

**Continental Organists and
Catholic Church Music in Ireland, 1860-1960**

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Preface

From the early nineteenth century to the middle of the twentieth century, the Irish catholic church recruited musicians from the continent to fill positions of organist and choirmaster in the country's cathedrals and churches. Although Ireland had a rich monastic liturgical tradition in the middle ages, a series of conflicts, invasions and persecutions denied this tradition a normal course of development for almost three hundred years. Consequently, after Catholic Emancipation in 1829, the Irish catholic church, free to publicly celebrate its liturgies, was confronted with a scarcity of Irish professional musical leadership.

To remedy the situation, members of the hierarchy turned to the continent, and for approximately the next hundred years, employed continental musicians to improve sacred music practice in Ireland. These musicians, mostly from Germany and Belgium, made a notable contribution to the development not only of sacred music, but to the general musical life of the towns and cities where they worked.

Some of these foreign organists returned to their native countries after a short time. Others remained in their adoptive country, labouring tirelessly to raise the standard of liturgical music in the Irish catholic church. All but one of these organists are now deceased,¹ as are many of their relatives and close associates.

¹ The Belgian organist, George Minne (1929-), the last of this group of foreign organists to arrive in Ireland, was appointed to Armagh cathedral in 1959, a position he still holds at the time of writing this thesis.

This present work sets out to discover and record this unique and interesting period in Irish catholic church music. It aims to acknowledge the work and document the legacy of this sometimes 'forgotten generation' of musicians. In effect, it is a tribute to their contribution to the course and history of Irish catholic church music.

This study has taken the form of a fieldwork survey, and is effectively a gathering of information on foreign organists who arrived in Ireland between 1860 and 1960. Much research was carried out to discover the identities of these musicians, their areas of operation, and their collective influence on the course of Irish catholic church music and their place in the broader social context of the arts in Ireland. An examination of Aloys Fleischmann's book, *Music in Ireland: A Symposium* (1952),² revealed identities of cathedral organists who were employed in Ireland from the late nineteenth century. Information was then sought from the particular cathedral records and diocesan archives. Interviews were conducted with family members, pupils and other associates of these organists. This necessitated visits to many cities and towns in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland. Visits, in some instances, revealed further information concerning additional continental organists employed in Ireland, which was not contained in Fleischmann's register.

The musicians, numbering forty-six, are broadly divided into two generations.³ The first generation were mainly German, the majority of whom arrived in the late nineteenth

² Aloys Fleischmann: 'Register of Cathedral Organists', *Music in Ireland: A Symposium* (Cork: Cork University Press), 160-162.

³ For a full list of these continental organists who arrived in Ireland between 1860 and 1960, see appendix one.

century. The second group were primarily Belgian and came to Ireland in the early twentieth century.⁴

By documenting and examining the work of these foreign organists in Ireland, an examination of the state of Irish catholic church music at that time has been undertaken. Subsequently, in addition to supplying detailed information on the identity and work of these musicians, this study provides an insight into the attitude of Irish bishops to sacred music in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and notes their efforts to improve sacred music practice. It is clear that a strong relationship existed between Irish ecclesiastics and the continental church from the time of the penal days when Irish clergy fled to the continent for refuge. Evidence is presented that Irish ecclesiastics were very aware of nineteenth-century sacred music developments on the continent, and were keen to implement similar developments in Ireland.

Chapter One seeks to trace the events which led to the movement of continental organists to Ireland, and to identify the principal figures involved in the process. A brief historical overview of the development of sacred music in Ireland from monastic times to the late nineteenth century is presented to set the context for their arrival. Nineteenth-century church music developments on the continent are also discussed to complete the background. The cecilian movement for the reform of sacred music, established in the Bavarian city of Ratisbon (Regensburg),⁵ which influenced the foundation of a similar organisation in Ireland, is examined. The appointment of German musician, priest and

⁴ These are general categories. As will be seen, there were a small number of Belgian organists amongst the first generation of organists to arrive in Ireland. Similarly, some German organists arrived during the predominantly Belgian 'period' in the early twentieth century.

⁵ For the purposes of this study, the name Ratisbon will be used henceforth.

scholar, Heinrich Beyerunge, a student of the church music school in Ratisbon, to the chair of sacred music at St Patrick's College, Maynooth in 1888, is singled out as being the culmination of links established between Ireland and the German-based cecilian movement. Beyerunge's position in Maynooth prompted further appointments of German musicians to Irish cathedrals and churches in the late nineteenth century.

Chapter Two, however, provides evidence of the existence of a small group of foreign organists working in Ireland some twenty years before the arrival of Heinrich Beyerunge. Their presence points to a relationship between the Irish church and sacred music structures on the continent from as early as the 1860s. The existence of this group shows that Beyerunge, although influential in the movement of foreign organists to Ireland, was not solely responsible for their introduction to this country.

Chapter Three identifies a group of organists, primarily German, who came to Ireland following Beyerunge's appointment to Maynooth, and whose arrival therefore may be attributed to his influence. Ironically, this period witnesses the eventual decline of German influence on Irish sacred music practice. Contributing factors to this decline are outlined. However, the papal document on sacred music, *Motu Proprio* (1903), which is summarised in this chapter, prompted the Irish hierarchy to continue employing German organists to implement its decrees until the 1920s. The chapter then sets the scene for a shift in focus from Germany to Belgium as the main centre of sacred music expertise in the early twentieth century.

Chapter Four examines and documents the work of a second generation of organists, primarily Belgian, who arrived in Ireland between 1920 and 1960. It initially traces the

foundation of the church music school in Mechelen (Malines)⁶, called the Lemmens Institute,⁷ where most of these organists were trained. It explores how, particularly through the influence of teachers such as Flor Peeters at the institute in the 1920s, Belgian organists became known throughout the world. Indeed they were encouraged to travel abroad to raise the standard of liturgical music in other countries.

A member of the Irish hierarchy, Bishop Michael Fogarty of Killaloe diocese, is identified as playing a central role in the recruitment of Belgian organists to Ireland through his contacts with the Lemmens Institute. A nationwide effort made by Irish bishops to enhance the standard of liturgical music in their dioceses in the 1920s and 1930s, particularly through the promotion of Gregorian chant, is explored. The chapter identifies these Belgian organists, documents their role in the Gregorian revival of the 1930s and explores their influence on sacred and secular music practice in the towns and cities where they worked. Examples of compositions by continental organists are contained in the appendices and are referred to throughout the study.

Many Flemish and German composers are mentioned in this study in connection with repertoire that foreign organists introduced to Irish churches and cathedrals. Whilst every effort was made to provide information on these often obscure composers, it was not possible to find references in all cases. It has not been deemed necessary to give biographical information on more established composers.

⁶ Malines is the French name for the town and Mechelen is the Flemish name. For the purposes of this study, Mechelen will be used henceforth. The name Mechlin has also been used in connection with the town.

⁷ Since its foundation in 1878, the school has had various titles such as the Malines Institute of Sacred Music and the Interdiocesan School of Sacred Music. Its name was changed in 1881 to the Lemmens Institute in memory of its founder, Jaak Nicholas Lemmens. It is now called the Lemmens Institute of Leuven. In this study, it will be referred to as the Lemmens Institute.

The use of the term 'continental' in the title of and throughout this study indicates mainland Europe in the commonly accepted meaning of the term. The word 'foreign' also used in this study has a similar meaning.

In reference to three German organists mentioned in the thesis (Herr Thinnes, Herr Stein and Herr Moomaier), it was not possible to trace their Christian names.

The poor quality of some photocopies of music and documents in the appendices is due to the poor condition of originals.

This thesis conforms to the house style of the Department of Music, the National University of Ireland, Maynooth.

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concerning the life and career of the Belgian organist, Karl Seeldrayers. I also thank the Sisters of Mercy in Carlow who shared their memories of foreign organists with me.

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List of Abbreviations

BMus	=	Bachelor of Music
c	=	approximately (circa)
CD	=	compact disc
DMus	=	Doctor of Music
ed.	=	editor, edited by
edn	=	edition
Ibid.	=	in the same source (ibidem)
MA	=	Master of Arts
n.	=	(foot)note
n.d.	=	no date of publication
no.	=	number
n.p.	=	no place; no publisher
n. pag.	=	no pagination
p(p).	=	page(s)
vol.	=	volume

CHAPTER ONE

Irish Catholic Church Music to 1888

1.1 Music in the Irish Medieval Church

Unfortunately there is little information concerning music used in Irish monasteries and scarcely any music survives from the Celtic rite. An analysis of musical practices in the early Irish church, before the introduction of the Roman liturgy to Ireland in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, is difficult to assemble, since no clear examples of musical notation survive in any liturgical sources before the twelfth century. Anecdotes and literary references, dating from the sixth century are, according to Brian Boydell, mostly vague and unspecific.⁸ But these, along with a number of surviving manuscripts provide clues to musical practices in this period and enable an impression to be formed of the cultivation of a flourishing music tradition.⁹

Ireland was seen as *insula sanctorum et doctorum*, the land of saints and scholars. The monasteries were places of great scholarly learning and instruction. According to Ann Buckley, it is evident that chant, psalmody and hymns were taught from the outset in

⁸ Brian Boydell: 'Music before 1700', *A New History of Ireland*, vol. 4, ed. William Edward Vaughan and Theodore William Moody (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 542.

⁹ See Barra Boydell: 'Evidence for Music in the Medieval Irish Liturgy', *Anáil Dé: The Breath of God Music, Ritual and Spirituality*, ed. Helen Phelan (Dublin: Veritas, 2001), 71-80, for an analysis of surviving manuscripts from the seventh century. In this article, Boydell writes: 'Although none of these manuscripts contain musical notation, recent musicological research has begun to uncover some evidence for the music of the early Irish liturgy.' (p.71).

these Irish ecclesiastical centres in order to serve the requirements of the liturgy.¹⁰ Since Irish annals from the ninth century record the destruction of church organs, it may be assumed that the singing was accompanied, or that instrumental music was utilized in at least some locations in Ireland.¹¹

Monastic worship was dutifully and reverently practised. It is presumed then that music reached a high level of performing proficiency considering that it played an important role in monastic worship. Evidence points to professional schools of music existing in monasteries where an indigenous art music was nurtured.¹²

The liturgical music tradition practised in Irish monasteries was known on the continent through the missionary zeal of Irish monks.¹³ Therefore, it is assumed that this tradition influenced and became an important ingredient of future liturgical music traditions on the continent.¹⁴ It is ironic then that the Irish church, which played a fundamental role in the

¹⁰ Ann Buckley: 'Music as Symbolic Sound in Medieval Irish Society', *Irish Musical Studies* iii: *Music and Irish Cultural History*, ed. Gerard Gillen and Harry White (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1995), 53.

¹¹ Patrick Brannon: 'The Search for the Celtic Rite', *Irish Musical Studies* ii: *Music and the Church*, ed. Gerard Gillen and Harry White (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1992), 15.

¹² Marie McCarthy: *Passing it on: The Transmission of Music in Irish Culture* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1999), 31.

¹³ See John Hennig: 'Irish Saints in the Liturgical and Artistic Tradition of Central Europe', *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, vol. lxi (May 1943), 179-192, for a detailed account of the missionary activity of Irish monks in Europe. Of particular interest to this study is the reference to St Erhard, the great missionary of Ratisbon, Germany, who is regarded as an Irishman. His feast is closely connected with that of St Albert, patron of the diocese of Cashel, who is of Irish descent and died in Ratisbon when on a pilgrimage to Rome. Albert and Erhard are often regarded as brothers, perhaps in order to explain the detour Albert made on his way to Rome. St Albert's and St Erhard's relics rest together in the Lower Munster Church of Ratisbon. Up to the thirteenth century Ratisbon stood in close connection with Ireland. The Stowe Missal was probably given as a present to the Irish monastery at Ratisbon in 1130, the tradition of which survives in the name of the 'Schottenkirche' at Ratisbon. The Irish connection with Ratisbon emerged again in the late nineteenth century when Irish ecclesiastics looked to Ratisbon for good practice in sacred music. The liturgical tradition of another Irish Saint, St Rumold, is even more important for Belgium, as the centre of the veneration of this saint is the primatial see of Belgium, the cathedral of Mechelen. Hennig mentions many other Irish monks active in Belgium who founded monasteries there. In the twentieth century, Ireland sought help from the Belgian tradition of sacred music and employed many of its organists.

¹⁴ See Martin Czernin: 'Fragments of liturgical chant from medieval Irish monasteries in continental Europe', *Early Music*, vol. 28 (May 2000), 217-24. In recent years, forty-eight fragments of notated chant from Irish monasteries in south Germany and Austria have come to light from the Schottenstift in Vienna.

formation of a continental sacred music tradition, would, centuries later, turn to the continent for guidance and expertise in sacred music.

The first half of the twelfth century saw the Irish church affected by developments within the universal church. A reform movement associated with papal authority impacted on the Irish Celtic church and its structures. The music of the Irish medieval church became integrated into the Roman liturgy.¹⁵ Liturgical manuscripts and other sources of sacred music notation between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries reflect the importation into Ireland of standard European plainchant traditions.¹⁶

In the second half of the twelfth century, Ireland quite suddenly lost its political independence and passed under foreign rule. It became part of the Angevin Empire, which was a conglomerate of territories stretching from the Pyrenees to the farthest point of northern England, ruled over by Henry II. The Kings of England became lords of Ireland. New cathedrals were built in the major Irish sees and existing monastic churches were integrated into the new cathedral system controlled by English clergy.

A Dublin synod in 1186 at Christ Church Cathedral declared that the churches in the Dublin region should use the Roman version of the English liturgy known as the Use of Sarum.¹⁷ According to Barra Boydell, evidence from Irish Sarum sources show that for the most part, the Irish medieval church enthusiastically adopted the musical forms of the

The monks of these monastic communities were exclusively of Irish origin until 1418, when their order was taken over by German monks of the monastic community of Melk. As well as being evidence of the influence of Irish monastic music practices on the continent, these manuscripts, the earliest of which date from the twelfth century, provide further evidence of native Irish liturgical musical practices.

¹⁵ John A. Watt: 'The Irish Church in the Middle Ages', *Christianity in Ireland: Revisiting the Story*, ed. Brendan Bradshaw and Daire Keogh (Dublin: Columba Press, 2002), 44.

¹⁶ See Boydell (as n. 9), 73-78 for a detailed analysis of these manuscripts reflecting continental influences.

¹⁷ Marie McCarthy (as n. 12), 548.

English and continental liturgy.¹⁸ However its adoption must have contributed to the demise of the music and liturgy of the Celtic rite. One wonders what would have been the outcome for Irish liturgical music if the rich music tradition of Irish monasticism had been allowed to develop in its original form. This tradition continued instead on the continent laying the foundation for a developing continental sacred music tradition that was to last for centuries.

The thirteenth century saw the steady growth of an English colony in Ireland. The east of Ireland in particular became home to English settlers. An English government decree stated that 'all the laws and customs which are observed in the realm of England should be observed in Ireland'.¹⁹ There was a major ecclesiastical dimension to the Anglicisation process. Geraldus Cambrenis, chief reporter of Henry II's Council of Cashel, recorded that for the future, the Irish church was to be guided into accepting the practices and customs of the church in England.²⁰ Over time, English church music dominated, and schools where its music was taught were founded in Dublin. The names of vicars choral in St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin are recorded as early as 1219.²¹ Later in 1431, a polyphonic choir was established in St Patrick's and in 1495 a music school was founded at Christ Church Cathedral.²² English organists were employed at both cathedrals. The first recorded names of these organists were William Kerbit who received payment in

¹⁸ Boydell (as n. 9), 78.

¹⁹ Watt (as n. 15), 48.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Boydell (as n. 8), 548.

²² *Ibid.*

1509 in St Patrick's, and Robert Hayward who was employed as organist and master of the choristers in Christ Church Cathedral in 1546.²³

1.2 The Effect of the Reformation and the Penal Laws on Sacred Music

The reformation in Ireland in the sixteenth century and the penal laws of the following century effectively ended any development of an already weakened catholic church music tradition. Protestant doctrines were introduced and a new upper class was emerging mainly in Dublin whose majority professed the protestant faith. In May 1536, the Irish parliament passed an act recognising Henry VIII as 'supreme head in earth of the whole church of Ireland'.²⁴ By the 1540s, all the religious houses within the sphere of English authority were dissolved or transformed into secular churches. A reformed church of Ireland, independent from that of Rome had been created. Those who did not subscribe to the new order were termed 'popish' or 'papists' because of their allegiance to the church of Rome.²⁵

Thus began the penal laws from c1691 to the beginning of the nineteenth century which effectively silenced the Irish catholic church. The laws were severe, forbidding catholics to practise their religion and to engage in any form of education. Communal acts of worship were banned. All catholic bishops and members of the regular clergy were ordered to leave the kingdom within a year of the introduction of the penal laws. Many left for Irish colleges abroad, mostly in Spain, France and the Low countries.

²³ Boydell (as n. 8), 548.

