections. He cites Bewerunge as a supporter of Mocquereau, but this was not the case.[63] He also incorrectly attributes the debate to publication of the Vatican editions, whereas in fact it was sparked by publication of Mocquereau's articles on 'Plainchant and Solesmes' and thus pre-dated publication of the Vatican *Kyriale*.[64]

5.1.7 Bewerunge and *A Grammar of Plainsong* [65]

As discussed above, Bewerunge's association with the Benedictine foundation at Stanbrook Abbey began in 1898 when he reviewed their 1897 publications in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*.[66] 1903 saw the second edition of Dame Laurentia's *Handbook of Rules*, and Bewerunge provided her with a comprehensive critique in his letter of 11 December 1903.[67] He suggested many changes and additions for a future

60 With the possible exception of one letter in the exchange with Edward Gaynor.

61 Anti-Solesmesist propaganda in other media were referred to during the debate, which fuelled the passions of a number of contributors.

62 Burge, one of the contributors, was notable as both recipient and disburser of acrimonious comment.

63 Muir (2008), p. 207.

64 *Ibid*.

65 Benedictines of Stanbrook, *A Grammar of Plainsong* (London: Burns & Oates Ltd, 1905).

66 *IER*, May 1898, pp. 478–480.

67 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 11 December 1903: 'I am sure I need not apologise for making so many critical remarks. You know they are made in a spirit of friendship and with a full appreciation of the substantial value of your work.' (SAA)

edition and questioned some of her theories, giving her food for thought regarding neumatic explanations, rhythmic nomenclature, and vocal technique.[68] Typically, he also berated her for small inaccuracies in phraseology.[69] His correspondence with Dame Laurentia during the early part of the century coincided with his own analyses of rhythmic possibilities and methods of explaining them, and his letters were full of these new concepts and explorations of terminology. By 1905 they were discussing complex analyses of Gregorian melodies: quite often differing in their approach and theoretical descriptions yet in agreement regarding actual performance style. Dame Laurentia was not particularly confident in melodic analysis, but she was sure of her aesthetic ground in the daily performance of monastic office chants. Their discussions (along with the exposition of plainchant theory and subsequent debate in *The Tablet* which has been discussed above) revealed the difficulties with rhythmic language and translation which also hindered greatly the Anglo-French discourse on chant rhythm.

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68 For instance, he wrote:

> I must join issue with you in Ch. II on the question of *pressus*. First, does its name really imply that it is a long note? Is it a long note at all, and not rather a combination of two notes the first of which is long? But the main thing is, does it draw away the accent from the note preceding it? I have examined into the new edition of the *Liber Usualis*, and I find this theory runs like a nightmare through the whole book. This and the other fixed idea that two accents must not come together. I think that the absurd consequences to which this twofold theory leads are its best refutation. I assure you you don't sing like that, at least not when you follow your artistic instinct. […] Chapter V is too meagre in my opinion. I think even the ordinary singer should know according to what principles he is taught to sing psalmody. […] I hold that it is detrimental to good tone to keep the vocal organs perfectly steady while changing the pitch. Every pitch requires a different form of the resonance chamber to get the best possible resonance. […] Just try to sing a scale on any vowel holding your vocal organs perfectly steady!

69 'You must have been nodding when you penned the first two paragraphs of chapter III. Eight scales on the natural notes, differing in the position of the semitones! Please, how does the position of the semitone differ in the scales of do [sic] and its octave?' Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 11 December 1903. (SAA)

Fig. 5.2 Dame Laurentia McLachlan [70]

Very early in their correspondence Bewerunge recommended that Dame Laurentia should write a guidebook on church music, as one was needed in the English language. He had wished to do so himself but at that time he was fully occupied with the *Irish Musical Monthly*.[71] Edward Ilsley, Dame Laurentia's bishop, considered the scope of such a manual might be too great, and advised an expansion of the 1897 *Handbook* instead. *A Grammar of Plainsong* was published following three years of collaboration between Bewerunge and Dame Laurentia. It was a notable work in the English plainchant revival and received a letter of approbation from Pius X. There were a number of print runs, from Stanbrook, London, and New York, and further editions in 1926 and 1934. The *Grammar* comprised two parts, the first practical and the second concerning theory of rhythm. While both parts were published together

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70 Benedictines of Stanbrook, *In a Great Tradition* (1956), p. 210.

71 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 16 September 1902. (SAA) The following month at her request he gave an outline of topics for such a handbook. They included:
1) Liturgy; 2) Position of music in the liturgy; 3) Various liturgical functions - high mass, the office (vespers, compline), benediction, the ecclesiastical year; 4) Gregorian chant - history, aesthetic estimate, forms, general laws of rendering; 5) Palestrina style - outline of history, aesthetic estimate, forms, laws of rendering; 6) Modern music - history, required quality, organ and instrumental accompaniment; 7) Liturgy in the vernacular.
Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 23 October 1902. (SAA)

under a single binding, the first part was also published separately, so that choirmasters and choirs who did not want to be confused by the minutiae of rhythmic issues could purchase only what they needed for performance improvement purposes.[72] Many of the concepts and methods of explanation in both parts of the *Grammar* came directly from Bewerunge's pen, and some instances of these are explored here for the first time. This evidence of Bewerunge's influence in a seminal English publication is newly-discovered and highly significant.

Towards the end of 1903 Bewerunge had postulated that rhythmic constituents were limited to pitch, 'strength' (accent), and duration. He stated that of these only strength and duration could be open to interpretation – presuming that melodic pitches had been successfully restored from archaeological work.[73] He considered the subtleties of psychology: a listener did not have to explicitly hear all the nuances of strength and duration; an awareness in the mind of the performer of what was required to differentiate the subtleties within the rhythmic flow would be sufficient to affect the performance. These ideas were reproduced by Dame Laurentia in the *Grammar*. Comparison between the wording of Bewerunge's letters to her and the final wording in the *Grammar* reveals direct transcriptions from his writing.[74]

Her explanation of *arsis* and *thesis* in their Greek, Roman, and prosodic guises came from Bewerunge's letter of 15 January 1905, in which he outlined information from Wilhelm von Christ's *Metrik du Griechen und Römer* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1879).[75]

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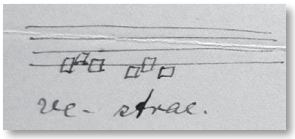
72 It also came down to a matter of economics: the bishop wanted to make the *Grammar* 'his official book' (Dame Laurentia to Bewerunge, 10 March 1905) and so it had to be affordable in order that all choirmasters in his diocese could obtain it. Just three months after publication over 500 copies of the complete book and more than 200 copies of Part I had been sold – this during a summer holiday period when low sales would usually be expected. Dame Laurentia to Bewerunge, 5 October 1905. (SAA)

73 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 28 November 1903. (SAA) The use of inaccurate principles for melodic restoration later became the basis for Bewerunge's critique of the first Vatican edition book, the *Kyriale*, in 1906.

74 An idea in Bewerunge's letter of 28 November 1903 appears on p. 84 of the *Grammar*.

75 Sentences from Bewerunge's letter of 15 January 1905 appear on p. 89 of the *Grammar*. See Appendix D, pp. 357–359.

His long letter the following week, written between 20 and 22 January, provided a great deal of material for the *Grammar*. After a sleepless night spent considering neume rhythmicity he developed some specific rules which Dame Laurentia reproduced verbatim in the first, practical, part of the *Grammar*, with Bewerunge's whimsically-phrased approval: 'I will let you have it for your grammar free of charge'.[76]



> It seems natural that the note on which a syllable enters should be accented as compared with the following notes on the same syllable. In the case of the second syllable of the above example one may state an additional reason. The main movement in this little melody is of course from the first syllable to the second. The final note on the second syllable therefore is the turn of this movement, it must, consequently, be considered as thesis compared with what precedes immediately, and receive the weight that attaches to the thesis. We may state, then, as a general rule: the first note of every neume is accented.
>
> As to the final note of the two neumes above, we must state a difference. The final note of the first neume, that on 've-', leads over to the next syllable, and in accordance with that should be light and short. The final note on the second syllable, on the other hand, forms the end of the melody. It is therefore, long, and, consequently, has considerable weight.
>
> We may formulate, therefore, the following rules:
>
> The final note of a neume on a syllable followed by another syllable of the same word, or by another word closely connected with the preceding word, is light and short. The final note of a neume on a syllable forming the end of some kind of division is long and weighty - in proportion of course to the extent and importance of the division. Similarly we may state for groups of neumes: the final note of a neume leading over to another neume is light and short. The final note of a neume forming the end of some kind of division is long and weighty.[77]

This text may be compared with an extract scanned from the *Grammar* (see Fig. 5.7 overleaf).

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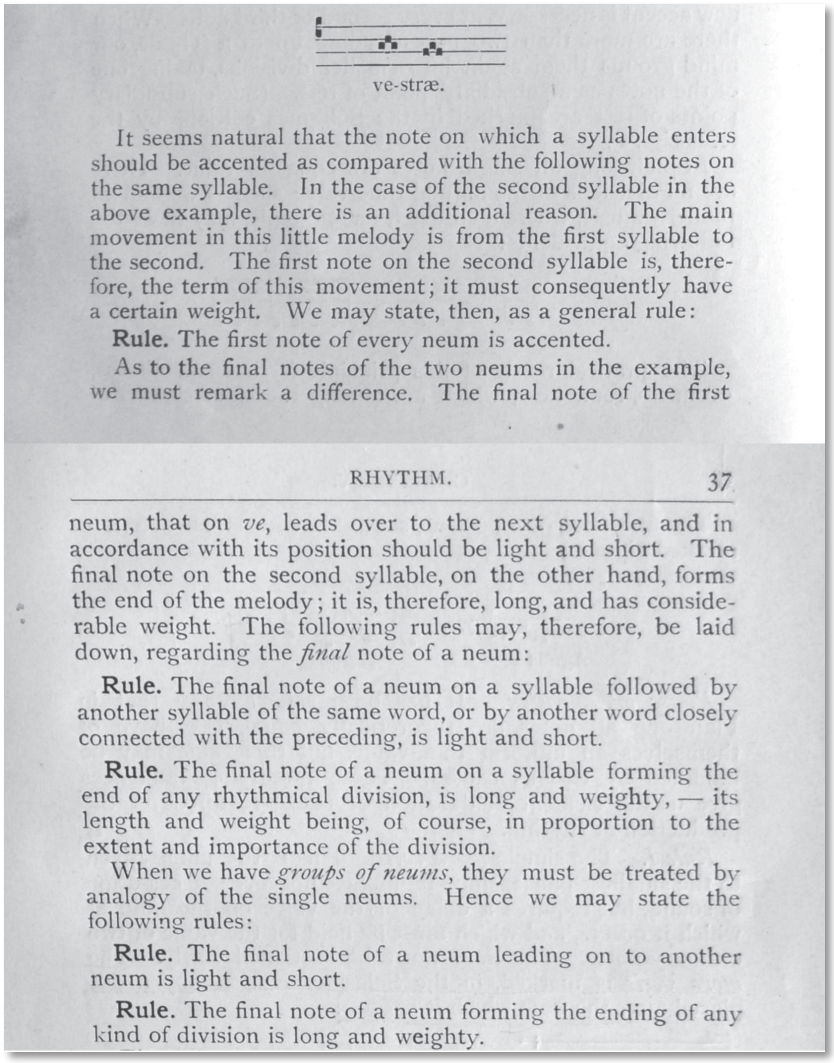
76 The contents of Bewerunge's letter of 20 January 1905 appear on p. 89 of the *Grammar*.

77 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 20–22 January 1905. (SAA)

Fig. 5.7 A Grammar of Plainsong (1905), pp. 36–37



ve-stræ.

It seems natural that the note on which a syllable enters should be accented as compared with the following notes on the same syllable. In the case of the second syllable in the above example, there is an additional reason. The main movement in this little melody is from the first syllable to the second. The first note on the second syllable is, therefore, the term of this movement; it must consequently have a certain weight. We may state, then, as a general rule:

Rule. The first note of every neum is accented.

As to the final notes of the two neums in the example, we must remark a difference. The final note of the first

RHYTHM. 37

neum, that on *ve*, leads over to the next syllable, and in accordance with its position should be light and short. The final note on the second syllable, on the other hand, forms the end of the melody; it is, therefore, long, and has considerable weight. The following rules may, therefore, be laid down, regarding the *final* note of a neum:

Rule. The final note of a neum on a syllable followed by another syllable of the same word, or by another word closely connected with the preceding, is light and short.

Rule. The final note of a neum on a syllable forming the end of any rhythmical division, is long and weighty, — its length and weight being, of course, in proportion to the extent and importance of the division.

When we have *groups of neums*, they must be treated by analogy of the single neums. Hence we may state the following rules:

Rule. The final note of a neum leading on to another neum is light and short.

Rule. The final note of a neum forming the ending of any kind of division is long and weighty.

Dame Laurentia also reproduced a schematic from the same letter in the theoretical section of the *Grammar*, outlining periods and sections as explained to her by Bewerunge.[78] This included his description of Riemann's illustration of numbers to represent thesic notes.[79] The correspondents exchanged a good deal of discussion on *arsis* and *thesis*, and at one stage Dame Laurentia asked Bewerunge to write

78 The designations 'period' and 'section' were widespread in chant terminology, even outside of mensuralist theory.

79 Compare Bewerunge's letter of 22 January 1905 (SAA) with p. 106 of the *Grammar*. See Appendix D, pp. 360–361.

for her 'the explanation of what I mean by A. and T.',[80] thereby demonstrating her complete trust firstly in his ability to understand her performance practice, secondly in the independence of his chant scholarship, and thirdly in his linguistic capacity for persuasion and illumination.

As the book neared completion in February 1905, Bewerunge asked for drafts so that he could read through the entire manuscript. He then recast a number of sections for her, including *arsis* and *thesis* as she requested, analysis of the irregular period, and commentary on regular periods, accent, and melodies.[81] Bewerunge sent these and other rewritten sections to Dame Laurentia as separate documents with her draft manuscript, and in consequence the text is not available within his letters for direct comparison with the completed *Grammar*. However, it is clear from commentary within the letters that she accepted all he had written, and without doubt his writing was incorporated into the publication. On 13 February she wrote: 'I can never thank you enough';[82] and on 18 February: 'I like very much all your amplifications, and thank you once more for all your trouble. The remarks on the melodies are excellently done. I feel rather base passing them off as my own.'[83]

Dame Laurentia and Bewerunge both corrected the printer's proofs.[84] He made a trip to Stanbrook at his own expense at the beginning of April 1905 which allowed them to work together on some of the material. Bewerunge made many suggestions as

80 Dame Laurentia to Bewerunge, 6 February 1905. (SAA)

81 Dame Laurentia to Bewerunge, 6 and 15 February 1905; Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 11, 14 and 19 February 1905. (SAA)

82 Dame Laurentia to Bewerunge, 13 February 1905. (SAA)

83 Dame Laurentia to Bewerunge, 18 February 1905. (SAA)

84 'Thank you for all the trouble you are taking with my proofs.' Dame Laurentia to Bewerunge, 26 March 1905. (SAA)

to the most useful layout of schematics in musical examples.[85] The book was finally published at the end of June 1905 and Bewerunge, along with Dom Mocquereau, was acknowledged in the preface.[86] Originally it was Bewerunge's specific wish that Dame Laurentia should not acknowledge his assistance at all, thus enabling him to recommend the book without accusation of bias.[87] However, Stanbrook's abbess, Lady Cæcilia, would not countenance this, and Bewerunge was obliged to acquiesce.[88] It was Dame Laurentia's view that his name should in fact have appeared on the title-page, not in the preface.[89] In view of the number of ideas generated by Bewerunge and the quantity of writing he did for her, joint authorship might certainly have been a more equitable arrangement. As it turned out, following on various practical mishaps including lost letters and lost review copies, Bewerunge's opportunities to recommend the work in an influential public forum were limited.[90] In Ireland, the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* stated the *Grammar* 'cannot be too strongly recommended', that it was useful to beginners, practitioners of chant, and of benefit to people who were only familiar with modern music and prejudiced against chant.[91] An American journal

85 For instance, Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 22 May 1905. Dame Laurentia had some difficulties persuading the printers to lay out the material exactly as she wanted it, and a number of *errata* remained in the completed publication. For instance, Dame Laurentia to Bewerunge, 1 April 1905. (SAA) It may have been useful for Dame Laurentia to have masculine authority behind her when insisting that the printer laid out material to her liking. She arranged that Desclée, who did the typesetting, should sent printers' proofs to both herself and Bewerunge.

86 'It is a pleasant duty to acknowledge our indebtedness to the Revd Dom A. Mocquereau, O.S.B., Prior of Solesmes, and to the Revd H. Bewerunge, Professor of Ecclesiastical Music at Maynooth, from both of whom we have received much generous and invaluable assistance.' Preface, *A Grammar of Plainsong*.

87 'I told you that if my name was not mentioned in the book, I should be more at liberty to recommend it.' Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 29 January 1905. (SAA)

88 'Lady Abbess considers it want of proper gratitude, and even of fairness, not to acknowledge in the preface all that I owe to you.' Dame Laurentia to Bewerunge, 26 January 1905. (SAA)

89 Dame Laurentia to Bewerunge, 15 February 1905. (SAA)

90 Dame Laurentia had intended that Bewerunge would review it in *The Tablet*, but instead another member of the newspaper's staff quickly published a somewhat negative critique without sanction from the editor. If Bewerunge was to write subsequently recommending the *Grammar*, it would have to have been anonymously as his name was in the preface. Anonymous letters were against his nature, and so he let the matter go. He later received an apology from *The Tablet*'s editor. Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 11 August 1905. (SAA)

91 *IER*, October 1905, pp. 381–382. The reviewer was 'T.O'D.' – probably Thomas O'Dea (at that time bishop of Clonfert) who took a keen interest in church music.

review opined: '[…] in spite of some defects, we believe it is the best practical manual that has yet appeared in the English language'.[92]

The *Grammar* can be viewed as a fusion of both Bewerunge's and Mocquereau's theories. Given the disparity between them – evidenced by *The Tablet* debate and Bewerunge's own observations – this was a signal achievement for Dame Laurentia's powers of persuasion. She commented: 'Dom Mocquereau and you side by side in my preface look extremely well. Unfortunately, the 'rapprochement' will be lost on most people. The ordinary reader will probably think you are 'just the same but different', which is about the truth.'[93] There were advantages and disadvantages to the direct linkage of Bewerunge's name with that of Mocquereau in the Stanbrook publication. On the negative side, it identified Bewerunge with Mocquereau-based Solesmes theory, which created a slightly false reflection of the German's views. It also alienated him – in the public eye – from Pothier's Solesmes, with which he was at that stage more sympathetic. On the positive side, it ensured his name remained at the forefront of chant studies and performance practice not just in the UK, but also in America and Germany.[94] Further, the inclusion of a facsimile of Pope Pius X's letter to Stanbrook in the frontispiece of the *Grammar* made explicit a direct link of approval between Rome and Bewerunge's work.[95]

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92 W.H. Mitchell, 'A Grammar of Plainsong', *Church Music* (Philadelphia), vol. 1, no. 1 (December 1905), pp. 66–81. Much of *Church Music*'s material came from contributors in Great Britain. Mitchell was no exception, being based in the Isle of Wight, close to the base of operations of the Solesmes monks. Bewerunge took issue with a number of Mitchell's remarks, including his statement that no Gregorian chant piece ever concluded with a feminine thesis. H. Bewerunge, 'A Grammar of Plainsong', *Church Music* (Philadelphia), vol. 1, no. 3 (June 1906), pp. 387–390.

93 Dame Laurentia to Bewerunge, 18 February 1905. (SAA) It was beyond the scope of this thesis to investigate the surviving letters between Dame Laurentia and Dom Mocquereau, which are in French. This project would undoubtedly assist the process of synthesising Bewerunge's and Mocquereau's rhythmic theories.

94 Bewerunge translated the *Grammar* into German, making some changes as he did so. It was published as *Lehrbuch des Choral-Gesanges von den Benediktinerinnen von Stanbrook, Deutsche Ausgabe von H. Bewerunge* (Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1906).

95 Dame Laurentia drolly remarked: 'You come of course under the *dilectos filios* with whom he begins'. Dame Laurentia to Bewerunge, 3 February 1905. (SAA) The Pope's letter was apparently written entirely in his own hand, not dictated to a secretary, which greatly pleased Dame Laurentia.

5.2 The *Vaticana* Controversy Revisited

5.2.1 The Pontifical Commission

Pius X's 1903 *Motu proprio*, *Tra la sollecitudini*, acknowledged the abridgement of chant and the restoration work of Solesmes:

> It is true that in other times Gregorian chant was known to most people only through books which were incorrect, vitiated and curtailed. But the accurate and prolonged study that has been given to it by illustrious men who have done a great service to sacred art has changed the face of things.[96]

On 25 April 1904 the Pope issued *Motu proprio* decree *Col nostro*, announcing the preparation of a Vatican edition and entrusting chant revisions to a pontifical commission presided over by Pothier and including Mocquereau and other Benedictines among the members.[97] Solesmes' involvement was no surprise: the monks had spent four decades transcribing, examining, and comparing manuscripts. However, divisions arose among the commission, pointing up the conflict between Pothier and Mocquereau. Pothier's preference for restricting his study to a limited number of manuscripts and his willingness to edit along the principles of Trent set him in opposition to Mocquereau's complete dedication to manuscript research.[98] Grounds for disagreement within the commission essentially hinged on two phrases in the April 1904 papal document: (i) 'authority of the earliest manuscripts', which was interpreted as a recommendation that only melodies from the oldest melodies should be included (Mocquereau's view), and (ii) 'taking account of legitimate tradition of past ages', which allowed for melodic

96 From the papal letter of 8 December 1903 to Cardinal Respighi, Cardinal Vicar of Rome, who was charged with carrying out church music reform as laid out in the *Motu proprio*.

97 The Vatican edition was intended to act as an *editio typico* which other publishers would follow, rather than conferring monopoly rights.

98 Combe gives a fascinating account of the commission's meetings, including growing differences of opinion and members' interactions with the Vatican. Combe (2003), pp. 271–376.

variants over time and took account of post-Tridentine recisions (Pothier's view).[99] Irreconcilable differences between these schools of thought led to the appointment of Pothier alone as editor by Secretary of State Cardinal Merry del Val on 24 June 1905, by direction of the Pope.[100] The Pope decided in favour of 'legitimate tradition' rather than purely archaeological work, and the Cardinal's letter confirmed that the Vatican edition would be based on Pothier's 1895 *Liber Usualis*.[101] Given the advances which had been made in melodic restoration in the decade since publication of the *Liber Usualis*, it was not surprising that the Pope's decision occasioned heated coverage in the European press.[102] In the wake of the Cardinal's letter, Mocquereau described the Appuldurcombe community as 'stunned', and reported that Pothier wrote to him in terms 'at once triumphant and syrupy'.[103]

Pothier continued his editing work and the *Kyriale*, the first volume of the new *editio Vaticana*, was published in 1905. Its reception was controversial and correspondence ensued in many church music journals around Europe.[104] The Archbishop of Cologne initially forbade its introduction into his archdiocese until he was advised in a letter by Cardinal Merry del Val that 'the sovereign pontiff trusts that all Germany will conform to the new edition of sacred song'.[105] The fact that such a letter had to be written to an archbishop is as illuminating as the rest of its contents,

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99 These quotations are taken from the 'Preface to the Vatican Edition of the Roman Chant', *Liber Usualis* (Tournai: Desclée & Co., 1961), p. x. There is a different translation in Combe, which uses the phrases 'true text of the most ancient codices' and 'practical usage of contemporary liturgy', but substantively the concepts are the same. Combe (2003), p. 263.

100 Rayburn stated: '[…] the challenges and the strife were of the most acrimonious kind, with personalities as well as principles involved'. Rayburn (1964), p. 25.

101 Combe (2003), p. 363, provides a translation of Merry del Val's letter.

102 Debates such as that previously outlined in *The Tablet*, although not connected to the work of the commission, had already laid the groundwork for pro- and anti- Mocquereau factions. It was unlikely to have been coincidental that *The Tablet*'s editor declared the plainchant debate closed in the very same issue that announced the Vatican edition would be based on the 1895 *Liber Usualis*. *The Tablet*, 22 July 1905, p. 141.

103 Combe (2003), p. 366. Muir quotes from Mocquereau's letter of 26 June 1905 to Dame Laurentia: 'C'est la ruine matérielle et moral de Solesmes'. Muir (2008), p.206.

104 It featured – *inter alia* – in *The Tablet*, *Giornale d'Italia*, *Giornale de Roma*, *Rassegna Gregoriana*, and *Katholische Kirchenzeitung*.

105 Cardinal Merry del Val, 26 January 1906. Reprinted in *The Tablet*, 24 February 1906, p. 1906.

which acknowledged the controversy occasioned by the *Kyriale* and also indicated that a modified edition might later be published. Bewerunge publicly responded to this letter.[106] With some temerity, given that he was impliedly criticising the Secretary of State, Bewerunge suggested that the Cardinal's letter 'might seem to put into a false position those who find fault with the Vatican *Kyriale*'. He then took the opportunity to set out another argument for the validity of a Solesmes edition of chant:

> His Holiness wishes that those who have hitherto used the Mechlin or Ratisbon editions should lay them aside in favour of the Vatican edition, which, though not an exact reproduction of the original melodies, is a close approximation to them. But if we had an edition giving these melodies in their original purity, those who would use this edition would carry out the Pope's intentions even more fully than those who would use the Vatican edition.[107]

5.2.2 Bewerunge and the Vatican Edition

Bewerunge was at the centre of a flurry of articles and pamphlets criticising and defending the new edition. Bewerunge's critique became one of his defining legacies, assisted by its translation into German, French, and Italian, its wide dissemination across Europe and into America, and musicologist Peter Wagner's engagement with his arguments.[108] Appendix A.1 iterates his contributions and those of his two main opponents.

In 'The Vatican Edition of Plain Chant' Bewerunge commenced by outlining the requirements set out in the April 1904 *Motu proprio*, which he described as 'a most wise and statesmanlike' document.[109] These included (i) re-establishment of chant

106 'The Vatican Kyriale', *The Tablet*, 3 March 1906, p. 336.

107 *Ibid.*

108 In addition to the items cited in Appendix A.1, the *Düsseldorfer Tagblatt* reprinted Bewerunge's first article and *Church Music* (Philadelphia) gave a comprehensive editorial on the *Kyriale*, including Bewerunge's critique, in vol. 1, no. 2 (March 1906), pp. 235–248. Stanbrook also disseminated multiple copies of the pamphlet version 'where they may do much good'. Dame Laurentia to Bewerunge, 19 January 1906. (SAA)

109 H. Bewerunge, *The Vatican Edition of Plain Chant* (Dublin: Browne & Nolan, 1906), p. 5.

melodies 'in their integrity and purity';[110] (ii) use of non-medieval manuscripts for melodies not available in older codices or composed at a later date; (iii) necessary adaptation of melodies to new wording for modern liturgical requirements. Bewerunge introduced Cardinal Merry del Val's letter of 24 June 1905 as 'something unexpected' which left Pothier as 'sole judge' of the new edition.[111] Commenting on the pro-Pothier anti-archaeological factions, Bewerunge pointed out that Pothier himself had once subscribed to the oldest melodic variants, quoting in French from *Revue du chant grégorien* in support of this.[112] However, he then asserted that the question of archaeology 'has not really much to do with the changes from the original made in the Vatican edition'.[113] Bewerunge articulated two fundamental arguments against Pothier. One was Pothier's lack of consistency and absence of general principles in his selecting a particular melodic variant. The second was his alteration of melodies based on personal taste. Bewerunge travelled to Appuldurcombe to investigate the manuscripts for himself and compare them with the *Kyriale*. He catalogued many instances of Pothier's selection of variants which were either in a minority of manuscripts, or not to be found in any sources at all, or which were compromises between different manuscripts and thus faithful to neither. He also accused Pothier of adopting melodic variants from German tradition 'for which [he] shows a strange prediliction'.[114] Such German traditions included rising a minor third (rather than the more usual rising second found in manuscripts) and changes in reciting notes (notes which are repeated frequently in the course of a chant). He gave further examples where Pothier adopted variants which appeared only in the 1851 Rheims-Cambrai edition, or

110 *Ibid*.

111 Bewerunge said nothing in his article about the circumstances of the Cardinal's letter, instead somewhat pointedly drawing a veil over this issue. He undoubtedly had a good knowledge of the commission's problems from his various correspondents in or close to the commission.

112 As Bewerunge's command of French was limited – although he did on occasion painstakingly construe with a dictionary – it is likely that he requested one of his Maynooth colleagues to translate for him.

113 Bewerunge, *The Vatican Edition of Plain Chant*, p. 7.

114 *Ibid*., p. 8.

where entire melodies had no manuscript source at all. Bewerunge's disappointment in the *Kyriale* was exacerbated because it was not true to the principles set out by the Pope. However, notwithstanding his trenchant criticisms, his final view was that 'of all the existing editions […] it is decidedly the best'.[115] He could not say the same about the *Commune Sanctorum*, published in 1906 and reviewed by him in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*.[116] Although Bewerunge welcomed the amendment of rising seconds for minor thirds and the correction of reciting notes in a number of places, the rectifications were not consistent. He instanced many further deviations from tradition, including text alterations, and concluded that the *Liber Usualis* of 1895 was better than the *Commune Sanctorum*: 'there is no hope for the Vatican edition, at least so far as the *Gradual* is concerned'.[117]

5.2.3 Bewerunge and T.A. Burge

The strongly opinionated Burge, already mentioned as one of the contributors to the earlier chant rhythm debate in *The Tablet*, responded to Bewerunge's *Kyriale* critique in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* of April 1906.[118] A former prior of Ampleforth Abbey, this is how Burge was described in a history of that institution:

> Fr Burge had few of the weaknesses of his fellow men. He never sought material comforts; he was very regular in his attendance at choir and recollected in prayer. If he had a sense of humour, it was carefully hidden, and, though he always seemed too busy for idle chatter, he would talk music by the hour. This was his

115 *Ibid*., p. 22. Bewerunge sent a copy of the *IER* containing his article to the Pope. He was pleased to learn that the Pope had held it in his hand, before giving it to Lorenzo Perosi so that Perosi might compile a report for him. Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 25 September 1906. (SAA)

116 H. Bewerunge, 'The Second Part of the Vatican Edition of Plain Chant', *IER* (November 1906), pp. 414–428. The *Commune Sanctorum* contained the commons of saints, distinct from both the Mass ordinary and the Mass propers.

117 *Ibid*., p. 428.

118 T.A. Burge, 'The Vatican Edition of the *Kyriale* and Its Critics', *IER* (April 1906), pp. 324–345. It seems that Burge also wrote to *The Catholic Times*, as Dame Laurentia remarked to Bewerunge: 'Fr Burge discourses on the *Kyriale* and describes your article as the 'hottest' (not a very happy epithet) that has happened. It does not look worth your while to answer […]'. Dame Laurentia to Bewerunge, 22 January 1906. (SAA)

> one passion. He played the piano and organ well, had a good voice, and loved singing. He was, in addition, tolerably well read and seemed to know something on a great many subjects.[119]

Burge disputed Pothier's sole editorship of the *Kyriale*, referring to the Vatican's wish that he would 'seek the assistance of the other members of the commission'.[120] He used this as a basis for a comprehensive dismissal of Bewerunge's paleographical arguments, and held that 'the other members of the commission are not at all grateful to Father Bewerunge for the manner in which he completely ignores their share of the work'.[121] Despite Burge's confident assertion, the details of commission in-fighting and jockeying for position revealed by Combe (2003) made it clear that there was no hope of a unified editorial position. Burge gave his exposition of the archaeological position and the synoptical tables created at Solesmes, in the most extreme and sarcastic of terms, and denied that science could triumph over art in the restoration of chant. Much of his article was taken up not with refuting Bewerunge's critique, but with mocking the archaeological approach to chant. He ignored Bewerunge's comments on the artistic validity of some melodic variants over others and focused on the enumeration of manuscripts, identifying Bewerunge absolutely as an archaeologist. Burge also expended considerable time on the tritone, mentioned only briefly by Bewerunge. He then dealt with a number of Bewerunge's examples and either derided their triviality or argued their error. Finally, Burge took Bewerunge to task for 'the style in which he has allowed himself to speak of the official acts of the Holy See'.[122]

The following month Bewerunge responded to Burge.[123] He almost apologised for any errors in his January critique: 'considering the haste with which I had to prepare

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119 Columba Cary-Elwes and Justin McCann, eds, *Ampleforth and its Origins* (London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne, 1952), pp. 239–240.

120 Cardinal Merry del Val, 24 June 1905.

121 T.A. Burge, 'The Vatican Edition of the *Kyriale* and Its Critics', p. 326.

122 *Ibid*., p. 344.

123 H. Bewerunge, 'The Vatican *Kyriale*: A Rejoinder', *IER* (May 1906), pp. 421–445. Extracts from this article were published in *The Tablet* on 7 July 1906.

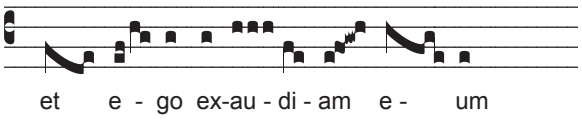
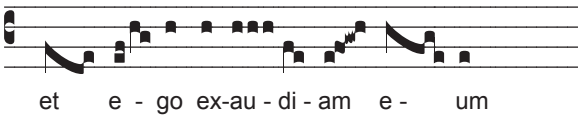
this article, I should not have been surprised if it had been proved that in a few details I had made mistakes', then suppressed any appearance of humility by remarking: 'As a matter of fact, however, nobody yet has publicly proved any error in the many statements I made'.[124] He categorically denied Burge's insinuation that he had written his article at the behest of Appuldurcombe:

> In his first paragraph he points out, with an object, no doubt, that the inspiration of my article was sought at Appuldurcombe. I should like to know where else I should have sought my information. There is no other single place anyhow in the world where I could have found it. I dare say Dom Pothier and his friends would have preferred if I had stayed at home, and left my article unwritten. But if Fr Burge means to insinuate – his remarks, page 333, point that way – that a suggestion to write my article came from Appuldurcombe, I must protest. I claim the full credit for initiative in this matter. In fact, when I first wrote to Appuldurcombe asking for some information on the subject, my request was met by a blank refusal, which, indeed, was coupled with a polite invitation to come and study the matter in their library for myself.[125]

To counter the core of Burge's argument against him – that Pothier was not the sole editor of the *Kyriale* – he only had to quote Burge's own words: 'nothing then remained […] but to give Dom Pothier […] the supreme direction of the work'.[126] He then gave a succinct assessment of the archaeological method, in which three categories of melodies were distinguished. In the first were those chants where manuscript evidence was 'practically unanimous' and there was no difficulty in establishing the correct reading of the melody. In the second were chants with a great number of variants but which on examination fell into a number of manuscript 'families' through which the original could then be traced. Melodies not amenable to a stemmatic approach fell into a third category, requiring further manuscript evidence and if necessary provisional selection of one variant.

124 *Ibid*., p. 421.
125 *Ibid*., p. 422–423.
126 *Ibid*., p. 423.

Countering Burge's allegation that the old melodies were in a 'nebulous state',[127] Bewerunge discussed the challenges of modality versus tonality for scribes when diastematic notation was first employed. He gave examples of how transposition allowed correct placement of semitones on the stave, and denied Burge's allegation that scribes had such a poor facility in music that they made wholesale errors in their work. Bewerunge also exemplified how alterations in traditional melodies reduced the impact of textual meaning. This consideration of artistry foreshadowed his later research into word-painting in chant.[128]

> Personally, I advocate in all cases the return to the original version. I am influenced, in the first instance, by the fact that in a great many cases the older version is decidedly more beautiful than the later one. […]
>
>
>
>
> Mark how emphatically the accented syllable of *exaudiam* stands out after the short recitation on *b*. This effect is much weakened in the later version:
>
>
>
> [129]

He continued to deal with the many issues raised by Burge, in terms variously condescending and humorous, but it is clear that he was vexed by the lack of substantiated facts in Burge's attack on him. He adverted to another exchange they had in *The Catholic Times* on the *Kyriale*,[130] and chided Burge for his lack of references to manuscript authority: 'You must quote your codices, Father Burge, or

127 T.A. Burge, 'The Vatican Edition of the *Kyriale* and Its Critics', p. 341.

128 This, along with other research carried out by Bewerunge during the war, is examined in chapter six below.

129 'The Vatican *Kyriale*: A Rejoinder', pp. 429–430.

130 It has not been possible to obtain a primary source for this exchange, but it is adverted to by Dame Laurentia in hers of 22 January 1906.

stand convicted.'[131] He finally specified his own interpretation of Pius X's 'legitimate tradition':[132]

> A legitimate tradition, I hold, is that tradition which preserves the original intact. Any tradition which changes the original is not a legitimate tradition, but a corruption.[133]

This constituted an absolute rejection of the Ratisbon chant that he had learned as a student and which he had been required to teach for fifteen years at Maynooth. Through this widely circulated and influential ecclesiastical journal, Bewerunge publicly aligned himself with the archaeological approach to restoration, on the basis of the Pope's requirement for a return to melodies in their 'original perfection and purity'.[134]

Thus Bewerunge dealt severely with Burge's attempts to discountenance him. Parts of Burge's article could only be regarded as character assassination and Bewerunge was confident in his ability to assassinate more thoroughly in return, as he did not view Burge as a professional musician. In 1902 Burge had published a hymnbook with his own arrangements which was harshly reviewed in the Italian church music periodical *Rassegna Gregoriana*. Many criticisms were made of elementary faults in Burge's harmony, including consecutive fifths and octaves.[135] The review was translated into English and published in the *Liverpool Courier*, and Bewerunge remarked: 'Now the whole of Liverpool knows what a humbug he is'.[136] Finally, Bewerunge dealt with Burge's accusation of disloyalty to the Holy See, which he entirely rejected:

> I am not disloyal. I have no fault to find with authority. I am an ardent admirer of Pius X. I hailed with delight, and accept without reservation, his two *Motu*

131 H. Bewerunge, 'The Vatican *Kyriale*: A Rejoinder', p. 436.

132 Pius X, *Motu proprio*, 25 April 1904.

133 Bewerunge, 'The Vatican *Kyriale*: A Rejoinder', p. 439.

134 'Instruction on Sacred Music', II.3, *Motu proprio*, 22 November 1903. Cited in Gregory Suñol, *Text Book of Gregorian Chant* ((Tournai: Desclée & Co., 1930), p. 167.

135 T.A. Burge, *Hymns, Plain Chant and Modern* (London: R. & T. Washbourne, 1902). The review information is gleaned from Dame Laurentia's letter to Bewerunge of 14 August 1905. (SAA)

136 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 6 October 1905. (SAA)

> *proprio*s on church music. […] My quarrel is with Dom Pothier alone, and if I feel rather angry with him, it is precisely because he has frustrated the intention of the Pope […][137]

He also queried Burge's characterisation of loyalty, asking if Burge had tried to influence his own Benedictine order to adopt Ratisbon instead of Mechlin, and pointed out that Pothier had not been not loyal – in Burge's terms – by publishing the *Liber Gradualis*. Burge had quoted from Alexander Pope in concluding his article in order to satirise Bewerunge: 'Who but must laugh, if such a man there be? / Who would not weep, if Atticus were he?'[138] Bewerunge countered by quoting another Pope, Pius X, and finished his article with a reminder of the *raison d'être* of their disagreement: 'The melodies of the church, which are called Gregorian, shall be restored in their integrity and purity'.[139]

5.2.4 Bewerunge and Peter Wagner

Bewerunge's next adversary was the German musicologist Peter Wagner (1865–1931).[140] Wagner's *magnum opus* was *Einführung in die gregorianische Melodien*, a three-volume survey of medieval chant.[141] Bewerunge penned a comprehensive review-resumé of the second volume, *Neumenkunde*, for the American journal *Church Music*; over a century later this remains the only English-language synopsis of

137 Bewerunge, 'The Vatican *Kyriale*: A Rejoinder', p. 445.

138 Burge, 'The Vatican Edition of the *Kyriale* and Its Critics', p. 345.

139 Bewerunge, 'The Vatican *Kyriale*: A Rejoinder', p. 445.

140 Wagner had earlier published his own *Kyriale sive Ordinarium Missae cum cantu gregoriano* (Graz: Styria Press, 1904), which was criticised by Benedictine Dom Raphael Molitor of Beuron Abbey in Germany. Dom Raphael Molitor, *A Word in Reference to the Plainchant Question* (Ratisbon: Pustet, 1904), pp. 44–48. The grounds of his criticism included inconsistency in neume notation, lack of clear accent indications, and omission of many melodies. Molitor felt that since the Medicean edition had been roundly condemned then newer editions also had to undergo rigorous criticism.

141 Peter Wagner, (i) *Ursprung und Entwicklung der liturgischen Gesangsformen bis zum Ausgange des Mittelalters* (Freiburg: Schweiz, 1895, English translation 1901); (ii) *Neumenkunde: Paläographie des liturgischen Gesanges* (Freiburg: Komm.'vell 1905); (iii) *Gregorianische Formenlehre: eine choralische Stilkunde* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1921).

Wagner's second volume.[142] Wagner's *Der Kampf gegen die Editio Vaticana* appeared in June 1907. It had been advertised in *Gregorianische Rundschau* (an Austrian church magazine published in Graz) with the comment that 'the most competent German authority on plainchant' was to issue a pamphlet against Bewerunge. Bewerunge remarked that he 'was glad his attacks were found worthy of a reply'.[143] Bewerunge wrote to Dame Laurentia when the booklet was published:

> I am in great humour tonight. I have just read Dr Wagner's attack on me. He is the 'greatest German authority on plainchant'. Well, he has proved, beyond a shadow of a doubt, a great many things – which I did not deny. […] One thing is certain, I need not go to Appuldurcombe to enable myself to write a reply.[144]

It was not until 1960 that an English translation of Wagner's article was published, as part of an American series of reprints relating to the *Vaticana*.[145] Wagner began his defence of the *Kyriale* by describing a conspiracy against the publication and lamenting the 'hitherto unthought-of tone' in media discussion on edicts from the Holy See. He sardonically described Bewerunge as 'a bold champion with open vision'.[146] He emphasised his own position as a member of the papal commision on chant, and described Bewerunge merely as a 'music instructor', and later as 'a writer who has hitherto taken no part whatsoever in chant research'.[147] In light of Wagner's undoubted awareness of Bewerunge's resumé of his own work in *Church Music*, this attempt to belittle Bewerunge's credentials was highly tactical. He also stated that Bewerunge was 'only the middle man' in a battle between the Benedictines and the Vatican edition. His rhetoric was highly charged and emotive throughout, declaring as his motive:'to prevent any injury to the honour which we owe to the command

142 H. Bewerunge, 'The Neumatic Notation', *Church Music* (Philadelphia), vol. 1, no. 1 (December 1905), pp. 33–44; and vol. 1, no. 3 (June 1906), pp. 303–314.

143 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 23 April 1907. (SAA)

144 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 11 June 1907. (SAA)

145 Peter Wagner, 'The Attack on the Vatican Edition: A Rejoinder', *Caecilia* (Nebraska), Spring 1960, pp. 10–44. Also reprinted were Bewerunge's first article and Burge's response. It was not possible to locate copies of the journal for subsequent issues to check for further reprints.

146 *Ibid*., p. 11.

147 *Ibid*., p. 30.

of the Roman See'.[148] In reality he was a supporter of Pothier and a trenchant anti-archaeologist. Much of Wagner's article dealt with the background to the editorial commission and Cardinal Merry del Val's letter of June 1905. Wagner used some isolated statements from Bewerunge's first article as pegs upon which to hang a bitter diatribe against Solesmes. He also quoted from a previous response he made to Bewerunge in the *Schweizerischen Literarischen Rundschen*, where he had argued that although Bewerunge's methods of argument were suitable for philologico-critical writings, they were not appropriate for an edition of chant for 'church-singers of the twentieth century'. Finally – more than halfway through his pamphlet – Wagner began to deal with specific examples, for instance reciting tone alterations and psalm-tones. Wagner showed a tendency to impose classical symmetry on medieval neumes. He disliked Bewerunge's recommendation of a five-note group followed by a three-note group within a melisma, favouring instead two four-note groups.[149] Elsewhere, he opposed a set of neume groupings from the 1903 *Liber Usualis* on the grounds that they made irregularly numbered groups.[150] Bearing in mind that Wagner was an expert in the field (where Burge was not), all that can really be drawn from his refutations of some of Bewerunge's critiques is that sufficient manuscript evidence existed for either side to feel their own conclusions were proved. Wagner quickly returned to his theme of Solesmes' – and their supporters' – defiance of the Holy See. The depth of his indignation seems to some extent feigned, but that may simply be a subjective modern interpretation of a polemic style which combined emotional zeal and critical rigour. In an unwitting flashback, the 1960 *Caecilia* editorial (introducing Wagner's translated article) echoed Bewerunge's reassurances from *The Tablet* debate of 1905, that agreements between differing lobbies were greater than disagreements.

148 *Ibid*., p. 12.
149 *Ibid*., p. 32.
150 *Ibid*., pp. 36–37.

Bewerunge replied to Wagner personally and also publicly through a German newspaper.[151] In *Church Music* (Philadelphia) he responded to a review of Wagner's *Der Kampf gegen die Edition Vaticana*, and his frustration with the whole matter was by then evident: 'But really it is difficult to keep patience with those who accuse me of a one-sided preference for the oldest MSS'.[152] He reiterated once more the premise of his first article, that his criterion was Pius X's 'melodies of the church in their original purity' (*Motu proprio*, 25 April 1904). For the first time in the *Vaticana* debates, original source material was printed in order to adduce evidence, and it was Bewerunge who took this expensive but innovative step. He reproduced a page from an eleventh-century St Gall manuscript to show Wagner's misrepresentation of a point made by Bewerunge in relation to psalm-tones. Dame Laurentia described the inclusion of the photograph as 'rather cruel',[153] from which might be inferred that the use of source material as conclusive proof of an argument was not an entirely gentlemanly response.

5.2.5 Lasting Reverberations

It is important to note that Bewerunge, although professing himself an archaeologist, was entirely sensible of the great importance of aesthetics and feeling in chant performance. This raises the question of a dichotomy between his declaration that the oldest codices were the most important, and his natural inclination for melodic variants which bore a closer relationship to textual nuance. The emotionally charged nature of the *Vaticana* polemic, and the great difficulty of attempting to discuss such complex issues within the framework of a public dialectic, surely led all the protagonists to entrench their positions more firmly than would have been the case in a more personal and informal debate. Undoubtedly the *Vaticana* controversy was

151 Published in the first issue of *Die Kirchenmusik*, a new periodical which took over from *Mitteilungen* (Paderborn) at the end of 1907. It has not been possible to source a copy of this public reply.

152 *Church Music* (Philadelphia), vol. 3, no. 1 (November 1907), pp. 37–38.

153 Dame Laurentia to Bewerunge, 18 October 1907. (SAA)

the spur for numerous corrections made in later editions. It is also clear that many of Bewerunge's original critical arguments were not extinguished by his opponents. Solesmes, through the voice of Combe, described his critique as 'certainly a most judicious one'.[154]

Rayburn's *History of Controversy Concerning Rhythm* (1964) surveyed the views of Bewerunge, Burge, and Wagner,[155] but the author considered only the articles reprinted by *Caecilia* in 1959 and 1960. Far more space was given to the refutations of Bewerunge by Burge and Wagner than to Bewerunge's arguments. Rayburn stated:

> The Irish Jesuit, H. Bewerunge, a professor at Maynooth College, led the attack of the Solesmes supporters on the new *Kyriale* […] Armed by Solesmes, Father Bewerunge violently criticized the many 'errors' of the Vatican edition […][156]

The description of Bewerunge as an Irish Jesuit was either careless or intended to belittle. Rayburn also focused on the idea that Bewerunge was acting at the behest of Solesmes:

> Dr Peter Wagner, replying to Bewerunge, noted that the Jesuit was obviously a Solesmes spokesman, because, although he had never before written works on the science of chant, his 'liturgical discoveries' were full of the same words, phrases, and arguments that the Benedictines had regularly been using.[157]

Apart from his one categoric statement that his critique was entirely his own initiative, Bewerunge did not respond to accusations that he was a mouthpiece for Solesmes. He had made his archaeological position clear, but he would not have wished to align himself too closely with Mocquereau. Although they were in agreement regarding the importance of oldest manuscript sources, they shared only partial common ground on the subject of rhythmic theory. The Solesmes edition of the *Kyriale*, published at

154 Combe (2003), p. 383.

155 John Rayburn, *Gregorian Chant: A History of the Controversy Concerning its Rhythm* (New York: *s.n.*, 1964).

156 Rayburn (1964), p. 27.

157 *Ibid*., pp. 30–31.

around the same time as the Vatican edition and including Mocquereau's rhythmic signs,[158] would not have met with Bewerunge's approval. Thus the republication of Rayburn's work and its availability online perpetuates a biased context for the *Vaticana* critique.[159]

Bewerunge did not adopt the *Vaticana* in Maynooth until circumstances forced him to do so in 1911. By then the 1895 *Liber Usualis* was out of print and no reprints were planned. He wrote to Mocquereau enquiring if a new Solesmes *Liber Usualis* was likely to be published in the near future, but Mocquereau replied that it would not be ready for a long time. Bewerunge wrote to Dame Laurentia: 'So I shall be forced to adopt the Vatican edition, which I had hoped to skip.'[160]

Bewerunge and Wagner met again in 1914 at the fifth international musicians congress in Paris. Bewerunge reported that he had several conversations with him:

> […] that is to say he did the chatting, and I listened. It was mainly about that wretched man, Dom Mocquereau. Wagner was very much relieved when I assured him that I did not accept Dom Mocquereau's rhythmical theories. He is a funny man, that same Dr Wagner.[161]

The *Vaticana* illustrated a sociological phenomenon characteristic of the time, whereby the most intemperate personal attacks could be published under the guises of erudition and enlightenment. In consequence of the wide dissemination in four languages of Bewerunge's contributions to the *Vaticana* debate, his essays emerged as one of his primary legacies and have been cited as evidence of his research and

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158 *Kyriale seu Ordinarium Missae cum Cantu Gregoriano ed exemplar Editionis Vaticanae concinnatum et rhythmicis signis a Solesmensibus Monachis* (Tournai/Rome: Desclée, Lefebvre & Soc., 1905). Only the earliest version of this contained an official commendation from the Holy See.

159 *Gregorian Chant* was republished in 1981 by Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut, and is also available from the Jean de Lalande library online at <http://www.ccwatershed.org/library> [accessed 15 June 1914].

160 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 18 November 1911. (SAA)

161 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 11 June 1914. (SAA)

scholarship. However, it is important to view these few articles from the all-inclusive perspective of Bewerunge's entire published scholarly output. The *Vaticana* were written under pressure of time and on the basis of two visits to Appuldurcombe's primary sources. Bewerunge's reputation as a chant scholar should more correctly rest on the broader spectrum of the investigations he undertook from this time until his last published chant article in 1919. Many of these articles have been newly-discovered in the course of research for this thesis and some are discussed in chapter six below. Now that these have been discovered, continued encyclopaedia references to the *Vaticana* in preference to a more well-rounded description of Bewerunge's work would do him a disservice.

5.3 Facilitating Church Music Reform

The volume of work with which Bewerunge involved himself in Ireland was considered in chapter four above. To this can be added his abundant international correspondence. He very rarely refused any request for help, and his unwillingness to disappoint people was one of the factors contributing to the received sense of his thinly-spread, multifaceted profile, and to the gradual decline of his health. He was often in demand as a translator but generally tried to avoid large and time-consuming projects.[162] The times when he was not involved directly in music-related activities were scarce indeed. His priestly functions were often added to the work of church music reform in parishes or convents, reducing even further his few leisure hours. His summer visits to Germany and Switzerland, which were his routine from the time he

162 For instance, he was reluctant to translate Weinmann's 1910 *History of Church Music*. Bewerunge was asked to do the translation after English Cecilian H.S. Butterfield and Wagner's translator F. Walter both declined the work. He made a number of efforts to – in his own words – 'get rid of [it]' and finally managed to pass the task on. Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 26 October and 11 November 1907. He did, however, contribute 'a few paragraphs concerning English church music'. Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 15 March 1908. (SAA)

moved to Ireland in 1888, included concert and opera attendances. He travelled at least twice annually to England, usually while journeying to or from his continental trips. From 1902 onwards he made a trip to Stanbrook Abbey over the Christmas period and into the new year, then went on to Manchester, Liverpool, or Birmingham to hear concerts, attend conferences, or assist with music in religious institutions.

5.3.1 Salford Diocesan Church Music Commission

The diocese of Salford in north-west England was established by Pope Pius IX in 1850, encompassing Manchester and the then metropolitan borough (now city) of Salford. Herbert Vaughan (1832–1903), second bishop of Salford, was an advocate for education of the diocese's large Catholic middle-class population. He also encouraged the advancement of Catholics in commercial and political enterprise.[163] Many of these Catholics were Irish or of Irish origin, and their upward social trajectory was assisted by the pioneering efforts of Vaughan and later by Louis Charles Casartelli (1851–1925), fourth bishop of Salford. Casartelli was a native Mancunian born of Italian parents. His consecration to the episcopate in 1903 proceeded despite his appeal to Rome for release from the position.[164] Church music was one of his particular interests and in his first pastoral letter he set out requirements for church music reform which were congruent with Cecilian ideals and, interestingly, anticipated Pope Pius X's *Motu proprio* by some seven weeks.[165] Casartelli deplored theatrical-style church music, calling instead for simple, devotional Mass settings. He condemned women soloists

163 Vaughan's civic interests included proprietorship of Catholic periodicals *The Tablet* and the *Dublin Review*. Stephen Cunniffe, *Religion and Empire in Manchester, 1876–99, With Particular Reference to the Catholic Church*, (unpub. PhD thesis: University of Manchester, 2011), p. 94. He was appointed Archbishop of Westminster in 1892 and oversaw the building of Westminster Cathedral, which opened in 1903.

164 'Death of the Bishop of Salford', *The Tablet*, 24 January 1925, pp. 108–109. Casartelli was a linguist and polymath: he knew the administrative burden of the bishopric would not allow him time to pursue his own research.

165 His pastoral letter, 'The Signs of the Times', was dated 3 October 1903: the *Motu proprio* was published on 22 November 1903.

in church and believed that boys' choirs should be trained to sing Gregorian chant. He required that music lists be sent to him for his approval a week prior to his attendance at High Mass or Benediction in any church in the diocese, and music of which he did not approve was not to be performed.[166]

In October 1903 Casartelli appointed a diocesan commission for church music. One of the tasks entrusted to the commission was the production of a list of approved church music.[167] Its members included two Irish representatives, one from each of the two major Irish seminaries: Bewerunge from Maynooth and Fr J.J. Dunne from Holy Cross College, Clonliffe. The inclusion of two men from Ireland in the Salford commission underlined the close connections between Catholics in England and Ireland. The list of commission members varies slightly depending on sources, but it is clear that some major figures in the English plainchant revival were involved.[168] Bewerunge acted as an honorary consultant. Without further investigation it is not possible to pinpoint who first mooted him for the commission.[169] The 1904 Salford *List of Approved Church Music* contained a large number of works by contemporary Cecilian composers, and some Viennese-style music which undoubtedly was opposed by Bewerunge and Terry. The List warned that:

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166 Nicholas Paxton, 'The Liturgical Revival in the Diocese of Salford under Bishop Casartelli, 1903–1906', *The Journal of the Catholic Archives Society*, no. 31 (2011), p. 21.

167 Muir (2008), p. 235.

168 Muir (2008), p. 235, listed Herbert Allen, author of *Accompaniments to Plainsong for Schools* (Liverpool: Rushworth & Dreaper, 1935), W.A. Norris (choirmaster at Salford cathedral), Ambrose Turner (choirmaster at Upholland seminary), Henry Parkinson (rector of St Mary's College, Oscott), and R.R. Terry (director of music at Westminster cathedral). Paxton (2011), p. 26, *The Tablet* of 27 August 1904, p. 353, and *Church Music* (Philadelphia) vol. 1, no. 1 (December 1905), p. 90, also included Anselm Turner OSB (Ampleforth Abbey), Frs Anselm Poock, Francis Daniel and Fr Michael Moloney (the Westminster cathedral priest; he organised summer schools in plainchant performance at the Solesmes monks place of exile in Appuldurcombe, Isle of Wight – his surname is variously spelled as 'Moloney', 'Maloney', and 'Malony' in different sources), and Alfred Booth (plainchant revivalist). The slight differences in personnel probably reflect changes within a two-year period between 1903 and 1905. There were further changes in 1906 following the deaths of Dom Turner and Fr Moloney. Paxton (2011), pp. 26–27.

169 The Salford diocesan archive appears to contain much unexamined material, the cataloguing and appraisal of which would comprise a fruitful future area of research.

> […] the Commission wish it to be understood that this catalogue, somewhat hastily arranged, is published rather to supply immediate necessity than as a representative list of good church music. A supplement is in course of preparation, and all concerned are invited to bring before the notice of the committee such pieces as they desire to see placed therein ... Local compositions of merit will be welcomed.[170]

The Salford list also included Bewerunge's arrangements of Palestrina motets.

Much correspondence survives in the Salford archives relating to this period of church music reform. One sample letter from the chairman, H.P. Allen, to Bishop Casartelli gives a useful snapshot into the matters under consideration by plainchant revivalists. These included concerns regarding the difficulties of reintroducing Gregorian chant to congregations who were used to concerted masses, and an awareness of the need for use of restored chant forms rather than Mechlin or Ratisbon editions. Having received a harmonised version of the *Missa de Angelis* to be considered for inclusion on the approved music list, Allen gave his views on the instrumental accompaniment of plainchant. He opined that it would make the chant 'very heavy and tedious in execution and will lead people to condemn it as dull'.[171] He strongly objected to the harmonised mass under consideration:

> […] the melody has been so altered and distorted by the arbitrary creation of leading notes as to make it no longer plainchant at all. And […] in his treatment of the harmonies Mgr Hall has succeeded in destroying all traces of the modes that were left. I have never seen a composition of this order quite so opposite to the whole spirit of Gregorian.[172]

It is clear from the letter that this was the first time Allen had to give his opinion on a harmonised mass, and he urged the bishop to seek a higher opinion on the basis that this would be a test case and 'as we and others deal with it will depend the future of plain

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170 Quoted in 'Catalogues of Liturgical Music', *Church Music* (Philadelphia), vol. 1, no. 1 (1905), p. 91.

171 Herbert P. Allen to Bishop Casartelli, 5 April 1904. (SDA)

172 *Ibid*. *Missa de Angelis* was one of the most popular plainchant masses in Ireland and is still the one chant mass which older congregations are likely to sing today.

chant in England'.[173] The experts recommended by Allen were Bewerunge, English plainchant revivalist Alfred Booth, R.W. Oberhoffer,[174] and Dom André Mocquereau – thus ensuring a formidable spread of expertise.

The Salford commission provides three indicators of Bewerunge's status as a church music expert in England, long before the public exposure he received following publication of his critiques of the Vatican *Kyriale*. The first of these was his position as an honorary consultant rather than an ordinary member. The second was his association with organist and scholar R.R. Terry (1865–1938).[175] Thirdly was Allen's ranking of Bewerunge's chant scholarship and his acceptability to the English ecclesiastical hierarchy alongside that of Mocquereau. Bewerunge continued to have an ongoing advocacy role in Salford diocese, attested to by his provision of an opinion for Bishop Casartelli in 1912 regarding the propriety of mixed choirs.[176]

5.3.2 Bewerunge as Pedagogue and Mentor

As discussed above, one of the strands of Bewerunge's work in Ireland was conventual visiting, to provide teaching assistance and improve liturgical music standards. He also did this in England and elsewhere, when requested and when his travelling schedule permitted. Two examples are the Benedictine convents of St Scholastica's Abbey (Teignmouth, Devon) and St Mary's Abbey (East Bergholt,

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173 Allen to Casartelli, 5 April 1904. (SDA)

174 See chapter three above, section 3.2.3, fn 85, for information on Oberhoffer.

175 The relationship between Bewerunge and R.R. Terry, director of music at Westminster cathedral, while necessarily workmanlike on joint projects, deteriorated and is examined further in chapter six below.

176 This arose following decrees issued by the Vatican Sacred Congregation of Rites in 1908 and 1912 relaxing the ban on women's voices given in the 1903 *Motu proprio*. Consternation abounded as to correct interpretation of the 1908 decree, as it seemed that some form of separation was required between men and women in the same choir. Bewerunge fumed: 'why do they […] suggest the insulting idea, that if men and women are allowed to come together, they will misbehave!' Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 7 February 1909. (SAA) The wording of the decree was amended in 1912 and Bewerunge advised Casartelli that if it was not practical to have a choir of men and boys, then mixed voices were permitted. (SDA)

Suffolk). His first visit to Teignmouth seems to have been either at the end of 1907 or the beginning of 1908. On Bewerunge's recommendation the nuns decided to purchase a small organ, and he assisted them in building up their chant repertoire.[177]

As part of her enticement to obtain Bewerunge's services, the Abbess of St Mary's in East Bergholt passed on – through Dame Laurentia – the information that she, like Bewerunge, was a Westphalian and was familiar with the town of his birth.[178] As late as 1909 the nuns were using Ratisbon chant books, having changed from Mechlin in 1903. Bewerunge was not particularly enthusiastic about visiting Bergholt, principally because they were still using the old chant forms. Dame Laurentia described the convent: 'The place is about an hour and a half by rail from London, so you might be able to visit it on your way to Germany – perhaps after, or instead of, Teignmouth – not instead of Stanbrook.'[179] Dame Laurentia jealously guarded the time that Bewerunge spent at Stanbrook, and although she felt he could do much to assist other Benedictine congregations she was not happy when time spent elsewhere reduced the length of his visits. She herself was given occasional permission to travel from her enclosure to teach chant at a number of convents who converted to the *Vaticana*, including Oulton Abbey (Staffordshire) and East Bergholt. Thus she was able to disseminate Bewerunge's pedagogy on voice production and chanting. Towards the end of Bewerunge's life, when his health was significantly impaired, he still undertook extra travel to visit Oulton Abbey to advise on a new organ. His report to Dame Laurentia on the standard of music at Oulton turned out to be his penultimate letter to her before he died.

Bewerunge's efforts at Stanbrook, however, far eclipsed any of his other conventual work in England. This work was distinct from the scholarly collaborations

177 In his letter of 2 December 1908 to Dame Laurentia, while finalising his travel plans for Christmas and new year, Bewerunge mused that 'perhaps the nuns in Teignmouth will ask me to come to them again'. (SAA)

178 Dame Laurentia to Bewerunge, 26 February 1909. (SAA)

179 *Ibid*.

on plainchant between himself and Dame Laurentia, which was largely conducted by correspondence. His first visit to Stanbrook was in September 1902. He continued to visit biannually until December 1922, excepting the period of his exile during the war.[180] He taught singing and voice production to the choir, and gave organ lessons to Dame Laurentia and a number of other nuns, affectionately known as the 'organ-grinders'.[181] His work at Stanbrook gave him opportunities to meet and deliberate with other visitors there, including many leaders of church music reform in England, both Anglican and Catholic.[182]

5.3.3 Plainchant Accompaniment

In addition to his teaching, Bewerunge wrote plainchant accompaniments for Stanbrook over a period of fifteen years, from 1906 to 1921. Some of these accompaniments were also circulated among a number of convents in Ireland, England, and Holland. The genre of plainchant accompaniment is a special one, quite different from, for instance, the accompaniment of (non-chant) hymns. It has a modal rather than a tonal basis,[183] and the rhythm is not metric. There are two core factors for accompaniment: the first centering on chord choices, and the second involving chord placement.

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180 His January 1914 visit was his last until his release from Germany in July 1920, when he called at Stanbrook on his way to Ireland. Post-war bureaucratic requirements meant he was unable to visit in August 1922.

181 By extraordinary coincidence, this writer met the grand-nephew of Dame Joanna Hopkins, one of the 'organ-grinders', while staying at Ampleforth Abbey during a research trip to Stanbrook in May 2014.

182 For instance, H.B. Briggs (Plainsong and Medieval Music Society), Anglican bishop W.H. Frere, Hugh Henry (Overbrook Seminary, Philadelphia), Fr Michael Moloney (Westminster), Henry Parkinson (Oscott), William Sewell (Birmingham Oratory), and H.G. Worth (Liverpool).

183 Gregorian chant uses eight modes, two on each of four finals ('tonics') D, E, F and G. The placement of tones and semitones is different for each of the these four finals: D and E can be considered as minor modes; F and G as major. F-final modes are the only two which incorporate a semitone below the upper final (i.e. a raised leading note).

The *martellato* style of chant performance which predominated in post-Tridentine abridged chant often gave rise to chord-per-note accompaniments. Looking back at Fig. 5.5 above which gave an example of a very heavyset chant typeface, it can be easily envisaged that the accompaniment for such a style would be markedly different to that required for light, rhythmically free, chanting. Thus the work of melodic and rhythmic restoration, and the publication of the *Vaticana*, provided opportunities for new chant accompaniments. By 1895 it was recognised in England that harmonisation should be simple in texture, with few moving parts.[184] Accompaniments of necessity marked their composers as being of one rhythmic school or another, as placement of chords marked the rhythmic accents. Giulio Bas (1874–1929), Franz Xaver Mathias, and Peter Wagner published accompaniments which particularly came to the notice of Bewerunge and Dame Laurentia.[185] Bewerunge reviewed a portion of Bas's work for the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* in 1904.[186] Outlining three areas of objection (isolated unaccompanied notes, some poor harmonic choices, and chord changes on final syllables of words), he nevertheless concluded that this work was much better than the accompaniments provided in the Ratisbon Gradual. The following year, commenting privately on Bas's views on harmony as set out in *Paléographie Musicale*, Bewerunge said:

> Bas' [sic] remarks are, on the whole, all right. The natural place for change of harmony is on a thesis, there is no doubt of that. In practice I would, however, allow anticipations and retardations, whenever they are fairly easily intelligible. It is very common in plainchant to have the main note preceded, on the beat, by an appoggiatura. If you bring in your harmony on this appoggiatura you get often

184 H.W. Frere, 'Accompaniment', from Briggs (1895), p. 90.

185 Peter Wagner, *Ordinarium Missae juxta editionem Vaticanam organo concinente* (Freiburg, 1905); Julius Bas, *Kyriale seu Ordinarium Missae ad exemplar editionis Vaticanae* (Tournai: Desclée, Lefebvre & Soc, 1906); F.X. Mathias, *Organum concomitans ad Kyriale seu Ordinarium Missae quod juxta editionem Vaticanam* (Ratisbon: Pustet, 1906). Other accompaniment authors – some more well-known than others – included Charles Bordes (1863–1909), Alexandre Guilmant (1837–1911), Vincent d'Indy (1851–1931), Dominicus Johner (1874–1955), Franz Nekes (1844–1914), Déodat de Séverac (1872–1921), and R.R. Terry (1865–1938).

186 *Repertorio di Melodie Gregoriane trascritte ed accompagnate con organo od armonium da Giulio Bas* (Rome: Desclée, Lefebvre & Cie, ?1904) reviewed in *IER* (May 1904), pp. 478–480.

> very harsh suspensions. But the main question is, where are the theses?[187]

Bewerunge thus immediately identified the rhythmic-harmonic difficulty. The deployment of chords must coincide with appropriate rhythmic divisions of the melody, and this in itself depends on the particular rhythmic theory adopted. In addition to these essential considerations is the relation of text accent to chord placement, and harmonic resolution of possible conflicts between text accent and melodic accent. Bas followed Mocquereau, and Bewerunge – at that time completely against Mocquereau's rhythm – was of the view that 'no unprejudiced musician would accept Bas's harmonies as rhythmically correct'.[188] He also considered the harmonies 'crude' and 'too stagnant' in places.[189] Bas published accompaniments for the new Vatican *Kyriale* in 1906, but Bewerunge preferred those of Mathias, although 'there are a good many things in it that I do not like'.[190] In 1907 Bewerunge translated into English Mathias's *Die Choralbegleitung*, but the manuscript languished for some time and ultimately an English translation was not published.[191] Bewerunge's first principles of chant accompaniment can be given in his own words:

> The organ ought not to play the melody, it ought not to have frequent changes of harmony, the organist ought not to lift his fingers at pauses, especially at pauses that ought not to be! These are points we have agreed to long ago, but it is a certain satisfaction to have them demonstrated again, if only by the contrary.[192]

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187 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 27 October 1905. (SAA)

188 *Ibid*.

189 *Ibid*.

190 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 28 April 1906. (SAA) Bewerunge also expressed a preference for Mathias's harmonies in a letter of 21 February 1915 to Denis O'Doherty, rector of the Irish College in Salamanca, Spain. (IRL-Mrjp)

191 F.X. Mathias, *Die Choralbegleitung* (Regensburg: Pustet, 1905). Bewerunge wrote: 'I had, at long last, a letter from Dr Mathias a few days ago. He apologised for not thanking me for my MS, which is lying on his desk still. For a considerable time I could not understand what MS he was referring to. I had completely forgotten about the translation. Apparently it is not to be published.' Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 12 February 1909. (SAA) A draft of this translation survived in the Russell Library archives, Maynooth, until at least 1993, but is now missing.

192 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 19 October 1916. (SAA)

1904 marked the first occasion when Bewerunge gave Dame Laurentia his own harmonies which he had written for the organist in Rathfarnham, using figured bass under the melody.[193] During his Christmas visit in 1905 they discussed a programme by which he would provide accompaniments on a more regular basis. Dame Laurentia initially suggested grouping melodic notes according to neumes rather than any particular rhythmical theory, and adjusting note groupings in completed copies 'to give a more correct rhythmical impression'.[194] What she meant by a more '*correct* rhythmical impression' was not clear – she did not have confidence in her melodic analyses at this stage and may have expected that the placement of Bewerunge's harmonic changes would make clear how to group notes. Bewerunge demonstrated their collegiality:

> While I have a fuller command over harmonic resources, you seem to have a finer feeling for the appropriateness of a setting. By working together we may be able to get something fairly good. Tell me therefore anything that does not quite satisfy you – when a harmony does not please you, or when there are too many changes, or when you wish for a change at any particular spot.[195]

Two of the nuns, Dame Petronilla and Dame Febronia, undertook the work of writing out harmonies in full from Bewerunge's figured bass or bass notes. Their initial efforts were then sent back to Bewerunge for his corrections. He reminded them of figured bass meanings, warned them to watch out for consecutive fifths and octaves, and to observe rules regarding doubled thirds.[196] The harmonies immediately found favour with Dame Laurentia, and she also commented that the choir could keep pitch better with Bewerunge's accompaniments.[197] She remarked:

> I cannot quite analyze what it is in your accompaniments that so completely satisfies my soul – they seem to work in and out of the melodies in such a natural

193 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 29 October 1904. (SAA)
194 Dame Laurentia to Bewerunge, 15 January 1905. (SAA)
195 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 16 January 1906. (SAA)
196 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 25 January 1906. (SAA)
197 Dame Laurentia to Bewerunge, 24 February 1906. (SAA)

fashion that they are a constant delight.[198]

Bewerunge thought it 'absurd to talk of plainchant accompaniments in polyphonic style'.[199] He took the view that the harmonic background should not draw attention to itself, and his preference was not to double the melody line in the organ.[200] He provided many accompaniments for Stanbrook during 1906, and Dame Laurentia also sent him a number of her own harmonisations – done 'à la Fr Bewerunge' – for correction.[201] Visitors to Stanbrook began to remark on the accompaniments, one priest describing them as 'heavenly',[202] and another 'like a meditation on the text'.[203] In 1907 Bewerunge began to consider publishing some of his work. A music supplement with two harmonised Marian antiphons in *Church Music* (Philadelphia) for September 1907 moved him to remark: 'The Solesmes rhythmical theories seem to have infected all accompanists. It is really time that I should publish something!'[204] However, as he had publicly stated that the 1895 *Liber Usualis* was a better edition than the Vatican *Kyriale*, he was obliged to wait until a Solesmes edition was published, and owing to Solesmes' delays and the outbreak of war a propitious time failed to materialise. There was never any question in his own mind regarding his ability to produce harmonisations superior to those of his contemporaries; it was logistics alone which defeated the project.

198 *Ibid*. In addition to the core factors of harmony and rhythmic placement, a number of stylistic issues dictate the effectiveness of chant accompaniment. For instance, the frequency of chord placement, whereby sparse homophonic chords run the risk of losing contact with nuances of the melody, but polyphonic imitative chords may unduly complicate the melodic flow. The size, layout, and acoustic of the building in which the chant is sung also necessarily has an impact on accompaniment style, as well as the chant performance itself. The duration of acoustical echoes, the difficulties of heterophony, the size and quality of the choir, and of course the capability of the organ all have their bearing on accompaniment calculations.

199 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 9 July 1906. (SAA)

200 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 18 November 1911 and 19 October 1916. (SAA)

201 Dame Laurentia to Bewerunge, 20 July 1906. (SAA)

202 Dame Laurentia to Bewerunge, 20 July 1906. (SAA) Stanbrook held a church music summer school in 1906, using Bewerunge's accompaniments for several Mass propers.

203 Dame Laurentia to Bewerunge, 6 January 1907. (SAA)

204 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 26 October 1907. (SAA)

As time went on Bewerunge revisited some of his earlier harmonisations and reworked them. He wrote:

> I am getting more and more difficult to please, and when I come to a passage that does not satisfy me, it means a great deal of thinking and trying and singing over the melody, before I fix on something.[205]

This revealed that his method was fundamentally aural, with a pre-existing mental concept which needed to be detected and secured. Dame Laurentia responded: 'Your standard of perfection is forever being raised'.[206] The work of harmonisation was indeed painstaking, and Bewerunge often put aside other work in order to provide Stanbrook with accompaniments at short notice for particular liturgical feasts. Dame Laurentia conjured a rare image of Bewerunge when she asked: 'Could you kindly, over your after-dinner cigar, look through the enclosed [harmonies]?'[207] Over the years Stanbrook built up a significant collection of Bewerunge accompaniments. Others provided harmonisations too. Dom Gregory Ould OSB (1865–1939), organist, composer, and plainchant revivalist, was based at Fort Augustus Abbey in Scotland. He made a number of visits to Stanbrook from 1912 to supply their requirements for a priest and met Bewerunge on several occasions, most notably when they celebrated liturgical functions together. Dame Laurentia categorised him as 'an ultra-Mocquereautist'.[208] She obtained a small number of accompaniments from him, but disliked them:

> His work is good, but it doesn't satisfy my soul. The choice of harmonies sometimes upsets me & seems to me to alter the character of the chant, and make it sound different from what it would sound unaccompanied. […] It is comical to watch the effect of Fr G's [harmonies] on the choir. They look indignantly at the organist![209]

Regarding Bewerunge and Ould, the Stanbrook House Chronicles described two men

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205 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 8 December 1907. (SAA)
206 Dame Laurentia to Bewerunge, 16 December 1907. (SAA)
207 Dame Laurentia to Bewerunge, 9 June 1908. (SAA)
208 Dame Laurentia to Bewerunge, 11 July 1912. (SAA)
209 *Ibid*.

whose theories did not agree but whose practical performance was deemed to be on a par:

> These two fathers are very great masters in the musical world and great authorities on Gregorian chant, though they do not agree on very many points; it was a very great privilege to have them both here together and hear them execute the chant with such perfection.[210]

By 1913 Stanbrook was using the Vatican *Gradual* and Bewerunge began to provide new accompaniments for Sunday masses and feast days using this edition, beginning at Easter. He occasionally made alterations to the melodies, confirming that the passage of time did not reconcile him to Pothier's editorship. Dame Laurentia was nervous of implementing some of his changes, on the grounds that Stanbrook was too well-known: 'If we were out of reach […] we might be bolder!'[211] She was particularly satisfied with his harmonies for the new edition, however, and a visitor remarked on them 'as something quite uncommon and beautiful'.[212] Bewerunge continued to work on harmonisations while exiled in Germany both during and after the war, but the slowness and unreliability of the post in addition to the absence of opportunity for personal discussion made it more laborious. An example of this is evident in an exchange in January and March of 1920, by which time they had not had a face-to-face meeting for almost six years. Dame Laurentia sent him her detailed critique on a set of accompaniments he had just done, and Bewerunge declared himself shocked:

> More serious trouble was given to me by the second set of your objections […] Indeed for a while I was quite upset. You disturbed my most deep-rooted principles, you succeeded in shaking my most firm-laid foundations. I was like a ship that had broken its anchor chain and was helplessly tossed on the wild sea. But after considerable doubting I came to the conclusion that you must be wrong, whatever way the error in your rhythmical feeling is to be explained.[213]

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210 Stanbrook Abbey House Chronicles, 25 December 1912. (SAA)

211 Dame Laurentia to Bewerunge, 19 February 1913. (SAA)

212 Dame Laurentia to Bewerunge, 5 April 1913. (SAA)

213 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 21 March 1920. (SAA) Bewerunge rarely used such flowery imagery and it reflected the informality of their relationship.

Dame Laurentia replied:

> I would give a good deal to have a talk with you on these matters. I have a certain fear myself of growing mechanical by too close an adherence to D. Mocquereau's principles. They are tempting in the sense that they are plain for all to grasp and they work out like clockwork. But I own that my instinct is often not satisfied.[214]

The circumstances of war meant it was also difficult for Bewerunge to obtain chant books – he had to borrow a *Liber Usualis* in late 1914 or early 1915.[215] During wartime Dame Laurentia used a variety of accompaniments, including those of Peter Wagner and Gregory Ould as well as Bewerunge.

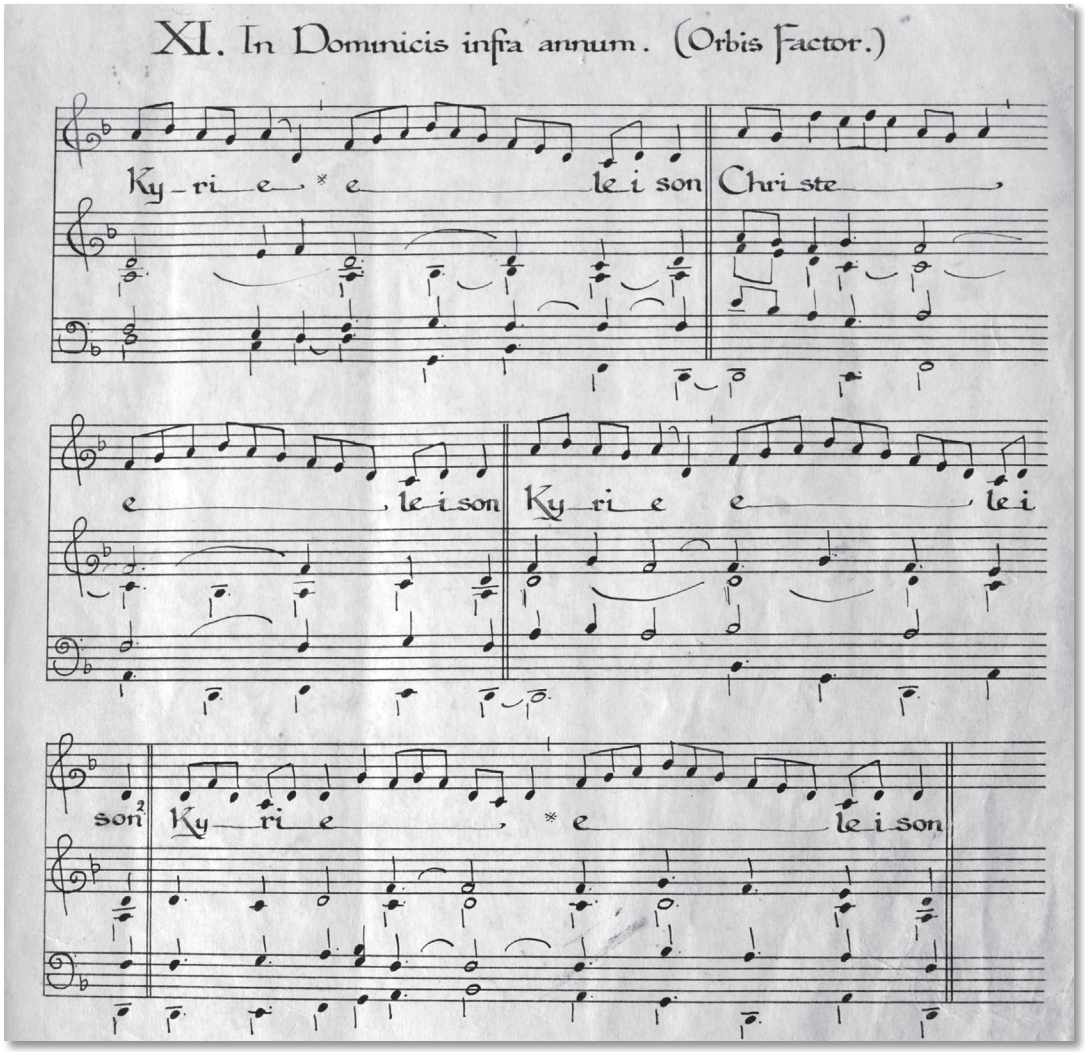
Given the strong focus on plainchant accompaniment in Bewerunge's correspondence with Dame Laurentia and the considerable time he spent carrying out that work, a search for any surviving manuscripts seemed essential, despite Muir's assertion that only one fragment of his harmonisations survived.[216] In the course of research for this thesis earlier this year (May 2014), following an investigation of archival material at Stanbrook with the help of the archivist and choir-mistress, three three handwritten music manuscript books with chant accompaniments dating from approximately the first quarter of the twentieth century were brought to light. The task of establishing whether any of the harmonisations are Bewerunge's is extremely difficult, as only a minority of items have author attributions and even these attributions appear to have been added after the fact. Although many of the pieces were ones for which he had written accompaniments, the nuns had also made copies from other accompanists. Confirming composers in the absence of a complete collection of accompaniments with which to compare the handwritten manuscripts is impossible. Furthermore, because the music and harmonisations which moved between Stanbrook and Maynooth (and later Germany) were in packets separate from the correspondence

214 Dame Laurentia to Bewerunge, 24 May 1920. (SAA)
215 Bewerunge to Denis O'Doherty, 21 February 1915. (SAA)
216 Muir (2008), p. 220, fn. 88.

itself, on many occasions the correspondence referred to music without specifiying what the items were, so the list of specific pieces known to have been harmonised by Bewerunge is far smaller than the full total of his accompaniment work. However, comparing commentary from the letters with the available music notation, it is possible to make one positive identification and draw inferences as to some others.

At the end of 1916 Bewerunge harmonised Mass ordinaries for setting XI, *In Dominicis infra annum* (*Missa orbis factor*). This was found among other mass settings – some of which may also be Bewerunge's – in a manuscript book with a red cover. The notation is not in Bewerunge's hand, as is to be expected since copying work was usually done by Dame Febronia or Dame Petronilla. A scan of the manuscript (see Fig. 5.8 overleaf) reveals that the organ did not double the melody and that the accompaniment used pedals in addition to manuals.[217] Bewerunge strove for contrapuntal movement within the accompaniment and did not overburden the melody with passing notes or polyphonic material.

217 The use of pedals is inferred from the wide spacing of lower notes in the bass line.

Ex. 5.3 Bewerunge's accompaniment for *Missa orbis factor* 'Kyrie'

Dame Laurentia was particularly happy with the 'Kyrie', stating: 'I find nothing otherwise than I should desire […] you have got a beautiful motion in the bass at the last "kyrie"'. However, she cavilled over chord placements in the 'Gloria'.[218] Bewerunge suggested alternatives for some of these, but recommended that she try others as he had written them.[219] The points of their disagreement centered on phrase beginnings. Bewerunge felt that a change of harmony after a single note commencing a phrase 'had

218 Dame Laurentia to Bewerunge, 19 December 1916. (SAA)

219 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 11 January 1917. (SAA)

a jerky effect'.[220] Rather than leaving the single note unaccompanied, his preference was to anticipate the ensuing harmony, unless a change of registration or manuals necessitated a brief rest. Dame Laurentia, on the other hand, preferred where possible to continue the harmony ending the previous phrase under the beginning of the new phrase.[221] By August 1917 it seemed that they had reached a compromise, and Dame Laurentia wrote: 'We are using your harmonies to the Mass 'In Dominicis' nearly every Sunday, and they grow on one more and more and bring out the fine points in the Mass […]'.[222]

A comparison between Wagner (1905), Mathias (1906), Bewerunge (c. 1916), and Flor Peters (1949) based on the *Missa orbis factor* 'Kyrie' (which has a threefold iteration within each section) serves to contextualise Bewerunge's accompaniment style.[223] There is necessarily a degree of subjectivity in such a comparison, but the general principle of unobtrusivity and matters such as incorrect harmonic grammar are non-partisan. Wagner began with unisons, suggesting that the organ joined the singers rather than the other way round. Chord changes were quite frequent, shaping the melismas rhythmically into groups of three notes. The inner parts were generally unostentatious and the harmonic progressions reasonably strong. Mathias's chord progressions, like Wagner's, were quite frequent. They were weak in places, for instance V–I in the middle of a phrase with an unresolved leading note at the top of the texture, and over-use of I. One poor rhythmic placement stressed a weak syllable. These weaknesses resulted in a more intrusive accompaniment. Unlike Wagner and Mathias, Bewerunge's accompaniment did not double the melody. His chord progressions were strong and more sparsely placed. The density of texture varied between three- and four-part chords. There was a greater sense of overall direction within the movement

220 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 21 March 1920. (SAA)

221 Dame Laurentia to Bewerunge, 24 May 1920. (SAA)

222 Dame Laurentia to Bewerunge, 17 August 1917. (SAA)

223 Flor Peeters (1903–1986) was a Belgian organist and composer. He was an internationally renowned pedagogue and this writer's first organ teacher came under his tutelage.

as a whole. Peeters used more secondary seventh and ninth chords, entirely expected from a mid-twentieth-century harmonic palette. His chords were quite sparsely placed with minimal part-movement. Although Bewerunge's harmonic language cannot be compared to that of Peeters, his economic deployment of chords revealed a closer affiliation to mid-century style than to his contemporaries. This was particularly striking in the 'Agnus Dei', where Bewerunge's chord changes were minimal and part movement was quite static, resulting in some colourful dissonance as the vocal melody flowed above the chords. This was in stark contrast to both Wagner and Mathias.

Bewerunge's name was written over a harmonisation of the antiphon 'Alma redemptoris' (solemn tone) in a book of Marian antiphons whose harmonists included Dom Gregory Ould, H.P. Allen (previously mentioned in reference to the Salford diocesan music commission), and Bewerunge. The harmonisation attributions were not inserted contemporaneously with the music, and in a number of places the author's name was crossed out and replaced with another, so that the reliability of the information is not absolute. The style of harmonisation in this antiphon is more ornate than that for the mass ordinary, and it seemed that the organ was intended to double the melody line, both issues which raise queries as to attribution. One of the last chants that Bewerunge harmonised was a 'Te Deum' based on the English *Worcester Gradual*. It too appeared in the Marian antiphon book but was not attributed. Dame Laurentia asked him for harmonies in February 1921 but it was some time before he was able to provide them, as his health had declined greatly. On 15 January 1922, making a very rare mention of Irish political matters, Dame Laurentia wrote: 'We sang 'Te Deum' on Sunday in thanksgiving for the Irish settlement'.[224]

Although Dame Laurentia was not successful in persuading Bewerunge to publish any of his harmonisations, some of his work was copied by hand and circulated

224 Dame Laurentia to Bewerunge, 15 January 1922. (SAA)

privately. With regard to Bewerunge's harmonisation of psalm-tones, Dame Laurentia commented: 'We are getting tired of copying these, and wish you would have them printed!'.[225] In addition to Stanbrook and Rathfarnham, his accompaniments also went to Oscott seminary in Birmingham via Samuel Myerscough (junior),[226] and to the Benedictine abbey at Oosterhout in Netherlands, where an extra pedal stop was also added to the organ at Bewerunge's recommendation.[227]

In keeping with his views on the subservience of chant harmonisation to the melody, Bewerunge favoured gentle organ registrations with subtle changes of tonal colour. He wanted the Stanbrook organ to have additional stops which would improve registration possibilities for chant accompaniment,[228] and he arranged for Stahlhuth of Aachen, the builders responsible for the Maynooth college chapel organ, to examine the instrument.[229] Stahlhuth recommended two sixteen-foot pedal stops, one with full tone and one 'delicate'.[230] The work was carried out in January 1910.[231] Dame Laurentia wrote:

> They seem to give a foundation for the voice as they do for the harmonies […] God will reward you for all you have done to make the praise of Stanbrook's choir 'jucunda decoraque' [delightful and beautiful]. Your kind help and instructions are a constant spur to me in working at the choir day by day.[232]

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225 Dame Laurentia to Bewerunge, 29 May 1910. (SAA)

226 *Ibid*.

227 Dame Laurentia to Bewerunge, 11 April 1914. (SAA)

228 Stanbrook Abbey House Chronicles, 3 September 1909. (SAA)

229 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 26 April 1909. (SAA) Dame Laurentia also arranged for an English organ-builder to give an estimate for the work, but she favoured Stahlhuth on the grounds that as an organist himself his approach would be more artistic. Dame Laurentia to Bewerunge, 2 June 1909. (SAA)

230 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 5 July 1909. (SAA)

231 'They were of course good Catholics and very quiet, which was very satisfactory'! Stanbrook Abbey House Chronicles, 23 January 1910, writing on Eduard Stahlhuth and workman Herr Haupt. (SAA)

232 Dame Laurentia to Bewerunge, 23 January 1910. (SAA) There is some evidence to suggest that Bewerunge subsidised the cost of Stahlhuth's work at Stanbrook from his own pocket as a gift for Dame Laurentia's silver jubilee, in order that she might have the best possible instrument for the funds available. Dame Laurentia to Bewerunge, 16 August 1909, and Bewerunge's reply, 1 September 1909. (SAA)

5.3.4 Publications and Conferences

Bewerunge was a regular contributor to international journals and attended annual conferences whenever he could. Congresses and conferences of course provided him with opportunities to meet and talk with other musicians and musicologists, both clerical and lay. His international conference papers were also published. The list of publications (including conferences) discovered during the course of this research is more extensive than the 1993 White and Lawrence catalogue of his publications, but it may not yet be exhaustive.[233] The range of topics covered is remarkable: traditional Irish music, organ-building, voice production, and plainchant – all of which reflect the areas of contribution which have been discussed previously. Bewerunge was usually adept at targeting his audience, and the papers range from highly accessible to technically complex. His increasing profile abroad is clear: from 1905 onwards all his articles except one were published in journals outside Ireland. It is also notable that from 1905 his research centred almost exclusively on plainchant.