²⁴ Raymond Gillespie: 'The Religion of the Protestant Laity in Early Modern Ireland', in *Christianity in Ireland: Revisiting the Story*, ed. Brendan Bradshaw and Dáire Keogh (Dublin: Columba Press, 2002), 109.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

Despite persecution during penal times, the catholic population, particularly in rural areas outside protestant Dublin, managed to sustain their faith. Clergy who remained continued to say mass in private houses and in the sheltered countryside. Hedge schools supported by priests operated in their thousands, educating catholic children. The eventual emergence of the Irish catholic church as a powerful institution in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries was made possible by the efforts of its faithful to maintain their allegiance during centuries of repression. Despite these efforts, however, there were no public celebrations of catholic liturgies and no music education facilities available to catholics for a period of almost 300 years. Consequently, a normal development in liturgical music was not possible in the Irish catholic church.

1.3 Catholic Emancipation

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, in a changing political climate, parliament made concessions to the catholic population and some penal laws were relaxed. In 1793, St Patrick's College in Carlow, the first catholic college for higher studies in Ireland was opened. In 1795, at war with France and wishing to secure the loyalty of the Irish clergy, parliament provided funds for the establishment of a catholic seminary at Maynooth, Co. Kildare. (However it would be nearly one hundred years later before Maynooth appointed its first professor of music).²⁶

²⁶ Fr Heinrich Bewerunge, a German, was appointed professor of sacred music in 1888.

The catholic liturgy was slowly emerging from its repression and its liturgy could be freely celebrated 'with its full adornments'.²⁷ Elaborate musical performances started to be held in catholic churches towards the end of the eighteenth century. In 1789, Tommaso Giordani²⁸ composed a *Te Deum* which was sung at the conclusion of High Mass in the archiepiscopal chapel in Francis Street, Dublin, to celebrate the recovery to health of King George III.²⁹ The *Freeman's Journal* reported on the performance of oratorios that were conducted 'with the greatest propriety' in Denmark Street chapel in 1793 and 1794.³⁰

In a tour through Ireland in the early 1800s, the Revd James Hall remarked on the novelty of the presence of music in a catholic liturgy:

Roman catholics in some parts of Ireland (which is a new thing) are beginning pay attention to church music. At Leighin-Bridge, a few miles south of Carlow, I heard them singing *Te Deum*, *Gloria Patri*, and other compositions in Latin in a very correct style. Even ragged boys and girls were thus employed around the altar; they having been taught by a music-master to sing bass, treble, recitativo.³¹

By the time Catholic Emancipation came about in 1829, the church was already reorganising itself. Numerous catholic churches were built throughout the country in the nineteenth century and many of these became venues for concerts. Most of these performances were held to raise money for charities, church building and redecoration.³²

In 1827, in the new pro-cathedral in Marlborough Street, Dublin, many prominent

²⁷ Gerard Gillen: 'Church Music in Dublin, 1500-1900', *Four Centuries of Music in Ireland*, ed. Brian Boydell (London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1979), 26.

²⁸ Tommaso Giordani (1733-1806). Italian composer and conductor. Composed over fifty operas. Settled in Dublin in 1782.

²⁹ Gillen (as n. 27), 26.

³⁰ 26 February 1793 and 22 April 1794.

³¹ Revd James Hall: *Tour Through Ireland*, vol. I (London 1813), 74.

³² For a list of some of these catholic churches where concerts were held, see Ita Hogan: *Anglo-Irish Music 1780-1830* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1966), 63.

protestants were among the audience at a performance of sacred music by Handel, Haydn, Mozart and Boyce. A reviewer remarked that 'a catholic oratorio so ably sustained and so creditably patronized is a novelty in Ireland.'³³

1.4 Music in Early Nineteenth-Century Dublin

In the course of the nineteenth century, catholics became more exposed to and influenced by the flurry of musical activity in Dublin. Since the early eighteenth century, the capital had been witnessing the period of the so called 'protestant ascendancy' when political and social sway was held by the wealthy merchants, professional classes and landed gentry. Dublin, second only in importance at that time to London, enjoyed its 'golden age', with the arts benefiting from a highly cultivated society.³⁴ Theatre and concert going became an essential feature for the fashionable public and in spite of its geographical isolation on the edge of Europe, Dublin gained a reputation as a centre for the arts. It consequently became one of the most musically active cities in Europe, attracting for residency many foreign composers, musicians and teachers.

Between the appointment of Johann Sigismund Cousser as Master of State Music in 1707 and the death of Francesco Geminani in Dublin in 1762, the impact of foreign musicians on performance practice and standards was immense.³⁵ Many great masters including Handel, Arne and Giordani visited, performed and worked in the capital. Music by foreign composers circulated freely with works by composers such as Albinoni, Handel,

³³ *The Freeman's Journal*, March 5, 1827.

³⁴ W.H. Grindle: *Irish Cathedral Music: A History of Music at the Cathedrals of the Church of Ireland* (Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies, Queen's University of Belfast, 1989), 37.

³⁵ Harry White: *The Keeper's Recital: Music and Cultural History in Ireland, 1770-1970* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1998), 27.

Purcell, Stanley and Vivaldi being performed, published and sold in Dublin.³⁶ The Anglo-Irish formed an appreciative and cultivated audience and the long list of visiting foreign musicians to Ireland was an indicator that they received generous treatment.

After 1800, the new middle class in Dublin became involved in all aspects of music-making. The cost of instruments fell and music education became available to a growing number of people. A number of musical societies sprang up in this period leading to an expansion of amateur performance. Undoubtedly the establishment of these societies was inspired by the professional foreign musician, both resident and touring, and by the numerous ensembles that visited Dublin.³⁷ Societies such as the *Irish Musical Fund Society*, which gave annual concerts of music from Handel's oratorios, produced choral forces for these occasions from the Dublin cathedral choirs.³⁸ Other societies included the *Hibernian Catch Club*, the *Philharmonic Society*, and the *Society of Ancient Concerts* conducted by the eminent singer Joseph Robinson who also conducted the *University of Dublin Choral Society*.³⁹ These ever increasing number of musical societies and choirs prompted great activity in the music trade. Music businesses entered a peak phase with printers, publishers, sellers and instrument-makers catering for a demanding musical public.⁴⁰

Although music in Dublin at this time was mostly the preserve of the Anglo-Irish protestant community, the emerging catholic middle class was becoming involved. The

³⁶ White (as n. 35), 27.

³⁷ For a list of these ensembles, see Derek Collins: 'Music in Dublin, 1800-1848', *To Talent Alone: The Royal Irish Academy of Music, 1848-1998*, ed. Richard Pine and Charles Acton (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1998), 16.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 14.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 22.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 15.

Royal Choral Institute established by John Glover in 1851 was, according to Joseph Ryan, 'the catholic response to earlier protestant initiatives'.⁴¹ It was in this climate that the emerging Irish catholic church took steps to appoint its first professional church musician. It was immediately confronted with a paucity of educated Irish catholic organists:

Put plainly, the impoverished condition of Roman Catholics in Ireland between 1500 and 1800 excluded the possibility of a high culture of sacred music. The consequences of this exclusion for the development of church music after emancipation were ruinous: a vast population without any culture base consonant with the prevailing aesthetic of church music as high art.⁴²

This absence of a developed sacred music tradition in the Irish catholic church prompted the hierarchy to turn to the foreign musician who had by now become an integral part of musical life in urban Ireland.

1.5 Haydn Corri (Dublin)

Haydn Corri (1785-1860) who came from London to Dublin in 1821, was appointed organist and choirmaster in St Mary's Pro-Cathedral, Dublin, in 1825. He came from a distinguished musical family who immigrated to Britain from Italy in the late eighteenth century. His father, Domenico Corri, a composer of operas, moved to Edinburgh on a

⁴¹ As quoted in McCarthy (as n. 12), 47.

⁴² Harry White: 'Church Music and Musicology in Ireland: An Afterword', *Irish Musical Studies ii: Music and the Church*, ed. Gerard Gillen and Harry White (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1993), 333.

contract to conduct operas and settled there. In 1790, the Corri family moved to London where Domenico Corri established himself as a music publisher.⁴³

Haydn Corri's appointment was the beginning of a move by the Irish catholic church to establish structures regarding music and liturgy in its services. Corri and members of the choir received a wage as evidenced by a letter sent to Corri in 1837 by Dr Hamilton, dean and later archdeacon and secretary to Archbishop Murray of Dublin.⁴⁴ Membership of the choir had to be ratified by the archbishop.⁴⁵

Corri introduced music into the Pro-Cathedral that was fashionable in Dublin at the time, that of Mozart, Haydn and Graun.⁴⁶ Music by some of these composers was heard on the occasion of the opening of the cathedral on November 14, 1825:

As Dr Murray went in procession on the feast of St Laurence, blessing the walls inside and out, Mr Haydn Corri, choir-master and organist, rose to the occasion, there were four male soloists and a full supporting choir. They sang Mozart's *Grand Mass* and the motet, *Ave Verum* and, at the conclusion of the ceremony, Graun's *Te Deum*.⁴⁷

In a letter to Dr John Hamilton in 1847, Haydn Corri enclosed a programme of music proposed for Mass and Benediction. The *Kyrie Eleison* and *Agnus Dei* were taken from

⁴³ Peter Ward Jones: 'Corri', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* vol. 4, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980), 804.

⁴⁴ Dr Hamilton: Letter to Haydn Corri, 1 February 1837. Hamilton Papers (4). Dublin Diocesan Archives, Archbishop's House, Dublin. The letter stated that Corri received £38.15 in 1837, which was a quarterly salary for him and members of the choir.

⁴⁵ Corri wrote to Hamilton asking permission for his son to join the choir (29 November 1847). On an earlier occasion, he asked Hamilton what he should say to a Mr. Bedford who has attended on the last three Sundays, but has not sought a choral situation as he awaits a testimonial from Corri (4 November 1836). In another letter, Corri begs to point out that the soprano is too weak for the five male voices and regrets that he is not being left to run the choir as he thinks best (31 January 1837).

⁴⁶ There were three Graun brothers working and composing in eighteenth-century Germany. It is likely that Corri performed the music of Carl Heinrich Graun (1703-1759), as he had a larger sacred compositional output than his two brothers.

⁴⁷ As quoted in Mary Purcell: *Dublin's Pro-Cathedral 1825-1975* n.p. n.d. n. pag.

masses by Haydn. The *Sanctus* was from Mozart's *Requiem*. The *Credo* was from Cherubini's mass no. 3 and *Laudate Pueri* by Italian operatic composer Niccolò Antonio Zingarelli (1752-1837) for solo and choir was to be sung at the offertory.⁴⁸ The letter also listed the names of the principal soloists with Haydn Corri directing from the organ. Corri's proposed programme of music was typical of that heard in churches in the late eighteenth and early to mid-nineteenth centuries on the continent. Composers such as those mentioned by Corri in the letter, wrote emotionally expressive music for the church, in which the text was adapted to accommodate vocal and instrumental virtuosity. Humanistic soli, duets and concertante choruses filled catholic churches across the continent during this period.

Therefore, Corri's repertoire of music for the catholic pro-cathedral in 1847 reflected a European trend which was fashionable in Dublin. All indicators were pointing to a new development in Irish catholic music that would see it linked to a continental church music tradition rather than to a native mode of expression. Haydn Corri's appointment set a precedent within the Irish church, which would see members of the Irish catholic hierarchy continuing to turn to the continent for musicians to fill the role of organist and choirmaster in their new cathedrals and churches.

1.6 The Rise of the Irish Catholic Church

As the nineteenth century progressed, the Irish catholic church launched itself into a period of extraordinary development in many aspects of religious life and proved itself an

⁴⁸ Haydn Corri: Letter to Hamilton, 29 November, 1847.

innovative and creative force. The *Catholic Directory* in 1844 pointed out that ‘within the last thirty years *nine hundred* Catholic churches have been built or restored in Ireland.’⁴⁹

The Church’s involvement in secular life with such movements as the Tenants’ Rights League, Home Rule, Fenian movements and the Gaelic Athletic Association was an indication of the extent of its extra-ecclesiastical activities.⁵⁰ The drive to catholicise the state coincided with the struggle for national independence and the Church also had to contend with the famine in the 1840s, which almost halved the catholic population in its devastating effects.

Cardinal Paul Cullen (1803-1878) was one of the most influential figures in the development of a unified clerical approach to these and other matters pertaining to and affecting the catholic church in Ireland. Following his ordination, he was sent to Rome where he was appointed rector of the Irish College in 1832. This period in Rome until his return to Ireland in 1849 influenced him greatly. He returned steeped in ultramontane ideology, which is a belief in the absolute supremacy of Catholicism over nation states. He was appointed archbishop of Armagh and primate of all Ireland in 1850 and in 1852, was translated to Dublin as archbishop.

Cullen’s appointments marked the beginning of a church policy in Ireland in which papal authority ruled in all matters of ecclesiastical procedure and discipline. Cullen in effect Romanised the Irish catholic church and spearheaded a phenomenal programme of reform and consolidation within the church. He was given the powers of an apostolic

⁴⁹ As quoted in Louise Fuller: Prologue. *Irish Catholicism since 1950: The Undoing of a Culture* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 2004), xxv.

⁵⁰ Kieran Daly: *Catholic Church Music in Ireland, 1878-1903* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1995), 18.

delegate by the Pope, with the mission to convene a national synod in order that the Irish church be better regulated and governed.

Consequently, in 1850 Cullen summoned a synod in Thurles, the first national synod convened in Ireland since the twelfth century in order to 'lay the foundations of a good and central system of canon law for the Irish church'.⁵¹ The synod concerned itself with the proper administration of the sacraments and the closer regulation of the life of the clergy: 'Thurles signified for priests a new regime, which reflected developments everywhere in the catholic world.'⁵² This 'new regime' was to affect the course of Irish sacred music. It was in Thurles that the bishops produced the first liturgical music reform legislation in Ireland. The decrees relating to music stated the following;

38. No singing is to be carried out in the churches unless it is solemn and ecclesiastical in nature. The Rectors of seminaries must ensure as a primary responsibility that their students are well instructed in chant so that they may properly learn the sacred ceremonies.

39. 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.⁵³

These decrees firmly illustrated the Irish hierarchy's commitment, under Cullen's influence, to the Roman ideal of a Latinised sacred music. The development of an indigenous mode of liturgical musical expression was not being considered. Instead, Irish catholic church music would develop 'as an expression of aesthetic ideals formulated

⁵¹ John Ahern: 'The Plenary Synod of Thurles', *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, vol.lxxv (May 1951), 401.

⁵² Fuller (as n. 49), xxviii.

⁵³ As quoted in White (as n. 35), 75-76.

elsewhere. Irish church music, in brief, was to become the local species of a wider European movement'.⁵⁴

Europe now provided the focus for a new development in Irish church music. A widespread movement for reform in church music was dominating liturgical thought on the continent by the mid-nineteenth century in which a return to Gregorian chant and sixteenth-century polyphony was advocated. The aesthetic boundaries of this European liturgical reform corresponded well with the thinking of Irish ecclesiastics in the area of music. The Thurles decrees on sacred music in 1850 instigated a development in Irish sacred music which found its momentum in and ultimately modelled itself on the church music reform movement in Europe.

1.7 Church Music Reform on the Continent – The Cecilian Movement

During the nineteenth century, a catholic church music reform movement known as the Cecilian movement was founded in Europe. The prime purpose of this movement was the upholding and enhancing of traditional values in liturgical music through the use of plainchant and *a capella* polyphony. These traditional values were seen by reformists to be largely ignored in church music in the seventeenth, eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Church music composers introduced the secular music forms of the day into their liturgical compositions. Masses by Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven in which symphonic art joined forces with vocal music were the norm in churches across Europe. Papal documents on church music in this period called for unworthy music to be

⁵⁴ White (as n. 35), 75.

excluded from churches, the most important of these being the encyclical *Annus qui* of 1749 which dealt with chant, polyphony and the use of musical instruments in the church. The nineteenth-century sacred music reform was seen as a result of the work started following the publication of the 1749 papal document.

Germany was the main centre for this reform and it was from here that the cecilian movement received its greatest practical impetus. The movement strove to educate musicians and clergy in the laws of the Church relating to the use of music at sacred functions, and also to provide liturgical music that was acceptable to the Church.

Prominent German cecilian scholars and composers included Kaspar Ett⁵⁵ and Johann Aiblinger⁵⁶ in Munich and Karl Proske⁵⁷, Franz Xavier Haberl,⁵⁸ Michael Haller⁵⁹, and Franz Xavier Witt⁶⁰ in Ratisbon. These names would later become synonymous with catholic church music in Ireland in the late nineteenth century.

⁵⁵ Kaspar Ett (1788-1847). Prolific sacred music composer and active reformer of church music. His greatest contribution lay in his editions of music by Renaissance and Baroque composers. They were the first modern editions of sacred music of these periods and initiated the revival of Renaissance polyphony in nineteenth-century Germany.

⁵⁶ Johann Aiblinger (1779-1867). German composer. In 1833, he was sent by Crown Prince Maximilian to Italy to collect old church music. Influential in the revival of old church music in Germany. Prolific composer of operas, ballets, and sacred choral music.