A number of the papers he delivered at major conferences are particularly significant in terms of the exposure he received. The earliest of these was 'Music at Mass and at Benediction', read at the 1908 Eucharistic Congress in London and later published in the conference proceedings.[234] The London event was the first Congress held in an English-speaking country and was a symbol of hope and development for the Catholic minority in England.[235] Bewerunge focused on the congregation and the centrality of its role in the liturgy. He emphasised that mass was a celebration of all the members of the church, 'the public worship of priest and people united',[236] and that the

233 Lawrence & White, *IMS 2* (1993), pp. 78–107. See Appendix A.1 for a full list of publications.

234 H. Bewerunge, 'Music at Mass and at Benediction', *Report of the Nineteenth Eucharistic Congress* (London: Sands & Co., 1909), p. 102.

235 Huge numbers attended, and a papal legate – the first in England since the Reformation – came with six cardinals, fourteen archbishops, seventy bishops and many priests. *Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1909, taken from reports in *The Tablet*.

236 'Music at Mass and at Benediction', *Report of the Nineteenth Eucharistic Congress*, p. 102.

choir acted as a representative of the people. He gave a very useful history of the type, function, and development of mass propers, and their eclipse by polyphonic settings of the mass ordinary. His discussion on the gradual was particularly interesting. He urged that it should not be omitted as it was the only portion of the Mass propers which stood independent of any accompanying liturgical action. All other chants were performed while other activities – processing, collecting offerings, distribution of communion – were taking place, but the gradual alone required complete attention from the congregation. He also urged the importance of congregational singing. The latter portion of his paper focused on the poor quality of music at benediction. He lamented the 'stereotyped' benediction service with constant repetition of the same texts and poor modern musical compositions.[237] Bewerunge expressly discussed his themes from a liturgical point of view rather than a musical one, on the grounds that 'our musical discussions are to a large extent wasteful talk […] as long as liturgical ideas have not become common property again'.[238] The audience to whom Bewerunge addressed his paper was a large and influential one.[239] The bishop of Salford immediately responded by promising to introduce congregational responses in his diocese with a view to leading the congregation towards singing the ordinary of the mass.[240] Among others who spoke afterwards to endorse Bewerunge's comments were bishop Nicholas Donnelly, R.R. Terry (director of music at Westminster cathedral), and a priest from St Paul's, New York.[241] The most striking aspect of Bewerunge's content was its resonance for twenty-first century Catholic liturgy. The dearth of priests and the necessary creation

237 'Music at Mass and at Benediction', *Report of the Nineteenth Eucharistic Congress*, p. 103. He particularly deplored the litanies.

238 *Ibid*.

239 The bishop of Newport (Wales) chaired the session at which Bewerunge spoke, assisted by the bishops of Salford, Aberdeen, and Elphin (Ireland).

240 *Report of the Nineteenth Eucharistic Congress* (London: Sands & Co., 1909), p. 114.

241 'Music at Mass and Benediction', *FJ*, 11 September 1908, pp. 9–10. Bishop Donnelly adverted to the difficulty of persuading Irish Catholics to sing – a matter which has changed little since then. He also commended the Westminster choir and gave his opinion that Dublin's Pro-Cathedral Palestrina Choir was as good. Richard Terry disparaged newspaper discussions on church music (*Irish Times*, 11 September 1908, p. 6) – somewhat ironically given his own penchant for letters to the media on that subject.

of lay liturgies in the present day echo his call that 'all the members of the church are a *regale sacerdotium*, a royal priesthood'.[242] Bewerunge urged congregations to take ownership of the liturgy by joining in worship through music as well as spoken prayer.[243] This concept of active engagement was a thoroughly modernist approach, almost half a century before the changes of the Second Vatican Council and at a time when priests conducted the Latin mass with their backs to the people. Bewerunge's paper was reported in various newspapers including the *Irish Independent*, *Irish Times*, *Freeman's Journal*, and *New Zealand Times*.

Membership of the International Musical Society (Internationalen Musikgesellschaft [IMS]) offered Bewerunge another opportunity to meet his peers. Founded as a research organization in Leipzig in 1899,[244] Bewerunge became honorary secretary of the Dublin branch of IMS when it was constituted in 1905. He attended a number of annual conferences and the report of the third congress of the society, held in Vienna in 1909, listed him as chairman of the church music section.[245] The 1909 congress also provided for the first time a section dedicated to organ-building. Bewerunge was appointed as member of an international committee, chaired by theologian, musician, and medic Albert Schweizer (1875–1965), which met and reported over the duration of the conference.[246] This resulted in the publication of *Internationales Regulativ für Orgelbau*,[247] which aimed at standardisation of consoles,

242 Bewerunge, 'Music at Mass and at Benediction', p. 96.

243 Bewerunge was decades ahead of his time in calling for improvements in Benediction music: it was not until the 1930s that Hasberry's *The Complete Benediction Manual* (1931) and Terry's *Benediction Choir Book* (1937) were published. This was mentioned by Muir (2008), pp. 179–182.

244 Its last conference was in 1914, after which time the war prevented its work. It was reconstituted in 1927 as the International Musicological Society.

245 Along with Dom Lorenzo Perosi (Rome), Prof. Hermann Müller (Paderborn), and Karl Weinmann (Regensburg).

246 Prior to the congress, Schweizer had sent questionnaires to many organists and organ-builders. Lawrence Phelps, 'A Short History of the Organ Revival', *Church Music*, 67, 1, <http://www.lawrencephelps.com/Documents/Articles/Phelps/ashorthistory.shtml> [accessed 25 June 2014]. The information contained in the responses provided material for the committee to discuss.

247 Albert Schweizer, ed., *Internationales Regulativ für Orgelbau* (Wien: Artaria & Co., 1909).

pedal-boards, pitch, tuning, scaling, provision of power, and wind pressure. The reach and influence of this document cannot be established within the scope of research for this thesis, but the continuing divergence between English, French, and Germanic organ styles attests that standardisation was not effected. At the 1911 IMS conference, in addition to acting as vice-chairman for the church music section, Bewerunge read a paper on 'The Metrical Cursus in the Antiphonal Chants of the Mass'. Expanding on research from both Pothier's *Les Mélodies Grégoriennes* and Mocquereau's *Paléographie Musicale* (vol. 4), Bewerunge investigated traces of the metrical cursus in antiphon melodies rather than just psalm-tone terminations.[248] This was a technically complex paper.[249] He concluded that recognition of the metrical cursus was of benefit in balancing rhythmically the often conflicting demands of textual accent and melodic accent. He also argued that the many instances of a metrical cursus supported the theory that plainchant melodies were created at a time when the cursus was in use in literary compositions in the fifth century and thus well before the time of Gregory the Great.[250] Apel considered Bewerunge's analysis of the metrical cursus to be 'a more reliable basis of investigation' than Mocquereau's,[251] but thought the number of possible cursus formations examined by Bewerunge were confusing. He endorsed Bewerunge's findings to a limited extent, and preferred his approach to that of Italian gregorianist Paolo Ferretti (1866–1938), whose research post-dated Bewerunge's.[252] The 1911 IMS conference was also the catalyst for his article, 'Zur Gregorianischen Rhythmik',[253] which arose following a meeting between the president of the German

248 *Report of the Fourth Congress of the International Musical Society* (London: Novello & Co., 1911), p. 55.

249 The metrical cursus of oratorical prose in Latin antiquity gave way around the beginning of the fourth century to text accentuation and a rhythmical cursus.

250 H. Bewerunge, 'The Metrical Cursus in the Antiphonal Chants of the Mass', *Irish Theological Quarterly* (July 1911), pp. 345–357.

251 Willi Apel, *Gregorian Chant* (USA: Indiana University Press, 1958), p. 300.

252 Paolo Ferretti, *Il cursus metrico e il ritmo delle melodie gregoriane* (Rome: Tipogr. del Senato, 1913).

253 H. Bewerunge, 'Zur Gregorianischen Rhythmik', *Musica Sacra* (August 1911), pp. 130–135. All newly-discovered papers published in German were translated into English for this research by Hermann Müllers.

Cecilian society, the directors of the Ratisbon and Aachen schools of church music, and Dom Mocquereau, concerning the adoption of rhythmical editions of plainchant. Bewerunge was then asked to write a paper on the importance of rhythmical markings for Karl Weinmann's journal, *Musica Sacra*.[254] While writing the article, he commented to Dame Laurentia:

> It just occurs to me that in all probability I shall be on the Index shortly. It has been infallibly defined that the Vatican Edition contains 'satis supergne' what is required for the rhythm, and there I am writing an article to prove that without additional signs it is impossible to sing it correctly! It's well I have the leading men of the German Cecilian Society on my side. Perhaps that will avert disaster![255]

The Incorporated Society of Musicians was a British organization, founded in 1882. Bewerunge was invited to read a paper on a topic of his own choosing at the 1913 annual conference in Birmingham.[256] He chose to discuss 'The Forms of Gregorian Chant' and his contribution was widely reported in the English and Irish national and regional press.[257] Stanbrook Abbey's House Chronicles gave an insight into the status accorded to Bewerunge by the Society's invitation:

> He had been asked to read a paper, and as all the members are Protestants it was a great mark of honour and recognition for his great abilities for them to invite a Catholic and still more a priest to take part in their assembly.[258]

His paper consisted of a technical discussion on chant cadences and adaptations made over the centuries in solo and choral psalmody, leading to distinctive varieties within the chant ordinary and propers. The published paper included many music

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254 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 7 June 1911. (SAA)

255 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 24 June 1911. (SAA) The Index to which Bewerunge referred was the *Index Expurgatorius*, the Vatican's list of prohibited publications.

256 The 1913 conference was variously described as 'perhaps the most momentous in the history of the […] society' (*Musical Times* (February 1913), p. 113) and as a 'dull and surprisingly inadequate business' (*Daily Telegraph*, London, quoted in *FJ*, 7 January 1913, p. 6).

257 In addition to that in the *Musical Times*, reports were carried in the *The Times*, *London Standard*, *Manchester Guardian*, *The Scotsman*, *Dundee Courier*, *Aberdeen Journal*, *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, *Irish Times*, and *Irish Independent*.

258 Stanbrook Abbey House Chronicles, 1 January 1913. (SAA)

examples which Bewerunge sang for his audience to demonstrate his points.[259] He was sufficiently confident of his research to disagree with two leading musicologists, challenging Wagner's theory concerning the origin of tracts and Riemann's theories on mensurated chant. Discussing antiphonal psalmody, Bewerunge stated:

> Riemann has put forward the theory that such melodies are strictly mensurable, each of the four members consisting of two bars in common time, having, therefore, four accents. […] This sounds plausible enough […] But when we consider these same types of melody adapted to different texts, great difficulties arise against the theory. Riemann confesses himself that the type he selected suits his purpose particularly well. But even with this he has sometimes to use considerable violence to get the adaptations into his eight-bar scheme. With other types the difficulties become insuperable.[260]

He was not hostile, however, in his dissent and, as was his wont, supported his views with examples. The concluding remarks confirmed his fascination with the development of plainchant forms:

> One of the results of this variety of forms is to secure to Plain Chant services a continual freshness and interest, so that choirs that have given themselves up to the cultivation of these melodies do not get tired of them, but rather sing them, from day to day, from year to year, with ever-increasing delight.[261]

His paper was well received, but its technical content may have been somewhat beyond the reach of his audience. Composer Charles Vincent confessed to the assembly that he thought priests improvised their chants as they went along! The most pertinent of the reported post-paper questions was from Dr Arthur Henry Mann – renowned for revitalising the choir of King's College Cambridge – who enquired as to the notation in use during the fourth century.[262]

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259 The text of his paper referred at various times to his singing the examples, e.g. pp. 502 and 504. 'The Forms of Gregorian Chant', *IER* (May 1913), pp. 497–515.

260 *Ibid*., pp. 505–506.

261 *Ibid*., p. 515.

262 A newspaper cutting from an unidentified newspaper contained a report of the conference which included questions and comments following delivery of Bewerunge's paper. (SAA)

Bewerunge's last conference presentation before the first world war was in June 1914 at the Congress of the International Musical Society in Paris. His topic was 'The Treatment of Word Accents in Gregorian Chant'.[263] He wrote to Dame Laurentia:

> I read my paper before a fair audience. Naturally there was not much of a discussion. It was too new an idea for them. Wagner, however, was gracious enough to admit that there might be something in what I said. But Gastoué, who was in the chair, said it all rested on a double or triple misunderstanding. French politeness![264]

This paper considered the shifts in textual accent found in certain forms of Latin words, or occasioned by the addition of enclitic words. Bewerunge argued that many monosyllabic words placed a stress on the preceding word and lost their rhythmic independence.

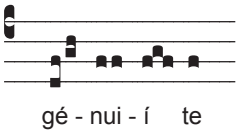
> According to paroxytones, monosyllabic words generally merge in such a way that they build a proparoxytone with the preceding syllable. Yet sometimes the enclitic word pulls the stress over onto the last syllable of the paroxytone.[265]

Nach Paroxytona verſchmelzen einſilbige Wörter in der Regel ſo, daß ſie mit dem vorhergehenden ein Proparoxytonon bilden. Zuweilen aber zieht das enklitiſche Wort den Akzent auf die letzte Silbe des Paroxytonon.

As was always his practice, he provided sung examples to elucidate his points. He compared the chant usage of paroxytone words with and without enclitic additions, and showed, for instance, how phrases such as 'laudámus te', 'adorámus te', 'glorificámus te' were in fact chanted as 'laudamús te', 'adoramús te', 'glorificamús te' because of the enclitic effect of the monosyllabic concluding word. Within the Mass propers, he gave a variety of examples, one of which was the alteration of 'génui té' (spoken emphasis) to 'génuí te' (chanted emphasis):

263 H. Bewerunge, 'Zur Behandlung des Wortakzentes im gregorianischen Gesang', *Cäcilienvereinsorgan* (June 1914), pp. 124–126.

264 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 11 June 1914. (SAA)

265 'Zur Behandlung des Wortakzentes im gregorianischen Gesang', p. 125. As an appropriate Sütterlin script font was not found online, the original German has been scanned.

He found that on some occasions the enclitic syllable created a stress on the final syllable of the preceding word, but on other occasions it moved the stress point to the penultimate syllable. He challenged Wagner on one of these latter examples:

> Let me look first at the 'aperis tu' of the Gradual *Oculi omnium*; it is obviously pronounced 'apéris tu'. Professor Wagner mentions this case in his *Neumenkunde* […] and assumes that the melody had originally the Greek text 'ανεύγεις δύ', which it would suit quite well. However, I am not quite satisfied with his explanation. The composers of the chant melodies show great artistic flair in the adaptation of melodic formulae to various words, and it would have been quite easy for them to adapt the melodic formulae used for the Greek words and change them in such a way that they would have suited the rhythms of Latin words. That is why I believe that they have in fact pronounced it 'apéris tu', and I see the explanation for it in the enclitical treatment of the 'tu'.[266]

Ich wende mich nun einigen Beiſpielen zu, in denen das enklitiſche Wort den Akzent auf die vorletzte Silbe gezogen zu haben ſcheint. Ich nehme zuerſt das Aperis tu des Graduale Oculi omnium. Dies iſt offenbar deklamiert Apéris tu. Profeſſor Wagner erwähnt dieſen Fall in ſeiner „Neumenkunde", 2. Aufl., S. 66 Anm., und ſpricht die Vermutung aus, daß die Melodie urſprünglich den griechiſchen Text *'Ανεύγεις σύ* hatte, dem ſie gut angepaßt wäre. Mir ſcheint dieſe Erklärung nicht zu genügen. Die Choralkomponiſten zeigen eine große Kunſt in der Anpaſſung von melodiſchen Formeln an verſchiedenartige Texte und es wäre ihnen ein leichtes geweſen, hier den für das Griechiſche erfundenen Melodiegang den lateiniſchen Worten ſo anzupaſſen, daß der Wortrhythmus gewahrt worden wäre. Es ſcheint mir darum, daß ſie wirklich Apéris tu geſprochen haben, und die Erklärung dafür ſehe ich in der enklitiſchen Behandlung des tu.

Bewerunge's avenue of research was an innovative variation on the complexities of balance between text accent and melodic accent, and the factors which impinged on clear rules for these. He concluded by hoping that he had 'delivered a modest contribution to the teaching of Gregorian rhythm'.[267]

There was coherent development through his 1911, 1913, and 1914 conference papers, where he drew on melodic and linguistic cadence endings to shape ideas on chant development. He also explicitly referred to his 1911 paper on the metrical cursus in his 1914 address. In addition to the conference papers discussed above, Bewerunge

266 *Ibid*., p. 126.

267 *Ibid*.

also published journal articles on chant rhythm. One of these was his 1911 'Zur Gregorianischen Rhythmik',[268] in which he demonstrated how both mensuralist and equalist theories of chant rhythm had to be abandoned given the evidence of rhythmic indications in early manuscripts. This was a less technical paper, aimed at an informed public rather than a specialist audience. He affirmed the necessity for comprehensive manuscript research in order to arrive at a determination of appropriate rhythmic and melodic restoration, and that Solesmes, with its unparalleled library of sources, was the obvious choice for this work. His ongoing dissatisfaction with Pothier's editorship of the first three volumes of the *Vaticana* was evident as he opined:

> […] it should be kept in mind that one person alone is definitely not enough for such a methodical research and critical visual inspection of manuscripts: only where several people combine in a selfless way and in a collective effort can such a task be mastered.[269]

Bewerunge's American publications were written for the Philadelphia-based journal, *Church Music*, established in late 1905. Most of the contributors were from Europe, particularly Great Britain, as church music reform in America looked east of the Atlantic for guidance. Bewerunge was first asked in September 1905 to provide material. His two-part article on neumatic notation, published in December 1905 and June 1906, was an account of Peter Wagner's *Neumenkunde: Paläographie des Liturgischen Gesanges*.[270] Bewerunge believed it would be some time before this volume of Wagner's work was translated into English, and therefore 'a detailed analysis of its contents may be welcome'.[271] He judged it to be:

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268 H. Bewerunge, 'Zur Gregorianischen Rhythmik', *Musica Sacra* (August 1911), pp. 130–135. All newly-discovered papers published in German were translated into English for this research by Hermann Müllers.

269 *Ibid*., p. 135.

270 Peter Wagner, *Neumenkunde: Paläographie des Liturgischen Gesanges* (Freiburg: Komm.'verl, 1905). This was the second volume of Wagner's monumental *Einfuhrung In Die Gregorianischen Melodien* (Introduction to Gregorian Melodies).

271 H. Bewerunge, 'The Neumatic Notation', *Church Music* (Philadelphia), December 1905, p. 34. Bewerunge was paid $28 (which realised £5/13s/6d) for his article. A December 1905 letter to him from the editor enclosing the honorarium bears these sums pencilled on the margin in Bewerunge's writing.

> […] a very full compendium of the subject treated, and contains a considerable amount of original research. Naturally, a good many problems have not got their final solution and some of the conclusions the author arrives at may same premature or erroneous. But on the whole it is a most valuable book.[272]

Dame Laurentia and a fellow Benedictine who was working with her at the time both provided articles for *Church Music* under various pseudonyms. Bewerunge assisted them by reviewing their work prior to publication.[273] *Church Music* was an ambitious journal, presuming a knowledgeable readership with an ability to decipher French, German, Italian, and Latin quotations without English translations. The editor, German-born priest Herman J. Heuser (1851–1933), wrote to Bewerunge thanking him for the 'prompt and whole-souled way' in which he responded to the request for help with the new periodical.[274] Heuser lamented divisions within Solesmes and within the Cecilian movement where there was still a reluctance to move forward from the Ratisbon chant. He hoped Bewerunge would be 'a permanent co-worker' in the cause of uniting all church music reformists. Heuser thus acknowledged Bewerunge's professional status and reputation in the field, and paid a compliment to his pragmatic approach to liturgical music reform. Bewerunge continued to provide articles, book reviews, and responses to items penned by others until *Church Music*'s demise in 1909.[275] He was disappointed that the journal did not survive, although fully

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272 Bewerunge, 'The Neumatic Notation', p. 314.

273 For instance, Dame Laurentia to Bewerunge, 19 January 1906: 'thank you for sending off the Liturgical Notes – and for making those alterations'. On 1 May 1906: 'D. Christina is doing her Liturgical Notes, and I shall send them for you to look through'. 1 November 1906: 'I am sending you Wigornia's next performance in *Ch. Music* (I am glad you were pleased with the last), and I should be glad if you would read it and criticize, and suggest any other points that occur to you.' (SAA)

274 H.J. Heuser to Bewerunge, letter marked as received on 19 December 1905. (LDA)

275 It has not been possible to source copies of *Church Music* vol. 2, nos 3 and 5 of 1907 or for 1908 and 1909 (excepting vol. 3 nos 2 and 3 of 1908), so only those of his contributions which were mentioned in private correspondence are known. For instance, on 19 February 1907 he commented to Dame Laurentia: 'I have just written a letter to Fr Holly [the editor], protesting against the 'editing' by Toser of Hassler's motet 'Dixit Maria' in *Church Music* no. 2. It is incredible what has been perpetrated there.' And from Dame Laurentia's letter of 1 December 1908 it seems that Bewerunge's 1908 Eucharistic Congress paper was reprinted in *Church Music*. (SAA)

understanding the financial reasons behind its non-continuance. 'So here we are again without an organ for Church music in English.'[276]

Published in America between 1907 and 1914, *The Catholic Encyclopedia* was a multi-volume English-language reference work which presented information relating to the Roman Catholic church, including the achievements of Catholics in many areas of intellectual and artistic undertaking. Bewerunge contributed four articles: 'Gregorian Chant' in 1909, and 'Neum', 'Organ', and 'Plain Chant' in 1911.[277] These entries still constitute vital sources of information. Since *The Catholic Encyclopedia* was launched online in 1995 the entries have been readily accessible worldwide and thus – along with his translations of Riemann's works – they constitute Bewerunge's most widely cited publications.

Conclusion

It can therefore be seen that Bewerunge's international activity resides in two distinct spheres: his public achievements as embodied in his publications and conference presentations, and his private work behind the scenes. His published research was marked by self-awareness of his intellectual and musical capabilities and his unquestioning belief that he had essential contributions to make. The language employed in his publications was confident and notably informed by both past and contemporary literature and source materials. There was a marked difference between

276 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 3 December 1909. (SAA)

277 Bewerunge mischieviously remarked to Dame Laurentia on 2 December 1908 apropos his article on Gregorian chant for the *Encyclopedia*: 'I dilated on Ambrosian chant mainly to show how badly the writer on Ambrosian chant had done his business.' (SAA) He was not happy with the publishers regarding his 'Neum' article, as they did not send him proofs and he had no opportunity to revise his work: 'I am very vexed with the *Cath. Enc*. people - they printed my article on 'Neum' without sending me proof. […] I haven't seen the printed form yet, but am almost sure they made a mess of the illustrations. It's very provoking.' Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 3 March 1911. (SAA)

those articles which he researched and presented *ab initio* and those which were prompted as a response to contrary views. Deference had no place in the latter, and diplomacy only rarely. He showed no mercy in dismissing the views of his opponents when he believed them to be misunderstood or inadequately presented. His tone was highly critical and extremely sarcastic when repudiating the views of semi-amateurs such as Burge,[278] but for those of his peers whom he respected but still took issue with – such as Peter Wagner – he was more measured, although still didactic and occasionally pedantic. As a highly intelligent man whose command of both English and German was superb, he cannot but have known when he was likely to rouse people's ire by his use of language. He was not arrogant, however, and self-aggrandisement was never his goal. His intention was always to improve the cause of church music as quickly and efficiently as possible, and for his oratory to be effective it also on occasion needed to be blunt.

The extent of Bewerunge's private influence as pedagogue was significant. Teaching and advising on singing, plainchant, and liturgical music brought him no public recognition and was undoubtedly repetitive and intellectually unstimulating. Often it was unpaid and frequently it was at the expense of his health; but he accepted this work as an inexorable and inescapable part of church music reform. Some of his intellectual compensations came in the form of projects with Dame Laurentia, and these were equally the undertakings through which his influence quietly and unobtrusively spread. First among these in chronology and significance was the *Grammar of Plainsong*, which this thesis has shown to contain not just his ideas but his own writing. His collaboration with Dame Laurentia on a new translation of the Vatican *Gradual* with English rubrics and English chant translations provided an alternative to his everyday

278 Benedictine P.C. Vivell also came in for castigation by Bewerunge in the latter's article 'Nochmals das Quilisma', *Musica Sacra* (April 1912), pp. 90–93.

pedagogy, and was another instance of his background contribution to a new work.[279] He appeared to enjoy the challenge of finding the right terminology to serve as fitting translation for the Latin. His discussions with Dame Laurentia on this project reveal a masterful understanding of the subtleties of English word meanings and grammatical constructions.[280] The *imprimatur* for the English *Gradual* was provided by the bishop of Elphin, a friend of Bewerunge's, there having been some difficulties in obtaining an *imprimatur* in England.[281] The original English priest who was appointed censor annoyed Dame Laurentia, who wrote: 'He […] treated me very much as a woman, one of an altogether inferior race […] That doesn't matter, but his tone was extremely aggravating.'[282] This comment is one which reveals that Bewerunge treated Dame Laurentia as an intellectual equal without regard to her gender. Her presumption that Bewerunge would understand her frustration with a man who discriminated against her because she was a woman is a very telling sidelight on the positive and gender-neutral foundation of their relationship.

As has been shown, the network of clerics, scholars, and musicians which formed the milieu in which Bewerunge interacted and published was truly international. The majority of personnel involved in *The Tablet* chant rhythm controversy were in private correspondence with each other, including Burge and Mitchell with Bewerunge. Bishop Donnelly was a visitor to Stanbrook; he and Edward Gaynor both attended Solesmes summer schools at Appuldurcombe. Solesmesians and Cecilians mixed at the annual Cecilian festivals in mainland Europe. Bewerunge was at the heart of a vibrant and ground-breaking community of church music reformists, in which it appeared that

279 The project was first mooted in 1908 by a liturgical publisher who asked Bewerunge to do the translations, but Bewerunge was constrained by time and suggested Dame Laurentia should take up the matter with his assistance. Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 6 November 1908. (SAA)

280 For example his letters of 16 January 1909, 5 February 1909, and 23 April 1909. (SAA)

281 While discussing censor possibilities, Bewerunge disclosed the instability of his relationship with William Walsh by commenting: 'I don't know how I should fare if I approached the Archbishop of Dublin'. Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 7 February 1909. (SAA)

282 Dame Laurentia to Bewerunge, 9 February 1909. (SAA)

differences of opinion did not make sworn enemies despite the often vitriolic nature of public correspondence. It is abundantly clear from his activities and his writings that Bewerunge was a strong and confident individual. Evidence survives, however, of his tentative (and ultimately unsuccessful) enquiries in 1905 as to the possibility of obtaining a doctorate. Given what has been established of his character, it can be deduced that his motives for seeking this were founded not in personal vanity but rather in hopes of furthering the cause of church music reform and music education.[283]

As mentioned in chapter four above, the scope and influence of Bewerunge's professional output was continually limited by his chronic minor illnesses. He described many of his physical impairments as colds, even though the symptoms often were not what would be classified as colds nowadays. His frequent travelling inevitably brought about minor illness, whether a cold or backache or fever. Undoubtedly his intense work rate contributed to ongoing exhaustion, and the cold damp climate at Maynooth during the winter months exacerbated his ailments. He became increasingly frustrated with his health, and by 1913 tried cutting out coffee and cigars on the advice of a German doctor.[284] There is no doubt but that his mature career was inhibited by his poor constitution, as he had to turn down work in the full knowledge that he would not have the energy to carry projects to fruition.

There is one further dimension to Bewerunge's international activities which cannot go unmentioned. Mountaineering was his summer hobby, and his *joie-de-vivre*

283 A letter survives from his friend J.J. Clancy, Bishop of Elphin, enclosing a document from the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda in Rome. As Bewerunge was still formally attached to the Archdiocese of Cologne, Propaganda could not deal with Bishop Clancy's application on his behalf. For whatever reason, Bewerunge seemed not to have approached Cologne. It is possible that permission to work in Ireland (which had been granted by Cologne on request from Maynooth for the first few years of Bewerunge's time outside Germany) had lapsed and that an irregularity resulted.

284 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 26 August 1913: 'I bought a lighter kind of tobacco today. But I think I shall be as happy not smoking at all as smoking that stuff. So alcohol, nicotine and caffeine are poisons for me, and tea will be the only stimulant I shall be allowed to take. But I must get better health.' (SAA)

was noticeable in the relaxed and happy tone of his letters to Dame Laurentia during his weeks in the Swiss and Bavarian alps. He undertook very strenuous climbs on some of the highest mountain peaks including the Jungfrau (13,642 feet) and the Studerhorn (11,936 feet), both in the Bernese Alps. His health was always much improved after time in crisp air and high altitude, but sadly lapsed again once he returned to wetter climes.

CHAPTER SIX

The First World War: Exile and Isolation

Introduction

This chapter explores Bewerunge's life and work from 1914 until his death in 1923, a biographical period entirely uninvestigated until now. By the time the First World War began Bewerunge was four months shy of his fifty-second birthday. His reputation as a chant scholar was established and his eminence as a skilled musician and musicologist was recognised in Ireland – where he was appointed professor of music at University College Dublin in March 1914 – and internationally. He should have been able to capitalise on his experience and ability during the mature years of his career in order to further music education generally and church music reform in particular. Sadly, the outbreak of hostilities put an end to his aspirations. Despite representations made to the British government on his behalf from Ireland and England, Bewerunge was detained in Germany from August 1914 to July 1920, unable to return to Maynooth owing to his status as an enemy alien. These six years saw a considerable deterioration in his health and although he was determined to try to resume all aspects of his work in 1920, he was gradually forced to acknowledge his reduced physical ability. The years of war also took their toll on his reputation: as will be shown music was not exempt from anti-German nationalism and the inherent weaknesses of Cecilianism left it particularly open to attack. Wartime communication censorship resulted in Bewerunge's being unaware of attacks directed toward him in the press; he was therefore unable to defend himself. The isolation and loneliness of these years as regards his career were mitigated by closer contact with his family, but for a man whose life was almost exclusively defined by work this may have been a poor exchange.

This outline of Bewerunge's activites during the war has been reconstructed largely through his correspondence with Dame Laurentia, and consitutes the first portion of this chapter. The frequency and continuity of their wartime letters was much reduced – again owing to postal and censorship difficulties – and the time taken for letters to reach their destination was sometimes measured in months. The surviving communications showed Bewerunge's intense engagement with secular music and a continuation of his scholarly research into sacred music. An investigation prompted by comments in the letters has resulted in the discovery of sixteen previously unknown journal articles written by Bewerunge and published between 1915 and 1919. Their content is glossed in the second section of the chapter. The damage wreaked on Bewerunge's reputation during the war by former colleagues is considered next, and the chapter concludes with an overview of his last few years at Maynooth prior to his death.

6.1 Bewerunge's Wartime Life

In August 1914 Bewerunge was visiting family in the Eifel region when freedom of travel was suspended following Germany's invasion of Belgium and England's entry into the war.[1] He subsequently divided his time between Oberehe – a village in the Eifel – and Cologne. Like almost everyone at the time Bewerunge presumed that hostilities would be over in a matter of weeks or at most months. Bewerunge and Dame Laurentia sent their letters through the Netherlands via the Benedictine foundation at Oosterhout, in the hope that a neutral intermediary would provide a more reliable postal route (later, English-language letters were no longer received in Germany and Oosterhout became an essential conduit). By October 1914 Bewerunge learned that Maynooth had

1 See chapter one, section 1.3.4 above for his connection with Eifel.

received his communications explaining his inability to return.[2] His primary concern was not with his Maynooth students, whom he said would 'be able to get on in a way' without him, but rather with the national university music examinations, for which he was examiner.[3] John Hogan, President of St Patrick's College Maynooth, tried to obtain safe conduct papers for him to return to Ireland. Dame Laurentia also prevailed on two of her influential contacts – director of the Fitzwilliam Museum Sir Sydney Cockerell and classical scholar John William Mackail – to request travel papers for him.[4] Nicholas Donnelly acted as a nexus for communications between Maynooth and Stanbrook.[5] However, the attempts to obtain travel papers for Bewerunge failed, and by November 1914 Dame Laurentia felt that he was better off in Germany, as anti-German sentiments had developed in England:

> Things over here have changed a good deal since I sent my letters to Oosterhout, and the feeling of the country is very strong, so that it might be very disagreeable for you. Much as I regret your detention, I should be still more grieved at any unpleasantness that your return might cause you. All of us who know and esteem you are much grieved. You have not been good to so many nuns all these years without earning their affection and gratitude.[6]

Replying, Bewerunge commented: 'I hope you do not believe all the bad things that are said about us [Germans]. The truth will come out some day'.[7]

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2 A series of letters was passed from Bewerunge in Cologne to Oosterhout in Holland, and on to Limerick solicitor Alban Ryan; he forwarded communications to Dr Jim Harty, bishop of Thurles, who wrote to Dr Hogan, President of Maynooth. (MCA)

3 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 3 October 1914. (SAA)

4 Dame Laurentia to Bewerunge, 13 October 1914. (SAA)

5 Donnelly's letter of 6 October 1914 to Dame Laurentia demonstrated this. (SAA) His earlier letter of 9 September 1914 to John Hogan sardonically noted: 'It is satisfactory to find that he [Bewerunge] has not been commandeered as a drum-major in some of the Russian Corps'. He continued: 'I hope you may succeed in getting him back, but in view of the intense anti-German feeling he should lie very low and keep very quiet'. (MCA) In November 1914, when it was clear Bewerunge would not be able to return, Donnelly wrote to Hogan recommending as a temporary replacement for Bewerunge a Belgian organist trained at Malines church music school and exiled from Antwerp. Donnelly gave the organist's surname in his letter, but it is difficult to read, It may be Stucky. (MCA) Donnelly's suggestion was not acted on.

6 Dame Laurentia to Bewerunge, 8 November 1914. (SAA)

7 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 14 November 1914. (SAA)

Following rejection of the applications for his return to Ireland, Bewerunge took up residence in Düsseldorf with two of his sisters. He also spent time in Cologne, where he could partake in an active music circle, attending concerts and frequently bringing his critical judgement to bear.

> That is a blessing, anyhow, that I can hear some good music - though I get almost as much annoyance as pleasure. They do so many things wrong, in the rhythm particularly. And the most provoking part of it is that they apparently have no idea that the things might be done another way. But what can you expect from ordinary executants, when even editors make egregious blunders.[8]

Bewerunge was perturbed by separation from his books and scores, which of course were in Maynooth. His financial position was also difficult as both St Patrick's College and University College Dublin were apparently forbidden to remit his salaries,[9] and he commented to Dame Laurentia: 'I cannot afford to buy things that I possess already'.[10] This wartime income sanction must have had serious repercussions for him over the course of the next six years, necessitating his reliance on any savings he might have had and possibly the largesse of his family. He borrowed as many books and scores as he could from friends. As regards his priestly ministry, the vicar general of the Cologne archdiocese granted him faculties.[11] By December 1914, Bewerunge was resigned to a further number of months in Germany. Both he and Dame Laurentia lamented his Christmas absence from Stanbroook. Bewerunge was, atypically, quite sentimental, writing: 'I am sure I shall feel quite lonely',[12] Dame Laurentia responded:

> There is no need to say how much we shall miss you in church, or how much I shall miss our daily conferences. For years now I have found in these conferences

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8 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 25 November 1914. (SAA) He continued this letter with an example of an editorial 'blunder' from a Haydn piano sonata, showing the editor's lack of understanding of melodic phrasing.

9 Dame Laurentia to Bewerunge, 8 November 1914. (SAA) Maynooth used the majority of Bewerunge's salary to pay senior students and others who covered his teaching work while he was detained in Germany. *Journal of Trustees*, 22 June 1915. (MCA)

10 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 25 November 1914. (SAA)

11 *Ibid*.

12 *Ibid*.

> a source of light and knowledge helping me to work with greater intelligence and an ever higher ideal […] and for all this I owe you an immense debt of gratitude.[13]

Many of Bewerunge's letters to Dame Laurentia are valuable not only for their disclosure of his activities but also for their music and social commentary. During the week prior to Christmas 1914 he attended a symphony concert (including Beethoven's fifth piano concerto and second symphony) and an opera (Beethoven's *Fidelio*) in Cologne, and another symphony concert in Aachen (Beethoven and Brahms). He remarked on the significantly decreased costs for concert entry fees in Cologne, and commented that many of the orchestral players had gone to war. After the *Fidelio* performance he revealed his esteem for Wagner, saying: 'I could not but admire the immense progress brought about in opera composition by Wagner'.[14] Christmas 1914 found Bewerunge criticising church music in the family parish of St Peter's, Düsseldorf, where he had celebrated his very first mass as a priest in 1885. However, the fact that a parish church choir was singing Palestrina's *Missa Lauda Sion* confirms that church music standards in Germany were high. Bewerunge enjoyed a family Christmas that year – a rare opportunity for him – with three of his siblings and one nephew as well as visiting friends. They had a Christmas tree and small gifts for everyone. Bewerunge said of his nephew: 'The boy, being just too young for military service, satisfies his patriotic ardour by helping to nurse the wounded.'[15] This reiterates the Bewerunge family characteristic of service to others, noted in chapter one above by way of their clandestine operations during *Kulturkampf* and their charity work in the community.

During Easter 1915 in Cologne, Bewerunge went to a performance of Bach's *St Matthew Passion*, which he said 'made a deep impression' on him.[16] During the summer of 1915 he moved back to the Eifel area, optimistically remarking: 'There is

13 Dame Laurentia to Bewerunge, 17 December 1914. (SAA)
14 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 25 December 1914. (SAA)
15 *Ibid*.
16 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 23 April 1915. (SAA)

not much fear, I should think, that I should have to spend a third summer here'.[17] Having obtained two chant books from a friend,[18] he spent some time creating plainchant accompaniments for Stanbrook. During 1915 and 1916 repeated laments were voiced in correspondence between Bewerunge and Dame Laurentia concerning their inability to discuss personally the rhythmic issues implicit in chant accompaniment. Bewerunge did not have many opportunities to hear plainchant during the war, and what he did hear was 'generally not very inspiring'.[19] He gave Dame Laurentia an insight into Catholic practices in rural Westphalia with a description of a Corpus Christi procession there: despite its combining Roman, Treves, and improvised rites, he considered it 'dignified and edifying'.[20] He also described a *Missa cantata* which he celebrated, observing practices customary to the area which were 'condemned by Rome and forbidden by the bishop of the diocese'.[21] The Latin Mass and benediction included prayers in the vernacular recited by the people. Bewerunge remarked: 'I soothed my conscience in saying to myself that I am not called upon to reform the customs of a strange diocese in which I may happen to find myself'.[22]

Bewerunge's routine of sedate summers in the Eifel and concert-filled winters in Cologne and Düsseldorf continued throughout the war. In August 1916 he wrote to Dame Laurentia:

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17 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 10 June 1915. (SAA)

18 Bewerunge borrowed a *Liber Usualis* and a *Gradual* from Canon Cohen, the editor of Cologne-based church music periodical *Gregoriusblatt* (published by Schwann in Düsseldorf), and in return gave him the article 'Über Wortmalerei im Choral' (*Gregoriusblatt*, March 1915, pp. 19–24) for the journal. Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 25 December 1914. (SAA)

19 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 28 June 1916. (SAA) His regular places of attendance were the parish church of St Peter's in Düsseldorf and Cologne cathedral. He did have opportunities to sing the chant in his own private masses, and he also sang many requiem services in Cologne cathedral: 'This week I sang six requiem masses, and that is not an unusual thing with me when I am here in Cologne'. Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 20 December 1919. (SAA)

20 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 10 June 1915. (SAA)

21 *Ibid*.

22 *Ibid*. He apparently did not consider taking up a teaching post in Germany. He would have had to obtain permission from the Archbishop of Cologne and any available posts may have been beneath his status. Commenting to Dame Laurentia on chant performance in the family's Dominican church in Düsseldorf, he wrote (without elaborating): 'Of course, I cannot attend to their singing'. Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 21 February 1916. (SAA)

> We must hope and pray that this terrible war, this appalling destruction of human life may come to an end. […] Personally, indeed, I do not suffer much, I must confess, under this clashing of the nations. I am having a nice, though prolonged, vacation. It's only the thought of so much suffering going on that interferes with my happiness.[23]

But although he made light of his situation, he missed the routine of his academic work. Telling Dame Laurentia of an article he had completed which would not be published until the busy journal editor had completed his professorial duties for the year, Bewerunge wistfully remarked: 'I only know a winter of town life with concerts and a summer of country life with quietness!'[24]

Bewerunge rarely referred to the war in his correspondence with Dame Laurentia, in order to avoid censorship. The comments he did make condemned it without making judgements on one side or the other. Early in 1915 he wrote to his friend Denis O'Doherty, rector of the Irish College in Salamanca, Spain:

> I quite agree with you that war is a terrible, a barbarous thing. But what is to be substituted for it in our present state of things? If two individuals fall out, we have the police and the law-courts. But if nations fall out, who is to decide between them? Of course, there ought to be a tribunal for the nations, and in a higher state of civilisation possibly there will be such a tribunal. But at present there isn't. In the meantime we can only pray that war may be carried on without unnecessary cruelty, and above all that the agreed principles of civilised warfare may not be set aside.[25]

His suggestion of a 'tribunal for the nations' anticipated the foundation of the League of Nations (forerunner of the United Nations) by six years. It can be inferred that Bewerunge withdrew into his studies and into the world of music as a way of shutting out the horrors of combat and his growing awareness of the atrocities commited by Germany's political and military leaders.

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23 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 1 August 1916. (SAA)

24 *Ibid*.

25 Bewerunge to O'Doherty, 21 February 1915. The letter itself is dated 21 February 1914, but should read 1915. The postmark is stamped 21.2.15.

In August 1915 he was made aware that he might lose his position at University College Dublin, and asked Dame Laurentia to pray for him.[26] He later learned that in his absence Charles Kitson was appointed to the chair. Bewerunge and Dame Laurentia continued to exchange views on a number of plainchant issues, including the tonality and 'Amen' of the *Pater noster* and whether it was originally sung by the congregation rather than the celebrants;[27] and revision of melodies in the Vatican *Gradual* to omit editorially-added flats and amend inconsistencies – Bewerunge advised Dame Laurentia to consult reliable manuscripts before excluding flats.[28] They continued to lament their lack of personal meetings, particularly at Christmas and the new year. In January 1918 Bewerunge wrote nostalgically:

> I had a very pleasant time with my brothers and sisters, nephews and nieces. But I missed the liturgy of your chapel. Please God next Christmas we shall be able to be together.[29]

He continued to provide her with plainchant harmonisations, despite their growing mutual dissatisfaction with accompanied chant. In the summer time he devised harmonies without the benefit of an instrument on which to test his work, and made amendments in winter when he had access to a piano. Bewerunge proceeded with his routine of attending rehearsals and concerts in Cologne and Aachen during the winters. He took concert attendance very seriously, frequently attending public rehearsals and final performances. He borrowed copies of scores (from public and private sources) in advance of rehearsals and spent considerable time analysing them in preparation for hearing the music.[30] In February 1918 he heard Beethoven's *Mass in C* and Mozart's

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26 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 3 August 1915. (SAA) His contacts in Maynooth kept him informed.

27 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 29 September 1917, Dame Laurentia to Bewerunge 1 December 1917, Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia 30 January 1918, Dame Laurentia to Bewerunge 21 April 1918. (SAA)

28 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 24 May 1918. (SAA)

29 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 30 January 1918. (SAA)

30 He attended concerts frequently in Ireland and England prior to the war, but would not have had time to study scores thoroughly beforehand. His interest in secular music was attested to by his involvement with the Dublin Orchestral Society and the professorship at UCD.

Requiem, remarking: 'To the latter particularly I am looking forward eagerly'.[31] Towards the end of that year he praised violinist Alexander Pechnikov's interpretation of J.S. Bach's keyboard music, describing it as 'sublime'.[32] By 1919 he noted that there were fewer good concerts because of the restrictions on overseas artists travelling to Germany. His own freedom of travel within Germany was eliminated as a result of post-war sanctions.[33]

Once war ended he hoped to be able to return to Ireland as quickly as possible. The Irish bishops had planned a meeting to draw up a petition seeking his return,[34] and Dame Laurentia again tried to use her influence on his behalf, but ultimately Bewerunge had to wait until the Aliens Restriction (Amendment) Act became law on 23 December 1919 before any steps could be taken to enable him to leave Germany. In March 1920 James MacCaffrey, then president of St Patrick's College Maynooth, provided a statement attesting to the necessity of Bewerunge's return there, saying *inter alia*:

> He is a recognised authority on church music. He was appointed to the professorial staff of this College on the recommendation of one of the ablest choirmasters in Germany, and by his zeal and talent he has fully justified his initial reputation.[35]

Of course the document had to present Bewerunge in the best possible light in order to achieve its aim, but given that the war had created such a wave of feeling against German nationals, it reflected very well on Bewerunge's abilities as a teacher that

31 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 30 January 1918. (SAA)

32 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 25 November 1918. (SAA)

33 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 25 March 1919. (SAA)

34 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 13 November 1919. (SAA)

35 Statement of James MacCaffrey, a copy of which survives in Bewerunge's hand. (LDA) The copy also stated: 'In the person of the Rev. H.B. we had a professor fully devoted to his work, and we anticipate the greatest difficulty in providing one who could be deemed in any sense a worthy substitute.' Bewerunge commented that it was '[…] flattering to me […]'. Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 21 March 1920. (SAA)

Maynooth wanted him to return.[36] Bewerunge's travel application to the British Home Office dated 2 March 1920 incorporated MacCaffrey's statement. On 19 June 1920 he wrote to Dame Laurentia to tell her that he had received permission from the British government to visit the UK for three months, with liberty to apply for an extension. His letter to her was short and terse, but it is easy to sense from its very abruptness that his great excitement and relief was being held in check. He visited Stanbrook in July 1920 on his way from Germany, finally returning to Maynooth on 17 July. The following extract is from his first letter to Dame Laurentia after his arrival:

> I spent about a week opening letters that had accumulated here during the six years of my absence. Most of them were bills sent on again and again. Then I spent nearly another week sorting and paying them. In between I had a woman giving a thorough cleaning to my rooms and the numerous things contained in them. I am still waiting for the carpenter to put on some locks on my doors, which had disappeared mysteriously. On the whole I came off lightly, the worst of the petty thefts being the rifling of my bicycle bag and the abstraction of the pump and a travelling outfit. The moths also dealt leniently with me. Their worst work was on my fur rug, of which they destroyed two skins at least. I took the rug to a furrier in Dublin yesterday to have it cleaned and freed from the moths, and am to get an estimate for mending it.[37]

Once safely back in Ireland, Bewerunge had to comply with various provisions of the Aliens Restriction Act, including applying every three months for an extension of his permission to remain in Ireland. Anxieties concerning his intercourse with the police and the Home Office exacerbated his increasingly debilitating health problems.

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36 Three men undertook Bewerunge's work in Maynooth during his absence: one to teach singing in the senior classes, one to teach the junior classes, and one to play the organ (this last was Michael Treacy, Bewerunge's eventual successor in 1927). *Journal of Trustees*, 22 June 1915. (MCA) It is not clear whether the *schola cantorum* were trained at all during this period; most likely they got by with well-known repertoire and didn't undertake any new works. The 'President's Report' in the *Maynooth Kalendarium* for 1914–1915 stated that 'there was no regular instruction given during the year in class. This arrangement might suffice for one exceptional year; but if it were to be prolonged the musical training of the students could not fail to suffer. I hope, therefore, that, as there is no prospect of Father Bewerunge returning next year, some suitable provision may be made to supply his place'. In fact it was only in 1919 that a lecturer was appointed to teach weekly classes. (IRL-Mrjp)

37 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 7 August 1920. (SAA) The mystery of the missing door locks may be solved by a letter of 18 November 1914 to Dr Hogan, returning Bewerunge's key which a visiting prelate had inadvertently brought away from Maynooth with him – perhaps it had been necessary to obtain access to Bewerunge's room in the absence of the key. (IRL-Mrjp)

6.2 Research and Publications

The Lawrence catalogue of Bewerunge's published oeuvres included only one article written after 1913.[38] Research for this thesis has discovered another sixteen publications: four individual articles, two two-part essays, and one extensive eight-part series.[39] It should not be presumed that this is an exhaustive catalogue of his wartime publications. It was beyond the scope of this thesis to examine *in toto* the journals in which these publications appeared, and it is quite likely that Bewerunge also penned book reviews and other miscellaneous items. The newly-discovered articles reveal Bewerunge's continuing scholarly explorations in the fields of chant and Renaissance polyphony.[40]

All the articles were written in German and featured in church music periodicals based in Regensburg, Cologne, and Vienna, whose editors he knew personally and had published with before.[41] Generating scholarly periodicals during wartime was not an easy undertaking as subscription numbers dropped and finances tightened. The cost of printing musical examples was significant, and it was an indication of Bewerunge's standing and the value of his contribution that editors were willing to undertake the task.[42] As the journals in which these publications appeared were not examined in their entirety, it is not known whether there were any published responses to or criticisms of his wartime research. However, given that Bewerunge remarked on a number of occasions on the loneliness of his position and the lack of feedback on his work, it is feasible to assume that the circumstances of war precluded any scholarly dialectic.[43]

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38 White and Lawrence, *IMS 2* (1993), pp. 97–98.

39 The existence of these articles was brought to light through various comments in the Bewerunge-McLachlan correspondence. (SAA) Copies were procured with the assistance of Leipzig University library.

40 See Appendix A.1 for a list of his wartime publications.

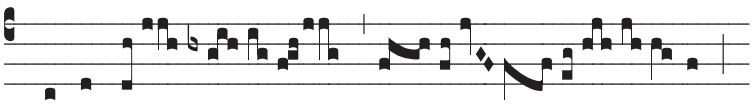
41 With the exception of the Austrian journal, *Musica Divina*.

42 This is particularly so in the case of the series of Palestrina articles in *Musica Divina*.

43 *Inter alia*, Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 25 November 1918 and 13 May 1919. (SAA)

6.2.1 Plainchant Research

The first set of Bewerunge's post-war articles focused on word-painting in plainchant. He examined genres of chants which were specially created for particular texts: Mass antiphons, and divine office antiphons and responsories.[44] The emotional content of each text was reflected in the melody composed for it, heightened by the chosen mode (each of the eight modes was traditionally deemed to reflect a particular affective character – a medieval theory derived from Greek tradition). Over and above the general sentiment inherent in such chants, Bewerunge investigated the musical accentuation of particular words. Providing musical notation for many examples, he discussed tonal and spatial height; unexpected melodic progressions – especially leaps – to express movement or surprising events; highlighting spoken quotes in the text using contrasting pitches; and distinctive treatments of certain words such as 'supra' (above). He was surprised to find that instances of word-painting in office responsories was far greater than in mass antiphons, and hypothesised that this might be explained by the later provenance of many office responsories.

> The movement within space […] is expressed by using corresponding tonal figures. I give here as an example the wonderful *ascendit*, […] from the offertory for the feast day of St Michael:
>
>
>
> [45]

Bewerunge's investigation required him to take great care that he examined original texts for which melodies were created, not later adapted texts. He was mindful

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44 Chant melodies vary from basic formulaic types (for instance chanted readings and psalmody which are governed essentially by text rhythms) to ornate melismatic styles contained in Mass antiphons, particularly introits, offertory verses, and communion verses.

45 Bewerunge, 'Über Wortmalerei im Choral', *Gregoriusblatt*, March 1915, p. 21. He continued: 'Is it not imaginable to see incense smoke before our eyes, as it ascends in delicate swirls? […] Maybe the composer was thinking here as well of little swirls bowing down to receive the Lord of Glory, to ascend with him and disappear in lofty heights.'

of that pitfall and the consequences it might have for his reseach.[46] His study led him to close perusal of texts and their origins. He began to take more interest in original Hebrew texts, aided by Austrian priest Franz Jetzinger's 1917 work, *Die Psalmen und Cantica des Breviers*, published by Pustet in Regensburg.[47] Both Bewerunge and Dame Laurentia were in agreement that a new Latin translation of the psalms was overdue, as the Vulgate was – as Dame Laurentia put it – 'often hopeless'.[48] The many details given in his examination of word-painting reveals the reciprocal connection between the depth of Bewerunge's religious faith and the depth of his understanding of relations between chant texts and their melodic construction. In his influential 1958 treatise, chant scholar Willi Apel flatly denied the possibility of expressive intent within chant, although he acknowledged himself to be in a minority.[49] He considered the work of a number of scholars who discussed expressive intent: significantly, Bewerunge's explorations either were independent of or pre-dated these.[50]

Bewerunge's 1917 article on the tonality of chant constituted a review of Riemann's pamphlet tracing the influence of the Greek tetrachord in Gregorian music.[51] Bewerunge was in a good position to analyse Riemann's work, given his familiarity

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46 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 3 December 1915. (SAA)

47 Jetzinger (1882–1965) was excommunicated by the Catholic church in 1921 for his political activism and affiliation with socialism. He was most famous for his 1956 publication *Hitlers Jugend*, a denunciation of Hitler's version of his early life.

48 Dame Laurentia to Bewerunge, 17 August 1917. (SAA) The Vulgate was a late fourth century revision of the bible translated by St Jerome and widely adopted by the Catholic church in the sixteenth century.

49 'Deliberate expression of the text, of its general mood or of single words, is, it seems to me, as contrary to the basic premises of the chant as is expression of personal feelings, if these two categories can be at all clearly separated.' Willi Apel, *Gregorian Chant* (USA: Indiana University Press, 1958), pp. 301–302.

50 It is unlikely that Bewerunge would have seen the unpublished dissertation of W.H. Frere referenced by Apel (and it is even less likely that he would have seen it while in Germany during the war). F.A. Gevaert's *La mélopée antique dans le chant de l'église latine* was in Maynooth college library and Bewerunge consulted it on a number of occasions between 1901 and 1908. (The publication date given by Apel was 1917, but it was first published in 1895.) Again, however, Bewerunge would not have had access to this during wartime. The other scholars cited by Apel were Théodore Gérold (1866–1956), Paulo Ferretti (1866–1938), and Dominicus Johner (1874–1955). Relevant works by these authors significantly post-dated Bewerunge's explorations.

51 Hugo Riemann, *Folkloristische Tonalitätstudien I. Pentatonik und tetrachordalae Melodik im schottishcen, irischen, walisischen, skandinavischen und spanischen Volksliede und im Gregorianischen Gesange* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1916).

with Irish and Celtic folksong modalities and he remarked to Dame Laurentia:

> I haven't made up my mind whether much importance is to be attached to his views. At all events it does not seem as if the tetrachords that according to theory should be characteristic of each mode, appeared prominent.[52]

His conclusion in the published article was kinder:

> Riemann tries to find solutions to difficult questions […] it is at least not implausible that the attempt to come closer to the uniqueness of Gregorian chants by considering the view of pentatonic and tetrachords may unearth all kinds of results.[53]

Bewerunge's next publication considered remnants of the pentatonic scale within chant melodies. This was a natural progression from the study of tetrachords, and again Riemann provided him with a starting point. The new material investigated by Bewerunge concerned a relatively small subset of melodies in which phrases with different arrangements of pentatonic scales alternated with one another, creating tension between a true pentatonic scale and the more complete diatonic scale. Having found examples of melodies of this kind in each mode, Bewerunge concluded by suggesting a version of the pentatonic scale:

> […] which on the one hand looked upon relinquishing one step of the tetrachord as gaining an artistic benefit, but which on the other hand did not want to miss the recognised expressiveness of the semitone with the introduction of the scale with seven steps.[54]

and postulated that this type of pentatonic scale might have influenced chant compositions. He was disappointed in his hopes for constructive feedback from Dame Laurentia on this topic, for it transpired that she did not understand the construction of a pentatonic scale.[55]

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52 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 7 May 1917. (SAA)

53 Heinrich Bewerunge, 'Zur Tonalität der Gregorianischen Gesänge', *Musica Sacra* (November 1917), p. 157.

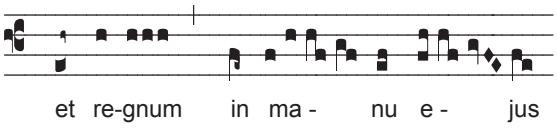
54 Heinrich Bewerunge, 'Pentatonik im Choral', *Gregoriusblatt* (September/October 1918), p.47.

55 'I thought a pentatonic scale would mean five consecutive notes in a scale.' Dame Laurentia to Bewerunge, 19 August 1918. (SAA) Dame Laurentia did not have a great deal of formal training in music. Her interest in plainchant began following a visit to Solesmes in 1883 and was fostered by the daily round of divine office.

‘The Gregorian Phrase’, the first of Bewerunge’s two publications in 1919, discussed the careful balance required between the overall unity of a piece and its underlying structure. His recent consideration of metrical themes in Palestrina’s music may have inspired this consideration of chant phrase divisions.

> At every performance of a musical composition there are two opposing points of view to be considered: unity and structure […] When structure is overemphasized, unity will inevitably suffer and there emerges a sense of disruption, the piece ‘being in shreds’. On the other hand, when unity is overemphasized at the cost of structure, the impression of something vague is generated; the listening mind is confronted with things, helpless and unable to detect any order.[56]

The article was a new gloss on the old problems of note durations in chant, particularly at cadences. In addition to explaining and exemplifying phrase structures, Bewerunge also gave examples of what he considered incorrect structural phrases in the Vatican edition. For instance:

> We often find in the Vaticana a pause mark after a tristrophe. However, this figure rather represents movement and not pausing; it leads onward; it does not conclude; though one must not sing it as one note of triple duration of the average note-value in order to notice the effect, but rather as a triple beat, with disconnected threefold pulsation. This was undoubtedly the original execution, and for the composer of such a melody the tristrophe had this forwarding power. Hence, pausing afterwards is not appropriate, and in the following example (introits of Epiphany):
>
>
>
>
> The pause mark after *regnum* should better have been omitted: the whole sentence is really one single phrase.[57]

56 H. Bewerunge, ‘Die gregorianische Phrase’, *Gregoriusblatt*, January 1919, p. 2.

57 *Ibid*., p. 4.
‘Nicht selten findet in der Vaticana ein Pausezichen nach einer Tristropha. Nun bedeutet diese Figur aber eher Bewegung als Ruhe; sie leitet vorwärts; schließt nicht ab. Freilich darf man sie, um diese Wirkung zu verspüren, nicht als Einen Ton von dreifachen Schlag, mit dreifachem Atemstoß, ausführen. Nun war das aber unzweifelhaft die ursprüngliche Ausführung, und für de Erfinder der Melodien hatte also die Tristropha diese weiterführende Kraft. Ein Absetzen nach ihr ist demgemäß unangebracht. So wäre in dem folgenden Beispiel (Introitus von Epiphanie): [chant] der Teilstrich nach *regnum* besser fortgeblieben; die ganze Stelle bildet nur Eine Phrase.’

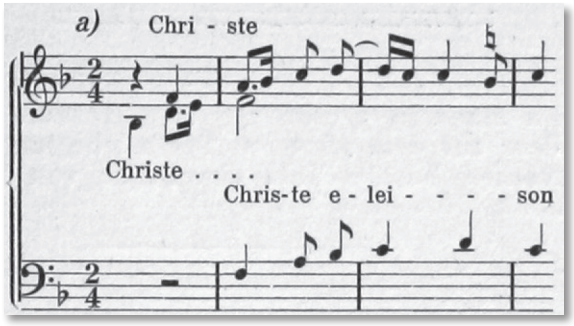
Bewerunge's final piece of research, published in autumn 1919, concerned adaptations of chant melodies to serve new texts, specifically with regard to mass antiphons. Following Gregorian codification of chant in the sixth century, no new melodies were composed for Mass antiphons even when new feasts were initiated, so each new text had to be adapted to fit an existing melody. Some adaptations were more successful than others – the problems encountered included rhythmic imbalance, loss of word-painting, and inappropriate placement of word accents. Bewerunge gave examples of a number of poorly adapted melodies, where the balance and integrity of the melodic structure was distorted by phrase lengths which differed from those of the original texts; and conversely examples where significant words in the new texts lost their potency.

Taken as a whole, these articles provided valuable insights not only into practical chant performance but also regarding the history and construction of chant texts and their melodies. They were written in a straightforward, accessible style (although the subject matter of the tetrachord and pentatonic articles presupposed some musical knowledge). As he did not have access to manuscript sources during this period and was confined to practical liturgical editions, Bewerunge undertook most of the research simply in order to occupy himself rather than to target and educate a particular audience. As a result the narratives are colloquial and relaxed in tone, quite unlike the contentious public polemics earlier in the century. Despite his informality, frequent references to the work of other scholars revealed his efforts to stay abreast of current research despite the difficulties of his position.[58]

58 He referenced contemproaries such as Gastoué, Johner, and – frequently – Riemann. He also referred to work by his colleagues, for instance Hermann Müllers in *Cäcilienvereinsorgan* (Regensburg).

6.2.2 Palestrina Research

Bewerunge's investigations into the metrical structure of Palestrina's themes were circulated in the Austrian church music journal *Musica Divina*. There were eight articles altogether, published between April 1917 and December 1918. Bewerunge sought to establish that Palestrina designed metrical elements in his themes independent of the stresses inherent in the placement of these themes within a given time signature. One strand of his argument was that the first introduction of a theme at the beginning of a piece was rarely the main entry. In the example below, he explained that it was not until the third entry of 'Christe' that the real statement of the theme appeared: the first (alto) entry was only an introduction of the theme, since it appeared on the fourth scale degree; the second (soprano) entry was on the tonic but not on a strong beat; only with the third (tenor) entry was the theme stated on the correct scale degree and with full mensural stress.

Ex. 6.1 Palestrina's *Missa Aeterna Christi munera* (Christe) [59]

Bewerunge's methodology was to ascertain which of the theme entries governed the metrical structure:

> […] it is mainly a matter of deciding which entry governs the metric development in order to find the thread leading through the apparently inextricable contrapuntal

59 H. Bewerunge, 'Der metrische Bau der Themen Palestrinas', *Musica Divina* (April 1917), p. 73.

melody structure.[60]

He focused on the five-voice offertories, considering them to be Palestrina's most perfect works and that the artistic intention was thereby most definite. For the purpose of analysis, he quartered the time value in his musical examples (reducing semibreves to crotchets) and adopted Riemann's eight-bar metrical unit, in which rhythmic movement leads from weak to strong, or from upbeat to downbeat. He also used Riemann's system of harmonic identification, and provided a synopsis of this in the second article, stating that the system 'shows quite clearly the meaning of the harmonic progressions'.[61] Unlike Bewerunge's chant articles, the Palestrina material was aimed at a professional readership. It included comprehensive metrical and harmonic analyses and despite the many printed musical examples a reader ideally needed the complete score to hand, as well as an understanding of Riemannian harmonic shorthand. Each article was not self-contained but led directly on to the next. Under a normal politico-social regime the research would undoubtedly have been published in a stand-alone booklet. Bewerunge's painstaking work was ideal for a choir director preparing to learn and rehearse the offertories for performance. He offered his research as an aid to 'the choirmaster who has the ambition to present Palestrina in a fully accomplished way', noting:

> The diligent musician will surely have perceived a lot merely intuitively; however, in some cases where matters are rather intricately arranged, mere feeling or intuition will not suffice: the musician will rather get support by thoroughly studying the thematic and harmonic contexts.[62]

Bewerunge intended to continue his researches with a study of Palestrina's modality, along with an investigation of how Renaissance composers differentiated authentic and

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60 *Ibid*., p. 73.
'Es handelt sich also immer hauptsächlich darum, zu bestimmen, welcher Einsatz die metrische Entwicklung beherrscht, um so den Faden zu finden, der durch das anscheinend unentwirrbare kontrapunktische Gewebe leitet.'

61 'Der Metrische Bau der Themen Palestrinas', *Musica Divina* (June/July 1917), p. 134.

62 'Der Metrische Bau der Themen Palestrinas', *Musica Divina* (November/December 1918), p. 212.

plagal modes. He believed that neither of these topics had been researched before.[63] However, time and circumstances were against him. Preparations for his return to Ireland and the long nervous wait for news distracted him.

6.3 Attacks on his Reputation

The manipulation of mass opinion by governments through the agency of the popular press was widespread during the war: propaganda and censorship became powerful weapons for both sides. Arts and humanities were not exempt from propaganda, and the Cecilian movement was an easy focus for attack. The very close connections between German church music reform and societies in Great Britain were perhaps repudiated through an over-emphatic backlash when Germany became a wartime enemy. The *Musical Times* of August 1915 contained an article entitled 'Sidelights on German Art: The Great Church-Music Imposture'. The author was Richard Terry, organist and director of music at Westminster Cathedral. The article constituted a diatribe against German Cecilianism on a variety of grounds: the poor quality of Cecilian music, its widespread advertising and publications, its influence in obtaining Roman authority for a thirty-year monopoly on Ratisbon plainchant books, and the unreliability of German Cecilian music scholarship:

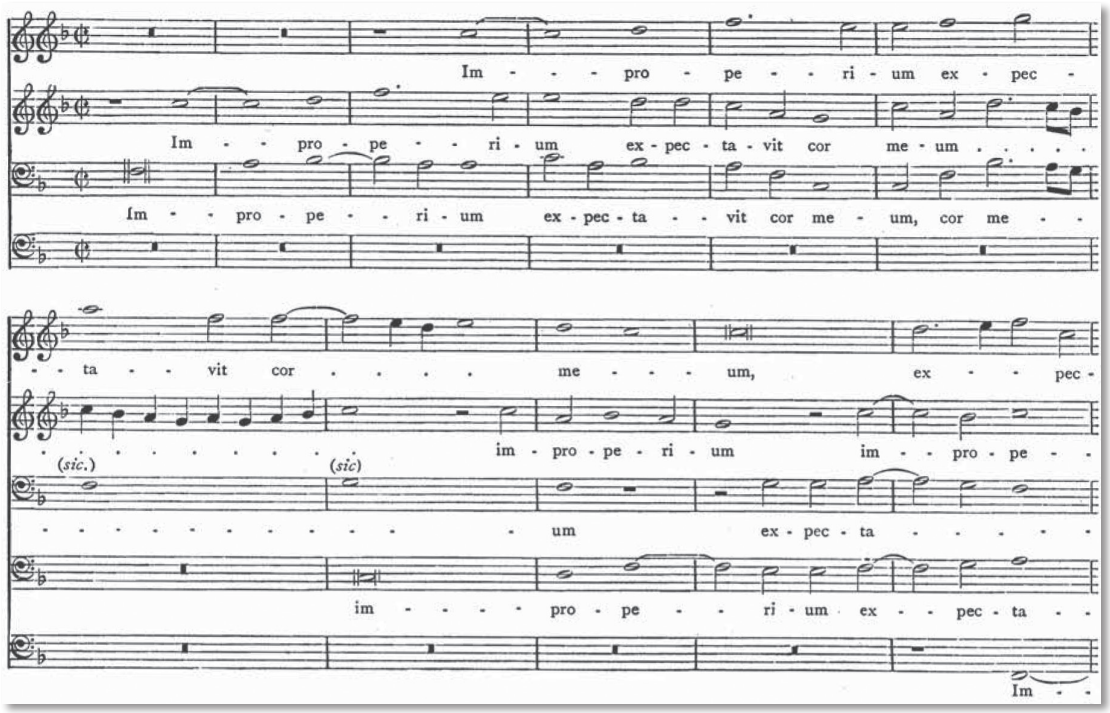
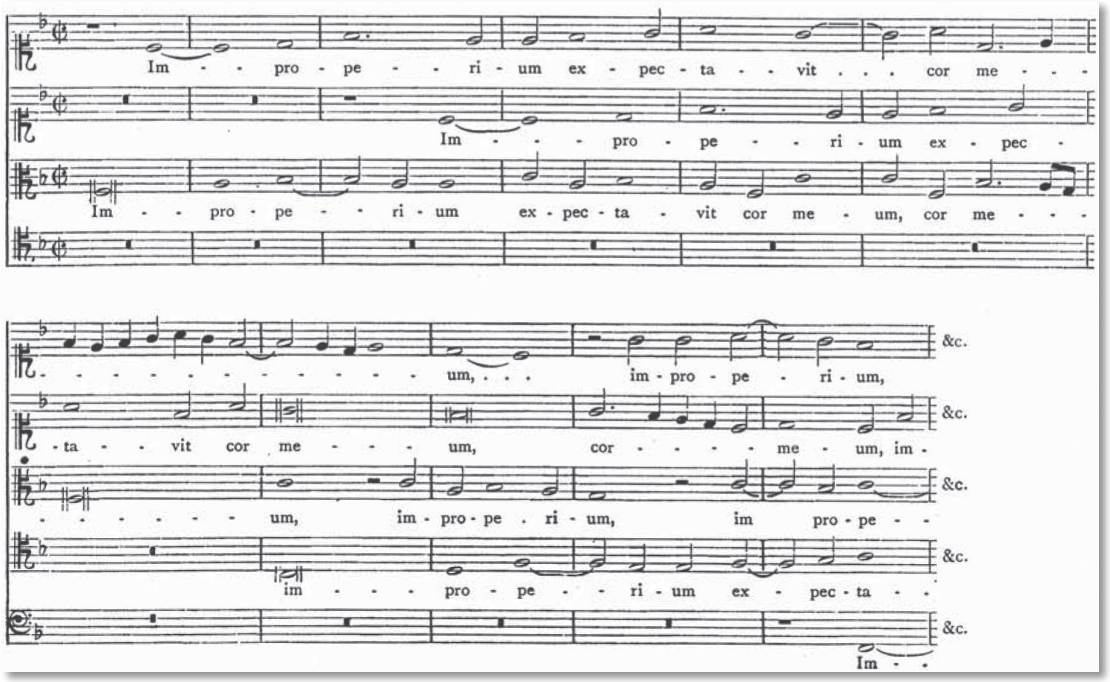
> Cecilian 'church music reform' is nothing more than a trade, a trade masquerading in the name of religion and art. That is where the imposture comes in. Germany's mission since 1870 has been to supply foreign nations with the cheapest shoddy they would put up with, and her Cecilian wares are the cheapest shoddy that ever debased the name of music.[64]

Terry singled out Haberl and Bewerunge for particular vilification. He disparaged Bewerunge's published arrangement of Palestrina motets as a 'caricature', comparing examples of the opening section as arranged by Bewerunge and from another

63 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 11 January 1917. (SAA)

64 R.R. Terry, 'Sidelights on German Art: The Great Church-Music Imposture', *Musical Times*, vol. 56, no. 870 (August 1915), p. 458. (His reference to 1870 marked the foundation of the new German empire.)

unspecified edition.[65]

Ex. 6.2 Opening of 'Improperium expectavit': Bewerunge edition

Ex. 6.3 Opening of 'Improperium expectavit': Commer edition

65 The edition appears to be that of Franz Commer, ed., *Offertorien von Pierluigi da Palestrina* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1881), p. 69.

Terry made no comment whatever on the nature of Bewerunge's supposed faults. The two examples appeared different because Bewerunge arranged the music for male voices only, a fact to which Terry did not draw attention – although he did protect himself by giving the full German title of Bewerunge's publication.[66] The motet chosen by Terry as an examplar used relatively complex transference of material between the three upper voices, all designed to suit the exigencies of Bewerunge's male voice ranges in Maynooth, while still emulating Palestrina's voice entries. In the opening bars given at Ex. 6.2 above, the first tenor is based mainly on Palestrina's *cantus secundus*, the second tenor on *altus*, and the baritone on *cantus*. Without the explanation that this publication was an arrangement for male voices, Bewerunge's arrangement might at first glance seem like the work of a very careless editor. It should be recalled that these arrangements were the same ones which featured in the Salford diocesan commission's approved church music list from 1904, when both Bewerunge and Terry were members of the commission. Had Terry considered the transcriptions a 'caricature' eleven years previously he surely would not have countenanced their inclusion on the Salford list.[67] Further, in 1907 Terry was positively disposed towards Haberl: 'Dr Haberl and his many able coadjutors have edited for the Cecilian Society most of the greater works of Palestrina, Vittoria, and the rest of the polyphonic school'.[68] Terry had always been critical of the large quantity of poor contemporary Cecilian music – as indeed was Bewerunge himself – but the change in his attitude towards Haberl and the publication of critical editions of Renaissance masters can be

66 *Ibid*., p. 460. The motet chosen by Terry as an examplar used relatively complex transference of material between the three upper voices, all designed to suit the exigencies of Bewerunge's male voice ranges in Maynooth, while still emulating Palestrina's voice entries. Without the explanation of male voice transcription, Bewerunge's arrangement might at first glance seem like the work of a careless editor.

67 It is also possible that Bewerunge's arrangements were used at Westminster cathedral in the early years of its music programme: Bewerunge had close connections with Fr Moloney at the cathedral in addition to Terry himself. And of course Terry must have had access to a copy or he would have been unable to print the musical example.

68 Richard R. Terry, *Catholic Church Music* (London: Greening & Co. Ltd, 1907), p. 64.

seen as a manifestation of wartime anti-German nationalism.[69] It has been remarked that Terry liked journalism 'because it was a British institution that could not easily be fooled'.[70] In this instance he carried out a successful dissimulation. A more personal motivation for the attack may have been prompted by a negative critique of Terry's *Westminster Hymnal* in the Downside Review, journal of the Benedictine abbey at Downside (Somerset).[71] The bulk of this review was penned by Bewerunge for Dame Laurentia, and it is likely that Terry became aware of this.[72]

Terry's article spawned a long-running debate which continued in the *Musical Times* for fifteen months and *The Tablet* for almost six months. Additionally it provoked an article in the *Irish Times* and provided editorial material for *The Times* (London).[73] Much of the attention focused on Haberl and controversies attendant on late nineteenth-century plainchant editions, with Terry the most frequent writer.[74] One of the other correspondents was W.H. Grattan Flood, who commented adversely on Cecilianism

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69 War-influenced reinterpretations of Germany's contribution to music were many and varied: use of so-called 'German' fingering systems was considered unpatriotic, and attempts were made to show that Beethoven was not German, or at least might only have been German through his mother's family. For instance, see *Musical Times* (January 1915), p. 30.

70 Timothy Day, 'Sir Richard Terry and 16th-Century Polyphony', *Early Music*, vol. 22, no. 2 (May 1994), p. 300.

71 Richard R. Terry, ed., *The Westminster Hymnal* (London: R. & T. Washbourne Ltd, 1912).

72 'It was not nice of me to give you such a disagreeable task, but I was too ignorant to do it myself.' Dame Laurentia to Bewerunge, 2 March 1913. (SAA) And a decade earlier, Bewerunge had reviewed numbers 1–6 of Terry's *Downside Masses*, in the *IER*, cataloguing a long list of editing errors. *IER* October 1906, 383–384.

73 'German Influence in Church Music', *Irish Times*, 2 January 1916, p. 2; 'Plainsong and Profits', *The Times*, 9 August 1916, p. 9.

74 At the same time that 'The Great Church-Music Imposture' debate was playing out in the public arena, Terry was approached by the trustees of the nascent Tudor Church Music series and asked to be the series' editor. He immediately agreed. Samuel Royle Shore, an amateur musicologist and editor who held an opposing theory to that of Terry regarding the development of contrapuntal sacred music in England, expressed an interest in the same position and Terry responded by writing to the trustees: 'The man is out for mischief. He is entirely unscrupulous, and his pretended zeal for the welfare of Tudor music is only camouflage to cover the chagrin of a disappointed candidate for a job.' Quote from Richard Turbet, 'An Affair of Honour: 'Tudor Church Music', the Ousting of Richard Terry, and a Trust Vindicated', *Music & Letters*, vol. 76, no. 4 (November 1995), p. 595. The enmity between Royle Shore and Terry had been exacerbated by public debates in *The Tablet* and *The Church Times* between October 1911 and March 1912: an aspect of these debates concerned alleged deficiencies in a chapter on English music written by Bewerunge for Karl Weinmann's 1910 *History of Church Music*. Terry's unprofessional approach to the task of editing the Tudor Church Music series ultimately saw him discreetly ousted from the position by the committee he had assembled around him.

in Ireland and on Bewerunge.[75] Part of his contribution was selections from a two-part article he provided for *Church Music* (Philadelphia) in 1909,[76] but the rest constituted an extreme diatribe against Bewerunge. If his assertion that 'my views on the present subject are not influenced by this dreadful world war now raging' was truthful then his only motivation could have been the ruination of his former professional colleague.[77] Flood's statements were a mixture of carefully selected facts, gross distortions, and complete untruths. The end result was a devastating character assassination. He described Bewerunge in unflattering terms: a 'junior chanter in Cologne cathedral' appointed to the position of professor of music at 'the largest ecclesiastical seminary in Ireland'.[78] He remarked: 'Fortunately, his sophistries and crude theoretical knowledge of plainchant were exposed by the Rev. T. Anselm Burge'.[79] Above all, he accused Bewerunge of 'a carefully-planned campaign of commercialism in music and musicians' by which he pushed the sale of German sacred music publications. He also stated:

> But the worst feature in the German commercialism of Prof. Bewerunge was […] his importation of German organists into Ireland. It is safe to say that within twenty-five years about fifty of these 'cultured' musicians were given appointments. Many of them were grossly incompetent, and were sent home again.[80]

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75 In October 1914 Flood had written to the Chief Secretary in Dublin, claiming that German organists in Ireland were spies. Collins (2010), p. 32.

76 Dame Laurentia had commented that this article contained 'a lot of twaddle'. Dame Laurentia to Bewerunge, 2 June 1909. Bewerunge said: 'It is like Gr. Flood's accuracy as a historian, that he makes me a Bavarian'. Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 3 April 1909. (SAA) It has not been possible to source 1909 issues of *Church Music* to see the entirety of Flood's article or to check whether Bewerunge made any public response. However, an unreferenced article in *Jubilus Review* may be a reprint of Flood's *Church Music* contribution: in it he described Bewerunge as 'a young Bavarian priest', and at that time he considered Bewerunge to be a worthy occupier of the Maynooth professorship. W.H. Grattan Flood, 'Notes from an Irish Organist in Enniscorthy', *Jubilus Review* (Summer 1984), p. 64. Interestingly, Flood regarded himself as 'the pioneer of Solesmes chant in Ireland', and averred that Bewerunge was 'bound up in the traditions of the Ratisbon school'. The necessary adherence by the Dublin diocese to the Ratisbon tradition until the 1903 *Motu proprio* apparently left Flood unmoved, and he did not acknowledge Bewerunge's support for the work of Solesmes, which was publicised in *LE* as early as 1891.

77 W.H. Grattan Flood, 'Sidelights on German Commercialism: the Cecilian Movement in Ireland', *Musical Times*, vol. 57, no. 875 (January 1916), p. 28.

78 *Ibid*.

79 *Ibid*., p. 29.

80 *Ibid*.

It was certainly the case that Bewerunge brokered the importation of German music publications, both sacred and secular, into Ireland. This was done to supply a need, particularly before Irish sellers and publishers began to take note of the changed repertoire. Bewerunge certainly never profited by any sales and it only created additional work for him to order and pay for music on behalf of third parties. With regard to the importation of German organists, Flood exaggerated wildly. Between the time of Bewerunge's arrival in 1888 and the outbreak of war in 1914 ten German organists – including Bewerunge – were appointed to positions in Ireland.[81] Bewerunge's national diocesan consultative role included the provision of advice and recommendations regarding organs and church musicians. Although he gave his views on those musicians known personally to him if asked by a diocesan bishop, it was ultimately the ecclesiastical hierarchy which made the appointments.[82] Further, it has been noted more than once in chapter four above that Bewerunge believed Irish musicians should take up Irish positions and it was the want of appropriate education in Ireland which necessitated the importation of organists. Evidence survives of his efforts to promote Irish musicians, particularly students who came through his own hands in Maynooth.[83] An example of Bewerunge's reluctance to appoint foreign church musicians can be traced through the case of Belgian organist Firmin Van der Velde in 1912. Thomas O'Dea, then bishop of Galway, asked Bewerunge to check the Belgian's professional qualifications. Bewerunge was apparently reluctant to support to Van der Velde, despite his impeccable credentials. Van der Velde wrote on 29 October 1912: 'Your long silence makes me suppose that you do not intend to recommend me […]'.[84] Bewerunge in fact asked Samuel Myerscough and his son if either of them might be

81 Deacy (2005), pp. 181–182.

82 A letter from Nicholas Donnelly to Haberl in 1894 included the outline of employment terms and conditions for a new organist in Bray: Donnelly hoped Haberl might suggest someone suitable who could speak English. (D-Rbza)

83 For instance, John Healy, Bishop of Clonfert, to Bewerunge, 22 September 1896. (LDA)

84 Van der Velde to Bewerunge, 29 October 1912. (LDA)

interested in the Galway position.[85] Bewerunge thereby demonstrated his preference to have Irish musicians of high calibre appointed as church musicians.

The accusation was also leveled by Flood that Bewerunge was responsible for the importation of German organs into Ireland. Stahlhuth built six instruments in Ireland between 1903 and 1912 (see chapter three, fn. 178): the fourteen-year gap between the Maynooth contract and the next Irish build suggests that Bewerunge was hardly making strenuous efforts to find work for his German colleague. In fact, Bewerunge was far more supportive of Welsh-born organ innovator Thomas Casson,[86] writing with approval about his stop and coupler control systems as early as May 1889.[87] Casson used Bewerunge's testimonials in his domestic and international advertising for many years – another instance of Bewerunge's status as a respected musician.[88] The testimonials focused on Bewerunge's opinion of an organ installed in Omagh, an instrument which showcased Casson's characteristic ability to obtain maximum stop resources from a limited number of pipes. Casson wrote privately to Bewerunge expressing his displeasure at the way he and Bewerunge were treated in Omagh:

> They do not in the least appreciate the magnificent instrument and I quite expect that they will again let it run down by neglect and again call on us, for the sake of our reputation, to put it in order *gratis*. The sum paid now did no more than cover what we spent this year, paying nothing of the amount out of which we were swindled. Add to this most violent abuse by Mr McGlade. As to your part you may be gratified to learn that the report in Omagh is that the organ is only an old secondhand thing which we 'cut down' (sic) to fit the place, paying you £300 to persuade them to take it. This when they owe to you the fact that for £1500 they got an organ worth £2000 exclusive of carriage & erection![89]

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85 Samuel Myerscough to Bewerunge, 29 March 1912. (LDA)

86 See chapter three, section 3.2.3, fn. 77 above.

87 H.B., 'The Casson Organ Building System', *LE* (May 1889), pp. 33–35.

88 For instance, Casson's pamphlet 'Lecture on the Pedal Organ', originally delivered as an address to the Incorporated Guild of Church Musicians and later published (London: William Reeves, 1903 and 1911), contained pages of testimonials from English organists and musicians, including Bewerunge. Seven years later *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, vol. 11, no. 3 (April– June 1910) contained a full-page advertisement on inside rear cover, the centrepiece of which was a glowing testimonial letter from Bewerunge.

89 Casson to Bewerunge, 25 December 1902. (LDA)

Casson's bread-and-butter work was the production of small, sturdy organs with simple stop control systems and a pedal help which automatically sounded the lowest note of any chord at 16' pitch – ideal for a pianist co-opted as organist in their parish church. Many Casson organs were built around the British isles, including the west of Ireland.[90] Flood was either unaware of Bewerunge's championship of Casson, or chose to ignore it in the interests of pursuing his character assassination of the German.

The *Irish Times* picked up on the debate provoked by Terry, and repudiated Flood's 'bitterness', commenting: 'it would be only fair to believe that Professor Bewerunge had no direct commercial or even national interest in the matter'.[91] Nonetheless, the editor reprinted the attack on Bewerunge in full, having first distanced himself with the remark that: 'Dr Flood may be quite wrong for all I know'. The item was printed on a page devoted to military, political, and social news, mostly with an anti-German slant. Bewerunge must never have known of Terry-Flood onslaught. Dame Laurentia may have had it drawn to her attention by one of her contacts, but she did not mention it to him. No letters were exchanged between them during January 1916, but on 8 February 1916 she wrote: 'My delay is not due to my having nothing to say, but partly to there being so much I should like to discuss with you, and to the feeling that writing is unsatisfactory.' Perhaps one of the matters she would have liked to discuss was Terry's and Flood's impugnment of Bewerunge's work. Given the stature of Bewerunge's reputation in Ireland and internationally by the time the First World War commenced, Flood's attempts to debase him were startling. The intensity of Flood's vitriol went beyond mere warmongering and prompts questions as to his motivation. Small surviving details of their interactions over the years do not seem to provide any clues as to a cause for real enmity. Eight chapters from Flood's major work, *The History of Irish Music*, were serialised in Bewerunge's *Irish Musical Monthly* and were criticised

90 In 1897 an organ using Casson's techniques was installed in a monastery church in Athenry, Co. Galway. Heinrich Bewerunge, 'A New Style of Organ for Small Churches', *IER* (February 1897), pp. 161–167.

91 'German Influence in Church Music', *Irish Times*, 2 January 1916, p. 2.

for paucity of references and generalised statements. In 1903 Bewerunge subscribed to four copies of the *History*,[92] remarking later to Dame Laurentia: 'As a literary composition it is awful'.[93] Bewerunge reviewed Flood's *History* and his *The Story of the Harp*, and while guardedly recommending the latter he commented:

> This book […] shows all the features of the author's *History of Irish Music*, a wonderful amount of information presented with a certain want of order, and a considerable amount of carelessness as regards style.[94]

Nonetheless, they met frequently in the course of their mutual work, which included for example the *Feis Ceoil*, and they had occasion to consult with each other on points of information with apparent collegiality.[95] During Bewerunge's wartime absence, Flood suggested to Dr Hogan, president of St Patrick's College, that he might give a series of lectures on hymnology, at a fee of £12 for three consecutive lectures or £15 for three given at intervals.[96] It is not clear whether this was agreed, but given ongoing financial restrictions at Maynooth it seems unlikely. Perhaps Flood viewed Maynooth's loyalty to Bewerunge to be misplaced in the context of prevailing anti-German sentiment. Certainly the true cause of Flood's antagonism merits further investigation.

One further impugnment which also involved Terry, Flood, and Bewerunge concerned *The Armagh Hymnal*, compiled by Shane Leslie and edited by Flood.[97] The hymnal was published with text only in 1912, and was well received. The full music edition appeared in 1915. Terry reviewed the hymnal in *The Tablet* in February 1916 'with consternation, not far removed from despair'.[98] The publication was formally

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92 Grattan Flood to Bewerunge, 18 July 1903. (LDA)

93 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 7 March 1905. (SAA)

94 *IER* (December 1905), pp. 574–575.

95 For instance, Flood to Bewerunge, 24 October 1910. (LDA)

96 Flood to Hogan, 8 October 1914. (MCA)

97 Shane Leslie and John Stratford Collins, eds, *The Armagh Hymnal, A Collection of Hymns and Translations* (Dublin: Catholic Truth Society of Ireland, 1915). Sir John Randolph Leslie, 3rd baronet, generally known as Shane Leslie (1885–1971) was involved in the Irish cultural revival and was a convert to Catholicism. Collins died prior to publication of the book.

98 'The Armagh Hymnal', *The Tablet*, 5 February 1916, p. 169.

withdrawn by its publishers, the Catholic Truth Society, shortly after this review.[99] As can be seen from an inspection of the hymnal's music, there is no doubt but that the editing was poorly done, with instances of weak part-writing and errors in harmonic grammar. One hymn singled out by Terry for particular opprobrium was attributed to Bewerunge. It was not a strong example of work (see Ex. 6.1 below) and the review made the most of the opportunities for castigation.[100] Terry's tone and language were scathing:

> If I single out one tune, No. 96 (it is by no means so bad as Nos. 86 and 90), it is because this banal attempt at a 'melody', with its ponderously inept harmony, has been thought worthy of association with the burning imagery, and glowing ecstasy, of Crashaw's invocation of St Teresa. […] The tune is of the familiar amateur type which indicates a smattering of harmony, – enough to let the composer know what 'consecutives' should be avoided, but not enough to give him skill in elementary part-writing. The efforts of this composer to dodge 'consecutives' show the hand of the tyro even more conclusively than the pair of howling 'fifths' (between the outside parts) which have escaped his notice.[101]

Without specifically mentioning Bewerunge's name, this review added a further layer to Terry's depiction of Bewerunge as a second-rate musician, hard on the heels of his August 1915 denunciation. In Bewerunge's defence, there was an explanation. He had given the melody to Leslie in 1911,[102] but it was Flood who was responsible for the material given to the printer and it was most likely Flood, rather than Bewerunge, who undertook the harmonisation. In the Preface Flood thanked a number of musicians, including Bewerunge, for their 'tunes', a phraseology which indicates that the harmonies were not Bewerunge's own.[103] Bewerunge had no opportunity to see

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99 'The Armagh Hymnal', *The Tablet*, 19 February 1916, p. 246.

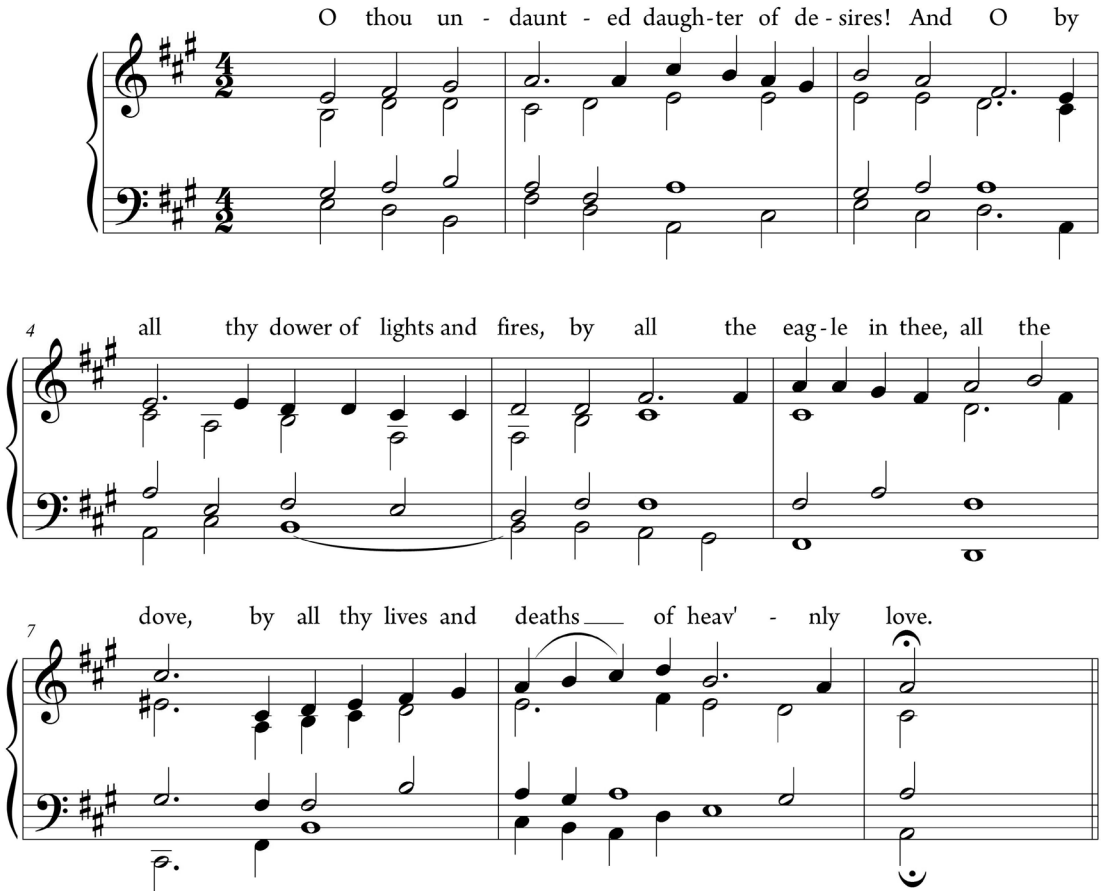
100 The melodic contours are such as to make a strong harmonisation difficult. The part-writing contains consecutive fifths between soprano and bass at the end of the first phrase, also incorporating an exposed fifth. The second phrase lacks a strong cadence at its end. The harmonisation brings alto and bass lines too low for average choir voices to perform a four-part vocal arrangement. The E# in the alto part at bar seven is not contradicted in the soprano melody later in the bar, and the move from C# major to F# minor on the weak half of a beat in bar 7 is abrupt. These issues aside, the writing is competent and Terry's references to amateurism are harsh.