⁵⁷ Karl Proske (1794-1861). German musicologist and editor. In 1827, he was appointed vicar-choral at the collegiate monastery of the Alte Kapelle in Ratisbon and was made a canon there in 1830. From that time, he devoted himself entirely to church music reform. Between 1834 and 1838, he made three extended trips to Italy to collect liturgical vocal works. He began publication of the collection *Musica Divina* in 1853, completing three volumes in 1859. He also edited works by Palestrina and Scarlatti.

⁵⁸ Franz Xavier Haberl (1840-1910). Musicologist and church musician. Founded Ratisbon School of Church Music in 1874. In 1879, he founded the Palestrina Society. Haberl's role in the first complete editions of Palestrina and Lassus and his historical and critic researches make him one of the pioneers of modern musicology.

⁵⁹ Michael Haller (1840-1915). Known as 'the modern Palestrina'. Prolific composer of sacred vocal works in the cecilian mould.

⁶⁰ Franz Xavier Witt (1834-1888). Church musician and composer and leader of the cecilian movement in Germany. Taught chant at the seminary in Ratisbon. Published a number of compositions in strict polyphonic style, which have been cast in the mould of Renaissance polyphony. His main historical contribution lies in his championship of the movement for the reform of German catholic church music. He also founded the Schola Gregoriana at Rome in 1880.

The new cecilian society and its periodical *Musica Sacra* were inaugurated at a convention in Bamberg, Germany in 1868.⁶¹ In a speech to the assembly at Bamberg, the president of the society, Franz Xavier Witt laid out its objectives:

The purpose of our organisation is to further Catholic Church Music, particularly 1) Plainsong; 2) Congregational singing; 3) Organ playing of fitting music; 4) Polyphonic vocal music ancient and modern; 5) Instrumental music.⁶²

The rediscovery of the sixteenth-century composer Palestrina by these cecilian activists revived ecclesiastical interest in a style of catholic church music that seemed suitable for liturgical use and within reach of all. The importance placed on the sacred text and the avoidance of polyphonic elaboration in Palestrina's works appealed to the reformists:

Furthermore, Palestrina's delicate use of dissonance and his avoidance of chromaticism was perfectly in tune with the movement's aversion to accidentals and their equation of any hint of chromatic line with external romantic expression and sensuality. Palestrina's word painting, especially evident in his motets, the strong feeling for harmony and his sensitivity to tonality, the use of plainsong in his works, his vocal orchestrations and, in particular, the perfect balance in all things, were the ideals to which the reformers aspired.⁶³

These musical ingredients formed the blueprint for the cecilian repertoire and the model for many compositions by cecilian composers. Along with Gregorian chant, sacred pieces in this style became the 'true ecclesiastical music', and they eventually constituted the greater part of the Irish catholic church music repertoire in the late nineteenth century.

The Bavarian city of Ratisbon became the centre for the Cecilian movement and its cecilian society was the model for the establishment of cecilian societies in America,

⁶¹ Daly (as n. 50), 13.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 13-14.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 3.

Austria, France, Italy, Belgium and Ireland. F.X. Haberl, choirmaster at Ratisbon cathedral, founded the Ratisbon School of Sacred Music in 1874 to promote cecilian values. His most successful publication was *Magister Choralis* (1877), a theoretical and practical manual on Gregorian chant, which passed through twelve editions during which it was translated into Italian, French, Spanish, Polish and Hungarian.⁶⁴ An Irish priest, Nicholas Donnelly, who later founded the Irish Society of St Cecilia, translated the work into English in 1877. Donnelly undertook his translation with Haberl's permission and under his direction, and the work appeared under the imprint of the official publisher to the German Cecilian Society.⁶⁵ It achieved the status of an official translation of Haberl's text, strengthening the links between the reform movement in Germany and church music developments in Ireland.

Within a decade, the cecilian society in Germany spread across Europe and beyond. The society organised meetings and festivals in Ratisbon and other major ecclesiastical centres in Germany with delegates attending from Austria, Belgium, America and Ireland. Through its periodicals, the society frequently restated that education of and obedience to the existing regulations of the Church were fundamental to its ethos.

These fundamentals proved particularly attractive to reforming activists in Ireland where the ground was ripe for the establishment of a similar organisation: 'Paul Cullen...strongly supported the campaign to purge profane music from the liturgy and

⁶⁴ Daly (as n. 50), 10.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 77.

agreed with the objective of introducing the restored Gregorian chant to the Irish church.’⁶⁶

1.8 The Cecilian Movement in Ireland

The German church music reform movement directly influenced the events that led up to the establishment of an Irish cecilian society in 1878 and was ultimately the model for its organisation. The 1869 Ratisbon *Graduale*, edited by Haberl, which became the official Roman version of the Church’s chant books during the years 1870-1900, was mentioned at the Maynooth synod of 1875. As well as reiterating the decrees on church music from the Thurles synod of 1850, Irish ecclesiastics at the 1875 synod directed that the Ratisbon edition of the chant was to be used in all seminaries and churches.⁶⁷

An article in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* in 1875 commented on the importance of plainchant in the liturgy and quoted from the provincial synod held in Cologne in 1860 on this matter. It spoke of the ‘much needed reform that is being carried out so successfully in Bavaria’, and that ‘we in Ireland can scarcely be indifferent to this movement’.⁶⁸ The article provided evidence that an Irish contingent travelled to Ratisbon, the centre of cecilianism: ‘If plainchant is to be correctly sung, sung as we ourselves had the good fortune to have it heard recently in the Cathedral of Ratisbon, it would not be slow to resume its legitimate position in our churches.’⁶⁹ The author then advocated the

⁶⁶ Patrick O’Donoghue: ‘Music and Religion in Ireland’, *Irish Musical Studies* iii: *Music and Irish Cultural History*, ed. Gerard Gillen and Harry White (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1995), 127.

⁶⁷ White (as n. 35), 77.

⁶⁸ ‘Notes on Plain Chant and the Ratisbon “Graduale”’, *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, vol. xi (August 1875), 435.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

Ratisbon *Graduale* as the model for the instruction of chant in Ireland and indicated that copies were now available ‘through Messers. McGlasham and Gill, 50 Upper Sackville-street, Dublin.’⁷⁰

Rev. Nicholas Donnelly’s translation of Haberl’s *Magister Choralis* (1877), was further evidence of an Irish desire for church music reform directly influenced by Germany.

Donnelly served as a curate in various parishes in Dublin including the pro-cathedral, Marlborough Street, where he remained from 1864 to 1879. He became auxiliary bishop to the archbishop of Dublin and bishop of the titular see of Canea from 1883 until his death in 1921. Donnelly was an avid traveller and took every opportunity to visit the continent where he perfected his knowledge of German and Italian. While on a trip to Germany in 1873, he heard for the first time, the choir of Ratisbon cathedral and was enthralled: ‘I had the opportunity, may I say for the first time, of hearing a well-trained choir of men and boys sing Plain Chant and I felt it was a revelation. The scales fell from my eyes, my ears were unstopped; for I heard it as I never heard it before.’⁷¹

Each year, Donnelly made a point of visiting Ratisbon to hear performances of plainchant. After a visit in 1878, he wrote to the English journal, *The Tablet*, enclosing a programme of the music sung there during the Easter ceremonies.⁷² On his return to Ireland in the same year, he attempted to take immediate steps to formally introduce church music reform in Ireland based on the continental model.

⁷⁰ ‘Notes on Plain Chant and the Ratisbon “Graduale”, *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, vol. xi (August 1875), 435.

⁷¹ *Lyra Ecclesiastica* (December 1878), 24.

⁷² Daly (as n. 50), 20.

In 1878, Donnelly founded the Irish Society of St Cecilia based on the German cecilian movement. He was editor of the journal of the society, *Lyra Ecclesiastica*, which was first published as the 'monthly bulletin of the Irish Society of St Cecilia' in October 1878.⁷³ Through the society and its journal, Nicholas Donnelly brought from the continent, and particularly from Ratisbon, 'a code of musical aesthetics which could but not flourish in the climate of ultramontanism so strongly nurtured by Paul Cullen and his successors to the see of Dublin'.⁷⁴

At the society's first meeting in Dublin 1878, attended by a large number of clergy from Dublin and other centres, the objectives of the society were laid out as follows:

The object of the society shall be to promote the cultivation and use of Liturgical and Ecclesiastical Music throughout the churches of Ireland, in strict accordance with the decrees of the church. Hence its chief care will be to promote the study and practice of,

- (a) Gregorian or Plainchant
- (b) Harmonised vocal music, whether the compositions be ancient or modern, if suitable for ecclesiastical art and liturgical.
- (c) Hymns and other Sacred Chants, in English, of a religious and approved character, to be used by Confraternities at certain authorised devotions.
- (d) Organ playing in the correct Church style.
- (e) Instrumental music, as far as tolerated by the Church, and when used only to support the singing.⁷⁵

Thus the position of the Irish cecilian movement, in its promotion of Gregorian chant and sixteenth-century polyphony, was clear and unequivocal from the first page onwards of

⁷³ For a detailed examination of *Lyra Ecclesiastica* and the activities of the Irish Society of St Cecilia, see Daly (as n. 50).

⁷⁴ White (as n. 35), 20.

⁷⁵ *Lyra Ecclesiastica* (December 1878), 21.

its journal, *Lyra Ecclesiastica*. It also censured what it took to be unsuitable or profane music in church:

One of the objects of the Cecilian Society is to banish from our churches what is certainly known to be *profane* music. Occasionally the words (of the liturgy) are tortured in the most painful fashion, and rendered perfectly unintelligible, in order to fit them to that charming air from 'Der Freischutz' or that charming duet from 'Maritana'... The editors will consider it part of their duty to publish in each number a sort of *Index Expurgatorius* of these forbidden adaptations, and so to gradually eliminate them from our choirs and organ galleries'.⁷⁶

In its 'white list', which was a list of sacred music that was 'allowed' in the cecilian repertoire, the society modelled its selection of pieces on the list in the German cecilian society: 'In the arrangement of this list, we kept before us the rule of the German Cecilian Society for the admission of works into their Catalogue.'⁷⁷

The repertoire advocated by cecilians for use in Irish catholic cathedrals and churches consisted primarily of Gregorian chant and sixteenth-century polyphonic motets such as those by Palestrina. Other motets by modern composers were admitted provided they were composed in the style of the sixteenth-century masters. Thus a number of motets by German cecilian composers were promoted by Irish cecilians. Such composers included prominent members of the German cecilian society such as Witt, Haller, Ett, and Aiblinger. Compositions by other German cecilians such as Johann Stehle⁷⁸, Adolph

⁷⁶ *Lyra Ecclesiastica* (March 1879), 38.

⁷⁷ *Lyra Ecclesiastica* (October 1878), 7.

⁷⁸ Johann Stehle (1839-1915). Swiss-German composer, organist and conductor. Sympathising with the aims of the cecilian movement, he entered a composition competition organised by Franz Xavier Witt in 1867, winning first prize with his *Missa Salve Regina*. He helped found the first cecilian organisation in Switzerland in 1870. In 1874, he was appointed cathedral organist and choirmaster at St Gallen.

Kaim, Mitterer and John Baptist Singenberger⁷⁹ were also propagated by the Irish cecilian movement.

The archdiocese of Dublin was almost unanimous in its acceptance of cecilian music:

We are happy to announce that already a fair beginning has been made with cecilian music in some of the principal churches in Dublin. In St Andrew's, Westland Row, it is no longer a novelty, as for some time past under Mr Scott, as choir director, assisted by Herr Volkmer as organist, some of the most beautiful *morceaux* of the Cecilian catalogue and many of its masses have been rendered with true devotional effect.⁸⁰

Lyra Ecclesiastica furnished regularly the programmes of music from the main churches in Dublin. The organists of these churches were prominent members of the cecilian society and included Brendan Rogers (pro-cathedral), Joseph Seymour (St Andrew's, Westland Row), Peter Goodman (St Peter's, Phibsborough), W. J. Moneypenny (St Saviour's, Dominick Street), J.M. Flynn (St Francis Xavier, Gardiner Street) and Joseph Smith (Church of The Three Patrons, Rathgar). These organists ensured that the cecilian repertoire was adhered to at ceremonies. Palestrina's *Missa Papae Marcelli* was heard for the first time in its entirety in Ireland at St Peter's Church, Phibsborough in 1882:

To the Church of the Vincentian Fathers and to the distinguished organist of the Church, Mr Peter Goodman, must we adjudicate with unbounded satisfaction, the enviable honour of being the first in Ireland to produce successfully and most creditably the great classic production of Church Music, Palestrina's *Missa Papae Marcelli*. On the Feast of St Vincent de Paul, Wednesday, July 19th, the Vincentian Fathers celebrated High Mass and the Choir, made up of forty well-trained voices, went through the following Programme with a steadiness, spirit and

⁷⁹ John Baptist Singenberger (1848-1924). German immigrant in America. Founded an American branch of the cecilian society in Milwaukee in 1873. He promoted cecilian ideas tirelessly through the journal *Caecilia*, which he founded in 1871. His compositions in the 'reform' style continued to be sung in North America during the first half of the twentieth century.

⁸⁰ *Lyra Ecclesiastica* (January 1879), 18.

intelligence that has elicited the warmest commendations from all sides...a performance that marks an epoch in the history of Church Music in Dublin.⁸¹

Of the four-part mixed voice Masses, Adolph Kaim's *Missa Jesu Redemptor* was the most often heard in cecilian Dublin during 1879, and by 1880, Mitterer's *Mass of St Thomas Aquinas* had become equally popular.⁸²

Many musicologists, however, criticised the inferior musical quality of these modern cecilian compositions. Arguments were made that this newly-composed music in a proto-renaissance style must be artistically defunct.⁸³ Robert Dwyer, professor of Irish music at the Catholic University of Ireland, was an example of one who was critical of these compositions:

The recent movement among a few leading Church-musicians and others more or less responsible for our liturgical performances, in favour of a 'purer style', and in opposition to what they have termed the 'theatrical style' of Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven and their contemporaries, has had, as most good things have, its disadvantages. One of these has been the production and the performance of a great deal of music which is feeble, half-matured and oppressively dull...It seems intended to give satisfaction to the contemporary Cecilian mind; but how such music could minister agreeably to the taste and devotional feeling of anyone at all given to the contemplation of things either divine or simply beautiful is indeed to me a mystery.⁸⁴

Kieran Daly, however, made the point that these cecilian composers never claimed to write works comparable in artistic value to the great masters, but rather works that were fit for liturgical use:

⁸¹ *Lyra Ecclesiastica* (August 1882), 64.

⁸² Daly (as n. 50), 48.

⁸³ See Harry White and Nicholas Lawrence: 'Towards a History of the Cecilian Movement in Ireland', *Irish Musical Studies* iii: *Music and the Church*, ed. Gerard Gillen and Harry White (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1993), p. 90.

⁸⁴ Robert Dwyer: 'Imitations of Palestrina', *New Ireland Review* (May 1900), 155.

From its foundation in Germany and long after its eventual collapse as an authority on Catholic Church music reform, the society of St Cecilia had been accused of replacing musical art with amateurism. Musicologists still point to the religious works which were dismissed by the society for use in church, works by the very greatest of composers and hold up for comparison the meagre offerings of the priest/composers of the society. However, there was never a suggestion by the society that the works of Witt, Haller or Nekes were in any way comparable with the works of Mozart, Mendelssohn or Bruckner. They did, though, fit a purpose. Since the stated aim of the movement's own members' contribution was fitness of liturgical effect, an analysis of their success in this field might be a more worthwhile assessment of their true value.⁸⁵

Brendan Rogers was one for whom the modern German school of cecilian composition was of particular interest and use. Writing in the January 1880 issue of *Lyra Ecclesiastica* as organist of St Michael's and 'Music Professor to St Vincent's College, Castleknock', he explained just how appropriate the music was for his purposes:

On All Saints Day, the choir of the college gave under my direction, Kaim's *Mass of St Cecilia* with Witt's *Justorum Animae*, the Offertry proper to the day. On the 8th of December, we had Kaim's *Jesu Redemptor* Mass... I have now in rehearsal the remainder of Witt's Mass and find it to be a work of great merit, fine sterling music, with here and there phrases of good solid counterpoint. I have been able to improve the Benediction music here a good deal latterly as well, with the result that many things have been banished from the choir which were musically stupid and ecclesiastically absurd.⁸⁶

Apart from clergy and church musicians in Dublin, the Irish Society of St Cecilia was also ratified by bishops and archbishops in almost every other diocese in Ireland and received regular subscriptions from them. The society's organisation wrote letters to every bishop in the country and printed the replies in *Lyra*. A letter from the Bishop of Achonry in 1878 was one such example: '...with the practical cooperation of the bishops and priests of Ireland, you may be assured of signal success. The Ratisbon Manual is

⁸⁵ Daly (as n. 50), 83.

⁸⁶ As quoted in Daly (as n. 50), 48-49.

already in the hands of our Junior Cathedral choir.’⁸⁷ Thus a rural diocese in the west of Ireland was for the most part embracing cecilian ideals.