101 'The Armagh Hymnal', *The Tablet*, 5 February 1916, p. 169.

102 Leslie to Bewerunge, 31 March 1911. (LDA)

103 *The Armagh Hymnal* (1915), pp. xi–xii.

or correct proofs before the full hymnal was published, because he was detained in Germany, and as before, he had no opportunity to defend himself.[104] It was ironic that Flood himself provided Terry with another tool by which to condemn Bewerunge.[105]

Ex. 6.4 ***The Armagh Hymnal*: 'O thou undaunted daughter'** [106]

These unrepudiated attacks on Bewerunge's musicianship and motivations by both Terry and Flood impacted seriously on his posthumous reputation. Combined with the controversy in 1914 over his appointment as professor of music at UCD,

104 Flood wrote to John Hogan, President of Maynooth, on 2 October 1914 looking for Bewerunge: 'I have been unable to get in touch with him, and hence have had to revise the proof for the printers […]'. (MCA)

105 The hymnal was reviewed far more positively elsewhere, but with some reservations regarding the music and 'over-lyrical' character of some of the poems which rendered them unsuitable as hymns. The text which Bewerunge set was singled out in this regard. *Irish Monthly Review*, vol. 44, no. 511 (January 1916), pp. 45–48.

106 Transcribed from *The Armagh Hymnal* (1916), p. 80. In this transcription the hymn text for the first verse has been overlaid; the original printed the hymn verses separately below the music.

they generated an atmosphere of hostility towards Bewerunge which had far-reaching effects. Reporting on his return to Ireland in 1920, the *Musical Times* stated: 'His various editions of Palestrina […] have been adversely commented on by Dr. R.R. Terry.'[107] Again in his obituary notice the same journal unkindly remarked: 'He published many 'arrangements' of Palestrina's Masses and motets, and was editor of the *Lyra Ecclesiastica* and the *Irish Musical Monthly* – both long since dead'.[108] Such negative comments in a high-profile journal carried with them an enduring stigma. The *Irish Times* was responsible many decades later for disinterring Flood's accusation regarding importation of German musicians when music critic Charles Acton (1914–1999) on two occasions specifically linked Bewerunge with an 'influx' and a 'wave' of continental organists.[109] As recently as 2010, Paul Collins commented: '[…] Bewerunge, no doubt, was highly influential in the appointment of German organists to churches in Ireland […]'.[110] The perception that Bewerunge was responsible for arranging these positions needs to be challenged. The statistics before and after Bewerunge's death reveal a more comprehensive picture: the number of continental organists who came to Ireland in the thirty-five years between the time of Bewerunge's arrival and his death equalled the number who came in the subsequent thirty-five years.[111] The earlier period comprised ten Germans and seven Belgians, whereas there were thirteen Belgians and four Germans in the 1923 to 1959 period. Responsibility for the later period cannot be laid at Bewerunge's feet, yet it is he who has been linked with the phenomenon. Nor was it necessarily the case that the onus for a German majority in the earlier time-frame lay entirely with Bewerunge. William Walsh and Nicholas Donnelly's distinguished positions in the Irish ecclesiastical hierarchy, coupled with

107 *Musical Times*, vol. 61, no. 932 (October 1920), p. 706.

108 *Musical Times*, vol. 65, no. 971 (January 1924), p. 78.

109 'Schola Cantorum Builds Future for Irish Musicians', *Irish Times*, 2 March 1979, p. 8; and 'The Saturday Interview: Aloys Fleischmann', *Irish Times*, 19 April 1980, p. 14.

110 Collins (2010), pp. 44–45. Collins cited one example of Bewerunge making a recommendation to a parish priest in the Liverpool diocese, but gave no evidence to support his claim that Bewerunge was 'highly influential' in Ireland.

111 Deacy (2005), pp. 181–182.

their enduring links to German Cecilianism, placed them in an ideal position to recruit personnel from abroad.

6.4 Bewerunge's Last Years at Maynooth

Bewerunge was fifty-seven years old when he returned to Ireland in 1920, but his ongoing health problems coupled with the anxiety of wartime had aged him prematurely (see Fig. 6.1 below). He wrote: 'As you will have seen from my writing I am a little nervous still. I haven't had the proper exercise these last weeks. When I begin to take that, I hope my nerves will improve.'[112]

Fig. 6.1 Bewerunge in 1921 [113]

The Stanbrook House Chronicles remarked on his physical disimprovement when he visited in July 1920 *en route* from Germany:

> It was even then plain that the terrible years of strain and hardship had told severely on his health, and when he came at Christmas the same year we noticed

112 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 7 August 1920. (SAA)

113 This picture appears on a travel permit dated 11 June 1921. (MCA) Under the conditions of the Aliens Restriction Act he had to apply for permission each time he wished to travel outside Great Britain.

> a further change for the worse. A kind of creeping paralysis, affecting chiefly the arms and hands, had come on.[114]

On his return to Ireland, Bewerunge made every effort to take up the various strands of his work within Maynooth and outside.[115] His finances were improved by a significant salary increase and an annual bonus.[116] A full-time substitute had not been appointed in his absence and Bewerunge's senior students – including Thomas O'Doherty, later bishop of Clonfert – managed the choir. It was not until 1919 that the *Maynooth Kalendaria* listed a 'lecturer on music'.[117] A letter to Dame Laurentia some six months after he came back gave a flavour of his activities and the difficulties he faced:

> I have been particularly busy and not well fit for work. In sexagisma week I was at the 40 hours adoration in Rathfarnham, which meant my staying in Dublin from Tuesday till Saturday. On that Saturday I examined about 300 students (postponed Christmas examinations). Last week I had to go to the west of Ireland to examine an organ just erected […] which took away two days, and gave me a cold.[118]

Some weeks were particularly busy ones for him and the choir:

> On Friday last we had the opening of the Quarant'hore here, and Office, Mass, and burial of a nun in the Presentation convent at the other end of the village. Yesterday and today we had second and High Mass for the Quarant'hore, and tomorrow we have High Mass for the annunciation. That is a lot for us. In addition I had to do some scoring those days. We used to sing, during Paschal time, a motet by Palestrina, 'Surrexit pastor bonus'. When I set about practising it, the score was found wanting. So I had to make out a new score from the voice parts, which took me some hours.[119]

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114 Stanbrook House Chronicles, 5 December 1923. (SAA)

115 He recommenced his teaching at Loreto Abbey, Rathfarnham.

116 His salary was increased to £241/12s/8d per annum. The bonus, £100 yearly, was the same as that granted to the President; no other staff member received this large a sum. *Journal of Trustees*, 19 October 1920. (MCA) Perhaps this was intended to mitigate the wartime years of little or no salary.

117 This work was undertaken by Vincent O'Brien, choral director at Dublin's Pro-Cathedral. His services were only required for one year.

118 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 17 February 1921. (SAA)

119 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 3 April 1921. (SAA) Quarant'hore was forty continuous hours continuous adoration of the blessed sacrament.

In the same letter – in unusually small and cramped handwriting – he referenced again his failing health:

> The trouble you have had in deciphering this letter will have impressed on you that my nervousness is not gone yet. My left hand is worse. I am like a beginner with it in organ playing, my little finger particularly won't obey me. And my pedalling is scandalous. I hope I shall get to the snow mountains in the summer. Of them I expect a renewal of my system.[120]

The deterioration of his playing ability must have particularly galled him. He underwent massage therapy in the summer of 1921,[121] but the miles of cycling to attend each session probably negated any benefits. He noted: 'I don't feel at all well today. I am awfully nervous and tired.'[122] But he was still reluctant to reduce his workload. He and Dame Laurentia continued their epistolatory discussions and analyses of plainchant rhythms, and he did more harmonisations for her. Bewerunge began to teach chant at a third Dominican convent in Dublin.[123] He also applied to the governing board of UCD seeking his old job as professor of music there, following C.H. Kitson's resignation in 1920. He received only one vote, with John Larchet (1884–1967) an overwhelming favourite for the position – a clear indication of the damage done to his reputation by Flood during the war.[124] Bewerunge declared himself 'quite resigned', knowing that his health would not be able to cope with the demands of both institutions.[125]

In 1922 his health declined further and he spent some months at a sanatarium in Cleves, near the Dutch border. His description of the regime there gives a moving insight into the invalid status of such a formerly busy and vital man:

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120 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 3 April 1921. Dame Laurentia replied on 17 April 1921: 'I am not surprised that you feel worse since your return in some ways, for it is when a strain is taken off that its effects begin to appear. Six such years must leave a tax to pay.' (SAA)

121 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 3 July 1921. (SAA)

122 *Ibid*.

123 *Ibid*.

124 Wolfgang Marx, 'A Very Short History of Music at UCD', *100 Years of Music at UCD: A Centenary Festschrift*, ed. Wolfang Marx (UCD School of Music, 2014). p. 24.

125 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 3 July 1921. (SAA)

> There is little time now for working. Two hours resting on a couch, with half an hour's walking between, takes up most of the morning. Dinner takes from 12.30 to 1.30. Then a repetition of the morning's programme brings one to 4 o'clock. Now there is afternoon tea, the tea being replaced by coffee (not real coffee, but a substitute) or, with a few like myself, by milk, the newspaper and an hour's walk, those things, with saying the Office, bring one on close to seven, supper time, after which there is, generally, no inclination to work.[126]

His optimism was renewed for the next academic year, however, and not only did he visit Stanbrook as usual the following Christmas, but also travelled to Oulton Abbey (Staffordshire) in summer 1923 to hear the standard of music and advise on organ renovations. He made plans for his Stanbrook visit in Christmas 1923, but warned Dame Laurentia:

> I am afraid I shall make a bad chaplain at Christmas, I am so slow in all my movements: it takes me 3/4 hour to say a private mass. And I am pretty helpless in vesting and unvesting. The students, or when I say mass in a convent, a nun, vests me like a baby. I manage to dress in the morning alone, but it is a difficult and tedious process. Every button means a struggle, and I look mentally as a victory every button buttoned.[127]

Five days after writing this letter, Bewerunge died from a cerebral haemorrhage.[128] His passport and travel papers were on his desk in anticipation of his visit to Stanbrook. The *Maynooth Kalendaria* recorded the manner of his death:

> He remained at his post to the last, attending faithfully to the most minute details of his work. On the first Sunday of Advent, 2nd December, he celebrated mass as usual, and later on he conducted the choir during the *Missa cantata*. He returned to his room, where he took suddenly ill, and, having received extreme unction, he passed away in a few minutes.[129]

Bewerunge's last will and testament showed his enduring allegiance to Maynooth. He left his library of books and manuscripts to the college for the use of staff and students,

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126 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 30 July 1922. (SAA)

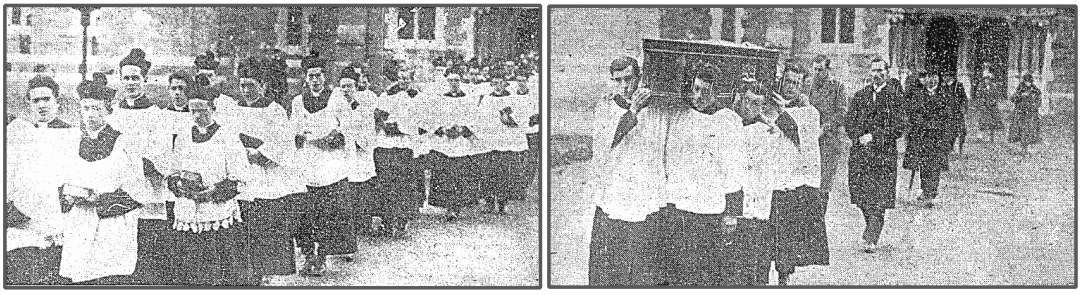
127 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 27 November 1923. (SAA)

128 This is recorded on his death certificate, which also stated he had been suffering from arterio-sclerosis. These medical details are not sufficient to explain his many years of ongoing symptoms, and it is tempting to postulate a degenerative neurological disorder.

129 *Maynooth Kalendaria* (1923–1924), 'Death of the Rev. Henry Bewerunge', p. 234.

he bequeathed his piano and harmonium to his successors in office, and gave his personal chalice and vestments to the college chapel.[130] He had already made known his wish to be buried in the grounds of the college. The institution to which he devoted thirty-five years of his life claimed him also in death. 'Thus, with his hand still on the helm, he passed quietly and calmly into the harbour of everlasting peace.'[131]

Fig. 6.2 Bewerunge's funeral procession, exiting the west door of Maynooth college chapel *en route* to the graveyard [132]



Conclusion

This chapter has traced the decline of Bewerunge's professional and personal life following on circumstances entirely outside his control: the long-running war, an inability to repudiate attacks on his expertise, and his declining health. Like the story of his appointment as professor of music at University College Dublin, it is a narrative redolant with the poignancy of what might have been. The upward trajectory of his career was abruptly terminated by the outbreak of war, and his reputation in Great Britain and Ireland was sullied by two influential men, perhaps because of harboured grievances or perhaps on foot of overwrought anti-German nationalism. Bewerunge's

130 Probate copy of Bewerunge's will. His seven surviving siblings were first given their choice of three books each from his library. (MCA)

131 From Bewerunge's obituary in *The Lanthorn*, yearbook of the Dominican College, Eccles Street, Dublin.

132 'Funeral at Maynooth', *Irish Independent*, 5 December 1923, p. 3.

old Irish ally and international colleague Nicholas Donnelly had died four months before Bewerunge's return to Ireland in July 1920, and his capricious superior William Walsh died nine months after this time. Ireland had achieved independence from Great Britain in 1921.[133] Bewerunge must have felt that a great deal had changed politically, socially, and culturally in his adopted country since his first arrival in 1888. His own death was a quiet slipping away, an afterthought in the wake of the long nineteenth century.

Comparison of a number of public obituaries is an instructive method of illuminating Bewerunge's perceived legacy in the immediate wake of his death. There was a noticeable dichotomy in attitudes between Catholic, Protestant, and nominally independent publications. The reverberations of Terry's criticisms in the *Musical Times* were already discussed in section 6.3 above. The obituary notice in that journal did, however, include the positive comment that Bewerunge was 'a fine organist and choir trainer'.[134] The fact that an obituary was printed at all in a Protestant journal made its own statement about Bewerunge's importance. The only other UK publication which marked his passing was *The Tablet*, wherein the notice was brief but appreciative. A private obituary from Great Britain must be mentioned: that of Stanbrook Abbey, where the community celebrated a solemn requiem mass to mourn Bewerunge's passing, 'for our Abbey owes so much to him'.[135] Stanbrook recorded his life and work in its House Chronicles, saying: 'his memory deserves to be handed down to future generations of our Community'.[136] The *Irish Times* gave a lengthy obituary and although respectful it focused unduly on the Ratisbon chant controversy. The *Irish Independent* acknowledged that he was a 'recognised authority on Gregorian chant'.

133 On 8 December 1921 Dame Laurentia wrote to Bewerunge: 'Thanks be to God for the glorious news of the Irish settlement!' (SAA) Bewerunge was too unwell to make any reply.

134 *Musical Times*, vol. 65, no. 971 (January 1924), p. 78.

135 Stanbrook House Chronicles, 5 December 1923. (SAA)

136 *Ibid*. Dame Laurentia, who survived him by thirty years and later became Abbess of Stanbrook, must have sorely missed his epistolatory companionship and intellectual rigour.

The Catholic-oriented *Freeman's Journal* was much more generous in its praise of Bewerunge and affirmation of his work; the initial announcement of his death began with the words 'Famed Musician' and the obituary some days later was fulsome, including the comment:

> Father Bewerunge's influence on musical education in Ireland through his teaching in Maynooth, the National University, and other important centres was far-reaching, and its stimulating effect can scarcely yet be adequately estimated.[137]

Its concluding words were sentimental but fitting:

> Those who, like his colleagues, were privileged to know Fr Bewerunge intimately, will understand that Maynooth has lost by the death of that highly-gifted musician and teacher a priest of exemplary piety, and a professor who was not only a most painstaking and highly-equipped scholar, but a very perfect Christian gentleman.[138]

137 'Father Bewerunge: What he did for Church Music in Ireland', *FJ*, 6 December 1923, p. 4. The newspaper did not reference any of Bewerunge's activities outside Ireland, perhaps to avoid touching on the criticisms made during the war.

138 *Ibid*.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Conclusions

From 1888 to 1914, Bewerunge was a leading figure in Irish Catholic church music. Additionally, his role as an educator and advocate for secular and traditional music deepened as he became fully integrated into his adopted country. Following his appointment at University College Dublin in 1914, he was poised to become the single most influential figure in Irish music education, holding professorships in the national seminary and the national university. His extended wartime absence therefore came at a critical juncture in the development of music in Ireland. Bewerunge's abrupt departure, virtually overnight, left a calamitous vacuum in both sacred and secular fields.

The circumstances which delimited the last nine years of Bewerunge's life were equally ruinous for his professional career, which had reached a high point in 1914. His isolation during and after the war, the unrebutted attacks on his reputation, and his inability to fulfil his scholarly potential owing to war and illness all contributed to a mixed reception history following his death. The removal of his influence in Ireland had a markedly negative effect on church music, resulting in a deterioration in standards. Maynooth lapsed into its old habit of using senior students to teach chant and play the organ, and it was 1927 before a new professor of music was appointed. Nine years later Belfast-based Belgian organist Arthur de Meulemeester (1876–1942) advocated identical reforms to those which Bewerunge had urged many decades previously: the use of appropriate liturgical music, the importance of learning basic music skills at an early age, improvement in standards of congregational singing, and so on.[1] By mid-century there was still no means through which Irish musicians could

1 Arthur de Meulemeester, *The Reform of Church Music* (Dublin: Catholic Truth Society of Ireland, 1936), pp. 40, 26, 82.

be trained for liturgical work, and congregational singing continued to be poor.[2] It was to be another twenty years before the establishment in 1970 of a second-level music education programme with a focus on church music requirements.[3]

The lack of progress consequent on Bewerunge's enforced absence and later death affirms his central importance for music education in Ireland, particularly in the field of liturgical music. The material presented in the preceding chapters clearly demonstrates Bewerunge's immense contribution to musicianship, teaching, and scholarship in Ireland and abroad. The quasi-chronological chapter structure herein has revealed his engagement with these areas of expertise at different times and in varying contexts, and can now be considered as a whole. Three broad headings are employed for this purpose, re-evaluating Bewerunge 1) as musician and educator, 2) as a scholar, and 3) as a man. The last of these three encompasses aspects of his character and personality which affirm his worth and yet, ironically, also served to diminish awareness of his achievements.

7.1 Musician and Educator

As a musician with expertise in voice production and choral training, Bewerunge raised the standard of vocal performance at Maynooth and other religious institutions, principal among which were Loreto Abbey, Rathfarnham, three Dominican convents in the Dublin area, and Stanbrook Abbey in Great Britain.[4] He acted in an advisory capacity for many other foundations, including the Palestrina Choir at Dublin's Pro-Cathedral; the Salford diocese, Teignmouth Abbey, and Oulton Abbey in England; and

2 James Delany, 'Church Music Reform', *Music in Ireland*, ed. Aloys Fleischmann (Cork: Cork University Press, 1952), p. 155. Delany approved Edward Martyn's efforts in establishing the Palestrina Choir, and like Martyn, urged that women's voices should be removed from the choir.

3 This was the *Schola Cantorum* at St Finian's College, Mullingar. It was only in 2007 that this programme became available for girls.

4 Bewerunge's obituary entry in the Stanbrook Abbey House Chronicles wrote regarding his biannual visits: 'These were valuable days for the choir, for [he] gave it much help in the way of voice production, and was most kind in connection with the organ and accompaniment'. (SAA)

Oosterhout in Holland.[5] It should be noted that although Bewerunge had a significant presence in convents, extant documents do not suggest that he had any involvement in monastic teaching. This may have been determined more by the tenacity of the nuns in securing his services rather than disinterest on the part of monks.[6] In addition to theoretical pedagogy, Bewerunge was a practising musician, performing regularly on the organ and piano and as a solo chanter. Many of his public lectures were enlivened with demonstrations on voice and keyboard.[7]

Bewerunge's requirements for the performance of polyphonic works and plainchant alike were exacting, perfected by decades of choral training with the *schola cantorum* at Maynooth and the girls at Rathfarnham. Attaining and maintaining high performance standards was particularly challenging in contexts such as Maynooth and Rathfarnham, where voices changed with each annual intake of new students. Bewerunge paid particular care to the independent dynamic contour of phrasing within each voice in polyphonic works, evidenced by comprehensive markings on some of the surviving scores from his transcriptions. His skilful arrangement of Renaissance polyphony for adult male voices was a necessary adjunct of his work with the select choir at Maynooth: very little Renaissance music would otherwise have been accessible to the seminarians. The utility of his transcriptions was endorsed by their private copying and dissemination in England and the success of his published Palestrina motet arrangements. The poor teaching conditions and facilities which Bewerunge found on his arrival at Maynooth obliged him to challenge the governing authority as he campaigned for a better student learning environment. His tenacity and

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5 A request made in the course of this research to examine the minute books of the Palestrina Choir to ascertain the frequency and extent of Bewerunge's attendance at committee meetings was not acceded to.

6 There are a number of telling references in surviving correspondence which substantiate the view that nuns got what they wanted – for instance, Dame Laurentia to Bewerunge, 15 Feburary 1905: 'You see nuns always get their own way in the end!'. (SAA)

7 For instance, his address to the International Musical Society in London in July 1911 on 'The Metrical Cursus in the Antiphonal Chants of the Mass' included sung examples. His confidence not only in delivering a paper to an international audience but also providing aural illustrations was thereby evident.

determination were effective where a more reticent approach might not have been. The frustrations which are so clearly evident in his writings regarding the teaching resources and educational standards at Maynooth demonstrate the probity of his approach to his work. Bewerunge's dedication and attention to detail with the massed choir and the *schola cantorum* enhanced public perceptions of Maynooth's professionalism and status for decades. His integrity serves to highlight the later injustice of his treatment during the war.

Further aspects of his combined role as musician and pedagogue were his diocesan visits around Ireland to give singing instruction in schools and advice to church organists. He also gave private tuition in organ, chant studies, secular music, and theory, and he taught at the Leinster School of Music. A significant example of Bewerunge's work as a pioneering educator was his short-lived journal, the *Irish Musical Monthly*. The breadth of its contents, along with its focus on Irish traditional music and its regular supplements of both sacred and secular music, constituted a new venture in Irish publishing.[8]

As a result of research for this study, Bewerunge's compositional repertoire has been expanded, and his plainchant harmonisations – on which he lavished a great deal of time and care – can also be included within their ambit. His approach was innovative and differed significantly from that of his contemporaries. The organ did not double the melody line and chord changes occurred infrequently. His method foreshadowed techniques that only came into common use thirty or more years later (without the more complex harmonic language employed at mid-century). He also had a well-developed aesthetic regarding suitable organ registration tones and colours for chant accompaniment. His preference was for a delicate supporting sound, using a legato playing technique. This informed his stop selection for the Maynooth college chapel

8 Evidence that the music supplements were still in use almost thirty years later was adduced in chapter three, section 3.3.2 above.

organ and other instruments, including that at Stanbrook. Chapter three demonstrated that reviewers familiar with the British tradition of heavy foundation tones criticized the new Maynooth organ: one of Bewerunge's reasons for choosing the lighter German specification was its suitability for his style of accompaniment. And like any young man with a love of innovation, he brought the most modern technical mechanisms to bear on the college chapel organ project, thus stimulating advances in Irish organ-building.

Despite his already punishing workload, Bewerunge was extremely keen to win the professorship of music at University College Dublin. Although the position was part-time, he would have had to cut back on some of his extra-curricular teaching to spend the necessary days there. The mental shift away from liturgical music and toward art music inherent in his taking the UCD post is noteworthy. By this time he had been involved in Irish traditional music for almost fifteen years. Would the combination of a secular music professorship, along with his Irish music interests, have served to eclipse his primary function as a professor of church music? His position at UCD was fully supported by the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and thus it seems that Walsh and Donnelly saw no conflict of interest between the two institutions. Bewerunge's comment on learning that he was not re-appointed in 1921 suggests that he did see a contradistinction: 'Perhaps it is a sign […] that I should devote myself more exclusively to church music.'[9]

7.2 Scholar and Researcher

Bewerunge's investigations as a researcher were often prompted by what he was reading. His articles were generally characterized by a succinct account of source texts followed by extrapolations of original thought. A typical example was his 1911

9 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 3 July 1921. (SAA)

paper, 'The Metrical Cursus in Antiphonal Chants of the Mass',[10] which was inspired by a discussion in Mocquereau's *Paléographie Musicale*. 'The Forms of Gregorian Chant', his 1913 address to the Incorporated Society of Musicians,[11] grew organically from the earlier *cursus* investigations, and although it did not espouse any radical theory, it presented a highly illuminating excursion through a variety of chant forms which was of benefit to both performer and historian. One of his particular skills was the transparent and coherent elucidation of other scholarly treatises.[12] The ability to analyse material and display it in a new and fresh way is a highly important aspect of scholarly research. However, Harry White described Bewerunge as a 'scholarly critic of outstanding ability', a comment which although complimentary did not concede that Bewerunge carried out any original research.[13] Even given the relatively limited selection of journal publications to which White had access, describing him merely as a critic was an underestimation. White cited the 1911 paper as the only article in which a novel theory was proposed. This entirely overlooked Bewerunge's 1903 paper, 'Modes in Irish Music', which presented a new modal analysis of traditional melodies, of which White was aware but did not critique.[14] Bewerunge's seminal contributions to Stanbrook Abbey's *A Grammar of Plainsong* also revealed his originality of thought combined with his aptitude for clear expression. Dame Laurentia took full advantage of him in this respect, to the extent of asking him to write her own thoughts for her. The intricacies of his explorations of plainchant text accent and rhythmic theory as exhibited through his correspondence with Dame Laurentia are clear evidence of his search for a new theoretical framework informed by performance practice.

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10 H. Bewerunge, 'The Metrical Cursus in the Antiphonal Chants of the Mass', *Irish Theological Quarterly* (July 1911), pp. 345–357; also published in German: H. Bewerunge, 'Der metrische Kursus in den antiphonalen Gesängen der Messe', *Cäcilienvereinsorgan* (July 1911), pp. 136–143.

11 See chapter five, section 5.3.4 above.

12 A few years ago, this writer struggled for some time with source texts concerning various rhythmic theories of plainchant. On reading the relevant entries by Bewerunge written for the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, all became clear.

13 White and Lawrence, *IMS 2* (1993), p. 96.

14 *Ibid*., p. 97. See chapter four, section 4.2.2 above.

The time available to Bewerunge for scholarly research was very limited: it had to be interpolated between his other pressing daily tasks. Bearing this restriction in mind, his achievement was remarkable, as evidenced by the far larger published output now uncovered by this research.[15] Many of the newly-discovered articles date from the war, when he had the time and opportunity to carry out research but lacked access to resources. The originality of thought in these publications – exhibited particularly in the chant articles concerning word-painting, and the eight-part analysis of Palestrina offertories – is suggestive of the potential for deeper scholarship had the appropriate resources been available to him. Bewerunge's close readings and translations of Riemann's works provided the catalyst for a number of his own articles. While he agreed with many of Riemann's theories, he also took issue with him. One example was Riemann's mensural theory of plainchant rhythm, which Bewerunge conclusively proved to be impractical. Bewerunge's engagement with Riemann, one of the founders of modern musicology and a pre-eminent music scholar and teacher, undoubtedly concentrated his disposition towards analytic, historical, and philological approaches to music research. The influence of his teacher and mentor, Haberl, was also fundamental in his formation as a musicologist and critical researcher. Through Haberl, however, Bewerunge was allied to Cecilianism, a connection which proved deleterious to him during the war. Bewerunge's application of musicological techniques placed him at the forefront of plainchant research and, in the context of Irish music, marked him as a pioneer in ethnomusicology. His natural predilection towards critical comment and discussion formed an essential part of a modern musicological outlook, as did his belief in the importance of original sources.

15 Further items may yet be discovered through hand searches, particularly in Leipzig University library.

7.3 Man and Priest

It can readily be understood why Bewerunge had his critics. His was not a charismatic personality; he was rarely diplomatic; he was often brusque and sometimes uncooperative. He was an indomitable antagonist, a pedant, and a perfectionist. A combination of overwork, poor health, and a formidable intellect which did not suffer fools gladly made him an intimidating figure. Bewerunge was unimpeachable as regards his knowledge and expertise, but his public *persona* was not always likeable.[16] His habit of independence and lack of deference to higher authority, discussed in the first chapter and exemplified by the contretemps with William Walsh regarding the demise of *Lyra Ecclesiastica*, were unlikely to have smoothed his path, particularly when advancing projects for improvements in church music reform.[17] These exacting aspects of his public persona have not encouraged historical musicologists to view him in a sympathetic light, and they serve as dispositional barriers to a more appropriate understanding and positioning of his work. White's criticisms have already been discussed, as has Daly's censure of his editorship of *Lyra Ecclesiastica*.[18] There were pejorative overtones in Jerry Nolan's description of him as having 'swept down on' the debate regarding women's voices in choir.[19] Later in the same article Nolan described Bewerunge's teaching methods as 'ineffectual', without adequate contextualisation.[20] Ian Curran reproduced Nolan's views on Bewerunge as a teacher almost verbatim.[21] Curran also made much of Archbishop Walsh's difficulties with Bewerunge's

16 It is perhaps unfortunate that his negative appraisals of the Vatican plainchant editions received such international attention. They exhibit his systematic rigour in scholarship but also his delight in lambasting his adversaries. Chapter five includes correction of later flawed evaluations of his critical work on the *Vaticana*.

17 The strength of Donnelly's support for Bewerunge was seen in chapter four, where Donnelly was willing to dissolve his own Irish Society of St Cecilia in order to save Bewerunge from Walsh's wrath.

18 Daly (1995), e.g. pp. 125, 131, 150.

19 Jerry Nolan, 'Edward Martyn and the Founding of Dublin's Palestrina Choir', *New Hibernia Review*, vol. 4, no. 1 (Spring 2000), p. 90.

20 *Ibid*., p. 94. Also see chapter three, section 3.1.5 above.

21 Curran (2007), p. 66.

personality.[22] The abrupt termination of Bewerunge's career in 1914 contributed to his remaining a contentious figure. He had no opportunity to consolidate his thinking and his research in a mature career phase, nor to salvage his reputation following the war. His absence was a loss also for Irish traditional music. It is notable that his entry in the *Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland*, although giving considerable space to the denunciations of Terry and Flood, mentions only that he was a member of the Dublin Feis Ceoil committee and that he published on modality in Irish music.[23] Bewerunge's mixed reception history deserves to be revisited. The work of this thesis in presenting an enriched picture of Bewerunge's endeavours is an essential part of that improvement, but the strands in the narrative which reveal more of his private personality are also important. Bewerunge was not an arrogant man. He never actively sought the limelight, although some of the tasks he took on for the greater good generated a high profile. His natural inclination was to engineer and facilitate change through others. The Stanbrook *Grammar* is one outstanding example of his selflessness in the cause of church music reform. Only he and Dame Laurentia knew the magnitude of his contribution to this publication, and his preference was not to be acknowledged at all in the preface so that he could freely recommend the book.

Having moved to Ireland, Bewerunge took his adopted country to his heart and gave unstintingly of himself. His role in the Irish cultural revival has been highlighted through an analysis of his writings and a review of his post-mortem reception history in that field. The examination of his early life in chapter one, which reveals his social and educational background, illuminates his confident interactions with members of the cultural élite in Ireland. His frequent use of 'we' and 'our' when speaking or writing about Irish causes, be they education, church music reform, or the preservation of traditional melodies, spoke volumes as to his dedication to Ireland and the Irish. A

22 *Ibid*., pp. 92–106. Also see chapter four, section 4.1.1 above.

23 Lawrence, 'Bewerunge', *EMIR* (2013), p. 89.

particularly poignant use of 'we' occurred in a book review for *Lyra Ecclesiastica*, where he referred to the reasons for the poor condition of church music in Ireland: 'A long and sad period of suppression came, and the chants of the divine canticles were put to silence. Again we are free […]'[24] This evoked an emotional echo of German Catholic struggles with *Kulturkampf*. Given the depth of Bewerunge's commitment to Ireland, his betrayal by Grattan Flood, an Irish musician, is all the more grievous.

The material researched for this thesis demonstrates a much more rounded view of Bewerunge's character and personality than that which the austere and serious public man suggests. He and Dame Laurentia shared many jokes and *bon mots*, and multiple snippets of information from all surviving threads of private correspondence reveal a sensitive and caring man, on both professional and personal levels. He often ordered and had sent at his own expense books or pamphlets which he thought might be of interest to his friends and colleages.[25] He loaned money to his Maynooth students when they were in need, and accepted repayment as and when they could manage.[26] The likelihood that he contributed to the cost of the organ refurbishment at Stanbrook has already been mentioned.[27] He also helped the community to obtain a quality piano.[28] Both his upbringing and his priestly vocation inclined him towards charitable works, and he made donations to religious and artistic causes.[29] He always remembered to offer Masses for his family and close colleagues on their birthdays or other special occasions. The condolences he sent to Dame Laurentia on the death of

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24 *LE* (December 1891), p. 95.

25 For instance, Butterfield to Bewerunge, 2 December 1891: 'Many thanks for your kind present. It was just what I wanted.' (LDA)

26 For instance, Thomas Curran to Bewerunge, 7 August 1902. (LDA)

27 See chapter five, section 5.3.3 above.

28 'We all thank you very much for so kindly helping us to get such a good instrument'. Dame Laurentia to Bewerunge, 22 March 1909. (SAA)

29 Examples included a generous donation of twenty pounds to the Maynooth centenary memorial (Healy (1895), p. 235); donations towards the prize funds for the Dublin diocesan school choirs competition; and a 'very generous contribution' towards the Armagh cathedral fund. Cardinal Michael Logue to Bewerunge, 5 July 1904. (LDA)

her brother showed both piety and emotion: 'For notwithstanding all the consolations our holy faith gives us, our soul remains sensible to sorrow and our heart feels the loss of beloved friends.'[30] He helped organize assistance for prisoners of war and refugees on his return to Ireland after the war (his letters made no mention of any such activities during the war: censors would have redacted or destroyed them). He exhibited few traces of religious bigotry and was quite happy to receive Protestants and Anglicans at Maynooth.[31] He had no qualms about associating with suffragettes and lesbians, including playwright Christopher St John and her partner, musician Violet Gwynne.[32] Most unusually for a man of his time he did not subscribe to prevailing assumptions regarding the inferiority of female intellect. His long friendship with Dame Laurentia was founded on an enduring dialectic between intellectual equals,[33] and his involvement with the Gaelic League also evidenced his acceptance of women in active leadership roles.

In addition to being a twentieth-century man, Bewerunge was a forward-looking cleric. His approach to congregational participation was modernist.[34] Average congregations who did not have the benefit of a classical education spent their time at Mass telling rosary beads or immersed in personal prayer, and only engaged with

30 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 13 May 1919.

31 On one occasion, Dame Laurentia humourously revealed some of the inter-confessional distrust of the time: 'Fr Cary […] is going to Ireland again after Easter and I told him to go and see you, making the plainsong an excuse, as it is for his coming here. He cannot go to 'Roman' places without an excuse. He asked whether they might not flay him at Maynooth! He seemed to think that if 600 Irish men got a live Cowley Father in the midst of them, they might think it a fine chance of doing something for religion! I promised to intercede for him and ask for mild treatment. He is a particularly nice person, far too nice for an Anglican, and we are constantly praying for him.' Bewerunge replied: 'Fr Cary will be welcome, when he comes here, and he needn't bring a revolver'. 1 February and 5 February 1909. (SAA)

32 Bewerunge visited St John and Gwynne in London in early 1912 to inspect and play a harpsichord, an instrument which was beginning to come into use again. Regarding the harpsichord, he said: 'Historically, indeed, I value its revival very highly, and if I had money enough, I would buy one for myself. But as an instrument for awakening deep emotions […] I cannot accept it.' Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 9 January 1912. (SAA)

33 Dame Laurentia herself occasionally commented on her supposed feminine inabilities, but such remarks were intended humourously. Although aware of shortcomings in her education, she – like Bewerunge – accepted her intellectual faculties as a gift from God.

34 See chapter five, section 5.3.4 above.

the liturgy when the bells were rung for consecration. Bewerunge sought more congregational participation, at least for short, simple responses and preferably for the Mass ordinary.[35] Although his personal preference was for the Latin liturgy, he saw at an early stage that a change to the vernacular would be necessary. He wrote: 'The conviction is growing in me that that is the only way to make the liturgy once more a living thing.'[36]

The field of ecclesiastical musicology was inhabited by a relatively small number of people who all knew each other (or at least knew of each other) through religious institution affiliations, conferences, and Cecilian society publications. The web of interconnections was astonishing given the difficulties of travel. The links between Ireland and Germany have already been enumerated, principally in the persons of Donnelly, Haberl, and Bewerunge. Donnelly was also a visitor to Stanbrook and an attender at the Appuldurcombe summer music schools in the Isle of Wight. A consideration of Cecilian journals has revealed their importance in maintaining a flow of information between church music reform leaders in different geographical areas. Most Cecilian journal editors were clerics, and it can be surmised that whenever an editor asked Bewerunge for a contribution, he complied. The very diverse spread of journals in which he published may thus be explained. An occasional phenomenon of simultaneous correspondence in various newspapers and journals, involving the same contributors discussing the same topics, also caused a dilution of his energies.

There is little doubt but that Bewerunge's continual overextension of himself contributed to inadequate recognition of his work in several discrete areas. Why he

35 For instance, in 1904 he suggested to Dame Laurentia: 'I would suggest to you another useful work. It is to bring out a little chart explaining to people how they ought to behave at High Mass, when to stand, when to kneel, and when to sit. Copies of this you might leave with advantage on the seats of your transept, and I fancy it would be taken up by the priests through the country for a similar purpose. I think a brief exposition of the general principles underlying would find room on this chart and would make the observnace of the ceremonies reasonable and therefore easier for people.' Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 5 April 1904. (SAA)

36 Bewerunge to Dame Laurentia, 12 February 1909. (SAA)

undertook so much teaching is unclear, but was in all likelihood prompted by his belief that it was a duty to do as much as possible to effect improvements in education. His Maynooth work was not generously salaried but included boards and common; his main expenses were travel, books, and costs associated with his mountaineering hobby. Whatever his motivations, they were not monetarily based. He seemed to test himself to the utmost, even while aware of the effect this had on his fragile health. A man of deep faith, he trusted God would strengthen him for such work as was fitting, and that through prayer God's hand would manifest itself in the career path he should follow.

7.4 Epilogue

The narrative presented in this thesis contributes to a revised and deeper appreciation of Bewerunge's work for his adopted country and greater recognition of his endeavours for church music in England and abroad. The reconstruction of his life, work, and influence is achieved through multiple contexts: the exploration of primary sources and archival documents, an extensive search of newspaper and journal material, and Bewerunge's own newly-discovered publications, translated into English for this research.

In addition to the importance of reassessing Bewerunge himself, a number of imperatives underlie the exploration of the work of church musicians. The changes wrought by the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) were so fundamental as to throw a veil of irrelevancy over earlier liturgical music initiatives. As a result, many musicians and scholars of the early twentieth century have been overlooked. There is an increasing urgency about the task. Documents essential for recontextualisation have languished in organ galleries for as long as a century, and in numerous cases have been thrown out. Voluntary church workers – be they cleaners, sacristans, or musicians – are

rarely alert to the historical importance of old tatty papers, and this writer has personal experience of the disposal of material by parish priests without a thought as to its possible value.[37] The fabric of most of these documents is fragile with age and the high acid content in cheap printed paper renders their breakdown even more rapid.[38] There is a clear need for inter-institutional communication between church and academia as to the preservation and protection of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century material.

Bearing this in mind, a number of projects have come to light during the course of this research which will form the basis for future investigations. These include the cataloguing and digitisation of mass-produced late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century music scores in the Russell Library, Maynooth. Many of these scores are in poor condition. They include liturgical, sacred, and secular music, and some works are of particular Irish interest. This project would contribute to greater understanding of the college's choral heritage and repertoire. It could also be expanded to include recordings, ephemera, and other information concerning the college's choral society during the later twentieth century: these materials are currently in the care of Maynooth University music department.

The Leader newspaper, established by D.P. Moran in 1900, is a fascinating reflection of cultural nationalism, with strong opinions and a flair for controversy. A comprehensive survey of music- and arts-related contents, perhaps initially confined to its first quarter century, would yield a wealth of information. The ideal context for this

37 The many and varied scandals in the Irish Catholic church which have come to public knowledge over the past few years have also contributed to the indiscriminate disposal of documents, as priests attempt to inject new vitality into their churches by cleaning and modernising.

38 The carelessness with which early twentieth-century newspapers are handled and stored even in some academic environments is a cause for concern. This is exemplified by the condition of Bewerunge's journal, *IMM*, in one of Ireland's university libraries. It is a rare journal with few surviving copies, but is stored on open shelving. Despite its extreme fragility, photocopying is permitted with all the attendant creasing and handling issues. It should at least be stored under cover and reproduced using only ambient light digital photography. In an ideal world, of course, it should be scanned using optical character recognition and stored digitally.

undertaking would involve interactive digitisation such as was effected by An Foras Feasa in the Alcalá account book project.[39] The programming of a digital edition with cross-referencing functionality and the ability to answer pertinent research questions would create a rich primary source environment for future researchers.

More directly linked to the present Bewerunge study is a further exploration of the Stanbrook Abbey archives. Dame Laurentia's correspondence with Benedictine André Mocquereau would add new perspectives to the quarrelsome issue of plainchant interpretation. This field of study is just as pertinent in the twenty-first century as it was in the nineteenth: a new critical edition of the *Gradual* published in 2011 has excited the same heated debates regarding melody and rhythm as were rehearsed in *The Tablet* and other periodicals over one hundred years ago.[40] Additionally, when the presently scattered Stanbrook archives are reunited and brought to their new home in Yorkshire, a further investigation of music manuscripts may bring to light more of Bewerunge's plainchant harmonisations.

Two individuals struck this writer as particularly worthy of further research. One is Breton musician and artist Jules Botrel (1843-1928), an intriguing character about whom very little information is available. It is anecdotally reported that he received painting lessons from Jean-Hippolyte Flandrin (1809–1864) and music lessons from Charles Gounod (1818–1893).[41] A Holy Ghost Father, he worked at Blackrock College in Dublin for fifty-three years. He published *Notes on Harmony and Harmony Analysis* (Dublin: Cramer, Wood & Co.) in 1911, and three of his portraits were exhibited in the 1882 Irish National Exhibition.

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39 John Keating, Aja Tehan, Damien Gallagher, and Thomas O'Connor, 'A Digital Edition of a Spanish 18th-Century Account Book: User Driven Digitisation', *Jahrbuch für Computerphilologie*, 10 (2010), pp. 169–218, <http://computerphilologie.digital-humanities.de/jg08/keating1.html> and < http://computerphilologie.digital-humanities.de/jg08/keating2.html> [accessed online 24 October 2014].

40 Christian Dostal, Johannes Göschl, Cornelius Pouderoijen, Franz Praßl, Heinrich Rumphorst, and Stephan Zippe, eds, *Graduale Novum, Editio Magis Critica* (Regensburg: ConBrio Verlagsgesellschaft, 2011)

41 Seán P. Farragher, *Irish Spiritans Remembered*, vol. 1 (Dublin: Paraclete Press, 1999), p. 14.

Finally, innovative Welsh organ-builder Thomas Casson (1842–1910), whom Bewerunge rated very highly, left a legacy of many small organs across the British Isles, including in Co. Galway just a few miles away from this writer's home. Casson came from a multi-talented family: his son was the actor Lewis Casson (1875–1969), his sister Elizabeth (1881–1954) founded England's first school of occupational therapy, and his nephew, Sir Hugh Casson (1910–1999) was a notable painter.[42] The centenary of Casson's death was marked in 2010, but a comprehensive survey of his life and work has not yet been carried out.

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42 Paul Hale, 'Casson's Creations', *Organists' Review* (August 2011), p. 32.

APPENDIX A

A.1 Bewerunge's Journal Publications [1]

Newly-discovered items are highlighted in grey. Articles by authors other than Bewerunge (concerning the *Vaticana* debate) have table fields with thicker borders.