The Irish cecilian movement, through the pages of its periodical frequently urged parishes throughout the country to form local societies of St Cecilia. As will be explored in the next chapter, areas outside Dublin were indeed feeling the effects of cecilianism and continental influences. This was largely due, however, to the presence of continental musicians working in these areas, rather than to the influence of the Irish cecilian movement. Through the pages of *Lyra Ecclesiastica*, these continental organists of cities and larger towns such as Limerick, Belfast, Longford, Thurles and Cork were keen propagandists of cecilian reform and were among the quickest to respond to *Lyra's* request for reports on liturgical music outside Dublin. They were the musicians that the society looked to, to develop a performance standard in ‘true’ liturgical music.⁸⁸

By the 1880s, the church hierarchy in Ireland, led by the ultramontanist Cullen, had enthusiastically embraced cecilian values in its implementation of a Roman liturgy into Irish catholicism. In reaffirming the decrees of the 1850 Synod of Thurles and the 1875 Synod of Maynooth, the Irish hierarchy ensured the cecilian movement had its full support and backing, thus lending prestige to the realisation of cecilian values.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ *Lyra Ecclesiastica* (January 1879), 44.

⁸⁸ Daly (as n. 50), 52.

⁸⁹ Donnelly’s translation of Haberl’s *Magister Choralis* carried a warm letter of approbation from Cardinal Cullen, dated 5 February 1877. The prefatory material in the translation also included a number of important references to documents in which Haberl’s edition of the chant was ratified by the Irish clergy.

The Irish church now needed an authoritative professional church musician who would oversee the ‘implementation of this ‘ideal’ national programme.’⁹⁰ It was no wonder that in the current climate of continental influence on Irish catholic music, the role fell to a German priest, musician and scholar. The cecilian movement in Ireland with its German origins had set the scene for the arrival of a German church music scholar who would take charge of sacred music at the highest level in the Irish catholic church. In 1888 Heinrich Beyerunge, from Westphalia, Germany was appointed to the newly created chair of ‘Church Chant and Organ’ at Ireland’s national seminary, St Patrick’s College, Maynooth.

1.9 Sacred Music in Maynooth before Heinrich Beyerunge

It is interesting that although Maynooth, the national catholic seminary in Ireland had opened its doors as an institution in 1795, it did not formally place sacred music on its course of studies until 1888. This may have been partly due to the fact that the college had not a proper church building until the 1880s. The students worshipped in a temporary building that was too small to hold the entire student body. Liturgical development was therefore limited by this overcrowding in what was known as the old college chapel.

Nevertheless, there was evidence of efforts made to implement proper sacred music practice in the college from the 1840s. A visit to Maynooth in 1849 by a Rev. W. Kelly from England recalled in the preface of his *Complete Gregorian Plainchant Manual*, published in the same year, that five or six of the students at Maynooth during his stay

⁹⁰ See Introduction, *Irish Musical Studies vi: A Historical Anthology of Irish Church Music*, ed. Gerard Gillen and Andrew Johnstone (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2001), 29.

sang plainchant well.⁹¹ This was probably due to the efforts of Dr Lawrence Renehan (1798-1857) president of the college from 1845. He published a *Grammar of Gregorian and Modern Music* in 1858 (newly edited and enlarged by Fr Richard Hackett in 1865), 'compiled chiefly for the use of the students of St Patrick's College, Maynooth.'⁹²

Renehan expressed a preference for a French edition of a plainchant Gradual by the H.M. Le Sage, a refugee priest from France living in England, and used this version at Maynooth:

It is not to be wondered at that our version of Plainchant should have derived from a French source, considering the ultimate relations that existed between the churches in Ireland and France, and with Maynooth in particular. But the decree of the late Holy Father Pius IX, adopting the Ratisbon version changes the whole nature of the case.⁹³

The impression is given that Renehan personally may not have been in favour of the adoption of the Ratisbon *Gradual*. The Maynooth Synod of 1875, following on the decrees of the Thurles Synod in 1850, declared that the Ratisbon edition was to be used in all churches and seminaries. There is evidence that this edition was in use in Maynooth before 1875.⁹⁴

As early as 1853, the trustees of the college ordered the deans to take classes in ceremonies and chants, to be attended by the students. This direction probably was as a result of the Synod of Thurles in 1850 in which the bishops under Cullen declared that the rectors of seminaries must ensure that their students were well instructed in chant.

⁹¹ *Lyra Ecclesiastica* (July 1891), 52.

⁹² As quoted in White and Lawrence (as n. 83), 81.

⁹³ As quoted in *Lyra Ecclesiastica* (January 1879), 10.

⁹⁴ A copy of the *Ordinarium Missae* from Ratisbon was found in the Russell library, Maynooth College with the inscription 'Maynooth College Choir 1872'.

Chant and organ began to be taught by non-clerical professional and senior students on an ad-hoc basis. A part-time organist, Mr. John Keane, was engaged in October 1856 to play at High mass, Vespers and Benediction on Sundays and Holydays, and to teach students selected by the president for an hour a week.⁹⁵ A Mr. E. Houghton was organist in the 1880s and Herr Volkmer, organist in St. Andrew's Church in Dublin was also employed in Maynooth.⁹⁶

Through the appointment of William Walsh as vice-president in 1878 and president in 1880, Maynooth began to feel the effects of the cecilian movement. Walsh, who became archbishop of Dublin in 1885, was associated primarily with the struggle for educational, social and political equality. For more than thirty years, he was the leading voice of the Irish hierarchy and his wide interests found expression in his many books on topics as varied as theology, canon law, social justice, human rights, education and politics.

Walsh also had a special interest in the study and promotion of liturgical music. The journal of the Irish Society of St Cecilia noted that 'thanks to the zeal of estimable Vice-President, Dr. Walsh, the students, numbering upwards of 400, are being well grounded in the sacred art of music, under the skilful tutorship of Herr Volkmer.'⁹⁷ *Lyra*

Ecclesiastica also spoke of great steps that were being taken in Maynooth College in regard to Gregorian chant, and credited Walsh in effecting this marked improvement.⁹⁸

Walsh also sent a copy of his *Directions for Chanting the Psalms* to the cecilian society and stated that he was indebted to Rev. R. Hackett, professor of theology in the college,

⁹⁵ Patrick J. Corish: *Maynooth College 1795-1995* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1995), 168.

⁹⁶ Daly (as n. 50), 116.

⁹⁷ *Lyra Ecclesiastica* (March 1880), 62.

⁹⁸ *Lyra Ecclesiastica* (June 1880), 42.

for his enlarged edition of Dr Renehan's *Grammar of Gregorian and Modern Music*.⁹⁹

While president, and by now, a committed member of the society of St Cecilia, Walsh published his *Grammar of Gregorian Chant* in 1885, 'specifically to guide the leaderless seminarians and their student tutors.'¹⁰⁰

As impressive churches were built all over the country in the nineteenth century, Maynooth's makeshift chapel became inadequate and was not an incentive for the development of an advanced sacred music tradition in the college. Work began on a new college chapel in the 1870s. As the chapel moved towards completion in the late 1880s, the president, Robert Browne began to think of an organ and an organist, and decided that for the new church, only a resident priest-musician would do. The effect of Bishop Donnelly's society of St Cecilia and the publication of Archbishop Walsh's chant manual had encouraged the Maynooth authorities to consider establishing a chair of sacred music:

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.¹⁰¹

Bishop Donnelly was approached for suggestions and he wrote to Haberl in Ratisbon, who initially volunteered to come himself to Maynooth. Haberl then recommended Fr Heinrich Bewerunge (1862-1923) whom he described as a distinguished pupil of his school of sacred music. In June 1888, the trustees of Maynooth College appointed

⁹⁹ *Lyra Ecclesiastica* (June 1880), 42.

¹⁰⁰ Daly (as n. 50), 77.

¹⁰¹ Report of the President of St Patrick's College, Maynooth 1887-1888.

Bewerunge as the first professor of 'Gregorian Chant and Organ', and he arrived in Ireland later the same year to take up his post.

1.10 Heinrich Beverunge

Bewerunge has long been recognised... as an outstanding figure in the history of the Cecilian movement in Ireland. As a pedagogue, as a forceful illuminating exponent of the Cecilian ideal and as an internationally acknowledged authority on the chant, Beverunge ranks as a vital contributor to the history of musical thought not only in Ireland, but throughout Europe, especially in terms of the re-animation and controversial development of Roman Catholic church music in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹⁰²

Fr Heinrich Beverunge's appointment to the newly created chair of 'Church Chant and Organ' at St. Patrick's College, Maynooth in 1888, was a culmination of moves within the Irish catholic church towards a Roman model of sacred music that was advocated on the continent and was as a direct result of links between the cecilian movements in Ireland and Germany. His appointment to the influential Maynooth position consolidated the close relationship that now definitely existed between the Irish ecclesiastical establishment and the German-based catholic church music movement.

Born in 1862 at Letmathe, in Westphalia, Heinrich Beverunge studied theology at the University of Würzburg. He entered the seminary at Eichstadt and was ordained there in 1885. While in the seminary he also studied at the Würzburg School of Church Music, and after ordination, took up further sacred music studies with Haberl and other cecilians in Ratisbon. He was appointed secretary to the vicar general in the diocese of Cologne and chanter in Cologne cathedral.

¹⁰² White and Lawrence (as n. 83), 78.

The appointment of Beyerunge to a prominent national role in sacred music firmly established the 'foreign musician' as an authoritative figure in Irish catholic church music, prompting further appointments of German and later Belgian musicians to Irish cathedrals and churches in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Beyerunge retained his position at Maynooth for a period of some thirty-five years during which he had an immense influence. His duties centred around the reformation and the training of the college choir and the methodical instruction and training of all seminarians in the elements of chant. He also established a smaller *schola cantorum* for the performance of the more intricate parts of the chant repertory and of sixteenth-century polyphonic mass settings and motets. He arranged the works of Palestrina and his contemporaries for male-voice choir,¹⁰³ and he introduced the works of cecilian composers to Maynooth.

Beyerunge's extensive knowledge of organ-building led him to commission the German builder Stahlhuth to provide the newly constructed college chapel with a magnificent instrument. Maynooth now became the new centre of Irish church music. This was highlighted in a report in *Lyra Ecclesiastica* in 1891 on the ceremony consecrating the college's new chapel:

Unquestionably the grandest and most impressive Ecclesiastical function witnessed in this country for centuries back, or perhaps ever witnessed in Ireland, took place on the Feast of St. John the Baptist, June 24th in the splendid new College Church Maynooth.¹⁰⁴ Thirty bishops and up to 300 priests from every diocese in Ireland were in attendance. The spectacle of the event was such that the reporter concluded that, '...behold...the Irish church risen from her ashes, and in all the exuberance of

¹⁰³ For a full catalogue of these arrangements, see White and Lawrence (as n. 83), 101-104. This paper also lists and examines in detail Beyerunge's writings in various scholarly publications in Ireland, America and Germany.

¹⁰⁴ *Lyra Ecclesiastica* (July 1891), 50.

her but recently acquired freedom giving solemn and glorious thanksgiving to God...¹⁰⁵

Bewerunge conducted the select choir of about forty voices, and the recently completed electro-pneumatic organ was played by its builder, Mr Stahlhuth of Aix-la-Chapelle. The music for the occasion was Piel's *Missa in hon. S. Raphaelis*, for male voices and organ. Other pieces sung were the motets *Domine Deus* by Stehle, and *O Sacrum Convivium* by Haller. Tribute was paid to Bewerunge for his training of the men's' voices, 'all so evenly balanced, breathings and pausings so judiciously made...'¹⁰⁶ The ceremony was a perfect display of continental influences and the report in *Lyra* could easily have described a ceremony in Ratisbon.

Bewerunge wrote extensively on church music, music education and the history of chant and its editions. His writings were frequently published in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, the *New Ireland Review*, the *Irish Theological Quarterly*, and the *Catholic Encyclopaedia*. His essays on organ-building technique and on tonality in Gregorian chant featured in the German publications *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* and *Musica Sacra*.

Bewerunge's non-professional activities were directly related to the promulgation of the cecilian movement in Ireland. He was editor of *Lyra Ecclesiastica* from 1891 to 1893, and he participated in several cecilian festivals in Maynooth, Dublin and in continental Europe. As a member of the Feis Ceoil committee and the Incorporated Society of

¹⁰⁵ *Lyra Ecclesiastica* (June 1891), 50.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

Musicians, Beyerunge was a frequent and lively correspondent in newspapers and journals on several aspects of music in Ireland.

Thus his influence on the course and development of church music in Ireland was immense. Through his writings, he was viewed as a leading figure and an authority on all aspects of church music in Ireland and the continent and his expertise and advice was frequently sought. For over thirty years, priests graduating from Maynooth would have encountered this German scholar and inevitably would have carried with them throughout the country the effects of continental sacred music practice. It would be safe to assume therefore that Beyerunge, after his arrival in Ireland, was influential either directly or indirectly in the introduction to this country of a wave of German organists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

CHAPTER TWO

Continental Organists in Ireland 1860-1888

2.1 Early Continental Cecilian Organists

For over twenty years before the arrival of Heinrich Beyerunge in Ireland, there were a number of continental organists resident and working in Irish catholic churches and cathedrals. Because Beyerunge was in charge of sacred music at its highest level in the Irish catholic church, his appointment has often been regarded by musicologists as the beginning of a movement of foreign musicians to Ireland.¹⁰⁷ It is certainly true that Beyerunge paved the way for and was influential in the appointment of a number of German organists in this country in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He brought the phenomenon of the 'foreign organist' to centre stage in the Irish church, prompting members of the hierarchy to continue looking to the continent for guidance in liturgical music. But the existence of a number of continental organists working in Irish churches and cathedrals before Beyerunge's arrival proves that this process was already taking place. It further testifies that Irish ecclesiastics were aware of continental sacred music developments from the 1860s, and were actively implementing its principles by employing foreign musicians before Beyerunge's appointment to Maynooth in 1888.

In the 1860s and 1870s, relations between the Irish and German churches seemed healthy

¹⁰⁷ White and Lawrence (as n. 83), 81, where it is stated that Beyerunge introduced to Ireland German organists who filled positions in cathedrals and larger churches throughout the country.

and active. German ecclesiastical affairs were known and observed in Ireland. In an 1873 article in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, the author examined in detail church affairs in Germany and outlined the various measures hostile to the German church.¹⁰⁸ The *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* also printed a copy of a letter in Latin that the Irish bishops, assembled in Dublin on 22 January, 1873, had written to the German bishops.¹⁰⁹ Irish clergy often travelled to and spent time on the continent.¹¹⁰ Nicholas Donnelly, William Walsh and a host of Irish cecilians made frequent trips to church music festivals in Germany during the 1870s. The climate of the time in the area of sacred music reform and indeed general church affairs points to an affiliation between Ireland and Germany. It was not long since emancipation in Ireland, before which Irish ecclesiastics had sought refuge in and studied on the continent during the period of the penal laws. This association with the continent would have naturally remained throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as the Irish catholic church went through its period of development and restructuring. It must be assumed therefore that in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, the presence of continental organists in Ireland some twenty years before Bewerunge's appointment would have been a natural consequence of the relationship between the church in Ireland and the continent.

The foreign organists in Ireland during this period were cecilians and were keen

¹⁰⁸ 'Germany', *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, vol. x (March 1874), 270-275.

¹⁰⁹ 'Letter of the Irish Bishops assembled in Dublin on the 22nd January, 1873, to the Bishops of the German Empire', *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, vol. ix, (March 1873), 283.

¹¹⁰ A case in point is a Monsignor Hogan from Co.Clare who studied at Freiburg. After his ordination, he resided in France and Germany for some years and on his return to Ireland was appointed to the Chair of Modern Languages at Maynooth College which he held until his appointment as president in 1912. He wrote a series of articles for the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* on the Irish monasteries at Ratisbon and throughout Germany, and on the Irish bishops of Strasburg. Another cleric, Fr Gaynor in St Vincent's church, Sunday's Well, Cork made annual trips to the continent from the 1870s. For further information on Fr Gaynor, see n. 115.

propagandists of cecilian reform in Ireland. They were particularly active in cities and towns outside Dublin. By individually examining the work of some of these organists, it is clear that they had a pioneering role in the introduction of continental church music repertoire to Ireland and had a significant influence on sacred music practice in their localities. Their appointments were also further evidence of established links between ecclesiastics in Ireland and the sacred music school in Ratisbon from the mid-1870s. Documentary evidence regarding the appointments of these continental organists has either been lost or destroyed. Record keeping is a relatively recent phenomenon in the Irish catholic church, and letters and documents relating to church matters and employees especially before Vatican II were often considered unimportant and therefore not worth keeping. However, as many of these early organists were active cecilians, their work was often recorded in the journal *Lyra Ecclesiastica*. This publication is, therefore, the main source of information on their activities for this study, but it documents their work only after 1879, the year of the journal's first publication.