Article title	Journal / Date
'Electricity Applied to Organ Building' (Signed H.B.)	*LE*, April 1889, 29–31
'The Casson Organ Building System' (Signed H.B.)	*LE*, May 1889, 33–35
'The New Organ in St Peter and Paul's Church, Bochum' (Signed H.B.)	*LE*, November 1889, 86
'Palestrina's *Missa Papae Marcelli*'	*IER*, January 1890, 53–59
'Medieval Music and Modern Research'	*LE*, June1890, 46–47
'The New Organ at Maynooth' (Letter to the editor)	*LE*, October 1890, 75–76
'Die neue Orgel in St Patricks-College zu Maynooth (Irland)' ('The New Organ in St Patrick's College Maynooth (Ireland)')	*Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* (Regensburg) 1891, 123–125
Bewerunge's editorship of *Lyra Ecclesiastica*	January 1891–December 1893
'Palestrina and Orlando di Lasso'	*IER*, December 1894, 1088–1113
'Das Tonic Sol-Fa System' ('The Tonic Sol-fa System') (First of three articles)	*Musica Sacra* (Regensburg), February 1895, 17–10
'Das Tonic Sol-Fa System' (Second of three articles)	*Musica Sacra*, March 1895, 42–44
'Das Tonic Sol-Fa System' (Third of three articles)	*Musica Sacra*, April 1895, 49–51
Review in German of Henry Davey's *History of English Music*	*Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, 1896, 111–116
'The Recent Decree of the Congregation of Rites Regarding Church Music'	*IER*, December 1896, 1112–1113
'A New Style of Organ for Small Churches	*IER*, February 1897, 161–167
'A List of Church Music'	*IER*, May 1897, 433–440
'The Teaching of Music in Irish Schools'	*IER*, December 1897, 481–487
'Some Remarks on the Organ'	*IER*, February 1899, 123–135

1 This schedule also includes Bewerunge's contributions to significant newspaper debates.

Article title	Journal / Date
'The Cecilian Movement' (Contributions to a newspaper debate)	*The Daily Nation* 29 November 1899 5, 8, 11 & 12 December 1899
'Cecilian Music'	*New Ireland Review*, April 1900, 73–84
'The Special Charms of Irish Melodies Sung Traditionally'	*IER*, August 1900, 140–154
'The Office and Mass for the Dead'	*IER*, October 1900, 358–370
'Eineges über die englischen Orgelbaukunst' ('On English organ-building')	*Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, 1900, 66–77
'Catholic Church Music in Dublin' (Contributions to a newspaper debate)	*The Leader* 3 November 1900, 151–152 17 November 1900, 184 15 December 1900, 248 9 February 1901, 399
'A Neglected Aspect of Irish Music'	*The Leader*, 11 May 1901, 165–166
'Über das Atmen'	*Gregoriusbot* (Düsseldorf) 17, 11 (1901) (page nos not available)
'About Breathing'	*IMM*, October 1902, 81–83
'Kirchenmusikalische Erlebnisse in Rom' ('Church Music Experiences in Rome')	*Gregoriusblatt*, 26, 5 (1901) (This article was not obtained)
'Ratisbon Cecilian Festival' (Three articles)	*Gregoriusblatt*, October–December 1901 (These aticles were not obtained)
'The Church Choir' (Address originally delivered to the Maynooth Union, 1901)	*IMM*, September 1902, 73–76
'Die Regensburger Generalversammlung' ('The Regensburg General Assembly')	*Gregoriusblatt*, 26, 9 (1902) (This article was not obtained)
'Irish Traditional Singing'	*New Ireland Review*, Mar. 1903, 20–32
'The Modes of Irish Music'	*New Ireland Review*, June 1903, 227–235
'The Solesmes Plainsong' (Contributions to a newspaper debate)	*The Tablet* (UK) 7 January 1905 (n/a) 4 February 1905, 176 18 February 1905, 257 18 March 1905, 416 1 April 1905, 499–500
'On the Tuning of Bells'	*Zeitschrift der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, 7, 2 (1905), 57–59
'Hermann Degering: die Orgel, ihre Erfindung und ihre Geschichte' (book review)	*Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* (1905), 230–231
'Die Röhrenpneumatik' ('Tubular Pneumatic Action')	*Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* (1905), 43–53
'The Neumatic Notation' (First of two articles)	*Church Music* (Philadelphia), 1, 1 (1905), 33–44
'The Vatican Edition of Plain Chant'	*IER*, January 1906, 44–63 • REPRINT: *Caecilia* (Nebraska), Winter 1959, 138–157
'The Vatican Edition of Plain Chant: A Critical Study'	Pamphlet, Dublin: Browne & Nolan, 1906

Article title	Journal / Date
T.A. Burge, 'The Vatican Edition of the *Kyriale* and Its Critics'	*IER*, April 1906, 324–345 • reprint: *Caecilia*, Winter 1959, 158–180
'The Vatican *Kyriale* – a Rejoinder'	*IER*, May 1906, 421–445
'The Neumatic Notation' (Second of two articles)	*Church Music* (Philadelphia), 1, 3 (1906), 303–314
'A Grammar of Plainsong'	Church Music (Philadelphia), 1, 3 (1906), 387–390
P. Wagner, a response to Bewerunge's critique	*Schweizerischen Literarischen Rundschen*, 1906 (This article could not be obtained)
'The Second Part of the Vatican Edition of Plainchant'	*IER*, November 1906, 414–428
Die Vatikanische Choralausgabe: eine kritische Studie. Erster und zweiter Teil	*Verlag des Düsseldorf Tageblatts*, 1906–1907
L'Édition Vaticane du plain-chant. Réponse a mes critiques (According to Bewerunge this included a short reply to Gastoué's criticism in *La Tribune de Saint-Gervais*)	Brest: Impr. Kaigre, 1907 (This article could not be obtained)
P. Wagner, 'Der Kampf gegen die Edition Vaticana'	Graz: Styria Press, 1907 • translated into english: *Caecilia*, Spring 1960, 10–44
Reply to P. Wagner	*Die Kirchenmusik* (Paderborn), December 1907 (This article/correspondence could not be obtained)
'Father Bewerunge versus Dr Wagner' (Letter to the editor)	*Church Music*, 3, 1 (1907), 37–40
'On Feminine Cadences'	*Church Music*, 3,4 (1908) (This article could not be obtained)
German translation of 'Music at Mass and at Benediction'	*Die Kirchenmusik*, October 1908 (This article could not be obtained)
'Music at Mass and at Benediction'	*Report of the Nineteenth Eucharistic Congress* (London: Sands & Co., 1909), 95–103
'Gregorian Chant'	*The Catholic Encyclopedia* VI (1909), 779–780
'Der metrische Kursus in den antiphonalen Gesängen der Messe'	*Cäcilienvereinsorgan*, 46, 7 (1911), 136–143
'The Metrical Cursus in the Antiphonal Chants of the Mass'	*Irish Theological Quarterly*, July 1911, 345–357
'Zu gregorianischen Rhythmik' ('Gregorian Rhythm')	*Musica Sacra*, 44, Aug. 1911, 130–135
'Neum'	*The Catholic Encyclopedia* X (1911), 765–773
'Organ'	*The Catholic Encyclopedia* XI (1911), 297–301
'Plain Chant'	*The Catholic Encyclopedia* XII (1911), 144–148
'Zu Palestrinas Missa O admirabile commercium'	*Cäcilienvereinsorgan*, Nov. 1911, 218–220
'Nochmals das Quilisma' ('The Quilisma Again')	*Musica Sacra*, Apr. 1912, 90–93
'The Forms of Gregorian Chant'	*IER*, May 1913, 497–515 • also *Kirchenmusik* (Paderborn), October 1913

Article title	Journal / Date
'Zur Behandlung des Wortakzentes im gregorianischen Gesang')	*Cäcilienvereinsorgan*, June 1914, 124–126
'Über Wortmalerei im Choral' ('Word-painting in Chant')	*Gregoriusblatt*, March 1915, 19–24
'Wortmalerei in den Antiphonen des Officiums' ('Word-painting in Office Antiphons) (First of two articles)	*Gregoriusblatt*, October 1915, 89–92,
'Wortmalerei in den Antiphonen des Officiums' (Second of two articles)	*Gregoriusblatt*, November 1915, 100–102
'Wortmalerei in den Officiums – Responsorien' ('Word-painting in Office Responsories) (First of two articles)	*Gregoriusblatt*, February 1916, 13–17
'Wortmalerei in den Officiums – Responsorien' (Second of two articles)	*Gregoriusblatt*, March 1916, 22–23
'Der metrische Bau der Themen Palestrinas' ('The Metric Design of Palestrina's Themes') (First of eight articles)	*Musica Divina* (Vienna), April 1917, 72–75
'Der metrische Bau der Themen Palestrinas' (Second of eight articles)	*Musica Divina*, June/July 1917, 133–140
'Der metrische Bau der Themen Palestrinas' (Third of eight articles)	*Musica Divina*, August/September 1917, 173–177
'Der metrische Bau der Themen Palestrinas' (Fourth of eight articles)	*Musica Divina*, October 1917, 211–214
'Zur tonalität der Gregorianischen Gesänge' ('The Tonality of Gregorian Chant')	*Musica Sacra*, October/November 1917, 119–122 & 154–157
'Der metrische Bau der Themen Palestrinas' (Fifth of eight articles)	*Musica Divina*, January/February 1918, 8–13
'Der metrische Bau der Themen Palestrinas' (Sixth of eight articles)	*Musica Divina*, May 1918, 91–95
'Der metrische Bau der Themen Palestrinas' (Seventh of eight articles)	*Musica Divina*, September/October 1918, 173–180
'Pentatonik im Choral' ('The Pentatonic in Chant')	*Gregoriusblatt*, September/October 1918, 41–47
'Der metrische Bau der Themen Palestrinas' (Last of eight articles)	*Musica Divina*, November/December 1918, 207–212
'Die gregorianische Phrase' ('The Gregorian Phrase')	*Gregoriusblatt*, January 1919, 2–5
'Über die Anpassungen in den Mess-Antiphonen' ('Adaptations in the Mass Antiphons')	*Gregoriusblatt*, August/September 1919, 61–65

A.2 Bewerunge's Book Reviews[2]

Publication title	Journal / Date
T. Singenberber, *Short Instruction in the Art of Singing Plain Chant* (New York & Cincinnati: Pustet & Co., 1888)	*IER*, December 1891, 1141–1142
G.A. Oesch, *Litany of Loreto* (Ratisbon: Pustet & Co, 1892)	*IER*, July 1892, 672
M. Haller, *Chants for the Procession on the Feast of the Purification and on Palm Sunday* (Ratisbon: Coppenrath, 1895)	*IER*, February 1895, 188
P. Griesbacher, *Mass in Honorem B.M.V. de Lourdes* (Ratisbon: Pawelek, 1895)	*IER*, February 1895, 188–189
G.P. da Palestrina, *Offertoria* (Ratisbon: Pustet & Co., 1895)	*IER*, February 1895, 189
Hymns for the Ecclesiastical Year (London: Art & Book Co., 1895)	*IER*, January 1896, 87–89
C. Ett, *Psalm Miserere* (Straubing: Max Hirmer, 1895) J. van Craen, *Church Music, No.3 Miserere* (Dublin: Cramer, Wod & Co., 1895)	*IER*, January 1896, 89–90
M. Haller, *Cantiones Ecclesiasticae* (Ratisbon: Coppenrath, 1897)	*IER*, January 1897, 94
J. Modlmayr, *Catholic Church Music* (Ratisbon: Coppenrath, 1896)	*IER*, January 1897, 95
J. Beltjens, *Repertorium of Church Music* (s.n.)	*IER*, January 1897, 95
M. Haller, *Missa Sexta Decima* (Ratisbon: Coppenrath, 1896)	*IER*, January 1897, 95
I. Mitterer, *Missa Solemnis in Hon. Smi. Cordis Jesu* (Innsbrück: Johann Gross, 1897)	*IER*, March 1897, 287–288
P. Griesbacher, *Missa Angelica in Honorem Ss Angelorum* (Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1897)	*IER*, May 1897, 472
H. Tappert, *Missa in Hon. S. Rosae* (Wisconson: Singenberger, 1897)	*IER*, May 1897, 474
P. Griesbacher, *Missa Immaculata* (Ratisbon: Coppenrath, 1898)	*IER*, April 1898, 381
J. Singenberger, *Cantus Sacri* (Ratisbon: Pustet & Co., 1898)	*IER*, April 1898, 382
J. Singenberger, *Missa in Honorem Sancti Spiritus* (Ratisbon: Pustet & Co., 1898)	*IER*, April 1898, 383
J. Singenberger, *Missa in Honorem Purissimi Cordis* (Ratisbon: Pustet & Co., 1898)	*IER*, April 1898, 383
A. Lipp, ed., *Twelve Eucharistic Chants* (Augsburg & Wien: A. Böhm, 1898)	*IER*, April 1898, 383–384

2 Bewerunge's book reviews were usually signed 'H.B.' There are undoubtedly many more reviews in the German journals to which he contributed articles, but hand-searches in such journals was outside the scope of this research. Reviews in journals under his editorship (*Lyra Ecclesiastica* 1891–1893 and *IMM* 1902–1903) have not been included here; the latter will be found in Appendix B below.

Publication title	Journal / Date
Benedictines of Stanbrook, *Gregorian Music* (London: Art & Book Co., 1898)	*IER*, May 1898, 478–480
H.P. Allen, *Missa Mater Salvatoris* (London: Laudy & Co., 1898)	*IER*, June 1898, 574–575
Musical Examinations (London: Musical News Office, 1898)	*IER*, January 1899, 96
E. Chaminade, *La Musique Sacrée* (Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1898)	*IER*, February 1899, 186–187
S. Myerscough, *Hymn to St Cecilia* (London: Charles Vincent, 1898)	*IER*, March 1899, 287
L. Perosi, *Eucharistica* (Düsseldorf: L. Schwann, 1899) L. Perosi, *Missa Patriarchalis* (Düsseldorf: L. Schwann, 1899) L. Perosi, *Eight Christmas Motets* (Düsseldorf: L. Schwann, 1899) L. Perosi, *Te Deum Laudamus* (Düsseldorf: L. Schwann, 1899) L. Perosi, *Missa in Honorem Ss Gervasii et Protasii* (Düsseldorf: L. Schwann, 1899) L. Perosi, *Missa in Honorem Beati Caroli* (Ratisbon: Pustet, 1899);	*IER*, April 1899, 478–480
A.M. Haller, *Missa XVI in Honorem S. Antonii de Padua* (Ratsibon: A. Coppenrath, 1899)	*IER*, October 1899, 382–383
I. Mitterer, *Missa de Ss Virginibus* (Ratisbon: A. Coppenrath, 1899)	*IER*, October 1899, 383
L. Ebner, *Twenty-two Offertories for the Principal Feasts of the Year* (Ratisbon: J. Georg Boessenecker, 1899)	*IER*, November 1899, 480
S.G. Ould, ed., *Cantiones Sacram* (London: Novello & Co., 1899)	*IER*, December 1899, 576
J. Schildknechkt, *The Very Easiest Accompaniment of the Ordinarium Missae for Organ or Harmonium* (Ratisbon: A. Coppenrath, 1899)	*IER*, January 1890, 95–96
I. Singenberger, Responsorium: Ecce Sacerdos Magnus (Ratisbon: Pustet, 1899)	*IER*, January 1890, 96
L. Hoffmann, Litaniæ Lauretanæ (Ratisbon: Martin Cohen, 1899)	*IER*, January 1890, 96
Fr. Hamma, ed, *Adoremus* (Ratisbon: Martin Cohen, 1899)	*IER*, March 1890, 384
Fr. Hamma, ed, *Aula Cantorem* (Ratisbon: Martin Cohen, 1899)	*IER*, March 1890, 384
F. Witt ed., *Offertoria Totius Anni* (Ratisbon: Pustet, 1890)	*IER*, June 1890, 575
J. Diebold, *Thirty Liturgical Chants* (Düsseldorf: L. Schwann, 1890)	*IER*, June 1890, 575–576

Publication title	Journal / Date
L. Hoffmann, *Antiphonae Marianae* (Ratisbon: Martin Cohen) L. Hoffmann, Salve Regina (Ratsibon: Martin Cohen)	*IER*, June 1890, 576
G. Bas, *Repertorio de Melodie Gregoriane* (Rome: Desclée, Lefebvre & Co., 1904) M. Horn, *Ordinarium Missae* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Haertel, 1904)	*IER*, May 1904, 478–480
P. Cagin, *Plain Chant and Solesmes* (London: Burns & Oates, 1905)	*IER*, July 1905, 94–95
W.H. Grattan Flood, *The Story of the Harp* (London: The Walter Scott Publishing Co., 1905)	*IER*, December 1905, 574–575
J. Aner, *Cantiones Ecclesiasticae* (New York: Fr. Pustet & Co., 1905)	*Church Music* (Philadelphia), December 1905, 134
P. Griesbacher, *Offertoria et Motetta* (New York: Fr. Pustet & Co., 1905)	*Church Music*, December 1905, 134
R.R. Terry, arr., Van Bree's Second Mass (London: Carey & Co., 1906)	*IER*, June 1906, 95
F.N. Birtchnell & M. Brown, arr., *The Notre Dame Hymn Tune Book* (Liverpool: Rockliff Brothers, 1905)	*IER*, July 1906, 190–191
R.R. Terry, ed., *Casciolini's Mass for Four Voices* (London: Carey & Co., 1906) R.R. Terry, ed., *A. Lotti: Simple Mass Four Voices* (London: Carey & Co., 1906) R.R. Terry, ed., *P. Heredia: Mass for Four Voices* (London: Carey & Co., 1906) R.R. Terry, ed., *Viadana' Mass L'Hora Passa* (London: Carey & Co., 1906) R.R. Terry, ed., *Hassler's Mass Dixit Maria* (London: Carey & Co., 1906) R.R. Terry, ed., *Mass 'Quinti Toni'* (London: Carey & Co., 1906)	*IER*, October 1906, 383–384
Bagshawe, *Doctrinal Hymns* (Westminster: Art & Book Co., 1906)	*IER*, November 1905, 480
A. Carey, *Mass of the Holy Rosary* (London: Carey & Co., 1906)	*IER*, November 1905, 480
A.E. Burn, *Niceta of Remisiana* (Cambridge: University Press, 1905)	*IER*, January 1907, 110–111
F.X. Mathias, *Kyriale seu Ordinarium Missae* (Ratisbon: Pustet, 1906)	*IER*, April 1907, 443–444
Kyriale sive Ordinarium Missae (New York: Fischer & Bros, 1907)	*IER*, April 1907, 444
F.X. Mathias, *Organum Comitans ad Kyriale seu Ordinarium Missae* (Ratisbon: Pustet, 1906)	*IER*, June 1907, 664

Publication title	Journal / Date
V. Cathrein, *Die Katholische Moral in ihren Voraussetzungen und ihren Grundlinien* (Freiburg: Herder, 1907)	*IER*, November 1907, 556–557
C. Krieg, *Wissenschaft der Seelenleitung* (Freiburg: Herder, 1904 & 1907)	*IER*, November 1907, 559
D. O'Doherty, ed., *The Gregorian Melodies* (Dublin: Browne & Nolan Ltd, 1907)	*IER*, December 1907, 670

A.3 Bewerunge's Book Translations

Author / Title	Publication Details
Hugo Riemann, *Catechism of Musical Aesthetics*, 2nd edn	London: Augener, 1895
Hugo Riemann, *Harmony Simplified, or the Theory of the Tonal Functions of Chords*, 2nd edn	London: Augener, 1895
Lehrbuch des Choral-Gesänges von den Benediktinerinnen von Stanbrook	Düssseldorf: Schwann, 1906
F.X. Mathias, *On Accompaniment of Plain Chant* (This manuscript is now missing)	Translated from German in 1907 but unpublished

APPENDIX B

B.1 Bewerunge's Renaissance Transcriptions

The transcriptions are stored in folders in six acid-free boxes in the Russell Library archives, Maynooth. The 'Box' field below indicates the folder and box number for each item (i.e. 1/1 is folder 1 in box 1).

Composer	Work	Details	Box
Handl (Gallus), Jacob (1550–1591)	Ecce quomodo	4vv responsory TTBB Bewerunge composed a new second section setting for this.	1/1
Lassus, Roland de (1532–1594)	Ave Maria alta stirps	4vv motet, TTBB	1/2
	Ave Maria gratia plena	5vv motet, TTBarBB	1/3
	Domine Deus fortissime	5vv motet, TTBarBB	1/4
	Hodie apparuit	3vv, TTB	1/5
Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi (1525–1594)	Missa Brevis	4 vv mass, TTBB Sanctus & Agnus Dei	2/6
	Missa Inviolata	4vv mass, TTBB Sanctus only	2/7
	Missa Iste Confessor	4vv mass, TTBB Sanctus & Agnus Dei	2/8
	Missa Lauda Sion	4vv mass, TTBB Sanctus & Agnus Dei	2/9
	Missa Papae Marcelli	6vv mass, TTBarBB Sanctus & Agnus Dei	2/10
	Missa Sine Nomine	4vv mass, TTBB Sanctus & Agnus Dei	3/11
	Ave Maria	4vv antiphon, TTBB	3/12
	Confirma hoc Deus	5vv offertory, only TTB parts extant	3/13
	Diffusa est gratia	5vv offertory, TTBarBB	3/14
	Domine Deus	5vv offertory, TTBar BB	3/15
	Exsultate Deo	5vv motet, TTBar BB	3/16
	Homo quidam	5vv motet, only TTB parts extant	3/17
	Improperium expectavit	5vv offertory, TTBarBB	3/18

Composer	Work	Details	Box
Palestrina (cont'd)	O admirabile commercium	5vv motet, TTBarBB	3/19
	Pueri Hebraeorum	4vv motet, TTBB	4/20
	Surrexit pastor bonus	4vv motet, TTBB	4/21
	Terra tremuit	5vv offertory, TTBarBB	4/22
	Magnificat, Tone I	4vv, TTBB	4/23
	Aleph. Ego vir videns (Feria VI, In Parasceve)	5vv lamentations, AATTB	4/24
	Jod. Manum suam (Feria V, In Caena Domini)	5vv lamentations, TTTBarB	4/25
	Recordare	6vv lamentations, AATT-BarB	4/26
Viadana, Lodovico (1560–1627)	Seniores populi	4vv responsory, TTBB	4/27
Victoria, Tomás Luis de (1548–1611)	Caligaverunt oculi mei	4vv responsory, TTBB	4/28
	Duo seraphim	4vv motet, TTBB	4/29
	Ecce sacerdos magnus	4vv motet, TTBB	5/30
	Sepulto Domino	4vv responsory, TTBB	5/31
	Unus ex discipulis	4vv responsory, TTBB	5/32
de Zacharia, Cesare (*fl.*1590–1597)	Magnificat, Tone I	4vv, TTBB	5/33 & 4/23

B.2 Bewerunge's Unpublished Compositions

Two folders are missing from the sequence: 5/35 most likely contains the missing *Benedictus Tone II* and 5/38 the missing *Jerusalem*, which probably post-dates Bewerunge. 6/47 is also missing, contents unknown.

Bewerunge's Compositions	Details	Box
Benedictus Tone I	4vv TTBB	5/34
Benedictus Tone II	4vv TTBB	—
Benedictus Tone II	4vv requiem, TTBB	5/36
Dies irae	4vv TTBB	5/37

Bewerunge's Compositions	Details	Box
Magnificat Tone I	4vv TTBB	5/39
Magnificat Tone II	4vv TTBB	6/40
Magnificat Tone III	4vv TTBB	6/41
Magnificat Tone IV	4vv TTBB	6/42
Magnificat Tone V	4vv TTBB	6/43
Magnificat Tone VI	4vv TTBB	6/44
Magnificat Tone VII	4vv TTBB	6/45
Magnificat Tone VII	5vv TTBarBB	6/45
Magnificat Tone VIII	4vv TTBB	6/46
Miserere Tone I	4v requiem, TTBB	6/48

B.3 Bewerunge's Other Compositions and Editions

Compositions	Details	Source
Ceád fáilte ó gach croí	1v	unpublished, unseen
Christus factus est	4vv	*IMM*, vol. 1. no. 1, March 1902
Laudate Dominum	4vv? & brass septet (4 trombones, 2 cornets and tuba)	unpublished, unseen
Moladh Bhríghde Naomhtha	unison & accomp.	*IMM*, vol. 1. no. 4, June 1902
O glorious Brigid	2vv & accomp.	*IMM*, vol. 1. no. 5, July 1902
O thou undaunted daughter of desires	unison & accomp.	*The Armagh Hymnal* (1915), hymn no. 96
Stabat mater	(i) 2vv; (ii) 3vv; (iii) 4vv	*IMM*, vol. 1. no. 1, March 1902
With all Kildara's holy ones	2vv & accomp.	*IMM*, vol. 1. no. 5, July 1902
Palestrina: 'The Heavenly Spring'	4vv; edited, mixed choir	*IMM*, vol. 1. no. 7, September 1902
Vittoria: 'O quam gloriosum'	4vv; edited, mixed choir	*IMM*, vol. 1. no. 6, August 1902

APPENDIX C

An Index of the *Irish Musical Monthly*

As editor, Bewerunge was responsible for a large portion of the journal's content. Some items he signed with his initials, H.B.; unsigned items attributable to him are referenced below as 'BWG'.

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APPENDIX D

Letters

27 October 1998 Eichstätt Diocesan Archives to independent researcher Peter Trotier

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Diözesanarchiv Eichstätt

Telefon (08421) 50-761
Luitpoldstraße 1 85072
Eichstätt

Öffnungszeiten
Di-Fr 8.30-12.00 Uhr Di-Do 13.00-16.00 Uhr

Diözesanarchiv, Postfach 1301,85067 Eichstätt

Herrn
Peter Trotier
Hofweide 32a
58462 Iserlohn–Letmathe

Eichstätt,

1998 Oktober 27

592/bra–mk
Heinrich Bewerunge (1862–1 923)
Ihr Schr. v. 22.

Sehr geehrter Herr Trotier,

Heinrich Bewerunge hat I 883/1 885 das Bischöfliche Lyzeum in Eichstätt besucht (Franz Sales Romstöck, Personalstatistik und Bibliographie des bischöflichen Lyceums in Eichstätt, 1894, 9).

I 884 Mai 23 stellte Erzbischof Paul Melchers „e loco exilii Nostri" dem Heinrich Wilhelm Joseph Bewerunge aus Letmathe und drei anderen Studenten aus der Erzdiözese Köln die Dimissorien für alle Weihen aus (Diözesanarchiv Eichstätt, Bischof, Dimissorien Cöln).

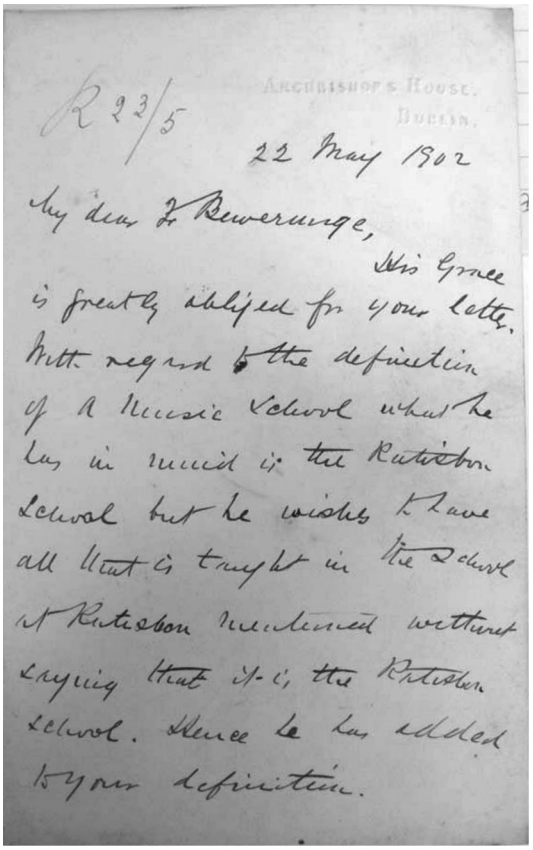
I 884 Juni 2 erteilte Bischof Franz Leopold Freiherr von Leonrod (I 867/1905) ihnen und mehreren anderen Theologen in der Schutzengelkirche die Tonsur und die niederen Weihen und I 884 Juli I 3 im Kongregationssaal das Subdiakonat. Die Diakonatsweihe erhielt Bewerunge ebenda I 884 Dezember 8, die Priesterweihe ebenda I 885 Juli 19. (DAEI, Bischof, Ordinationes I 867–1 938; Pastoral–Blatt des Bistums Eichstätt 3 1 , 1 884, 89, I 18, 205; 32, 1885, 126).

Mit freundlichen Grüßen

Brun Appel
Diözesanarchiv
ar

P.S. Falls eine Veröffentlichung Ihrer Forschungen über die Pfarrei Letmathe herauskommen sollte, bitten wir um Zusendung eines Exemplars.

22 May 1902 Denis Pettit to Bewerunge, with Bewerunge's draft response on rear listing the subjects he studied at Ratisbon



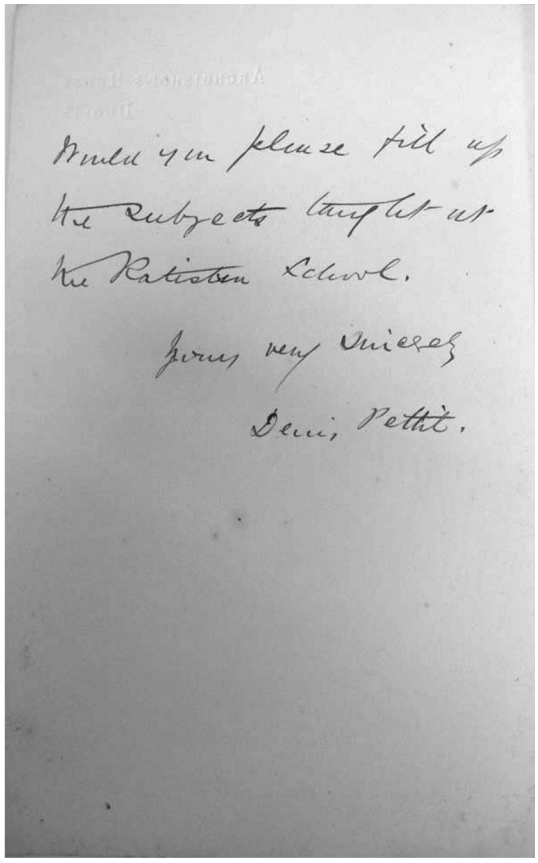
R 23/5

Archbishop's House,
Dublin.

22 May 1902

My dear Dr Bewerunge,

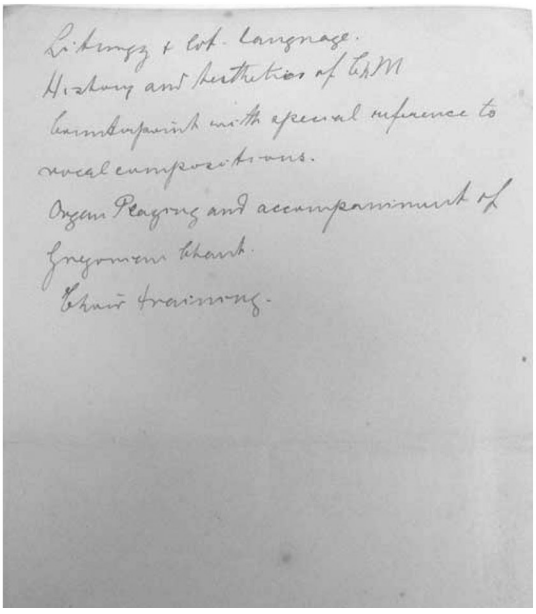
His Grace is greatly obliged for your letter. With regard to the definition of a Music School what he has in mind is the Ratisbon School but he wishes to have all that is taught in the School at Ratisbon mentioned without saying that it is the Ratisbon School. Hence he has added to your definition.



Would you please fill up the subjects taught at the Ratisbon School.

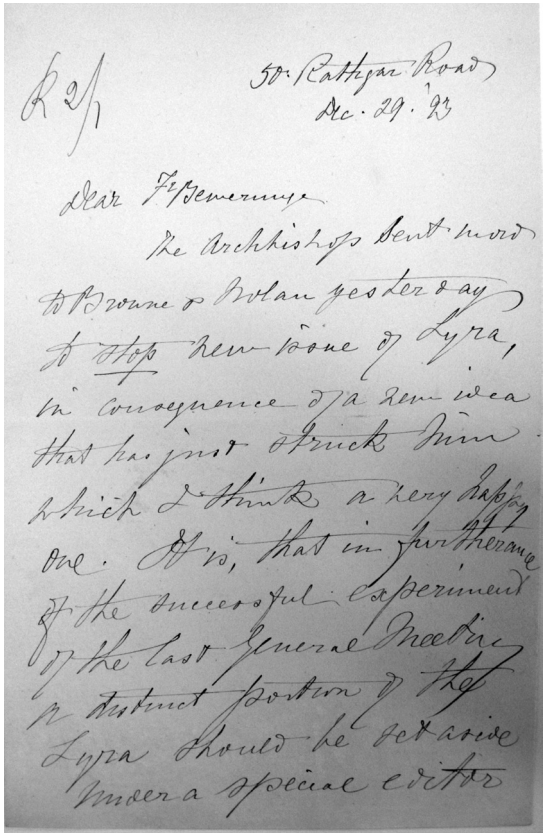
Yours very sincerely

Denis Pettit.



Liturgy & Ecc. Language.
History and Aesthetics of Ch. M.
Counterpoint with special reference to vocal compositions.
Organ Playing and accompaniment of Gregorian Chant.
Choir training.

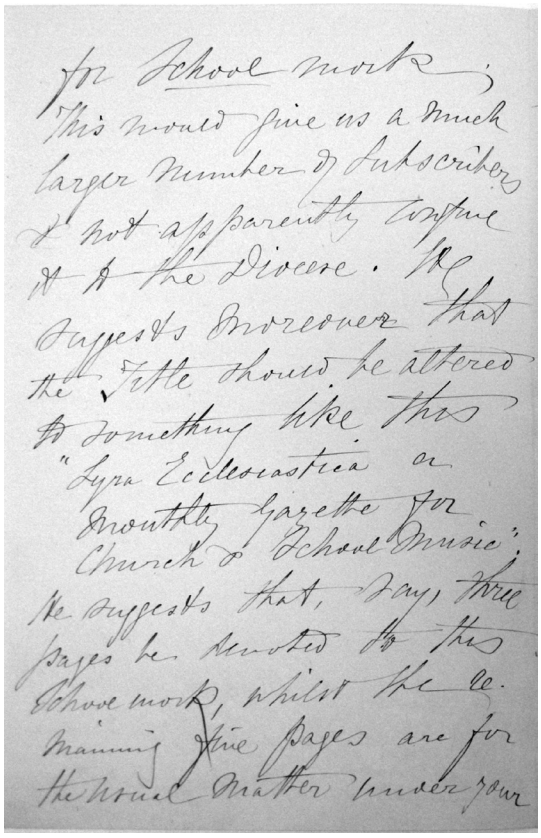
29 December 1893 Nicholas Donnelly to Bewerunge, setting out the archbishop's idea for a new *Lyra Ecclesiastica* schools' supplement



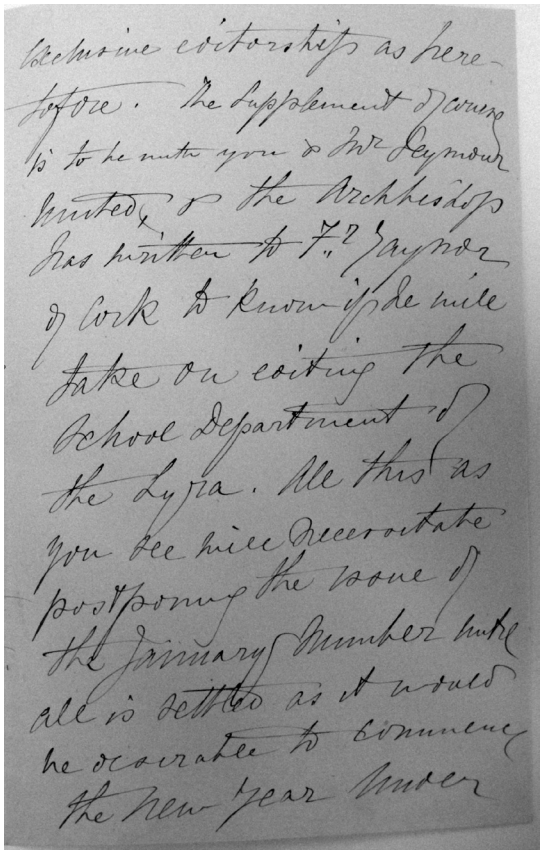
50. Rathgar Road
Dec. 29. 93

Dear Fr Bewerunge

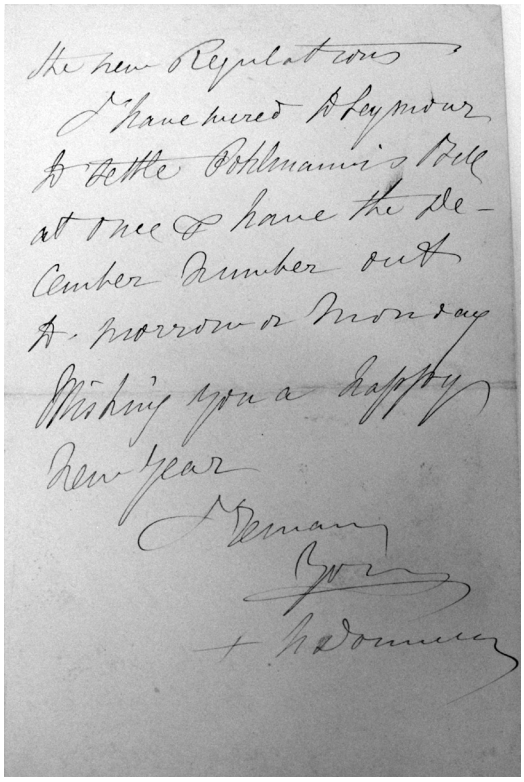
The Archbishop sent word to Browne & Nolan yesterday to stop new issue of Lyra, in consequence of a new idea that has just struck him which I think a very happy one. It is, that in furtherance of the successful experiment of the last General Meeting a distinct portion of the Lyra should be set aside under a special editor



for School work; this would give us a much larger number of subscribers & not as apparently confine it to the Diocese. He suggests moreover that the Title should be altered to something like this "Lyra Ecclesiastica or Irontide Gazette for Church & School Music"; he suggests that, say, three pages be devoted to this School work, whilst the remaining five pages are for the usual matter under your



exclusive editorship as heretofore. The Supplement I mean is to be entirely yours & Mr Seymour's. The Archbishop has written to Fr Seymour of Cork to know if he will take on editing the School Department of the Lyra. He thinks as you see will necessitate postponing the issue of the January Number until all is settled as it would be desirable to commence the new year under



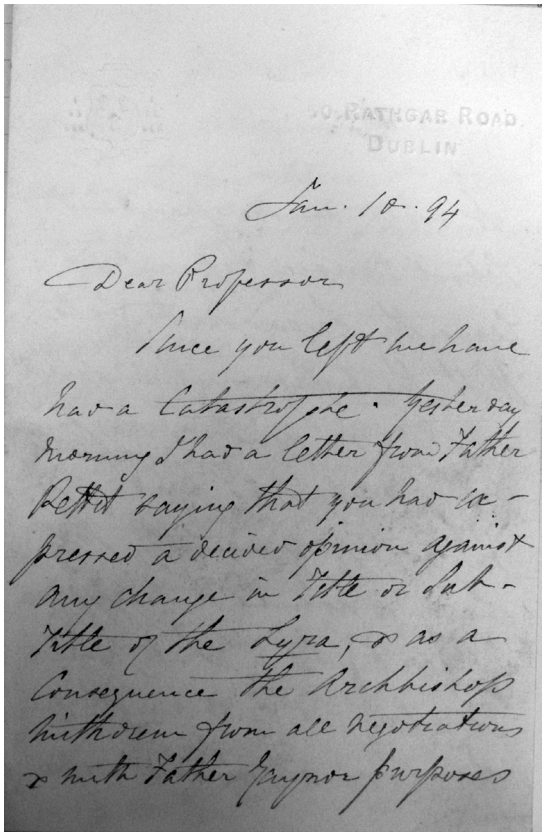
the new Regulations.

I have written to Seymour & Bellamy's Bill at once & have the December Number out to-morrow or Monday

Wishing you a happy New year

Yours
+ N Donnelly

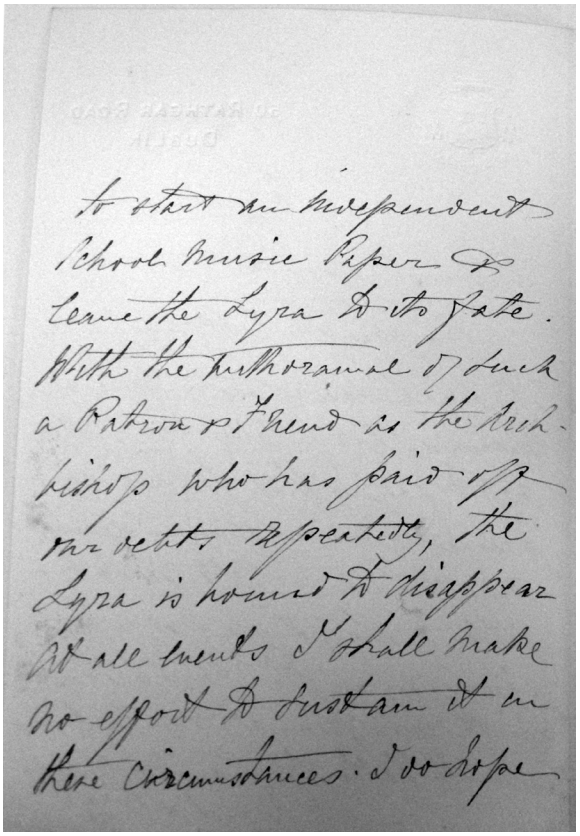
10 January 1894 Nicholas Donnelly to Bewerunge, re letter from Pettit saying Bewerunge was against changes to *Lyra Ecclesiastica*



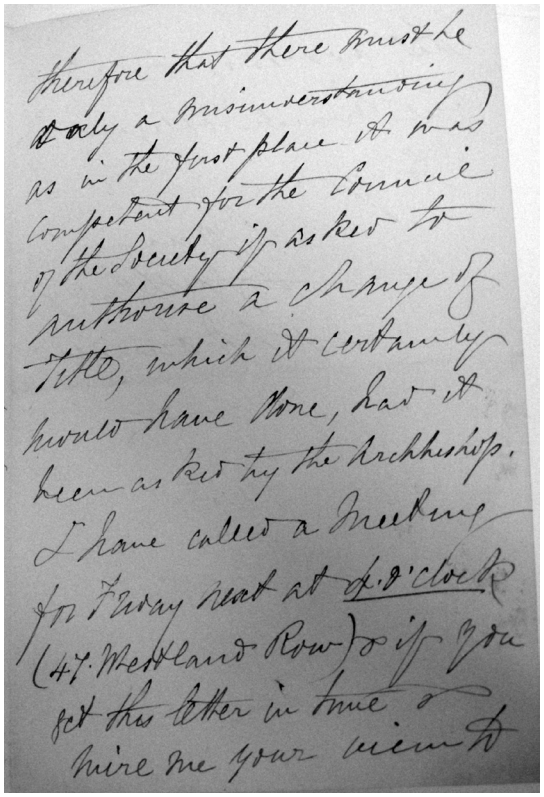
Jan. 10. 94

Dear Professor

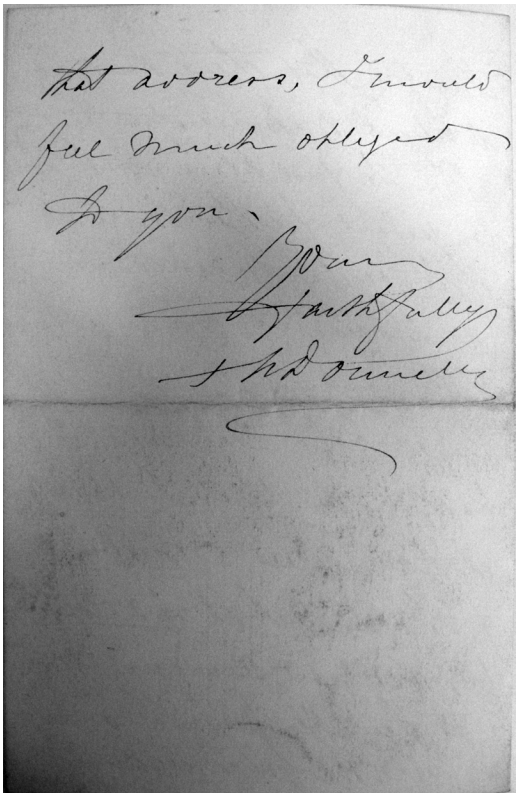
Since you left me I have had a Catastrophe. Yesterday morning I had a letter from Father Pettit saying that you had expressed a decided opinion against any change in Title or Subtitle of the Lyra, & as a consequence the Archbishop withdrew from all negotiations & with Father Pettit for purposes



to start an independent School Music Paper & leave the Lyra & its fate. With the withdrawal of such a Patron & Friend as the Archbishop who has paid off our debts, respectively, the Lyra is bound to disappear We all tried & shall make no effort to sustain it in these circumstances. I do hope

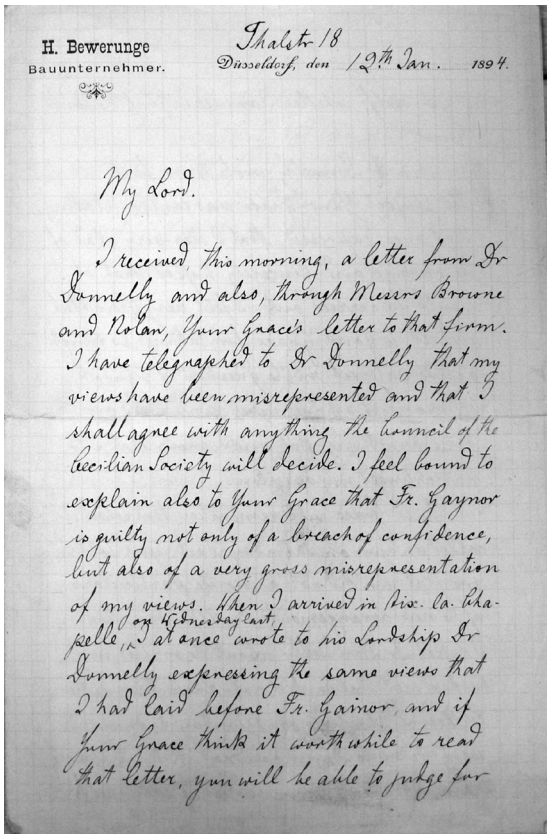


therefore that there must be only a misunderstanding as in the first place it was considered for the Council of the Society if asked to authorise a change of Title, which it certainly would have done, had it been asked by the Archbishop. I have called a Meeting for Friday next at 4 o'clock (47 Westland Row) & if you get this letter in time & wire me your views to



that address, I would feel much obliged to you.