2.2 Alois Volkmer (Dublin)

The German musician Alois Volkmer is first mentioned in *Lyra Ecclesiastica* as being the organist in St Andrew's Church, Westland Row, Dublin in 1879. He was a cecilian and a member of the first central committee of the Irish Society of St Cecilia.¹¹¹

Volkmer was also an organ teacher at the Royal Irish Academy of Music in 1880. *Lyra Ecclesiastica* printed a notice about organ lessons under Volkmer in the academy which

¹¹¹ Daly (as n. 50), 47.

were organised by Sir Robert Stewart:

Catholic students have the advantage in studying under Herr Volkmer, as besides his acknowledged ability as an organist and contrapuntalist, his acquaintance with the Catholic Liturgy, acquired during his residence in the church music school at Ratisbon, will enable him to prepare them well.¹¹²

The impression given by this notice is that Volkmer may have been the only catholic organ teacher in the Academy, specifically catering for the needs of catholic students. The Royal Irish Academy of Music, which was founded in 1848, had a close association with Trinity College which in turn had strong links with the two protestant cathedrals in Dublin. Although it was conducted on non-denominational lines, the academy had a distinctly protestant ethos, catering predominantly for the Anglo-Irish community in nineteenth-century Dublin. Its aim was to 'establish a musical conservatoire to serve the musical essence of a nation distinct from England', yet it was tied to England 'economically and politically.'¹¹³ The Royal Academy of Music in London was its pioneering model with both institutions having the Duke of Leinster as their vice-president.

By the late nineteenth century however, the emerging catholic middle-class in Dublin was also actively involved in music-making. Volkmer's post in the academy as a catholic organ teacher for catholic students was an indication of this development. It is unlikely that the Irish catholic church was directly involved in the organ lessons at the academy, given the protestant links with the institution. However, the lessons were advertised by the catholic journal, *Lyra Ecclesiastica*. Thus they could be viewed as the first step in

¹¹² *Lyra Ecclesiastica* (January 1880), 8.

¹¹³ See Introduction, *To Talent Alone: The Royal Irish Academy of Music, 1848-1998*, ed. Richard Pine and Charles Acton (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1998), 8.

formally educating Irish catholic lay students in the art of church music.

The notice in *Lyra* also drew attention to Volkmer's training in the church music school at Ratisbon, suggesting a possible ecclesiastical link in his coming to Ireland, and further emphasising the association between Ratisbon and Ireland in the 1870s.

2.3 Herr Thinnes and Hans Conrad Swertz (Cork)

St Vincent's Church in Sunday's Well, Cork had two German organists in the 1870s, Herr Thinnes¹¹⁴ and Hans Conrad Swertz. St Vincent's also had an eminent musical cleric, Fr Edward Gaynor, who was a tireless promoter of cecilian ideals and of music education in Cork.¹¹⁵ Gaynor travelled to the continent frequently and therefore it is possible that he was instrumental in the appointments of these German organists.

Through his annual visits to the continent it is probable that he came into contact with church music reform developments, and because of his interest in sacred music, may well have visited Ratisbon. Gaynor was certainly influenced by cecilian ideals when he reorganised the choir at Sunday's Well in the 1870s and re-named it 'St Vincent's

¹¹⁴ Thinnes' Christian name was not mentioned in *Lyra*.

¹¹⁵ William Fleming: 'Fr Gaynor C.M.', *Evang Lizare* (Vincentian students' magazine), August 1957, 38-39. Fr Gaynor was born at Moate, Co. Westmeath in 1850. Although he was a professor of chemistry and physics at St Vincent's school, Castleknock, Dublin, he dedicated a lot of his time to music. When transferred to Sheffield, England, he founded the Sheffield Choral Union and a local church choir. He visited the continent each year and often explored Europe on a bicycle. On his transfer to St Vincent's Church, Sunday's Well, Cork in the 1870s, he reorganised the church choir into 'St Vincent's Palestrina choir'. He introduced congregational singing and published 'St Patrick's Hymnal' containing 201 hymns in English and Latin, the music being arranged for four-part mixed voices. He visited many of the larger schools in Cork, organised singing classes, and promoted the Tonic Sol-fa system. In 1893, he organised the first school singing competition in Cork city. It was a huge success and was given much praise by the cecilian society in Ireland. He was appointed chairman of the Cork Municipal School of Music and the Cork Catholic Young Men's Society. On various occasions, he lectured on music and wrote many articles on musical topics for local newspapers. He died in 1936 at St Vincent's, Sunday's Well. (The author of this article was for many years a member of Fr Gaynor's Palestrina choir at St Vincent's. The article was originally written by Fleming for the *Cork Examiner* newspaper shortly after Fr Gaynor's death).

Palestrina Choir.’ The mixed choir soon became renowned for its singing of sixteenth-century repertoire which included works by composers such as Palestrina, Vittoria, Soriano, Lasso and Allegri.¹¹⁶ By establishing such a choir, Gaynor had introduced cecilian principles into a Cork church before the cecilian movement was officially launched in Ireland. This suggests that his work was directly influenced by his personal experience of continental sacred music practice. Therefore he is a further example of ‘remarkable awareness amongst Irish ecclesiastics of the...achievement of German musicological endeavour in sacred music during the nineteenth century.’¹¹⁷

As organist in the 1870s, Herr Thinnes introduced German cecilian repertoire to St Vincent’s Church. A member of Thinnes’ choir wrote the following in *Lyra Ecclesiastica* in 1879:

In Herr Thinnes, we have found a real church musician, a man who knows as if by instinct, what is suitable and what is not for the House of God...he has been indefatigable in his work of training the choir, and is now crowned with success. We had Haller’s *Missa Tertina* on Christmas day, *Introit*, *Gradual* and *Communion* were Gregorian, and the offertory was a piece by Obersteiner. We have learned several Cecilian motets, and we do two of the Psalms of Compline every Sunday in False Bordone.¹¹⁸

Hans Conrad Swertz arrived in Cork in 1879 and was assistant organist to Thinnes before succeeding him as choir director when Thinnes returned to Germany due to ill health. In the case of Swertz, it is thought that he saw an advertisement in Germany for the post in

¹¹⁶ Fleming (as n. 115), 38.

¹¹⁷ White and Lawrence (as n. 83), 79.

¹¹⁸ *Lyra Ecclesiastica* (March 1879), 46. Although this is the first record of Thinnes’ work in St Vincent’s, it is presumed he was there some years before this report in *Lyra*, as its contents suggest he had been training the choir for some time.

St Vincent's Church.¹¹⁹ As Swertz was a graduate of the Ratisbon School of Church Music, it is likely that he saw the advertisement there. It further supports the theory that Irish ecclesiastics were actively recruiting organists from Germany to Irish churches in the 1870s and that the church music school in Ratisbon was the main centre for this recruiting.

After eleven years in St Vincent's Church, Swertz moved to St Mary's Cathedral in Cork city. However in 1906, he emigrated to America, being disillusioned on having to abandon the fine mixed choir he had established in the cathedral because of the ban on women in church choirs imposed by Pope Pius X in 1903 in his *Motu Proprio*.¹²⁰ Swertz's daughter married Aloys Fleischmann senior (another graduate of the Ratisbon school) in 1905, and brought him to Cork where he replaced her father as organist in the cathedral.¹²¹

2.4 Dr Leo Kerbusch (Belfast)

Belfast in the 1870s also had a German cecilian organist. Dr Leo Kerbusch was mentioned in *The Tablet* as being the only visitor from Ireland at a church music festival in Germany in 1874, suggesting he was resident in Ireland before this date. He was a composer and wrote a *Mass for St Cecilia* in 1879 which he dedicated to the Bishop of

¹¹⁹ Ruth Fleischmann, a great-granddaughter of Conrad Swertz came across this information during research into her family history. Swertz was born in 1858 in Kamp/Rhine-Prussia. After graduating from Ratisbon, he got a post as organist in St Jakob's Church in Dachau but left to come to Cork in 1879. After a year, he went back to Germany to marry Walpurga Rossler and immediately returned to Ireland with his new wife.

¹²⁰ The ban on women in choirs after 1903 was also a bitter disappointment to Fr Gaynor and his Palestrina choir at St Vincent's. The choir disbanded in 1906 and it is said that Fr Gaynor lost his enthusiasm for sacred music activities after this.

¹²¹ The work of Aloys Fleischmann senior will be examined in chapter three.

Down and Connor. He was the first resident foreign organist in Ireland to write a cecilian work and the first of a number of foreign organists who would work in Belfast. Alois Volkmer critiqued his mass in *Lyra Ecclesiastica* after which the editor added the following: 'We gladly welcome this first fruit of the Cecilian plant in Ireland. We congratulate Dr Kerbusch on this valuable contribution, and on the town of Belfast for being the first in the field.'¹²²

2.5 Alphonse Haan (Longford)

The midlands town of Longford saw the arrival of the German organist, Alphonse Haan, in 1879, who was organist of St Mel's Cathedral until 1909. Haan introduced to Longford the cecilian repertoire of sixteenth-century polyphony and compositions by contemporary German composers. In 1881 *Lyra* reported that 'the talented organist of this cathedral Herr Haan, selected Haller's *Missa Prima* for Easter Sunday, and its rendering by the choir gave general satisfaction.'¹²³ The Holy Week ceremonies of 1889 reported in the *Irish Catholic*, were further examples of the use of continental repertoire. For these ceremonies, Haan chose music mostly from the *Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae* and directed four masses by Witt, two by Schweitzer and one by Singenberger. Motets by Antonio Lotti (1666-1740), Palestrina, Witt and Haan were also sung.¹²⁴ It was noted on the occasion that the choir was in 'strict observance of liturgical laws' and that Most Rev Dr Woodlock, bishop of the diocese, was 'highly pleased with the performances'.¹²⁵ Woodlock's comments indicated an awareness of good liturgical music practice, and a

¹²² *Lyra Ecclesiastica* (January 1879), 48.

¹²³ *Lyra Ecclesiastica* (April 1881), 51.

¹²⁴ *Irish Catholic*, May 4, 1889.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

desire to publicise this fact.

In 1888, Haan sent a report to *Lyra* which hinted at his dissatisfaction with working conditions in Ireland:

The choir is entirely voluntary, 13 singers who meet twice a week, each practice lasting an hour. As this country, and this town particularly, is very damp, colds are frequent, and consequently attendance at practices at certain seasons rather irregular¹²⁶

Bewerunge in 1893, aware of his German countrymen working in Ireland, was also critical of the lack of support that Haan and others like him received:

Under difficult circumstances, (they) continue to work indefatigably and to strive after a high ideal...how they are able to keep up their enthusiasm for years and years, attaining only unsatisfactory results and earning little thanks, is to one, a matter of great surprise...They have indeed, a very competent choirmaster and organist, Mr. A. Haan, but the choir get no encouragement whatsoever, either moral or material. Still, of course, they are expected to do great things on the occasion of any special solemnity.¹²⁷

¹²⁶ *Lyra Ecclesiastica* (August 1888), 64.

¹²⁷ *Lyra Ecclesiastica* (June 1893), 43. Bewerunge's comments highlighted an issue that would permeate the careers of continental organists in Ireland up to the late twentieth century, that of a general lack of support on the part of the clergy. Although Irish ecclesiastics made great strides to improve sacred music practice by appointing foreign organists, they often failed to implement proper career structures for these organists. Material conditions, though initially promising, were frequently not reviewed by church authorities in the course of the working careers of many continental organists in Ireland. No adequate institutions were established to train Irish students in the arts of church music, leaving many foreign organists having to expend much energy teaching the basic elements of church musicianship, a task perhaps beneath their professional training. Consequently, a sense of apathy set in on the part of many continental organists in Ireland. The root of the problem lay in the low priority generally that sacred music held on the agenda of the Irish catholic church, a point which will be explored and further expanded in subsequent chapters.

Alphonse Haan was one of an Irish contingent who travelled to a cecilian church music festival in Westphalia, Germany in 1882. He was the only organist outside Dublin to travel on this occasion, indicating his desire to keep up with continental church music developments. Return trips such as these by foreign organists to their native countries ensured that church music contacts between Ireland and the continent were maintained and strengthened. Often foreign organists themselves on their return trips would have been influential in bringing other organists to Ireland. This may have been the case with Gustav Haan, a brother of Alphonse, who came to Carlow cathedral in 1892. German organists in Ireland often contacted colleagues in Germany about vacancies in Irish churches and cathedrals which ensured the continuation of a tradition that had become established by the turn of the twentieth century.¹²⁸ Cities and towns such as Cork, Longford and Loughrea had several German organists possibly indicating that this was the case.

2.6 Cecilianism in Thurles

Thurles, Co Tipperary had a German organist, Maximillian Scherrer in 1887. Before his arrival, this comparatively small town had already been embracing cecilian ideals. The seminarians of St Patrick's College, the boys and girls of the local schools, and the men and women of the town were exposed to and were taught Gregorian chant, sixteenth-century motets and modern German cecilian compositions. This was mainly due to the

¹²⁸ This was the case in Loughrea cathedral, Co. Galway. The organist Jean Thauet told his colleague Karl Wolff in Germany about the position that he was vacating in 1927, and Wolff came to Ireland in the same year to take up the appointment. In Cork, Conrad Swertz was replaced in 1906 by his new son-in-law Aloys Fleischmann. After Alphonse Haan, there were two more German organists at Longford cathedral, George Oberhoffer in 1909 and Rudolf Niermann in 1913.

efforts of Canon Scully and Fr Arthur Ryan, who were ardent supporters of the Irish Cecilian movement in the late 1870s. Canon Scully was vice-president of the central council of the Irish Society of St Cecilia and Fr Ryan regularly contributed articles promoting cecilian ideals to *Lyra Ecclesiastica* and the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*.

The efforts of these clergy culminated in the Thurles Cecilian Festival in 1881 which was hailed a resounding success at the time, and which firmly placed Thurles as the main centre of cecilianism outside Dublin. An eighty-strong choir, which was in attendance at the Pontifical High Mass during the festival, included no professional singers or imports from larger towns, but consisted only of seminarians, the cathedral choir, boys and girls from local schools and singers from other parts of the diocese. All the music for the two-day festival was clearly and solemnly sung from the cecilian repertoire. The Proper was sung either from Pustet's *Graduale*¹²⁹ or from the motet books of Witt, and the music for the movements of the Common of the Mass (*Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, Benedictus* and *Agnus Dei*) was Kaim's *Missa Jesu Redemptor*.

A great air of optimism pervaded the festival. Irish cecilians were confident that this was the beginning of rural recognition, not only of cecilian music, but of the kind of music which could be sung by choirs of ordinary parish churches. The Archbishop of Cashel, Dr Croke, was ardent in promoting the festival which was attended by prominent clergy such as Nicholas Donnelly and William Walsh. *Lyra Ecclesiastica* was full of praise for the event and for the fact that the choir was organised from purely local resources: 'It has

¹²⁹ Friedrich Pustet (1798-1882) founded the Pustet publishing firm and retail business in Ratisbon in 1826. After 1845, the firm concentrated on liturgical books and thereby acquired an international reputation. Branches were formed in New York, Cincinnati and Rome. From 1883 until the publication of the Roman Editio Vaticana, Pustets' liturgical books were regarded as the authoritative editions. The company concurrently developed an equal interest in the publication of church music, serving the cecilian movement in Ratisbon for the restoration of church music.

dissipated once and forever the absurd assumption, that the true music of the church is above the capacities of the ordinary people.'¹³⁰

The Christian Brothers in Thurles were also praised for their work in furthering the cause of the cecilian movement:

..they have thrown themselves into the work in Thurles...a class of sixty boys have been placed under the tuition of Mr Murrary, cathedral organist. The singing classes are to replace the 'nasal twang' which has ever been a drawback of boys' singing. The boys have been made to feel and hear the difference between notes correctly and incorrectly produced...the choral class in the Christian Brother School is to feed the cathedral choir.¹³¹

The festival organisers were also delighted to announce the establishment of the Diocesan Cecilian Society of Cashel and Emly, the first of its kind in Ireland. The new diocesan society was inaugurated at the festival in Thurles in 1881. Soon the cecilian repertoire was heard in other parts of the diocese. For the opening of a new church in the small parish of Templemore in 1883, the Gregorian mass was sung from 'Mohr's Manual', copies of which were provided for all members of the choir.¹³² The benediction service was from the cecilian music supplements provided by *Lyra*, 'which Father Arthur Ryan is sowing broadcast in the Diocese of Cashel and Emly, having distributed about 200 copies *gratis*.'¹³³ In the same week, the new church of St Ailbe at Emly was opened: 'Here, again, the true music of the Church was heard, though of the more modern style, and by a much smaller choir.'¹³⁴ The mass music for this occasion was by the German cecilian,

¹³⁰ *Lyra Ecclesiastica* (June 1881), 56.

¹³¹ *Lyra Ecclesiastica* (July 1881), 73.

¹³² *Lyra Ecclesiastica* (February 1883), 14. The full title of this manual was not given in *Lyra*.

¹³³ *Ibid.*

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

Jaspars with other pieces by the Italian composer Claudio Casciolini (1697-1760).¹³⁵ The music for Holy Week in the diocese in 1883 was printed in *Lyra*, showing that the cecilian repertoire of chant, sixteenth-century polyphony and modern cecilian motets were sung in the local convent in Thurles and in the small parish church of Fethard, as well as in the cathedral:

CATHEDRAL, THURLES

Responsoria at 'Tenebrae'	De Vico
Ordinary of Mass, (Holy Thursday)	Jaspars
Antiphons, &c.,	Witt and Casciolini
Improperia, (Good Friday)	Palestrina
Processional Hymns, all Mass on Holy Saturday, and the Kyrie and Gloria on Easter Day-Gregorian.	

URSULINE CONVENT, THURLES

Palestrina, Benz, Lotti, Haller, and Gregorian, all beautifully sung by this model convent choir.

FETHARD, CO. TIPPERARY

A choir of forty voices sang Haller's 'Missa Prima' on Holy Thursday with great success, and are now preparing a 'Plain Chant' Mass.¹³⁶

Some time after the festival, the organist of the cathedral, Mr John Murray moved to Limerick. In order to maintain the continental sacred music model established in Thurles, the German organist Maximilian Scherer was appointed to the cathedral in 1887. His duties also included the instruction of seminarians in St Patrick's College in chant.

It is likely that Scherer's appointment was initiated by the clergy of Thurles. Fr Arthur Ryan was in an Irish contingent that travelled to the cecilian music festival in Mayence

¹³⁵ *Lyra Ecclesiastica* (February 1883), 14. Casciolini, an Italian composer, belonged to the tradition of the Roman school. He was an excellent contrapuntist with mastery of the strict *a capella* style, and was also a skilful melodist.

¹³⁶ *Lyra Ecclesiastica* (April 1883), 31.

on the Rhine a few years earlier in 1884,¹³⁷ evidence that he was directly exposed to continental church music practice and personnel.

2.7 De Prins Brothers (Limerick and Cork)

Leopold de Prins and Francis Prosper de Prins were unique among the group of foreign organists in Ireland before the arrival of Bewerunge in that they were Belgian. The majority of organists in Ireland in the late nineteenth and the turn of the twentieth centuries were German, largely due to the church music contacts established between the two countries at that time.

Belgium, like Ireland, was also influenced by the sacred music reform movement in Germany and set up a society of St Cecilia in 1879. An Academy of Sacred Music was established at Mechelen (Malines), by Nicholas Jacques Lemmens in the same year. This institute became associated with Ireland in the 1920s, with many of its graduates taking up positions in Irish churches and cathedrals. In the nineteenth century, however, Germany was the focus for good church music practice and the Ratisbon Church Music School, founded in 1874 by Haberl and Franz Witt, was where Irish ecclesiastics looked for organists.

The case, therefore, of the de Prins brothers is interesting in that Francis was organist at St Alphonsus Redemptorist Church in Limerick as early as 1862 until 1884, and his

¹³⁷ *Lyra Ecclesiastica* (September 1884), 57. This trip had 'the highest representation Ireland has yet sent to a cecilian festival.' Another priest from Tipperary, Fr Berkessel from Rockwell College in Cahir also travelled. It seems he had German connections. Fr Berkessel spoke on behalf of the Irish society at one of the sessions in the festival. He so impressed the gathering that 'having first thought him an *Irlander*, (they) finally concluded that none but a son of the Fatherland could use the German language so fluently.'

brother Leopold was mentioned in the first edition of *Lyra* as being organist in St Mary's Cathedral, Cork in 1879. It is quite possible that Leopold was in Cork for some years before 1879 as his brother had come to Ireland some seventeen years earlier. Neither the Ratisbon School nor the Lemmens Institute were founded at the time of the arrival of Francis de Prins, and the links between Ireland and the church music reform movement on the continent were not firmly established until the 1870s and 1880s. A possible explanation then for his arrival was that he was recruited by the Redemptorists. The first Irish Redemptorists in the mid-nineteenth century originated in Belgium and this may have accounted for the presence of these Belgian organists in Ireland during that period.¹³⁸

Belgian Redemptorists first visited Ireland in 1851, establishing their first permanent Irish home in Limerick two years later.¹³⁹ The second Irish foundation was made at Dundalk in 1876 and the third at Clonard in Belfast in 1896.¹⁴⁰ It would be natural to assume that these early Redemptorists in Ireland, with their Belgian origins, would have structured their foundations on the Belgian model and may have maintained strong links with Belgium particularly in the early stages of development. This assumption is borne out by the fact that the first three Redemptorist congregations in Ireland, those of Limerick, Dundalk and Belfast all employed Belgian organists in the early years of their

¹³⁸ In the late 1780s, Father Clement Mary Hofbauer brought the Redemptorists from Italy, where they were founded by Alphonsus Liguori in 1732, to central Europe. Their first permanent home was in Vienna, where the foundation of Maria-Stiegen was to become the mother-house of many others, including one in Belgium. From Belgium, the Redemptorist congregation travelled to England and then to Ireland.

¹³⁹ See Patrick O'Donnell: *Clonard: Church and Monastery 1896-2000* (Belfast 2000), 2. The Belgian Redemptorist Frederick de Helde visited Ireland in 1851. In the same year, an international team of Redemptorists, which included a Belgian, Leo van der Stickele, conducted the first Irish mission in Limerick in the same year. In Clonard church in Belfast, the high altar was designed on a continental model by the Belgian Redemptorist, Henry Bergman.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

foundation.¹⁴¹ Francis de Prins was the earliest of these to arrive in Limerick in 1862, and it is probable that he initiated the appointment of his brother to the position of organist in St Mary's Cathedral, Cork.

Both of the de Prins were particularly keen propagandists of cecilian reform and were individually regarded by the Irish Society of St Cecilia as 'unusually influential in their dioceses'.¹⁴² They were the first to respond to requests in *Lyra Ecclesiastica* for reports on liturgical music outside Dublin. Their programmes of music sent to *Lyra* reflected the cecilian repertoire of the day, and indicated their efforts to improve sacred music practice in their localities. Leopold sent in the following report to *Lyra* from Cork in 1879:

On St Patrick's Day, we had a grand solemnity at the cathedral, the Mayor and corporation present. Music of the mass was Zangl's of the Cecilian Catalogue. I had seventy voices in the chorus. The effect was fine, all said they had never heard anything more effective and religious at the same time.¹⁴³

From Limerick, Francis reported the following in 1879:

The music sang on Palm Sunday at the blessing of the palms and the procession which followed was that prescribed in the *Processional Romanum*. The Ordinary of the mass sung on that day was Haller's *Missa Quarta*; the Proper of the mass was sung in Gregorian...¹⁴⁴

¹⁴¹ The Redemptorist church in Limerick appointed Francis de Prins in 1862. Another Belgian, Joseph Bellens arrived in 1884 succeeded by Firmin Van de Velde in 1919. In Dundalk, there were five Belgian organists working in the Redemptorist church at different stages: Jean Stuyck in 1903, Joseph Sireaux in 1905, Firmin Van de Velde in 1910, Jean Baptiste Van Crean in 1916 and Michael Van Dessel in 1923. Clonard Church in Belfast appointed Belgians, Arthur de Meulemeester in 1898 and Leon Rittweger in 1948.

¹⁴² Daly (as n. 50), 51.

¹⁴³ *Lyra Ecclesiastica* (March 1879), 62.

¹⁴⁴ *Lyra Ecclesiastica* (May 1879), 72.

By the 1880s, as well as using music by German cecilian composers, the de Prins brothers introduced to their choirs music by Belgian composers and music that was published in Belgium. By this time, the Lemmens Institute had been open for several years and Belgium was feeling the effects of church music reform. The brothers would naturally have been drawn to developments in their native country. In the music supplements for the 1883 issue of *Lyra Ecclesiastica*, the following was included:

We are indebted to M. F. P. De Prins of Limerick for the two little motets for three voices, composed by Palestrina for his confessor St Philip Neri. They were first published, we are informed by direction of the Cardinal Archbishop of Malines. As they are very easy of execution, we hope they find their way into our choirs.¹⁴⁵

Francis de Prins introduced a mass composed by Lemmens in the Redemptorist church in Limerick at the Christmas ceremonies in 1883. It was the first occasion a work by a contemporary Belgian composer was sung in Ireland at a time when the church music repertoire was mainly dominated by German composers. Leopold de Prins was also a prominent sacred music composer, and as can be seen by the following report of High Masses in Limerick and Cork, his compositions, along with those of Lemmens and German cecilian composers, were sung in 1883:

CHURCH OF THE REDEMPTORIST FATHERS, LIMERICK
(Organist, M. F. P. De Prins)

High Mass at 5 a. m. Proper of the Mass, *Plain Chant*, with motet, *Adeste Fidelis*;
Ordinary of the Mass, *Missa Sexta*, Haller.

High Mass at 11 o'clock. Proper, *Plain Chant*, with motet, *Adeste Fideles*;
Ordinary, *Messe en re*, Lemmens, with Credo, *Missa St. Stanislai*, Singenberger.
Benediction music from Palestrina, Goudimel, and Singenberger.

¹⁴⁵ *Lyra Ecclesiastica* (October 1883), 64.

ST. MARY'S CATHEDRAL, CORK
(Organist, M. Leopold De Prins)

High Mass. "Exultate Deo", Stehle; with *Credo*, "Salve Regina," Stehle. At Vespers, *fals. Bord.*, Bernabei and L. De Prins; Benediction music, L. De Prins.¹⁴⁶

The story of the de Prins brothers is interesting. They were ardent promoters of cecilian ideals before the movement had officially been established in Ireland in 1879. They were joint editors of a quarterly journal called *St Cecilia* which began in 1876, three years before the first edition of *Lyra Ecclesiastica*:

This publication (*St Cecilia*) is the first practical effort made in this country to bring cecilian music within the reach of our choirs and choristers. The Messer. De Prins have been favourably known for many years as almost the only organists who persistently applied themselves to upholding and practically applying the principles of the Cecilian society in their respective choirs, and the selections they have already published in their quarterly journal, prove the soundness of their judgement in Church musical matters, as well as their artistic discernment.¹⁴⁷

In fact, Francis de Prins had been propagating the principles of continental sacred music reform in Limerick since 1862, just as the reform movement was gaining momentum on the continent. He was therefore to some extent ahead of his time in this country. He was a pioneering voice in Limerick, if not in the country, for a return to 'true liturgical music' when secular music forms of the day, solo singers and instrumentalists were fashionable and popular in churches. In effect, it could be assumed that the de Prins brothers were the first promoters of cecilian values in Ireland, and as a result are noteworthy figures in the history of Irish catholic sacred music. As the following report in *Lyra* at the time of the death of Francis suggests, not only did the de Prins brothers introduce and

¹⁴⁶ *Lyra Ecclesiastica* (February 1883), 15. Claude Goudimel (1514-1572). French composer, music publisher and editor. He is noted principally for his sixty-seven psalm motet settings in eight volumes published between 1551 and 1566.

¹⁴⁷ *Lyra Ecclesiastica* (December 1878), 2.

successfully implement continental sacred music reform, they also improved the standard of church music practice and performance with apparently little resources:

The Irish Society of St Cecilia can badly afford the loss which it has sustained, of one of its most sincere and zealous working members, Mons F.P. de Prins of limerick. Years before our Society was established, the standard of true liturgical music, in opposition to the frivolous style which then prevailed, was raised in the Redemptorist Fathers' Church in Limerick by the Messers de Prins... Setting himself steadily against the 'solo' system and thus depriving himself at first of the countenance and help of the educated musicians, Mons de Prins, out of untrained material, educated, trained and brought to efficiency, a choir of forty men and boys, now for the most part readers of music and capable of singing, in a style which leaves nothing to be desired, the most difficult works of the ancient and modern church writers.¹⁴⁸

2.8 Appraisal

Altogether there is evidence of eight German¹⁴⁹ and two Belgian organists working in Irish cathedrals and churches before the appointment of Beyerunge to the chair of sacred music in St Patrick's College, Maynooth in 1888.¹⁵⁰ Their presence in effect dispels the assumption that Heinrich Beyerunge's appointment initiated the introduction of German organists to Irish churches and cathedrals after 1888. It is evident that the Irish catholic church was very conscious of continental church music practice from the mid-nineteenth century onwards and was already experiencing its effects from as early as the 1860s. It is

¹⁴⁸ *Lyra Ecclesiastica* (April 1884), 61.

¹⁴⁹ There were two other German organists briefly mentioned in *Lyra Ecclesiastica* besides those examined in this chapter. Herr Stein from the parish church in Bray was listed as a member of the society in 1879. (March 1879, p. 2). Another reference to him in 1882, was in connection with a forthcoming concert in Bray featuring Stein's choir in which the following was added; 'It is gratifying to know that their services in the church are all in the correct style, and we can only recommend them to attend their services diligently and to co-operate with the careful teaching of their master, Mr Stein.' (February 1882, p. 24). Another German organist Herr Moomaier is mentioned as being organist in Kilkenny in 1879 (April 1879, p. 2).

¹⁵⁰ Owing to the fact that the main source of information on these organists was the journal *Lyra Ecclesiastica*, it is very possible that there were other German organists working in Ireland who may not have subscribed to the Irish Society of Cecilia or simply may not have been aware of its existence.

an indicator of how quickly the Irish church had moved in adopting the Roman ideal of a Latinised sacred music which was part of the wider strategy instigated by Cullen to impose a structure on all aspects of liturgical practice. Only some twenty years after the Irish catholic hierarchy had issued its first sacred music decrees at the Synod of Thurles in 1850, continental organists were already working in Ireland, actively implementing the principles of those decrees.

Examining the work of these early organists, it is interesting to note that their influence was most widely felt in cities and towns outside of Dublin. Kieran Daly attributed the eventual demise of cecilianism in Ireland partly to the fact that the Irish Society of St Cecilia was mainly a Dublin organisation, having little effect in other areas.¹⁵¹ It is certainly true that Dublin was the centre of Irish cecilianism. The founders and leading activists of the organisation were based and working for the most part in the capital's churches and *Lyra Ecclesiastica* reported mainly on music heard in Dublin. The work, however, of this group of foreign organists testifies to an active level of cecilian practice in Cork, Belfast, Limerick, Longford and Thurles. It is evident from reports in *Lyra* that mainly from the 1870s, church choirs in these cities and towns were introduced to and were singing the cecilian repertoire of sixteenth-century polyphony and contemporary compositions by German and Belgian composers. Due largely to the influence of early continental organists, cecilian ideals may have had a wider impact than originally thought.

¹⁵¹ Daly (as n. 50), 27.

Furthermore, these early foreign organists helped to pave the way for the arrival of future generations of foreign organists to Ireland. By establishing continental sacred music structures in their localities, they laid the foundation for a development in Irish catholic sacred music that would see it associated with continental practice for a further one hundred years.

CHAPTER THREE

Continental organists in Ireland 1888-1920

3.2 The Decline of Cecilianism in Ireland

In the twenty years following Beyerunge's appointment as professor of sacred music in St Patrick's College, Maynooth in 1888, ten German organists were appointed to Irish catholic cathedrals.¹⁵² Thus it is probable that Beyerunge, through his nationally prominent position in the Irish catholic church, was influential in these appointments. Ironically, however, it was during this 'Beyerunge period' that cecilianism and the sacred music links established between Ireland and Germany began to wane. A variety of reasons have been suggested for its decline. Beyerunge's autocratic style as editor of *Lyra* from 1891 to 1893 created divisions within the movement and distanced the organisation from the needs of rural society members. He reported mainly on the reform movement in Germany and Italy and rarely mentioned Irish cecilianism. No new Irish church music was mentioned, yet cecilian works by a dozen German composers were reviewed and recommended by him. Kieran Daly suggested that Beyerunge remained somewhat aloof from those in Irish sacred music circles:

The editor's personality however, had the biggest effect on *Lyra*. His love of plainchant was most obviously his driving force, but 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.¹⁵³

¹⁵² These German organists were listed in Fleischmann's register of cathedral organists, see n. 2. Because the register is of cathedral organists only, it is possible that there were more German organists working in other churches throughout the country. A small number of Belgian organists also arrived in Ireland during this period, appointed mainly to Redemptorist churches.

¹⁵³ Daly (as n 50), 123.

However, regardless of Bewerunge's editorial style in *Lyra Ecclesiastica*, the Irish Society of St Cecilia, soon after its formation in 1879, claimed that it was having little practical effect in the majority of areas in rural Ireland.¹⁵⁴ The apathy of a great number of clergy to the movement may also have contributed to its demise.

Perhaps the main reason for the eventual degeneration of the Irish Society of St Cecilia was the decline of the German society around the same time. Franz Witt, the founder of the cecilian movement in Germany died in 1888, and although prominent cecilian activists such as Schmidt and Haberl took charge of the society, enthusiasm for further trips to festivals in Germany had waned for Irish cecilians. In 1903, the withdrawal of the decrees in support of the Ratisbon edition of the chant by Rome dealt a critical blow to the German cecilian movement.¹⁵⁵ Papal privileges had been conferred on the Ratisbon edition since 1870, but in 1903, these expired and in the same year, Pius X was chosen as

¹⁵⁴ However, as seen in chapter two (pp. 36-48), Cork, Limerick, Belfast, Longford and Thurles felt the effects of cecilianism through the efforts of foreign organists.