Yours
faithfully
N. Donnelly

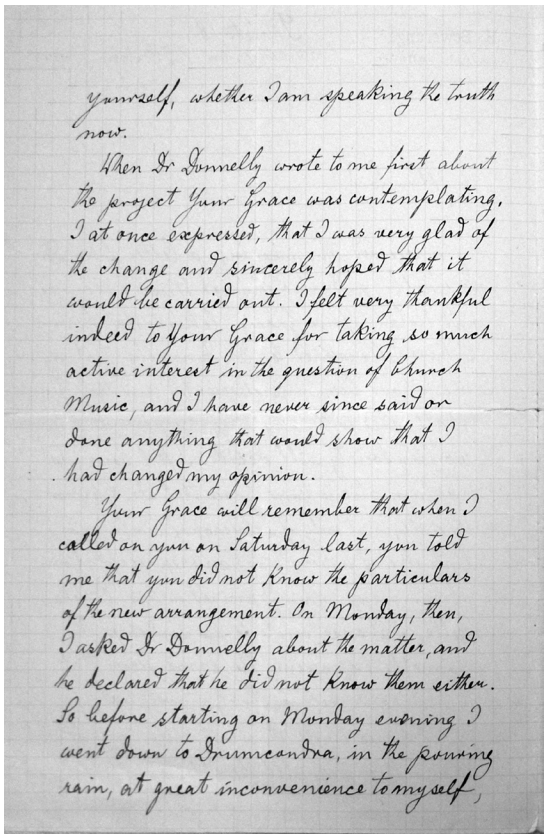


H. Bewerunge
Bauunternehmer.

Thalstr 18
Düsseldorf, den 12th Jan. 1894.

My Lord.

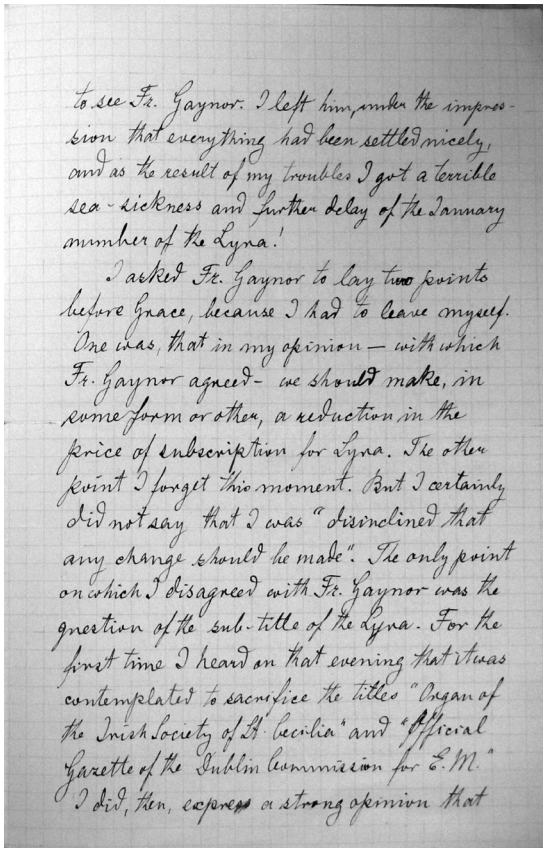
I received this morning, a letter from Fr Donnelly and also, through Messrs Browne and Nolan, Your Grace's letter to that firm. I have telegraphed to Fr Donnelly that my views have been misrepresented and that I shall agree with anything the Council of the Cecilian Society will decide. I feel bound to explain also to Your Grace that Fr. Gaynor is guilty not only of a breach of confidence, but also of a very gross misrepresentation of my views. When I arrived in Six-la-Chapelle, on Wednesday last, I at once wrote to his Lordship Fr Donnelly expressing the same views that I had laid before Fr. Gainor, and if Your Grace think it worthwhile to read that letter, you will be able to judge for



yourself, whether I am speaking the truth now.

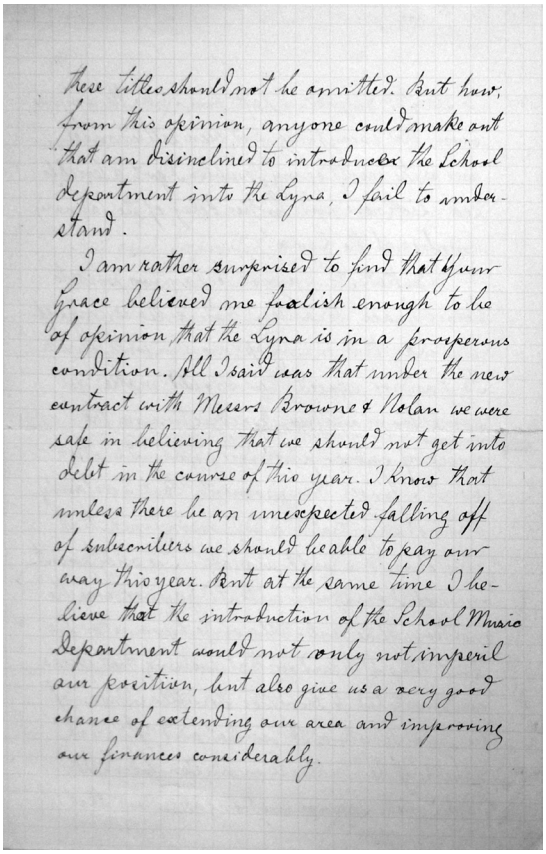
When Fr Donnelly wrote to me first about the project Your Grace was contemplating, I at once expressed, that I was very glad of the change and sincerely hoped that it would be carried out. I felt very thankful indeed to Your Grace for taking so much active interest in the question of Church Music, and I have never since said or done anything that would show that I had changed my opinion.

Your Grace will remember that when I called on you on Saturday last, you told me that you did not know the particulars of the new arrangement. On Monday, then, I asked Fr Donnelly about the matter, and he declared that he did not know them either. So before starting on Monday evening I went down to Drumcondra, in the pouring rain, at great inconvenience to myself,



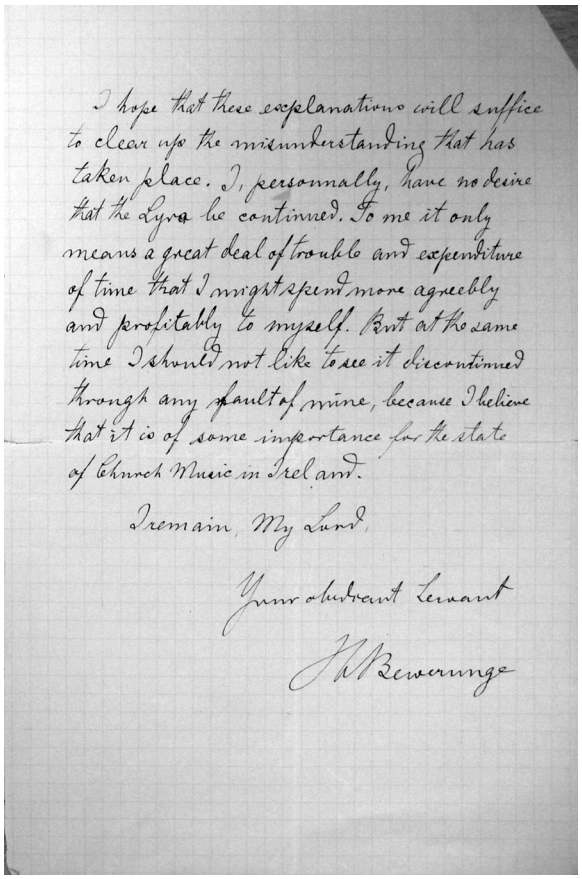
to see Fr. Gaynor. I left him under the impression that everything had been settled nicely, and as the result of my troubles I got a terrible sea-sickness and further delay of the January number of the Lyra.

I asked Fr. Gaynor to lay two points before Grace, because I had to leave myself. One was, that in my opinion — with which Fr. Gaynor agreed — we should make, in some form or other, a reduction in the price of subscription for Lyra. The other point I forget this moment. But I certainly did not say that I was "disinclined that any change should be made". The only point on which I disagreed with Fr. Gaynor was the question of the sub-title of the Lyra. For the first time I heard on that evening that it was contemplated to sacrifice the titles "Organ of the Irish Society of St. Cecilia" and "Official Gazette of the Dublin Commission for C. M." I did, then, express a strong opinion that



these titles should not be omitted. But how from this opinion, anyone could make out that am disinclined to introduce the School Department into the Lyra, I fail to understand.

I am rather surprised to find that Your Grace believed me foolish enough to be of opinion that the Lyra is in a prosperous condition. All I said was that under the new contract with Messrs Browne & Nolan we were safe in believing that we should not get into debt in the course of this year. I know that unless there be an unexpected falling off of subscribers we should be able to pay our way this year. But at the same time I believe that the introduction of the School Music Department would not only not imperil our position, but also give us a very good chance of extending our area and improving our finances considerably.



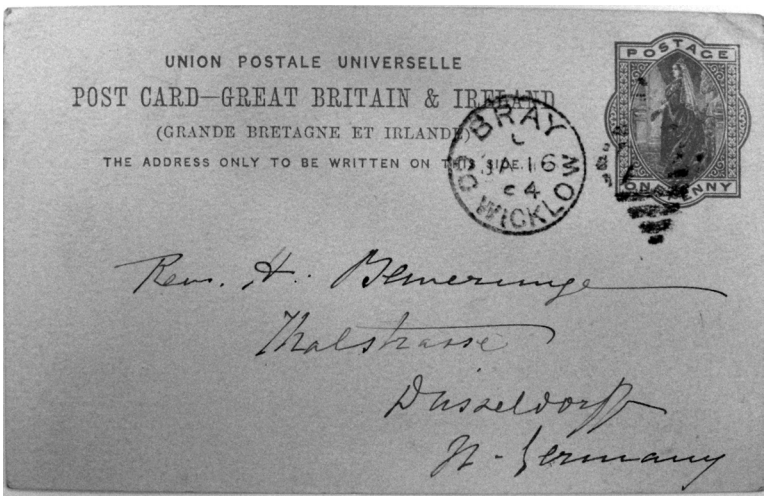
I hope that these explanations will suffice to clear up the misunderstanding that has taken place. I, personally, have no desire that the Lyra be continued. To me it only means a great deal of trouble and expenditure of time that I might spend more agreeably and profitably to myself. But at the same time I should not like to see it discontinued through any fault of mine, because I believe that it is of some importance for the state of Church Music in Ireland.

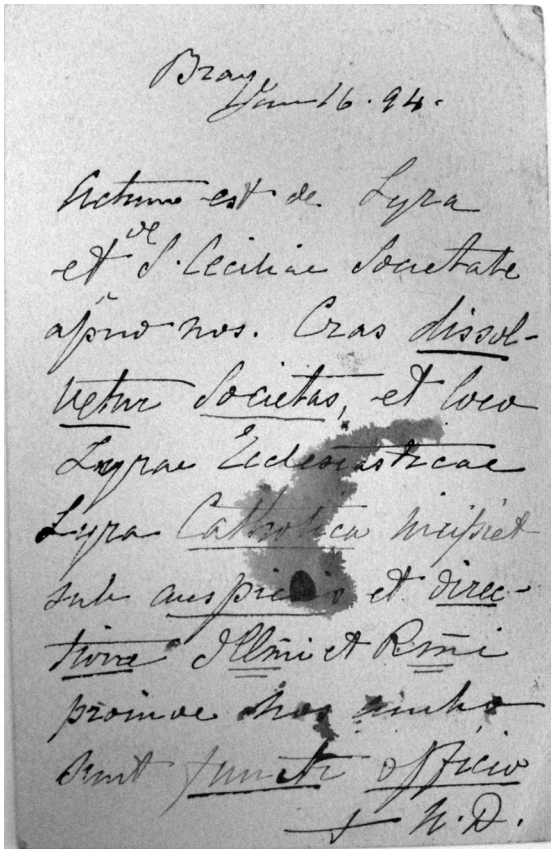
I remain, My Lord,

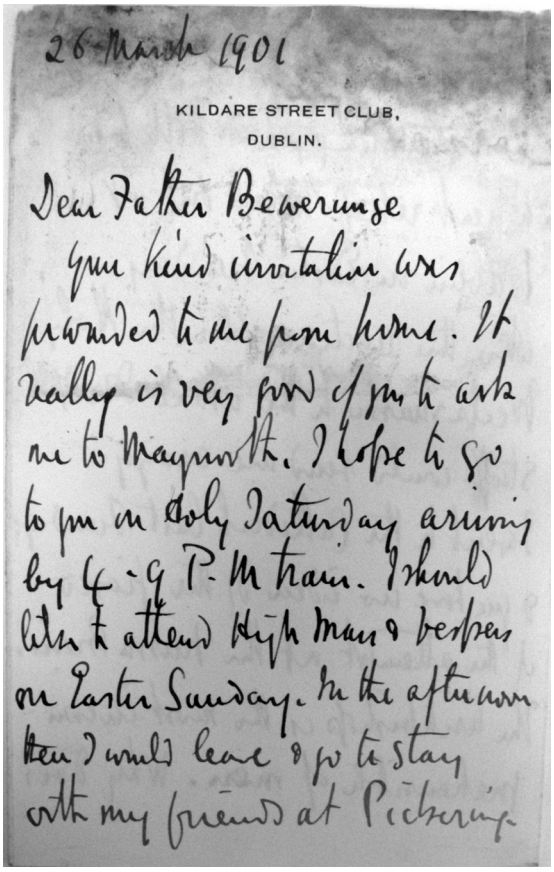
Your obedient Servant

J. M. Bewerunge

16 January 1894 Nicholas Donnelly to Bewerunge, telegram dissolving *Lyra Ecclesiastica*





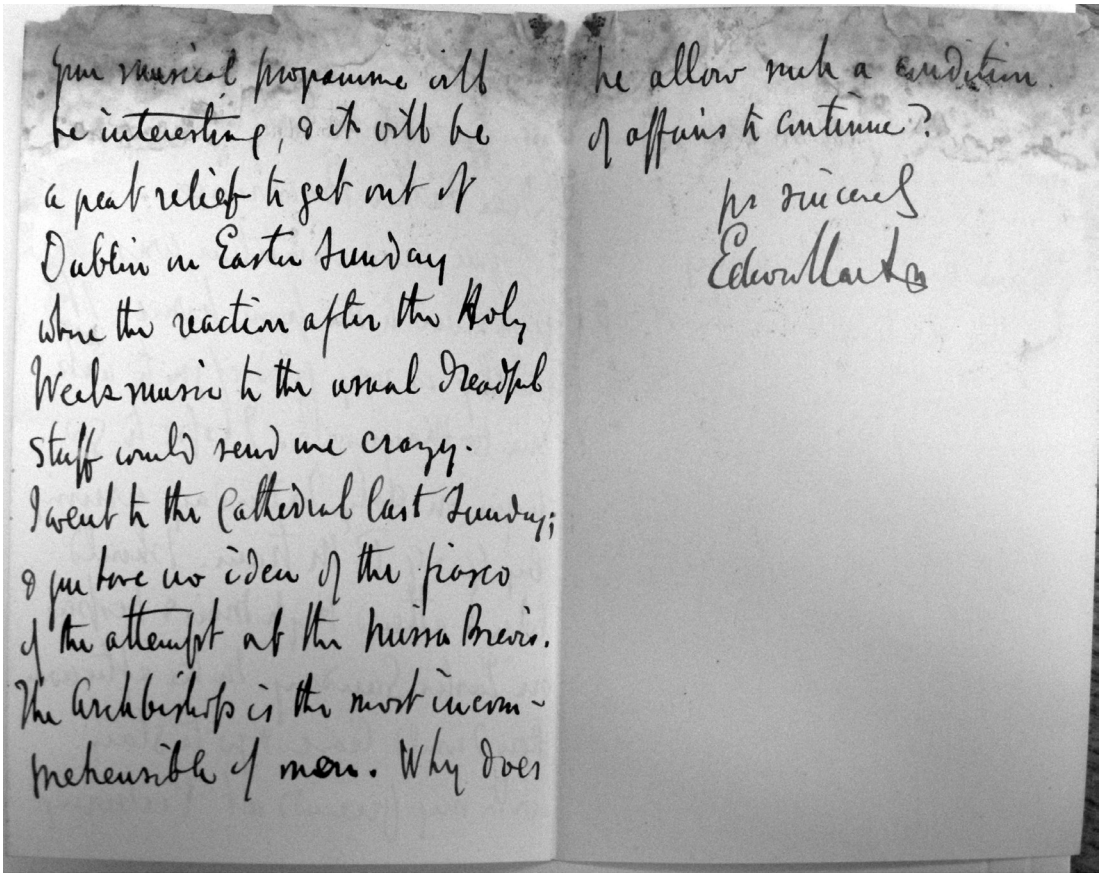


26 March 1901

KILDARE STREET CLUB,
DUBLIN.

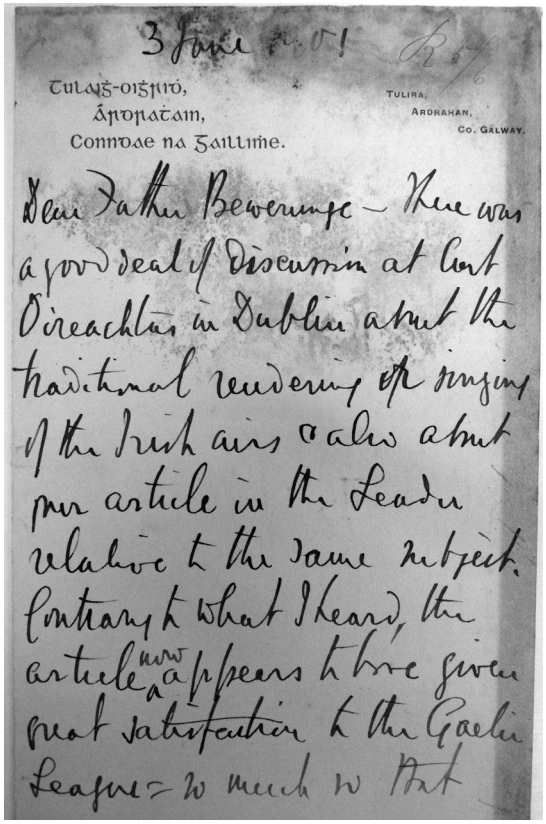
Dear Father Bewerunge

Your kind invitation was forwarded to me from home. It really is very good of you to ask me to Maynooth. I hope to go to you on Holy Saturday arriving by 4.9 P.M train. I should like to attend High Mass & Vespers on Easter Sunday. In the afternoon then I would leave & go to stay with my friends at Pickering.



Your musical programme will be interesting, & it will be a great relief to get out of Dublin on Easter Sunday where the reaction after the Holy Weeks music to the usual Broadsh stuff would send me crazy. I went to the Cathedral last Sunday; & you have no idea of the fiasco of the attempt at the Missa Brevis. The Archbishop is the most incomprehensible of men. Why does he allow such a condition of affairs to continue?

Yr sincerely
Edw Martyn

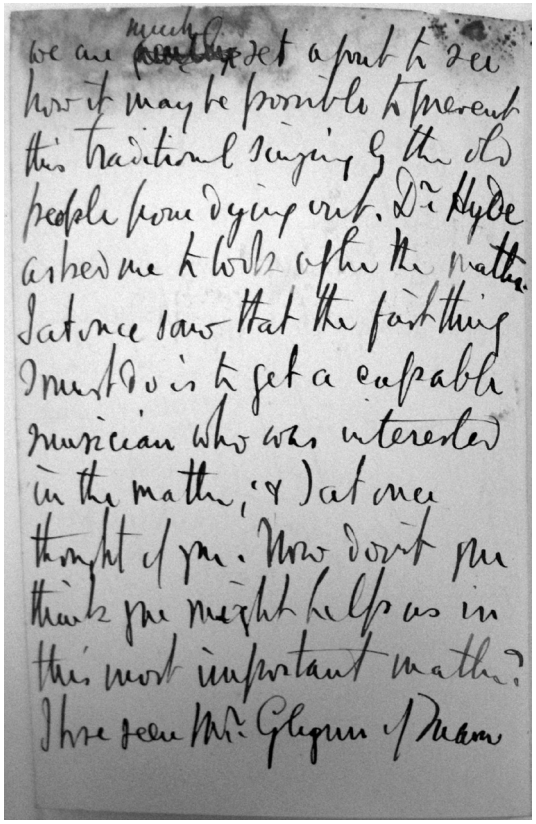


3 June 1901

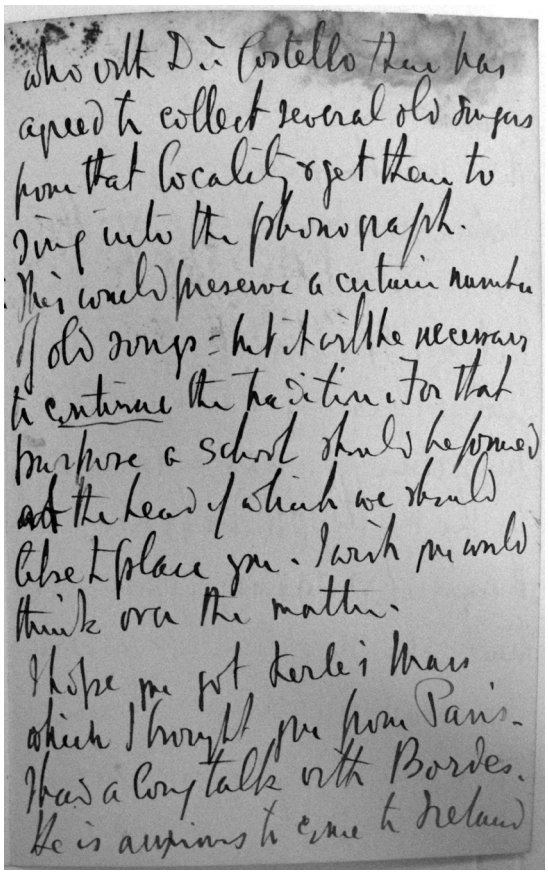
Tulaig-oisinn,
Ardrahan,
Connae na Gaillimhe.

TULIRA,
ARDRAHAN,
Co. GALWAY.

Dear Father Bewerunge – There was a good deal of discussion at Cor Oireachtas in Dublin about the traditional rendering or singing of the Irish airs & also about our article in the Leader relative to the same subject. Contrary to what I heard, the article now appears to have given great satisfaction to the Gaelic League – so much so that

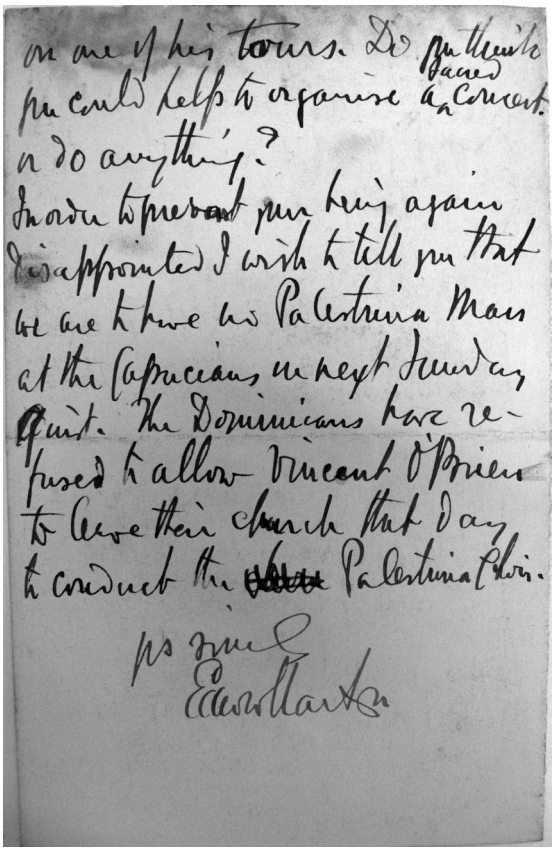


we are much set a part to see how it may be possible to preserve this traditional singing & the old people from dying out. Dr Hyde asked me to look after the matter. Since I saw that the first thing I must do is to get a capable musician who was interested in the matter, & I at once thought of you. Now don't you think you might help us in this most important matter? I have seen Mr Glynn of Maam



who with Dr Costello Parr has agreed to collect several old singers from that locality & get them to sing into the phonograph. This would preserve a certain number of old songs: but it will be necessary to continue the tradition. For that purpose a school should be opened at the head of which we should like to place you. I wish you would think over the matter.

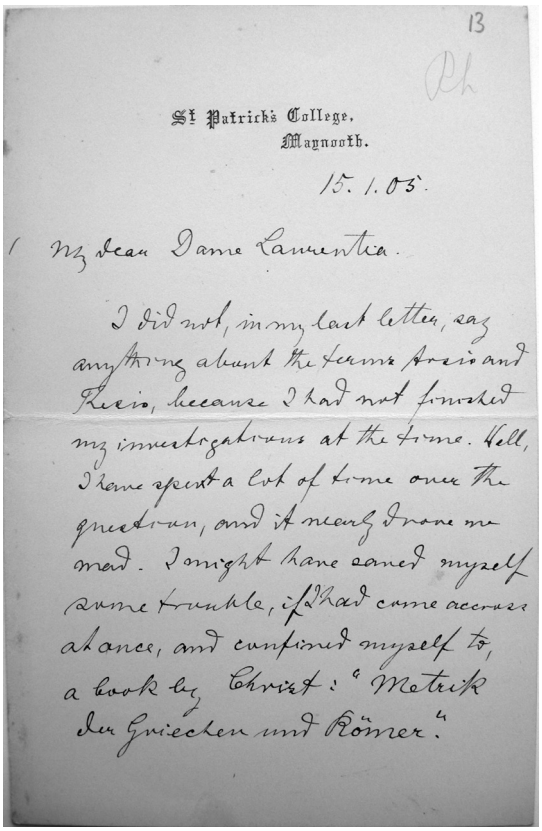
I hope you got Yeats's Mass which I brought you from Paris. I had a long talk with Bordes. He is arranging to come to Ireland



on one of his tours. Do you think you could help to organise a Concert & do anything?

In order to prevent you being again disappointed I wish to tell you that we are to have the Palestrina Mass at the Capuchins on next Sunday week. The Dominicans have refused to allow Vincent O'Brien to leave their church that day to conduct the Palestrina Choir.

Yours sincerely
Edw Martyn



13

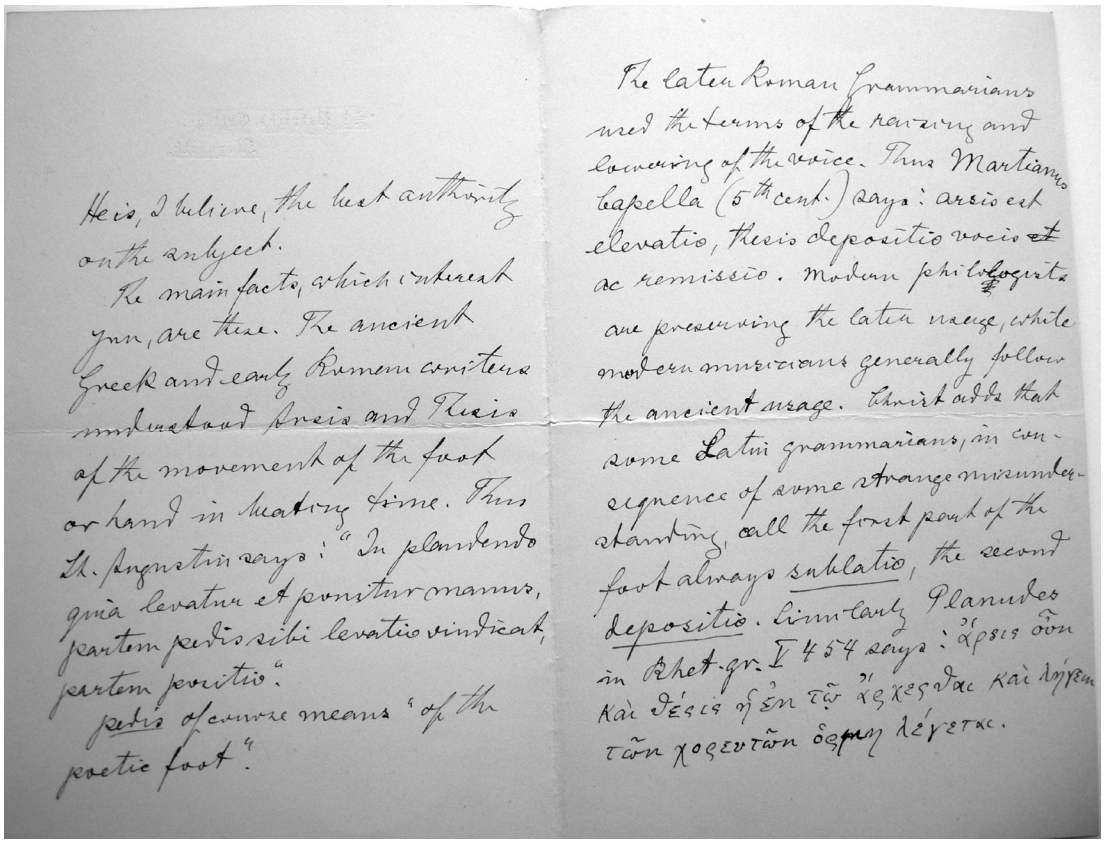
Ph

St Patrick's College,
Maynooth.

15. 1. 05.

My dear Dame Laurentia.

I did not, in my last letter, say anything about the terms Arsis and Thesis, because I had not finished my investigations at the time. Well, I have spent a lot of time over the question, and it nearly drove me mad. I might have saved myself some trouble, if I had come across at once, and confined myself to, a book by Christ: "Metrik der Griechen und Römer."

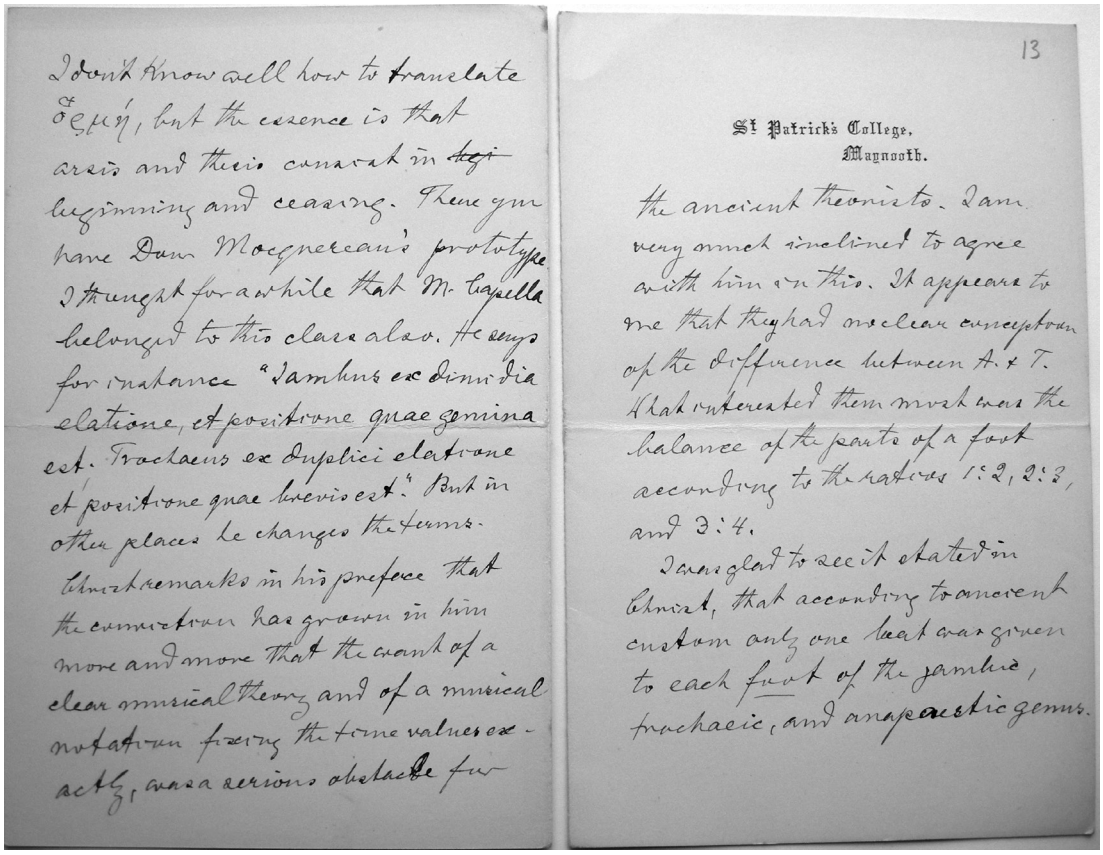


Thesis, I believe, the best authority on the subject.

The main facts, which interest you, are these. The ancient Greek and early Roman writers understand Arsis and Thesis of the movement of the foot or hand in beating time. Thus St. Augustine says: "In plaudendo quia levatur et ponitur manus, partem pedis sibi levatio vindicat, partem positio."

pedis of course means "of the poetic foot".

The later Roman grammarians used the terms of the raising and lowering of the voice. Thus Martianus Capella (5th cent.) says: arsis est elevatio, thesis depositio vocis ~~et~~ ac remissio. Modern philologists are preserving the later usage, while modern musicians generally follow the ancient usage. Christ adds that some Latin grammarians, in consequence of some strange misunderstanding, call the first part of the foot always sublatio, the second depositio. Similarly Planudes in Rhet. gr. V 454 says: ἄρσις ὧν καὶ θέσις ἡ ἐν τῷ κρούεσθαι καὶ λήγειν τῶν χρόνων ὄψις λέγεται.



I don't know well how to translate θέσις, but the essence is that arsis and thesis consist in ~~their~~ beginning and ceasing. Here you have Dom Mocquereau's prototype. I thought for a while that M. Capella belonged to this class also. He says for instance "Iambus ex dimidia elatione, et positione quae gemina est. Trochaeus ex duplici elatione et positione quae brevis est." But in other places he changes the terms. Schwartz remarks in his preface that the conviction has grown in him more and more that the crank of a clear musical theory and of a musical notation fixing the tone values exactly, was a serious obstacle for

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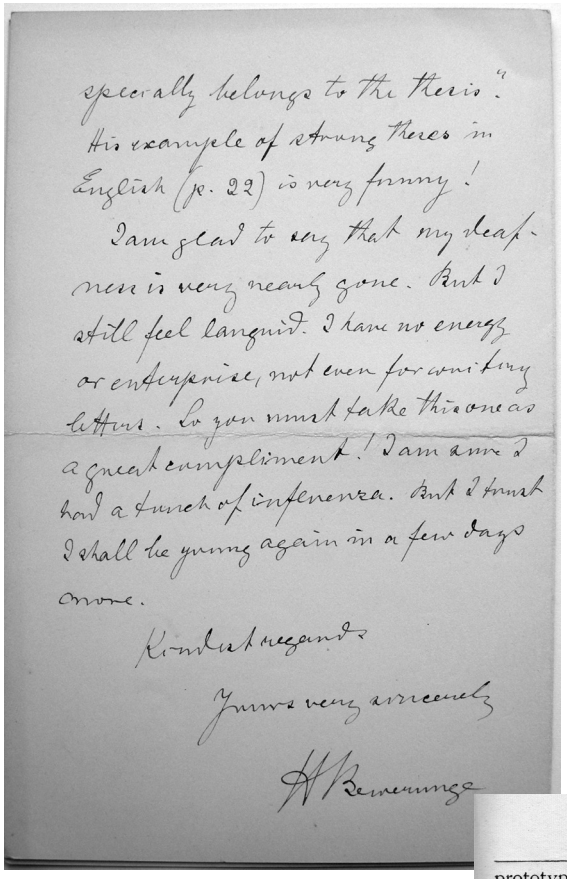
the ancient theorists. I am very much inclined to agree with him on this. It appears to me that they had no clear conception of the difference between A. & T. that interested them most was the balance of the parts of a foot according to the ratios 1:2, 2:2, and 3:4.

I was glad to see it stated in Schwartz, that according to ancient custom only one beat was given to each foot of the iambic, trochaeic, and anapaestic genus.

But here there is still more doubt as to which foot in the "metre" should be thesis. I was hoping that it took me years and years before I could distinguish in my attempts to analyse modern music, with any kind of certainty between thesis & weight and rhythmic accent, I am not surprised that modern philologists to have their trouble with the thesis in poetry. Probably the distinction mentioned never came into their heads and still it lies at the root of much that is difficult.

Schwartz has no doubt that the ictus associated with the thesis meant stress, greater pressure of the breath. He even holds that the Greeks, in their ordinary pronunciation, made their long vowels strong, so that in words like λέγω, λέγων, λέγω, the main stress was on the last syllable. He just mentions, in passing, some philological reasons, which I do not understand.

Last night I received Dom M.'s "Le Caractère Grammatical du Rythme" & he states more definitely (p. 21): "Length



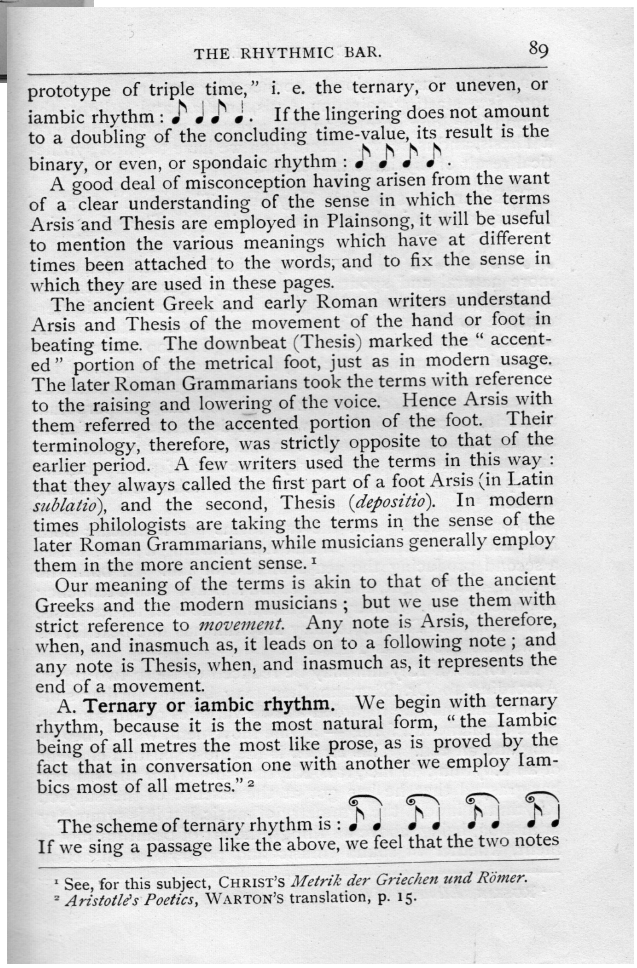
specially belongs to the thesis."
His example of strong thesis in
English (p. 22) is very funny!

I am glad to say that my deaf-
ness is very nearly gone. But I
still feel languid. I have no energy
or enterprise, not even for writing
letters. So you must take this one as
a great compliment! I am sure I
had a touch of influenza. But I trust
I shall be going again in a few days
more.

Kindest regards

Yours very sincerely

H. Bewerunge



THE RHYTHMIC BAR. 89

prototype of triple time," i. e. the ternary, or uneven, or iambic rhythm : ♪ ♩ ♪ ♩. If the lingering does not amount to a doubling of the concluding time-value, its result is the binary, or even, or spondaic rhythm : ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ .

A good deal of misconception having arisen from the want of a clear understanding of the sense in which the terms Arsis and Thesis are employed in Plainsong, it will be useful to mention the various meanings which have at different times been attached to the words, and to fix the sense in which they are used in these pages.

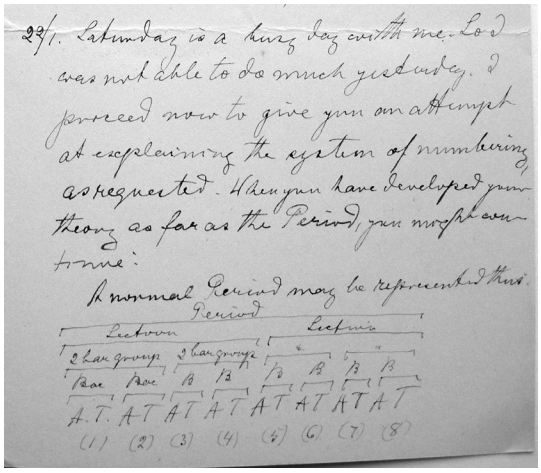
The ancient Greek and early Roman writers understand Arsis and Thesis of the movement of the hand or foot in beating time. The downbeat (Thesis) marked the " accented " portion of the metrical foot, just as in modern usage. The later Roman Grammarians took the terms with reference to the raising and lowering of the voice. Hence Arsis with them referred to the accented portion of the foot. Their terminology, therefore, was strictly opposite to that of the earlier period. A few writers used the terms in this way : that they always called the first part of a foot Arsis (in Latin *sublatio*), and the second, Thesis (*depositio*). In modern times philologists are taking the terms in the sense of the later Roman Grammarians, while musicians generally employ them in the more ancient sense. [1]

Our meaning of the terms is akin to that of the ancient Greeks and the modern musicians ; but we use them with strict reference to *movement*. Any note is Arsis, therefore, when, and inasmuch as, it leads on to a following note ; and any note is Thesis, when, and inasmuch as, it represents the end of a movement.

A. **Ternary or iambic rhythm.** We begin with ternary rhythm, because it is the most natural form, " the Iambic being of all metres the most like prose, as is proved by the fact that in conversation one with another we employ Iambics most of all metres." [2]

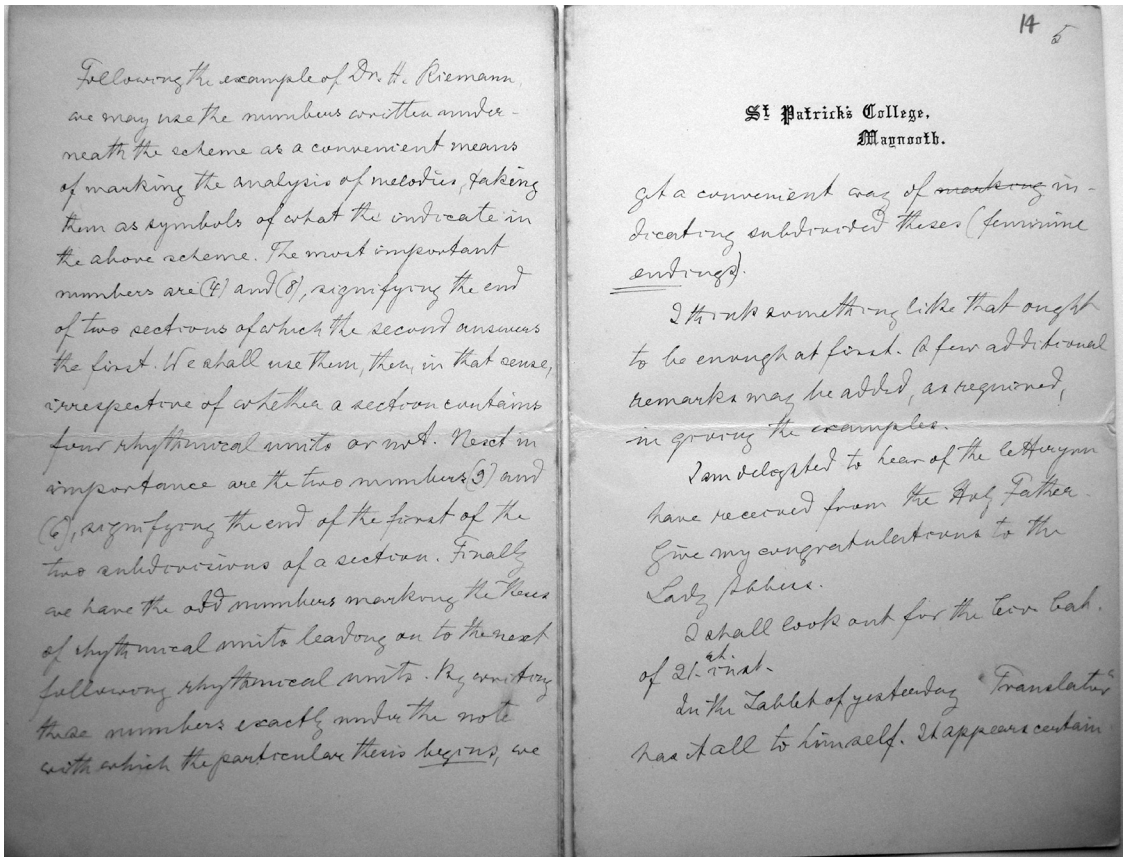
The scheme of ternary rhythm is : ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪
If we sing a passage like the above, we feel that the two notes

[1] See, for this subject, CHRIST'S *Metrik der Griechen und Römer*.
[2] *Aristotle's Poetics*, WARTON'S translation, p. 15.



23/1. Saturday is a busy day with me. I could not do much yesterday. I proceed now to give you an attempt at explaining the system of numbering as requested. When you have developed your theory as far as the Period, you must come home.

A normal Period may be represented thus.



Following the example of Dr. H. Riemann, we may use the numbers written underneath the scheme as a convenient means of marking the analysis of melodies, taking them as symbols of what they indicate in the above scheme. The most important numbers are (4) and (8), signifying the end of two sections of which the second answers the first. We shall use them, then, in that sense, irrespective of whether a section contains four rhythmical units or not. Next in importance are the two numbers (2) and (6), signifying the end of the first of the two subdivisions of a section. Finally we have the odd numbers marking the times of rhythmical units leading on to the next following rhythmical units. By emitting these numbers exactly under the note with which the particular thesis begins, we

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get a convenient way of marking indicating subdivided theses (feminine endings).

I think something like that ought to be enough at first. A few additional remarks may be added, as required, in growing the examples.

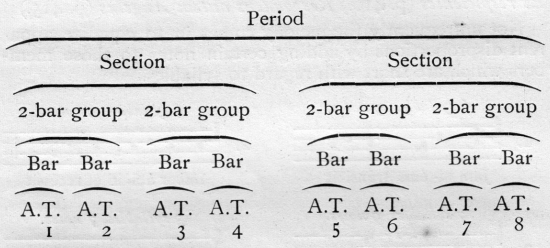
I am delighted to hear of the Letter you have received from the Holy Father. Give my congratulations to the Lady Abbess.

I shall look out for the Eccl. of 21st inst.

In the Tablet of yesterday Translation has Atall to himself. It appears certain

responding rest, and the rests are part of the time-scheme; so also in Plainsong, there is a direct relation between notes and pauses, — pauses having the same quantitative value as the notes they divide. This value is regulated by that of the single note, for the movement of the melody has so accustomed the ear to that value, and to its binary and ternary groupings, that the pauses fall naturally into the same conditions. Pauses, then, will equal one, two, or three beats, as has already been explained on a previous page. (p. 38.)

The normal Period may be represented thus :



Following the example of Dr. H. Riemann, we may use the numbers written under the scheme as a convenient means of marking the analysis of melodies, taking the numbers as symbols of what they indicate in the scheme. The most important numbers are 4 and 8, signifying the end of two Sections, of which the second answers the first. We shall use them, therefore, in that sense, irrespective of whether a Section contains four rhythmical units or not.

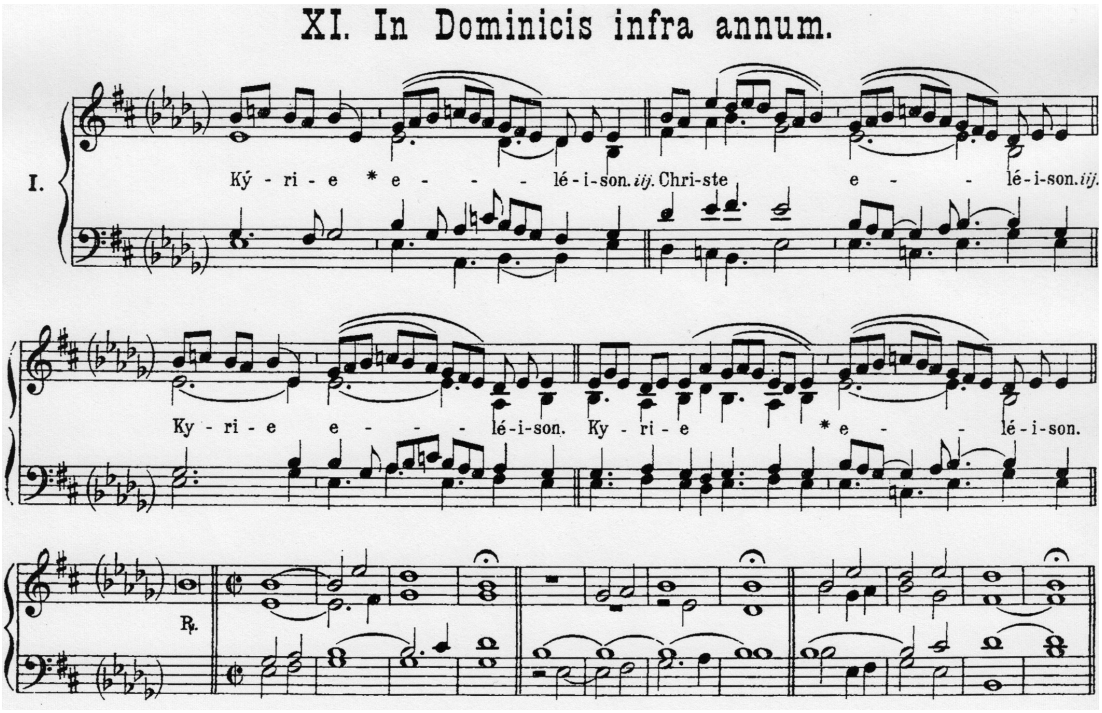
Next in importance are the two numbers 2 and 6, denoting the end of the first of the two subdivisions of a Section. Finally, we have the odd numbers to mark the theses of rhythmical units leading on to the following rhythmical units. By writing these numbers exactly under the note with which the particular thesis *begins*, we have a convenient way of indicating subdivided theses, or feminine endings.

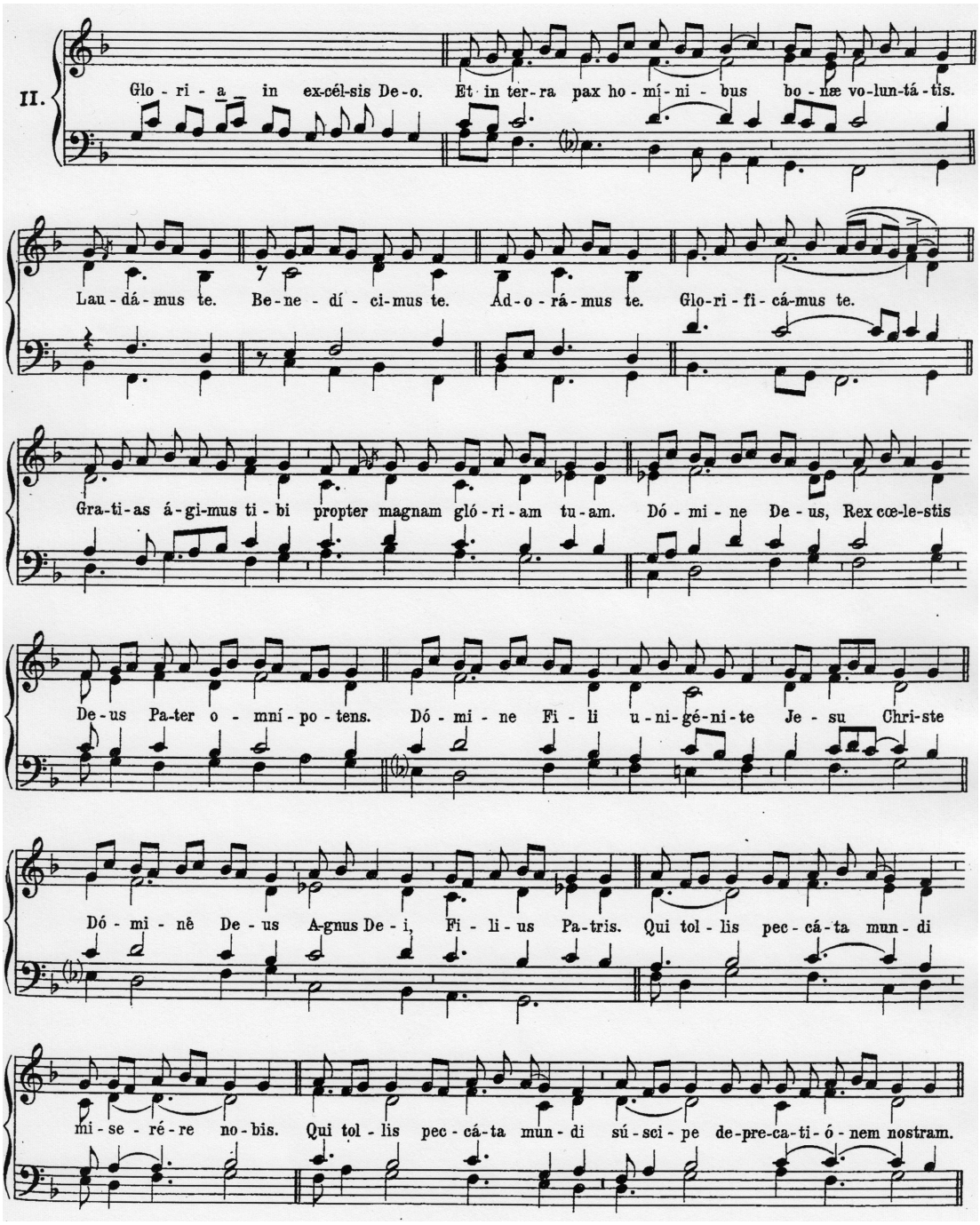
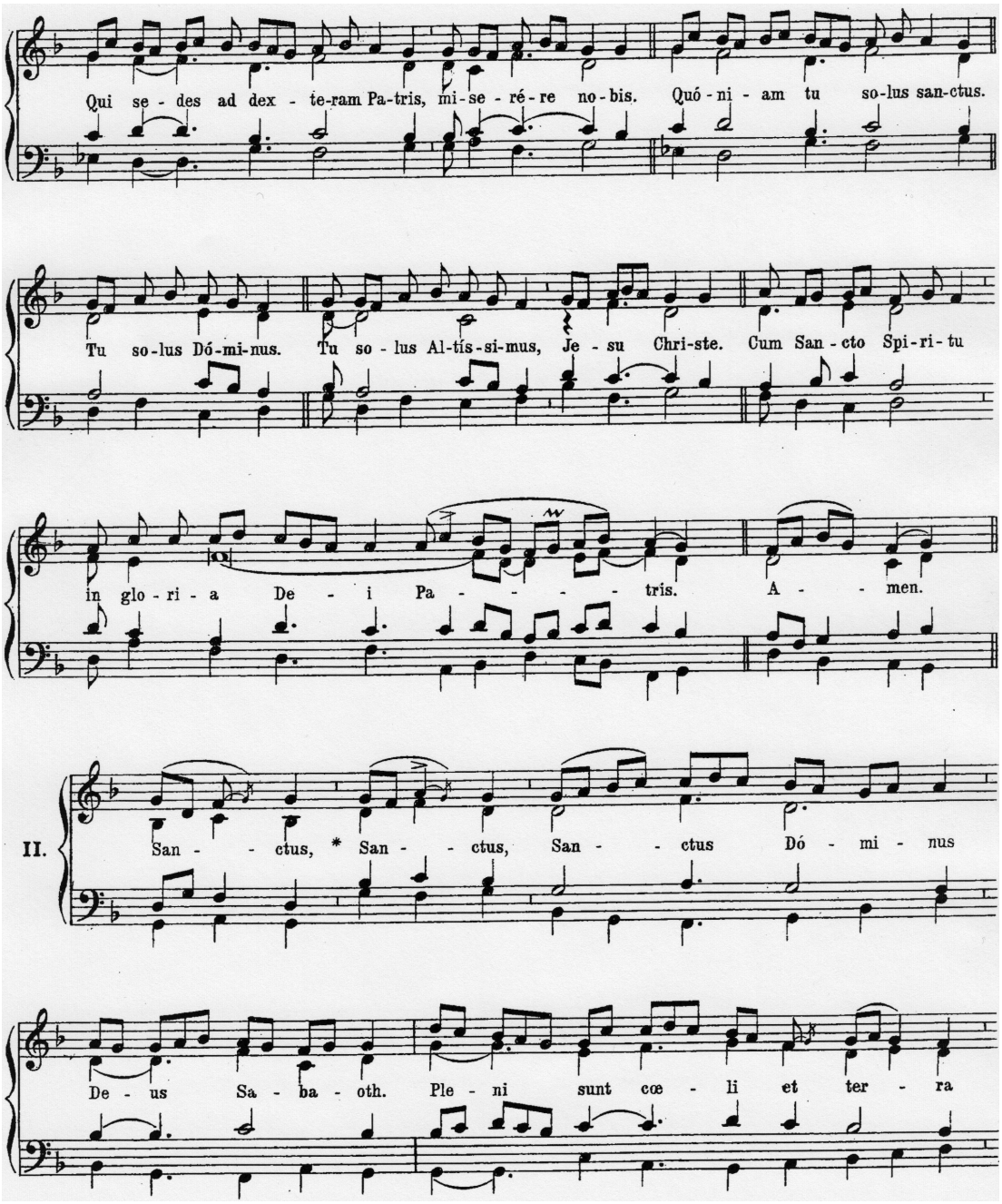
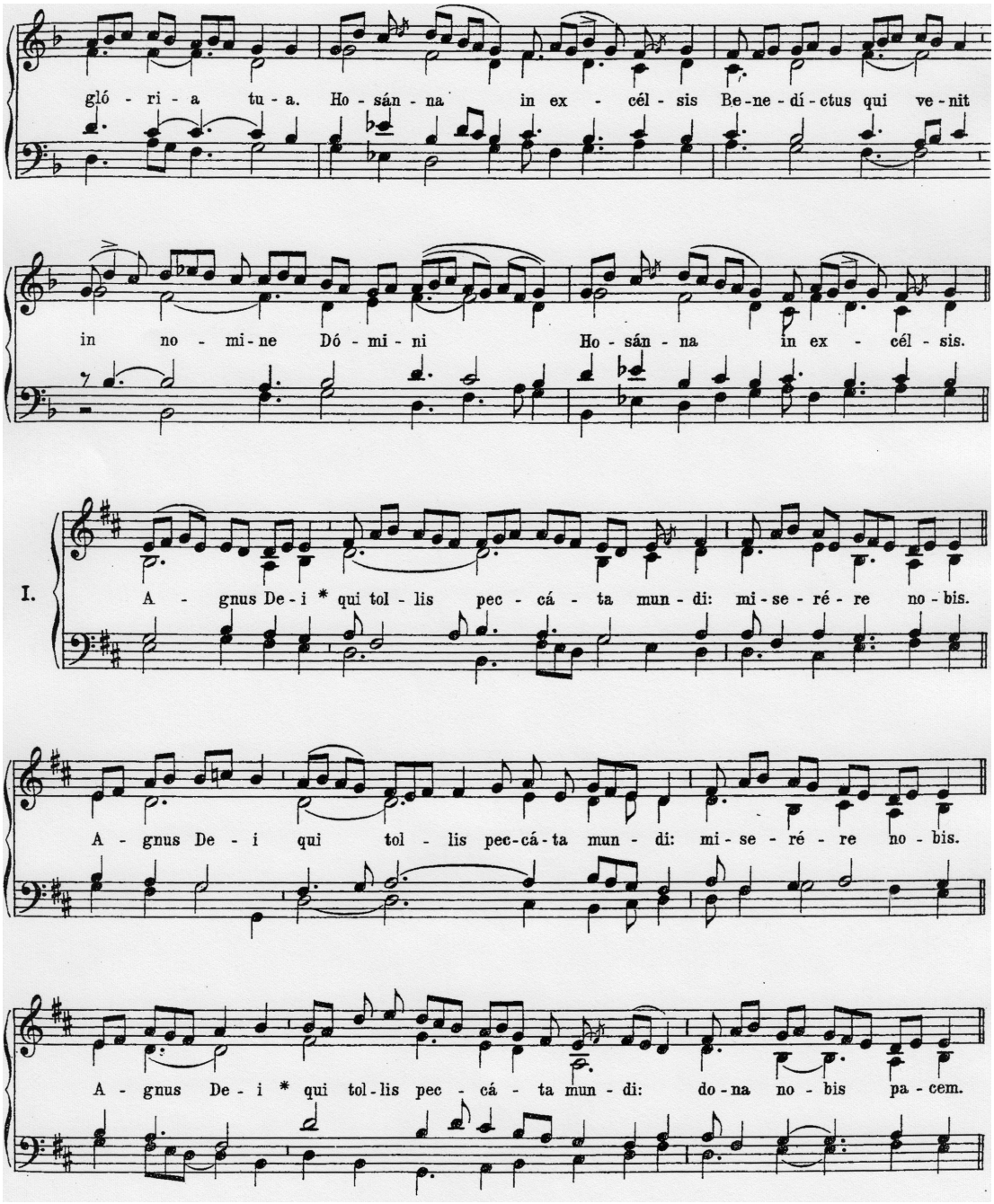
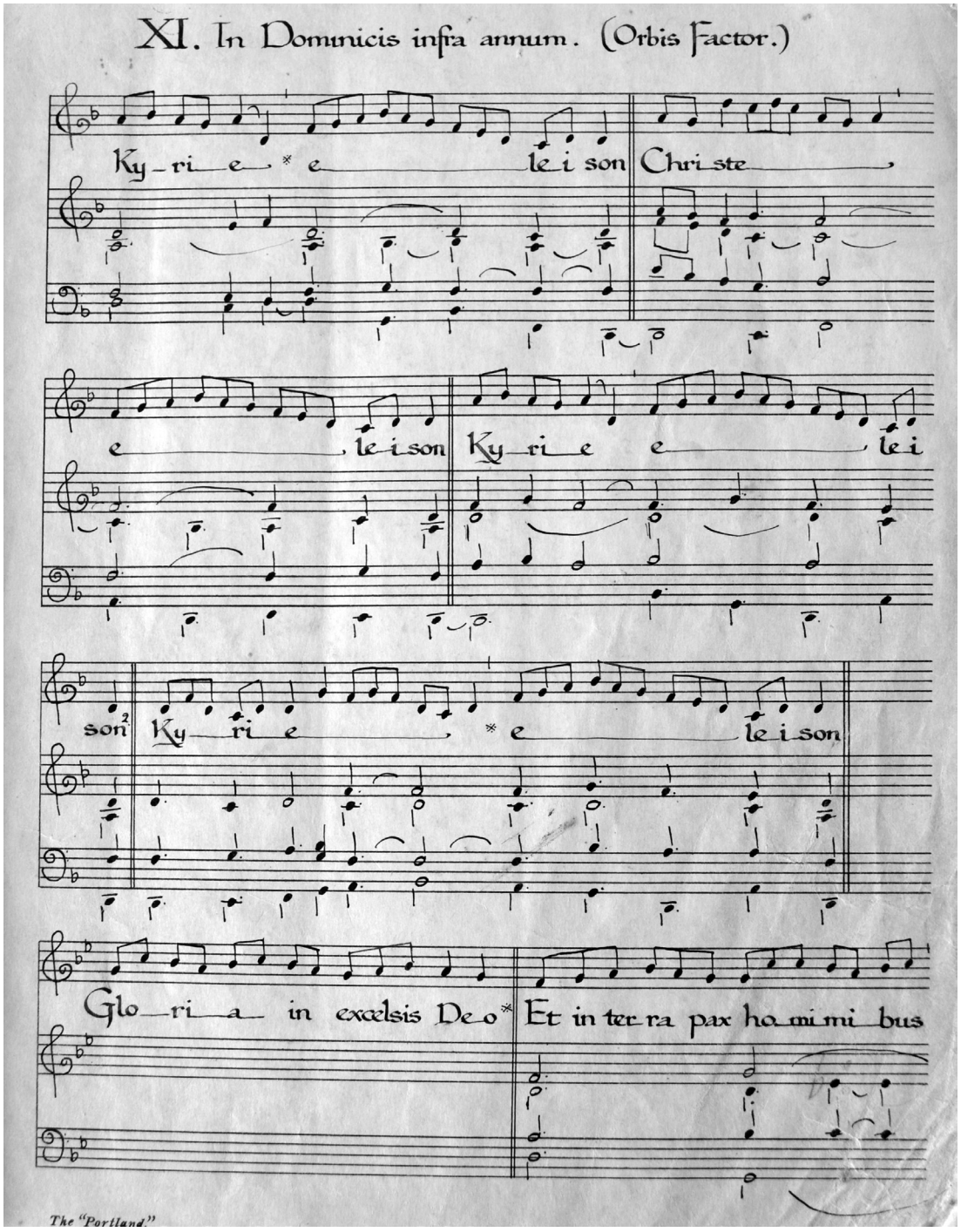
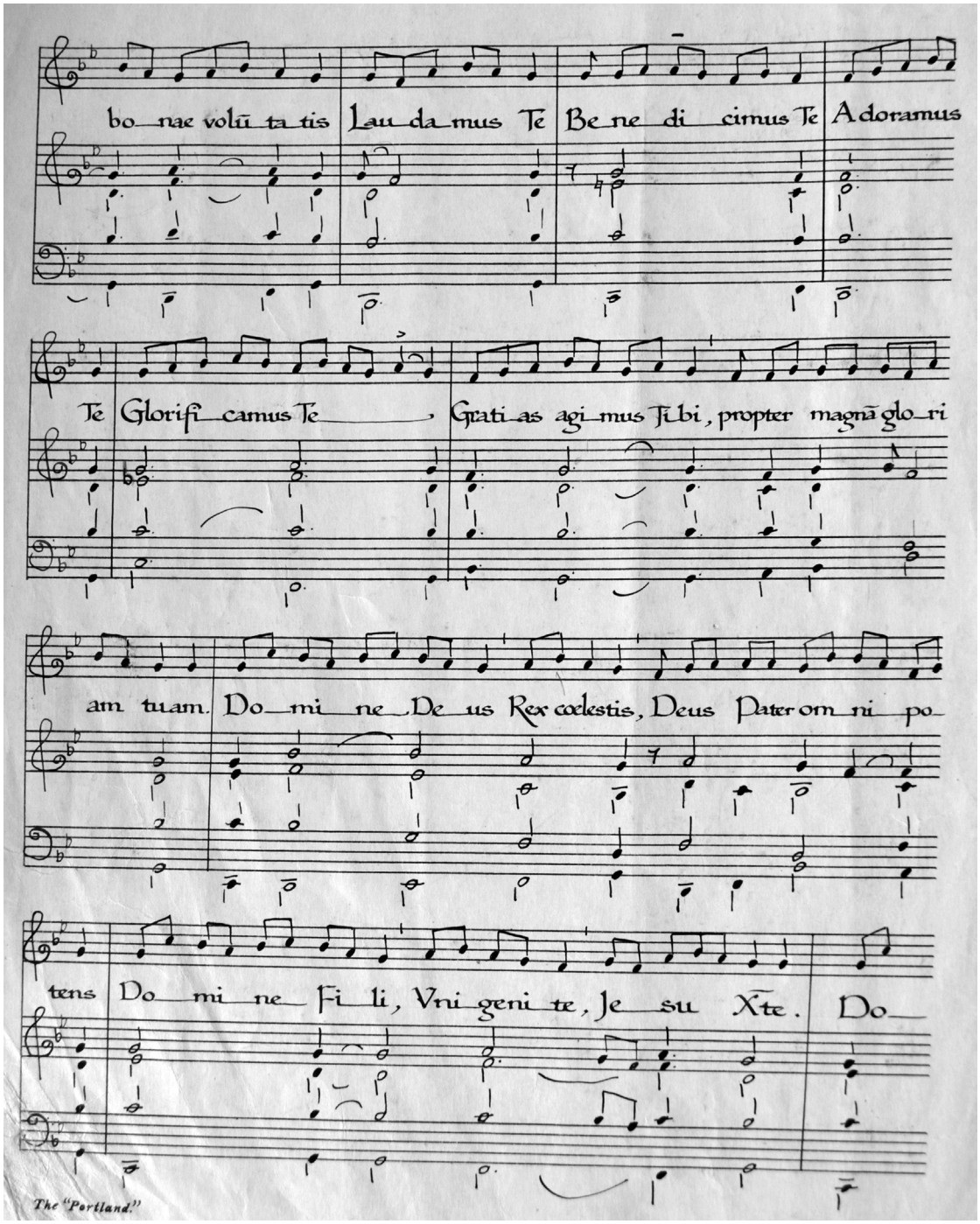
The use of these letters has been made familiar to English students by the works of Professor Prout.

APPENDIX E

Plainchant Harmonisations

F.X. Mathias, *Organum Comitans ad Kyriale* (Ratisbon: Pustet, 1906), *Missa orbis factor* 'Kyrie', p. 54



F.X. Mathias, *Organum Comitans ad Kyriale* (Ratisbon: Pustet, 1906), *Missa orbis factor* ‘Gloria’, p. 55

F.X. Mathias, *Organum Comitans ad Kyriale* (Ratisbon: Pustet, 1906), *Missa orbis factor* ‘Gloria’ and ‘Sanctus’, p. 56

F.X. Mathias, *Organum Comitans ad Kyriale* (Ratisbon: Pustet, 1906), *Missa orbis factor* ‘Sanctus’ and ‘Agnus Dei’, p. 57

Bewerunge, *Missa orbis factor*, ‘Kyrie’

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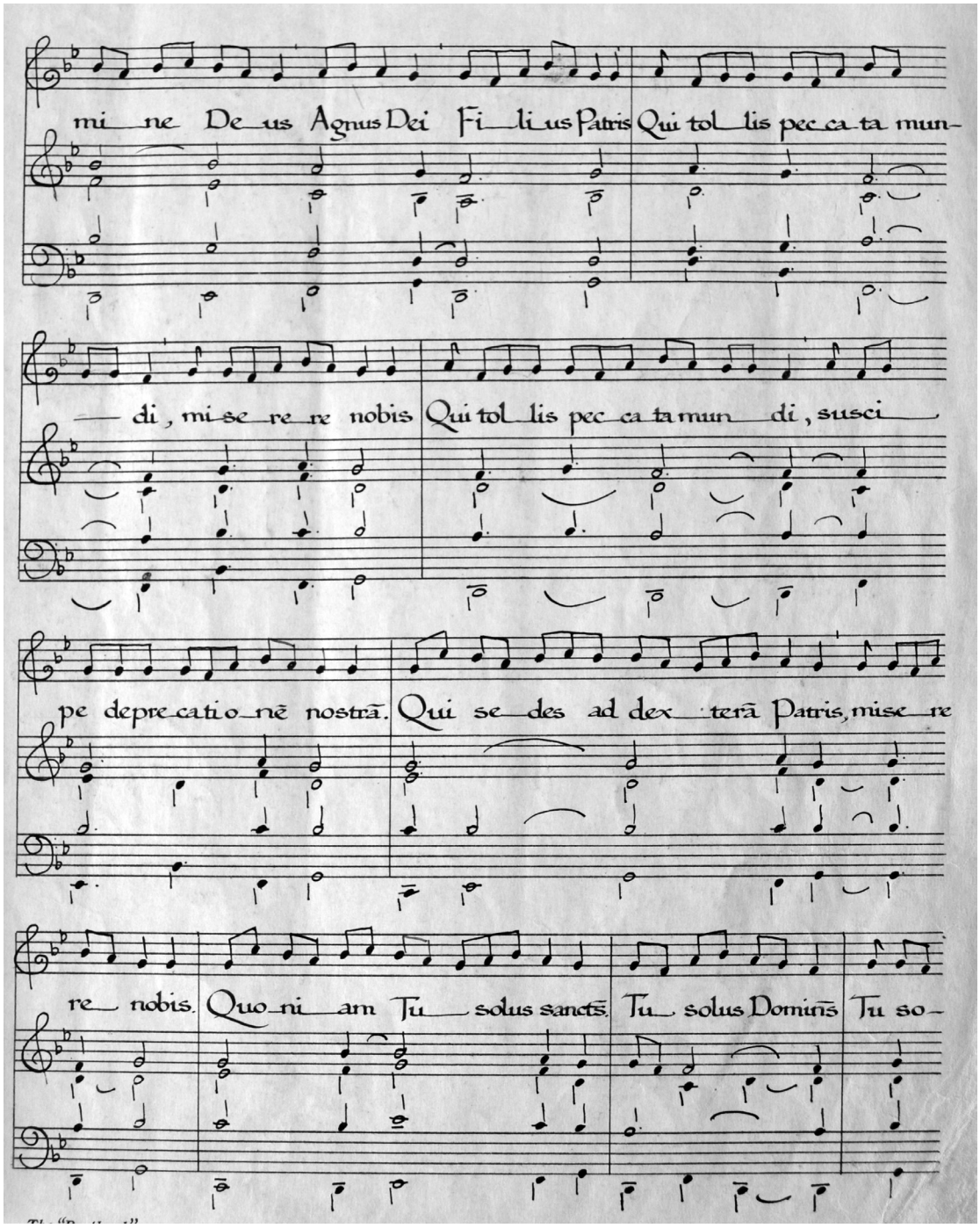
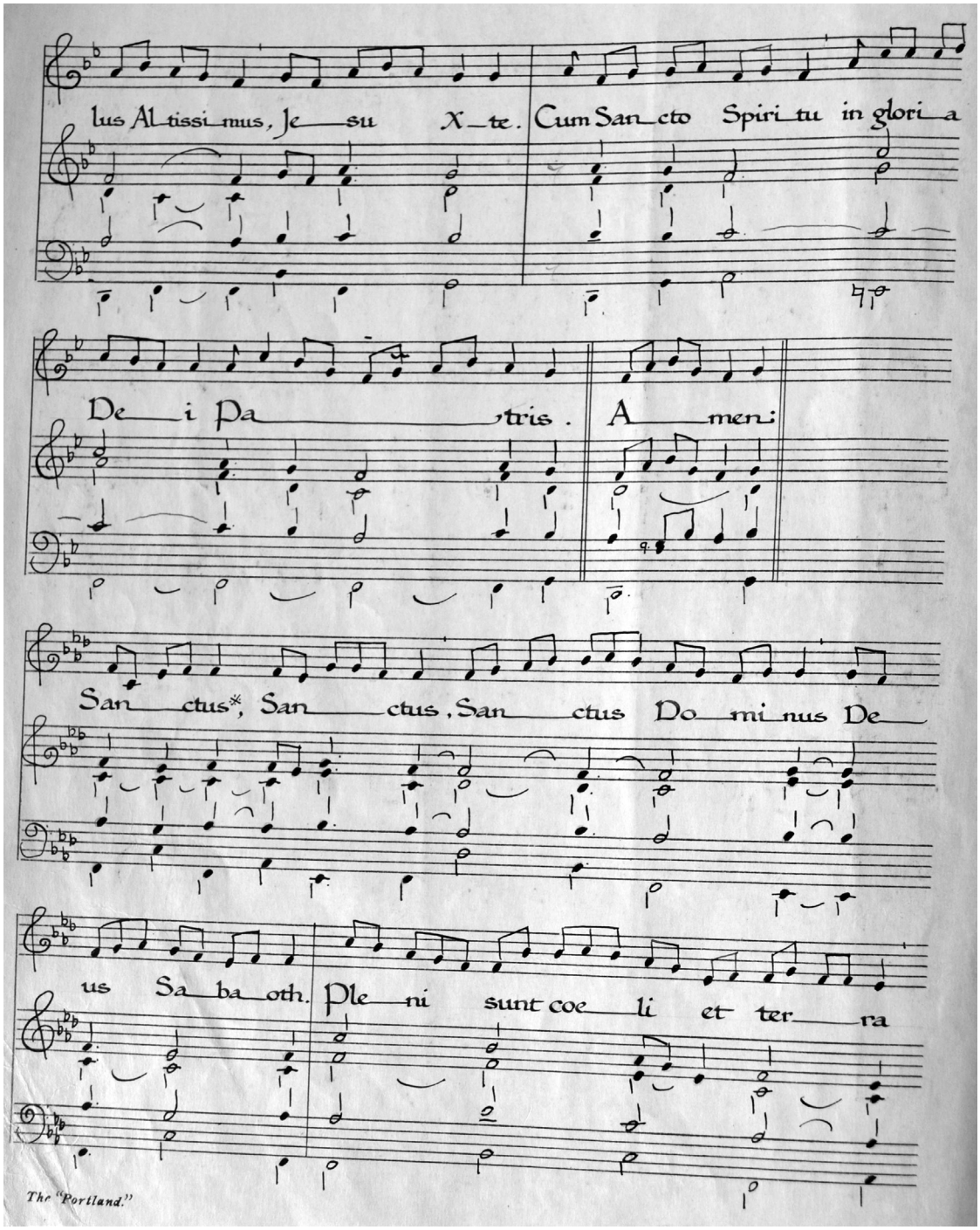
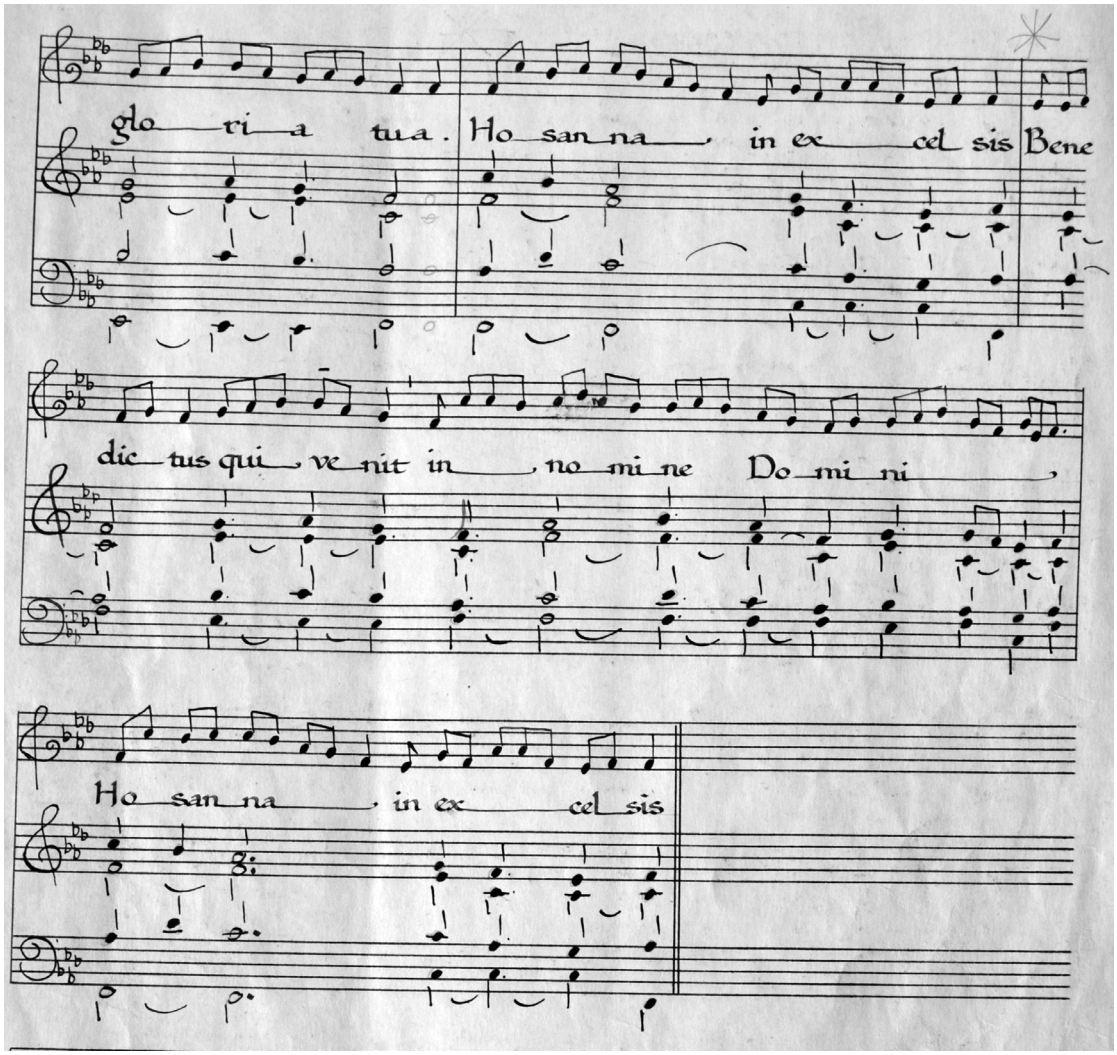
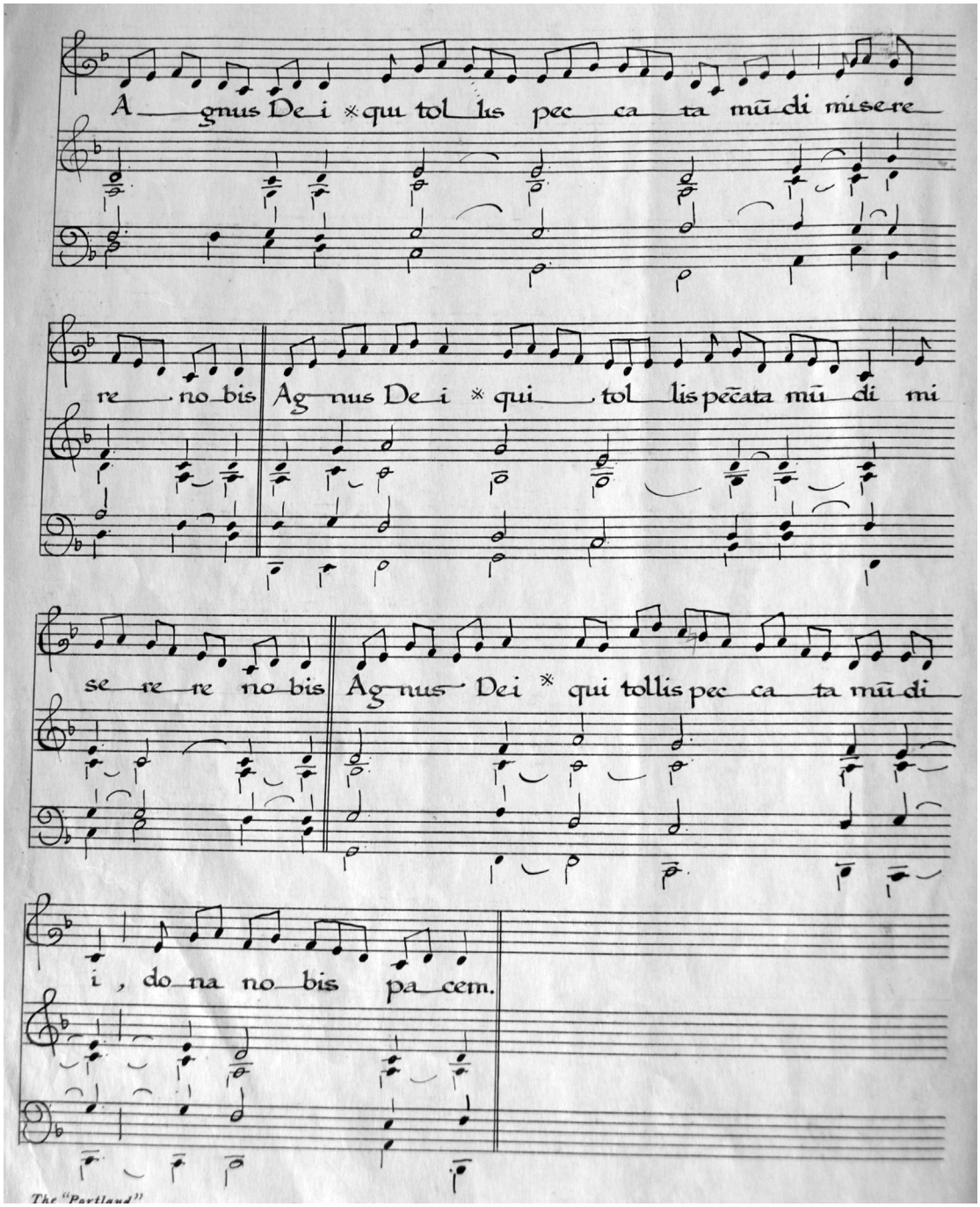
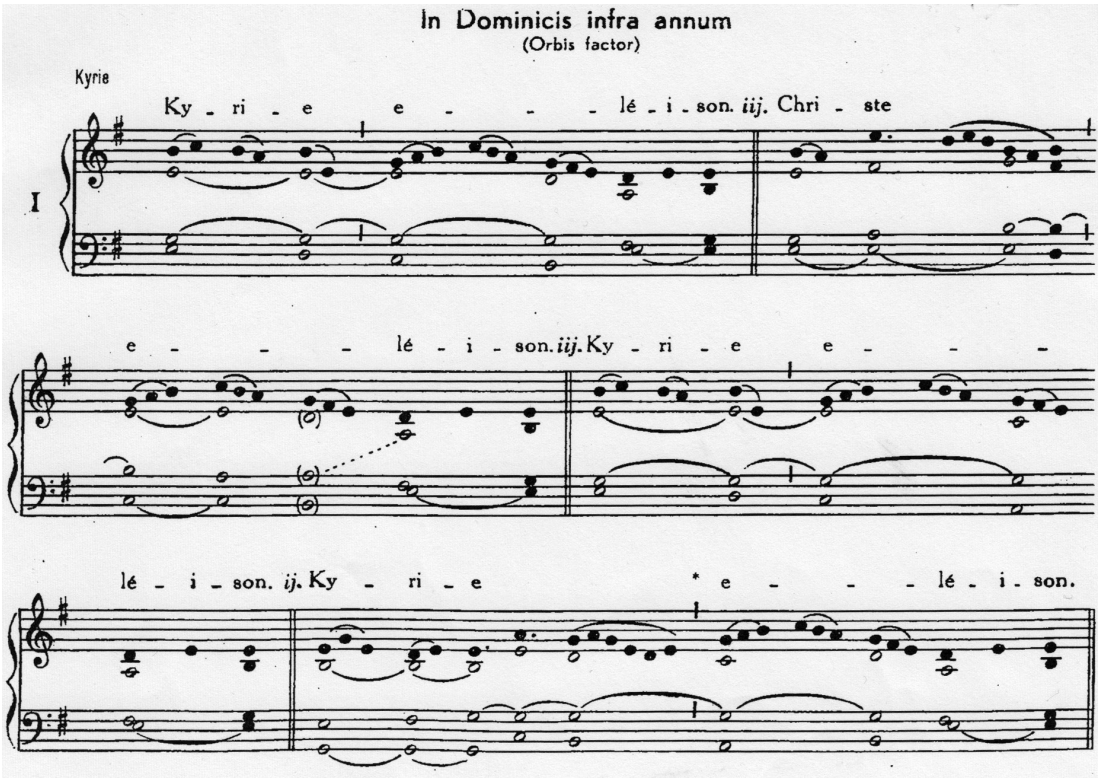
bo nae volũ ta tis Lau da mus Te Be ne di cimus Te A doramus
Te Glorifi camus Te Grati as agi mus Ti bi, propter magnã glo ri
am tuam. Do mi ne De us Rex coelestis, Deus Pater om ni po
tens Do mi ne Fi li, Vni geni te, Je su X̄te. Do
The "Portland"

mi ne De us Agnus Dei Fi li us Patris Qui tol lis pec ca ta mun-
di, mi se re re nobis Qui tol lis pec ca ta mun di, susci
pe deprecatio nē nostrā. Qui se des ad dex terā Patris, mise re
re nobis. Quo ni am Tu solus sanctꝰ. Tu solus Dominꝰ Tu so-

lus Al tissi mus, Je su X te. Cum San cto Spiri tu in glori a
De i Pa tris. A men:
San ctus*, San ctus, San ctus Do mi nus De
us Sa ba oth. Ple ni sunt coe li et ter ra
The "Portland."

Bewerunge, *Missa orbis factor*, ‘Sanctus’

Bewerunge, *Missa orbis factor*, ‘Agnus Dei’

Flor Peeters, *A Practical Method of Plain-Chant Accompaniment* (Malines: Dessain, 1949), *Missa orbis factor* 'Kyrie', p. 79



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Anglo-Celt (Ireland)	1910–1931
Connacht Tribune (Ireland)	1910–1966
Connaught Telegraph (Ireland)	1931–1940
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Donegal News (Ireland)	1903–1948
Freeman's Journal (Ireland)	1878–1922
Hull Daily Mail (England)	1912
Intermountain & Colorado Catholic (USA)	1900
Irish Independent (Ireland)	1905–1964
Irish Press (Ireland)	1931–1964
Irish Times (Ireland)	1894–1980
Kildare Observer (Ireland)	1899–1923
Limerick Leader (Ireland)	1923–1954
London Monitor and New Era (England)[2]	1897–1913
London Standard (England)	1896–1913
Longford Leader (Ireland)	1931
Manchester Guardian (England)	1912–1914
Meath Chronicle (Ireland)	1935–1962
New Zealand Tablet (New Zealand)	1896–1908
Northants Evening Telegraph (England)	1901–1902
Sacred Heart Review (Boston, USA)	1897–1914
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The Leader (Ireland)	1900–1901
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The Scotsman (Scotland)	1913
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1 Not every issue of all named newspapers and periodicals has been examined in the date ranges given. The ranges convey spans of time during which relevant material was found either by hand searches or through online databases.

2 Known as the *London Monitor and Catholic Standard and Ransomer* in 1897 and the *London Monitor Catholic Organ for England* in 1897–1898.

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