¹⁵⁵ The authenticity of the text and artistry of performance of chant had reached a low point in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. At the end of the sixteenth century, Palestrina was charged with the work of revising the plainsong of the *Gradual*, *Antiphonal* and *Psalter*, but died almost immediately after accepting the commission. Felice Anerio (1560-1614) and Francesco Soriano (1549-1621) then undertook the work and their edition was published by the Medicean press. The edition became the basis for many cheaper performing editions. In the 1860s, Haberl had been asked by the publishing firm of Frederick Pustet (Regensburg) to edit a new edition of the Church's chant books, based on the Medicean edition of 1614-15. The initial result of Haberl's labour was the 1869 Ratisbon *Graduale*, which was immediately granted a thirty-year papal *imprimatur* and became the official Roman version during the years 1870-1900. Years of controversy followed as to its musical legitimacy. The Benedictine monks at Solesmes, France, had been researching for some time many ancient manuscripts in libraries across Europe. After their investigations, Dom Joseph Pothier published his *Liber Gradualis* in 1883. Just a year before in 1882, an opportunity was given for the conflicting sides of Ratisbon and Solesmes to discuss their restoration techniques at a five-day Arezzo congress of liturgical chant. Musicians from various countries including Ireland attended the congress. Although the final resolutions of the meeting favoured the Solesmes school of thought, the Sacred Congregation of Rites' 1883 decree, *Romanorum pontificum sollicitudo*, decided to approve Haberl's edition. The Solesmes school was to have their revenge, however, when Dom André Mocquereau set out to prove that the melodies of the Ratisbon edition were a disfigured version of the ancient chants. By a system involving the comparison of manuscripts from various periods and countries, Mocquereau's work led to the withdrawal of the Ratisbon edition and the publication of the new *Vatican Kyriale* in 1905.

the new Pope. He at once issued his famous *Motu Proprio* on church music, laying down, amongst other things, the importance of plainchant and the necessity of taking it from early and pure sources. The version of chant advocated by the French Benedictine monks at Solesmes was preferred by the new pontiff and led to the publication of the new *Vatican Kyriale* in 1905. Therefore, according to Harry White, the cecilian movement in Germany 'could not survive in its former strength because it was deprived of a meaningful role in the pursuit of chant scholarship with the advent of the Solesmes school. Deprived of its intellectual authority, it lapsed into aggrieved debate or silence.'¹⁵⁶

In Ireland, German cecilianism was further undermined by the activity of Edward Martyn (1859-1923)¹⁵⁷ in Dublin at the turn of the twentieth century. Martyn discovered the polyphonic music of the sixteenth century during his visits to European cathedrals in the 1890s.¹⁵⁸ As a result of these visits, he wrote two articles expressing his enthusiasm for polyphonic music which were published in the London arts magazine, *The Speaker*.¹⁵⁹ Within a few years, Martyn was arguing that polyphonic music should be sung in all Irish churches. In 1898, with the help of Dublin cecilian organist Vincent O'Brien, he planned the foundation of a liturgical all-male choir skilled in the performance of polyphonic

¹⁵⁶ White (as n. 35), 90.

¹⁵⁷ Martyn was born to a family of catholic landed gentry in Tulyra Castle, Co. Galway. He was educated in Belvedere College, Dublin; Beaumont College, Windsor and Christ Church, Oxford. He is perhaps better known for involvement in the Irish Literary Theatre, later to become the Abbey Theatre, which he co-founded in 1898 with W.B. Yeats, Lady Gregory and George Moore. His interest in establishing a national theatre was matched, if not exceeded, by his interest in the reform of liturgical music in Ireland.

¹⁵⁸ J.C.M. Nolan: 'Edward Martyn and the Founding of Dublin's Palestrina Choir', *New Hibernia Review* (Minnesota), vol. 4, no. 1 (2002), 89.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.* These articles were titled 'Palestrina at Cologne' (February 25, 1895), and 'Vittoria at St. Gervais' (April 1, 1896).

music, which eventually became known as the Palestrina Choir.¹⁶⁰ Martyn had little enthusiasm for cecilian compositions, and was confident that his model choir would succeed in the reform of Irish church music where, in his opinion, the cecilian movement had failed.¹⁶¹ He was convinced that his own personal preference for Gregorian chant and polyphonic music should become the national preference for music in the Irish catholic church. The suggestion of Martyn to Archbishop William Walsh that the Palestrina Choir would be ideal as the resident choir of the Pro-Cathedral in Dublin was readily welcomed by the archbishop. After the installation of his choir in the Pro-Cathedral in 1903, Martyn advised the immediate adoption of the Solesmes chant to replace the Ratisbon chant associated with the cecilian movement. Archbishop Walsh accepted the adoption of the Solesmes chant in the Pro-Cathedral and gave Martyn permission to invite the Solesmes monk, Dom Gatard to come to Dublin to train the Palestrina Choir.¹⁶²

Another factor which possibly led to the decline of the Irish Society of St Cecilia was that its organisation may have felt that its work and efforts were complete, and that the cause for reform was realised in the *Motu Proprio* document in 1903: ‘...with the election of the musically aware Cardinal Sarto as Pope Pius X, Irish cecilians may well have felt, that the cause of the reform had been won’.¹⁶³ R.R. Terry undoubtedly echoed the feeling of cecilians towards the issuing of *Motu Proprio* when he stated: ‘The Holy Father has spoken and matters which were regarded as subjects for discussion have been removed

¹⁶⁰ The starting point for Martyn’s Palestrina Choir was O’Brien’s existing choir of some forty boys recruited from St Mary’s Place Christian Brothers school in Dublin, where O’Brien was a music teacher. The choir eventually included some twenty tenors and basses as a complete polyphonic choir and maintained an outstanding musical reputation for over one hundred years.

¹⁶¹ Nolan (as n. 158), 95.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*

¹⁶³ Daly (as n. 50), 160.

from the region of controversy to the region of obedience...The day for individual...expression of opinion has happily gone forever.’¹⁶⁴

3.3 *Motu Proprio* 1903

The *Motu Proprio* document on sacred music issued on the feast of St Cecilia, 22 November 1903 by Pius X was seen as the conclusion of the reform of church music which had been ongoing since the mid-nineteenth century. The proclamation was the climax of previous work done by Pius X on music legislation.¹⁶⁵ The document clearly laid down the regulations of the catholic church as regards the use of sacred music in the liturgy. The principles of church music reform advocated by Bishop Donnelly and the cecilian society over the previous thirty years were effectively contained in the eight sections of the document.

The first section, ‘General Principles’, emphasised the role of music as the servant to the liturgy and as an aid to greater devotion; ‘...its principal office is to clothe with suitable melody the liturgical chant proposed for the understanding of the faithful, its proper aim is to add greater efficacy to the text...’ It ordered that all music ‘must be holy, and must, therefore, exclude all profanity...’

¹⁶⁴ R.R. Terry: *Catholic Church Music* (London 1907), 39.

¹⁶⁵ Many Popes had issued decrees on sacred music since the time of Pope Leo IV (847-55), but Pius X (1903-14) wrote nearly as much himself as had been decreed by his predecessors. While a seminarian, Guiseppe Sarto had shown a passion for music and especially chant and was appointed student chant director in his final year. In 1884, he was consecrated bishop of Mantua and in 1888 convoked a diocesan synod there. Among the decrees which resulted, were four detailed references to church music. Sarto’s most important legislation prior to 1903 had consisted of the *Votum* of 1893 and his pastoral letter of May 1895. He had issued both documents while cardinal and patriarch of Venice.

The second section contained descriptions of the three types of music acceptable at divine worship. Gregorian chant was regarded as 'the supreme model of sacred music...' and that '...special efforts are to be made to restore the use of the Gregorian Chant by the people...'. The ancient classical polyphony of the sixteenth century was placed next as it '...agrees admirably with the Gregorian Chant...and hence has been found worthy of a place side by side with the Gregorian Chant...' The third type, modern compositions, were acceptable as long as they would '...contain nothing profane, be free from reminiscences of motifs adopted in the theatres, and not be fashioned even in their external forms after the manner of profane pieces.' These categories of music were already propagated by cecilians on the continent and in Ireland since the 1870s.

Under 'Liturgical Text' and 'External Form of Sacred Composition', it was stated that 'the language proper to the Roman Church is Latin' and that it was forbidden to sing anything in the vernacular. It was ordered that 'each part of the Mass must keep...that form and character which it has from tradition...It is not lawful to change either the words or their order...nor to leave anything out, either entirely or in part'.

Section five, 'The Singers', included the renowned instruction excluding women from the liturgical choir and whenever it was desired to employ 'the acute voices of sopranos and contraltos, these parts must be taken up by boys, according to the most ancient usage of the Church.' The use of solo voice for extra-liturgical purposes was also condemned.

The organ and a limited use of wind instruments were the only instruments permitted in the church under the section 'The Organ and Other Instruments'. Section seven, 'The Length of the Liturgical Chant', stated that 'It is not lawful to keep the priest at the altar waiting on

account of the chant or the music for a length of time not allowed by the liturgy.’ The final section, ‘Principal Means’, ordered that bishops, ‘if they have not already done so ... institute in their dioceses a special Commission composed of persons really competent in sacred music...let them entrust...the task of watching over the music executed in their churches.’ It decreed the cultivation of Gregorian Chant in seminaries and whenever possible, the establishment of a *Schola Cantorum* among the clerics ‘for the execution of sacred polyphony and of good liturgical music.’ The principal churches were also urged to establish a *Schola Cantorum*. There was also an appeal in this section to ‘support and promote ...the higher schools of sacred music where these already exist, and to help in founding them where they do not. It is of the utmost importance that the Church herself provide for the instruction of its masters, organists, and singers...’¹⁶⁶

The main principles of the *Motu Proprio* document were printed in *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record* in 1904.¹⁶⁷ With the publication of *Motu Proprio*, the Irish catholic church now more than ever looked to the continent for musicians who would implement and uphold the decrees laid down by Rome. Many of the principles in the document had already been advocated in Ireland through the efforts of the cecilian movement. *Motu Proprio*, however, forced the Irish catholic church to take seriously its attitude to sacred music practice. The established tradition of employing continental organists was the main avenue it took in this regard.

¹⁶⁶ See Robert F. Hayburn: *Papal Legislation on Sacred Music* (Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1979) for the complete text of the document *Motu Proprio*.

¹⁶⁷ ‘Motu Proprio of Pope Pius X, on Sacred Music’, *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, vol. xv (January 1904), 163.

The Irish hierarchy fundamentally failed in its obligation to provide a school of church music as directed in the last section of the document.¹⁶⁸ It was easier to import musicians in the short-term than to implement a long-term programme of sacred music education in Ireland. Despite the weakened state of Germany as an authority on church music, the Irish catholic church continued to employ German organists to raise the standard of liturgical music, especially after *Motu Proprio*. In addition to the presence of German organists in Cork, Longford, Belfast and Thurles, centres such as Carlow, Cobh, Kilkenny, Ardee, Loughrea and Tuam employed German organists in the aftermath of Beverunge's arrival. In effect, German musicians were working in almost half of the dioceses of Ireland in the period 1888 to 1920. As will be evidenced, they were mostly cecilians and continued to introduce repertoire by German cecilian composers even after the cecilian movement in Ireland had ceased to function. Unfortunately little information concerning their individual work has survived. *Lyra Ecclesiastica* had ceased its publications by 1894, leaving no publishing outlet for these organists to report on liturgical events in their cathedrals and churches. Relatives, friends and those who worked with them are long since deceased. There was little reference made to them in parish and diocesan records of the period, the majority of which were destroyed. Any information retrieved about this group of organists was through references in local newspapers, surviving archive material and family papers.¹⁶⁹ It is presumed that in the wake of the *Motu Proprio* (1903), their work centred on implementing its decrees.

¹⁶⁸ It was not until 1970 that the Irish Episcopal Conference moved to set up a *Schola Cantorum* music scholarship scheme at St Finian's College, Mullingar, with many of its graduates taking up positions as organists in many cathedrals and churches throughout the country.

¹⁶⁹ Ruth Fleischmann, a grand-daughter of Aloys Fleischmann senior, has edited and published several accounts of her father's career, Aloys Fleischmann junior, who was renowned in Cork for his part in the development of an infrastructure for active music-making. These include: *Joan Denise Moriarty: Founder*

3.4 Gustav Haan (Carlow)

Gustav Haan was appointed to Carlow cathedral in 1894. He was brother of Alphonse Haan who had been working in Longford since 1879. As well as his duties in the cathedral, Gustav also taught music to the seminarians in St Patrick's College, Carlow, which is adjacent to the cathedral. The college had opened its doors as a seminary for catholic students in 1793 in the wake of a relaxation of some penal laws. Gustav Haan's appointment to the college was the first move by the institution to formally educate its students in sacred music. As with Maynooth college, it is probable that before Haan's appointment there was tuition in liturgical music by members of staff or by individuals employed on a part-time basis. When Maynooth college established a chair for Church Chant and Organ in 1888 and appointed a German musician to the position, it is likely that St Patrick's College in Carlow, was prompted by its example to do the same.

Following the decrees of *Motu Proprio*, Haan was given the duty of educating the students in chant and of forming a college choir. The college choir often sang at ceremonies in the cathedral and on occasion joined the cathedral choir for major feasts such as Easter.

Haan remained in Carlow until his death in 1922, and in that time, references to ceremonies in a local newspaper suggested that he implemented the cecilian repertoire, introducing the music of German composers to Carlow:

of Irish National Ballet, ed. Ruth Fleischmann (Cork: Mercier Press, 1998); *Aloys Fleischmann (1910-1992): A Life for Music in Ireland Remembered by Contemporaries*, ed. Ruth Fleischmann (Cork: Mercier Press, 2000); *Cork International Choral Festival 1954-2004: A Celebration*, ed. Ruth Fleischmann (Cork: Glen House Press, 2004). Along with Joe Cunningham, a past student of Aloys (senior), Ruth is, at present, engaged in writing a book on her grandfather, who was organist in Cork city from 1906 to c1960.

Music sung at the two High Masses was beautiful and grand and splendidly rendered by the gentlemen and boys of the Cathedral Choir under Mr G. Haan, conducting in his usual classical style. Proper of the Mass and *Credo* were Gregorian. *Kyrie* and *Gloria* were from the *Mass in honour of St Ignatius* by Gruger. *Agnus Dei* was by Schweitaer.¹⁷⁰

Another report after the Holy Week ceremonies in 1910 was further evidence of his efforts to introduce continental sacred music practice to the town. On this occasion, he combined the college and cathedral choirs in singing Gregorian chant and pieces by German composers:

...music rendered by the College Choir was Proper of the Mass, *Kyrie* and *Gloria* were Gregorian, *Sanctus* and *Benedictus* by Eberlein,¹⁷¹ *Magnificat* by Kothe. Easter Sunday 11am-High Mass. Music was exquisitely rendered by the combined Cathedral and College choirs-Haan presided at the organ-*Agnus Dei* by Singenberger.¹⁷²

3.5 German organists in Ardee, Cobh, Kilkenny, Loughrea and Tuam

The German musician, Carl William Rothe (1828-1908) settled in the town of Ardee, Co. Louth in 1890. References in local publications describe Rothe as a 'music professor and organist'.¹⁷³ He was appointed organist and choirmaster to St Mary's Church, Ardee, in 1890, and remained in that position until his death in 1908.¹⁷⁴ There is no available information on his work as organist, but there is evidence that he contributed to the establishment of a successful orchestral tradition in the town. As the following reference

¹⁷⁰ *Nationalist and Leinster Times*, January 1, 1910.

¹⁷¹ Johann Eberlein (1702-1762). German composer, mainly of church music, written in a strict contrapuntal style. Court organist to the archbishop of Salzburg from 1754.

¹⁷² *Nationalist and Leinster Times*, March 27, 1910.

¹⁷³ Fr Michael Murtagh: 'Herr Carl William Rothe-Professor of Music/Organist', *Deeside Doings* (September 2004), 27. (*Deeside Doings* is a monthly parish publication in Ardee).

¹⁷⁴ This church, now known as the 'old parish church', closed in the early 1970s.

in a local book, *Ardee 2000*, suggests, the remnants of a fife and drum band in the locality formed the basis for Rothe's orchestra:

With the arrival of a German immigrant, one Herr Von Rothe in 1890, the demise of the fife and drum combination became inevitable. He widened musical horizons in the area and under his guidance an accomplished orchestra was formed. Woodwind and brass were augmented as the occasion demanded and his genius spelt success for the orchestra.¹⁷⁵

Over time, due to a lack of good string players in the town, Rothe's orchestra turned more to that of a brass and reed combination, and became a successful band: 'With Herr Von Rothe as musical director, the band gained wide recognition, and travelled throughout counties Louth and Meath by horse-drawn brake.'¹⁷⁶

Cobh (then Queenstown) cathedral in County Cork appointed its first foreign organist, Alphonsus Frederick Graff in 1902. Graff was German, but lived in Belgium and was a student of the Lemmens Institute at Mechelen. Robert Browne, who was bishop of the diocese of Cloyne from 1894 to 1935, was responsible for his appointment. During his long episcopate, Browne was quite active in the promotion of continental sacred music practice in his cathedral. He personally oversaw the installation of a carillon in the tower of the cathedral in 1916 and appointed a Flemish carillonneur and organist in 1924. This development in Cobh will be explored in chapter four.

In 1899, in an effort to secure a qualified organist and choirmaster for his cathedral, Browne sought the help of Belgian organist Joseph Bellens, who was in Limerick.¹⁷⁷ Bellens contacted the Lemmens Institute in his native country and on behalf of Bishop

¹⁷⁵ Murtagh (as n. 173), 27-28.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁷ Bellens was organist in the Redemptorist church in Limerick from 1884 to 1919.

Browne, secured a student of the institute for the cathedral in Cobh. Browne's contact with Bellens further illustrated that Irish ecclesiastics were aware of continental sacred music practice and were anxious to improve the standard of sacred music in their localities. Bellens' intervention showed yet again how foreign organists resident in this country were influential in the further appointments of continental organists in Ireland:

It gives me very much pleasure to let you know, I have succeeded in getting a really good musician for your cathedral, Mr Alphonsus Graff, a German by birth...He studied at the School for Churchmusic in the well known Lemmens Institute, established in Mechlin by the bishops of Belgium, over which the great catholic composer Edgar Tinel is director, and where I studied myself. His diploma from this school qualifies him to hold the position of organist and choirmaster in any church or cathedral.¹⁷⁸

In 1908, another German organist, Rudolf Niermann, was appointed to Cobh cathedral to succeed Graff. Evidence that Beyerunge was directly responsible for Niermann's arrival in Ireland was found in a letter to Bishop Browne in 1908:

Herr Niermann has asked me to write you a testimonial letter on his behalf. Through Father Beyerunge I secured his services to help my organist and teach my choir while he is engaged. I have no hesitation in recommending him. He is a thoroughly trained musician and understands church music and choir training perfectly.¹⁷⁹

Niermann came to Cobh from Kilkenny where he had been organist since 1906, so it is probable that the letter was written by a priest of the latter cathedral parish. Niermann spent three years in Cobh before his appointment to Longford cathedral to succeed the German organist, George Oberhoffer, in 1911.

¹⁷⁸ Joseph Bellens: Letter to Bishop Robert Browne, 19 October 1901. Bishop Robert Browne Papers. Cloyne Diocesan Centre, Cobh.

¹⁷⁹ It was difficult to read the signature of the author of the letter which was dated 7 February, 1908. Bishop Robert Browne Papers. Cloyne Diocesan Centre, Cobh.

Another German organist, Joseph Koss, left Loughrea cathedral in 1912 (where he had been organist since 1905), for Kilkenny. Various reasons may account for continental organists such as Niermann and Koss moving to different cathedrals in Ireland. Better working conditions, larger towns with the prospect of additional work in colleges or seminaries, or simply a desire to travel may explain this movement. It is evidence that Irish clergy were regularly advertising vacant positions as organists either in newspapers or by word of mouth within the country. German organists were now part of the fabric of life in catholic Ireland and were almost in fashion. It was a mark of prestige to have a German organist in one's church or cathedral and an outward sign of being pro-active in the application of good sacred music practice.

Two cathedrals in County Galway had German organists in the early 1900s. Joseph Koss was appointed to Loughrea cathedral in 1905 and Hans Marx came to Tuam in 1904. There were various local organists employed in Tuam cathedral from the 1870s.¹⁸⁰ The appointment of the German organist Hans Marx in 1904 raised the profile of sacred music in the area. Marx was also appointed professor of music in St Jarlath's College in Tuam, which was the initial step in formally educating local boys in music. Although Marx was only one year in Tuam before moving to Cobh at the end of 1905, he introduced a continental model of liturgy and music for the first time to the archiepiscopal town. As the following article from a local newspaper in 1949 recalls, he established a male choir capable of singing masses by German composers. Through his efforts Solemn Vespers were sung for the first time in the cathedral:

¹⁸⁰ 'Some Memories of the Tuam Cathedral Organists', *Tuam Herald*, March 26, 1949.

The first male choir – the College choir – made their debut during his (Hans Marx) organistship, first on Low Sunday evening, April 18, at Solemn Vespers which were sung for the first time in the Cathedral...The College Choir first sang the Mass in the Cathedral on the second Sunday of February, 1905. They had three beautiful Masses in unison, by German composers.¹⁸¹

Marx initiated a model that would influence and dictate the future development of sacred music in a west of Ireland town. The appointments of Joseph Koss and Hans Marx showed that ecclesiastics in the west of Ireland were anxious to raise the standard of church music immediately after *Motu Proprio* (1903), and looked specifically to the continent for guidance. Cities such as Dublin, Cork, Limerick and Belfast had a tradition of foreign musicians and were, by the late nineteenth century, accustomed to continental church music developments. The presence of German organists in Loughrea and Tuam at the turn of the twentieth century demonstrated that continental church music reform had infiltrated other regions of the country. It pointed to a nationwide effort on the part of Irish bishops to improve the standard of sacred music.

3.6 Aloys Fleischmann (Cork)

One of the most important and influential German organists in Ireland in the period after Beyerunge's arrival was Aloys Fleischmann (1880-1964).¹⁸² Fleischmann, who came to Cork in 1906, had an immense influence on the practice and development of sacred music in the city of Cork over a fifty-year period. He was a graduate of the Royal Academy of Music in Munich and was a pupil of the famous German composer,

¹⁸¹ 'Some Memories of the Tuam Cathedral Organists', *Tuam Herald*, March 26, 1949.

¹⁸² Aloys Fleischmann had a son of the same name, who became renowned nationally for his work in music. To avoid confusion in this study, the son will be referred to as Aloys Fleischmann (junior), see n. 209.

conductor and organist Joseph Gabriel Rheinberger.¹⁸³ After Fleischmann graduated with great distinction in his final exams, he took up a post as organist in his home town of Dachau.

In 1906, Fleischmann married Tily Swertz, whom he had met as a student in Munich. She was an accomplished pianist¹⁸⁴ and daughter of Cork cathedral organist, Conrad Swertz. Tily Swertz brought her new husband to Cork to replace her father as cathedral organist in 1906.

As organist in St Mary's Cathedral, Cork, Aloys Fleischmann adhered strictly to the decrees of *Motu Proprio* and continued to do so until the early 1960s.¹⁸⁵ According to the following comments by his son in 1957, Fleischmann made sweeping changes to sacred music practice in the city following the publication of *Motu Proprio*:

His efforts to put the *Motu Proprio* of Pius X into effect, the substitution of boys' for ladies' voices and the abandonment of the masses of Mozart, Haydn and Gounod, at first met with considerable opposition, and the introduction of plain

¹⁸³ Joseph Gabriel Rheinberger (1839-1901). He studied in the Munich Conservatoire and taught there between the years 1859-1901. He was court conductor, organist and composer in Munich. He was a prolific composer of operas, symphonies, chamber music, and choral works but is remembered almost exclusively for his elaborate and challenging organ compositions which included two concertos, twenty sonatas, twenty-two trios, twelve *Meditations*, twenty-four fuguettes, and thirty-six other solo pieces. Aloys Fleischmann was one of the pupils of this distinguished musician which included Engelbert Humperdinck, Ermanno Wolf-Ferrari, Bela Bartok, and Zoltan Kodaly.

¹⁸⁴ Tily Swertz-Fleischmann, born in Cork in 1883, was a talented pianist. She was sent by her father, Conrad Swertz to study piano at the Royal Academy of Music in Munich from 1901 to 1906. She took master classes with Munich virtuoso and conductor, Bernard Stavenhagen, who was the last pupil of Franz Listz. Before returning to Cork, Tily Fleischmann gave several recitals in Munich, and played under the baton of the famous Austrian conductor Felix Mottl (1856-1911). She founded the Listz tradition of piano playing in Ireland and taught at the Cork School of Music. She was also the first pianist from Ireland to give a B.B.C. radio broadcast in 1929.

¹⁸⁵ Fleischmann was interned during the First World War and after an initial period of custody in a camp in Co. Meath, was sent to the Isle of Man. On the Isle of Man, Fleischmann established a choir and orchestra from amongst his fellow German residents in the camp.

The bishop of Cork allowed Fleischmann's wife, Tily to take over the training of the choir during Aloy's absence. Considering that women were banned from choirs following the *Motu Proprio* document in 1903, this was a courageous and kind gesture on the part of the bishop. Fleischmann was not allowed to return to Cork after the war in 1918. Instead, he was returned to Germany where he remained for another two years before being permitted to return to Cork.

chant was equally unpopular. Gradually, however, the congregation have come to appreciate polyphonic music and plain chant, and one may hear Allegri's *Miserere* hummed with the choir during Holy Week.¹⁸⁶

Fleischmann established a fine choir of about fifty boys and forty men who sang primarily Gregorian chant and the sixteenth-century repertoire. He also introduced modern sacred compositions by German composers such as Goller (a fellow student in Munich), and Rheinberger. The choir, however, soon came to specialise in the singing of polyphonic motets from a wide range of sixteenth-century composers as the following programme from Holy Week in the 1940s illustrates:¹⁸⁷

Tenebrae

Jerusalem (6 part)	Falsobordone
Benedictus	Aloys Fleischmann
Miserere Mei	Gregorio Allegri (1584-1652)
Velum Templi Scissum Est	Giovanni Croce (1557-1609) ¹⁸⁸
O Vos Omnes	Croce
O Jesu Christe	Rinaldo del Mel (1554-1598) ¹⁸⁹
Tristis Est anima mea	Josquin des Prez (1400-1521)
Caligaverunt	L. V. Horia (1540-1607)
Tenebrae factae sunt	G.P. Palestrina (1525-1594)

Holy Thursday (Chrism Mass)

Proper	Gregorian Chant
Missa Octavi Toni	St Francis de Borgia (1510-1572)

¹⁸⁶ 'Music in Cork', *Music in Ireland: A Symposium*, ed. Aloys Fleischmann (junior), (Cork: Cork University Press, 1952), 272. One would have thought, however, that with previous organists such as the cecilians Leopold de Prins and Conrad Swertz, the masses of Mozart, Haydn and Gounod would have long disappeared from the cathedral by 1906. These organists had women in their choirs as this ban did not come into effect until 1903.

¹⁸⁷ Joseph Cunningham, who joined Fleischmann's choir as a boy in 1940, and who was an organ pupil of his, furnished this programme of music from the Holy Week ceremonies. He was a valuable source of information on Fleischmann for this study and is currently working on a biography of Aloys Fleischmann with Ruth Fleischmann.

¹⁸⁸ Giovanni Croce. Italian composer, singer and priest. One of the best and most influential composers of the Venetian school.

¹⁸⁹ Rinaldo del Mel. Flemish composer, mainly active in Italy. Whether or not he studied composition with Palestrina is unknown, but his sacred works indicate he was well acquainted with Palestrina's style.

Christus Factus Est
 Dexter a Domini
 O Redemptor
 Vexilla Regis

Giuseppe Ottavio Pitoni (1657-1743)¹⁹⁰
 Orlando di Lasso (1532-1594)
 Jacobus Clemens non Papa (1500-1550)¹⁹¹
 Gregorian Chant

Good Friday

Passion (Turba)
 Popule Meus
 Pange Lingua
 Stabat Mater

Francesco Soriano (1547-1620)¹⁹²
 Tomás Luis deVittoria (1548-1611)
 Giovanni Francesco Anerio (1567-1620)¹⁹³
 Giovanni Bernardino Nanino (1550-1625)¹⁹⁴

Holy Saturday

Missa
 Grad. ad Vespere

Gregorian Chant
 Gregorian Chant

Easter Sunday

Ecce Sacerdos Magnus
 Proper
 Missa
 Haec Dies
 Victimae Paschali
 Terra Tremuit

T.L. Vittoria
 Gregorian Chant
 Orlando di Lasso
 G. Zangli
 Gregorian Chant
 V. Goller

¹⁹⁰ Giuseppe Ottavio Pitoni. Italian composer and writer. Prolific composer of church music and greatly respected in Rome. His music is fundamentally in the Palestrina tradition but contains elements of the concertae and polychoral styles. He was also a writer on music theory and history. His *Notitia de Contrapuntisti*, and important early landmark in music lexicography, provides much useful and otherwise unobtainable information about, in particular, early practitioners in the traditions of church music.

¹⁹¹ Jacobus Clemens non Papa. South Netherlandish composer. One of the most prolific figures of early sixteenth century, he is best known for his sacred music, particularly the *souterliedekens* polyphonic settings of the psalms in Dutch.

¹⁹² Francesco Soriano. Italian composer. *Maestro di capella* of S Luigi dei Francesi, Rome.

¹⁹³ Giovanni Francesco Anerio. Italian composer and organist. Younger brother of Felice Anerio. The balance in his compositional output between a modified use of the Palestrina idiom and the techniques of the early seventeenth century, makes him one of the most progressive Roman composers of the period.

¹⁹⁴ Giovanni Nanino. Teacher and brother of composer Giovanni Maria Nanino (1554-1607). Although he did not achieve the august reputation enjoyed by his brother, he was nevertheless one of the most important musicians in the Roman school at the turn of the century. His teachings activities in S Luigi dei Francesi, Rome, were especially important. As tutor of the choirboys in the church, he taught many of the most influential musicians of early seventeenth-century Rome.

This programme of music over a few days was a remarkable achievement for any choir. A cathedral choir of boys and men in the south of Ireland singing such a repertoire in the early twentieth century was indeed unique in this country. It was an indicator of the extent of Fleischmann's success in implementing a continental sacred music model in the cathedral. An interesting aspect of Fleischmann's sample programme was the number of motets and masses sung from lesser known sixteenth-century composers. Choirs throughout the country may have been familiar with the music of Palestrina, Vittoria and di Lasso, but few would have been exposed to the wider range of sixteenth-century masters as heard in Cork. Indeed, few choirs would have been proficient enough to sing such a varied complicated polyphonic repertoire which changed on each of the successive days of Holy Week. Fleischmann changed the repertoire to comply with the liturgy and strictly adhered to the no organ playing principle during Advent and Lent. The lack of pieces by German cecilian composers (a piece by Zangli appeared once) in the Easter programme may be due to the fact that Fleischmann did not study in the Ratisbon School where many of the cecilian composers were either teachers or otherwise connected to the institution. Fleischmann, no doubt, was aware of these compositions as the Munich academy was in close proximity to the Ratisbon school. He chose instead to concentrate on Gregorian chant and the sixteenth-century repertoire as was favoured in *Motu Proprio*. Indeed Fleischmann may have considered cecilian compositions to be musically inferior to the sixteenth-century polyphonic repertoire, which they were often perceived to be by those opposed to the cecilian movement. He did prefer, however, the German (Ratisbon) version of chant to the Solesmes edition, as he maintained that the German school placed the emphasis on the words and not the music.

Fleischmann's cathedral choir soon became known nationally for its high standard of *a capella* singing. Radio Éireann broadcast performances of the choir about four times a year from the cathedral in the 1930s and 1940s. In 1942, the choir gave the first broadcast performance of Palestrina's *Missa Papae Marcelli* on Irish radio.

Fleischmann's choir had also come to the attention of the famous English composer Sir Arnold Bax (1883-1953).¹⁹⁵ During one of his visits to Cork in 1929, Arnold Bax was an adjudicator at the Feis Maitiu competition in Cork city in which many choirs from surrounding areas took part. On hearing the boys' choir from the cathedral, Bax was very impressed by their performance and awarded them 100%. So impressed was he that, on his return to England, he wrote a letter to the *London Daily Telegraph* acclaiming the performance and paying tribute to the work and musicianship of Aloys Fleischmann:

While acting as adjudicator at the Easter Feis in the most hospitable city of Cork, I had the opportunity of listening to the Choir of the Roman Catholic Cathedral. They sang for about an hour-Plain Chant, rendered with devotional feeling and the works of Orlando di Lasso and other composers of the difficult and complicated sixteenth-century polyphony. These performances were a revelation to me for I had no idea that Ireland, up to the present time could show anything indicative of such a high degree of musical culture. I was told that the singers were very tired after the arduous work during Holy Week and that at ordinary times they could do even better, but what I heard convinced me that this Cork Choir could hold its own in Competition with any organisation devoted to rendering similar music in any part of these islands. Particularly noticeable was the sweet and velvety tone of the boy sopranos. There was none of that slight out-of-tuness which has always seemed to me to be an unavoidable defect in boys' voices. The greatest honour is due to Herr Aloys Fleischmann, the organist at the cathedral and trainer of the Choir. This gentleman is a very fine all-round musician and would be an inspiring influence in any musical circle in which he might be placed.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁵ Sir Arnold Bax was a prolific composer and Master of the King's Musick from 1942 to 1953. A brilliant pianist, he wrote fluently and perceptively for the keyboard. He felt a special empathy with Irish subjects, particularly Yeats's poetry, and with the Irish land and seascapes. Through his many visits to Ireland, he became firm friends with the Fleischmann family in Cork and was a regular guest in their house. He died in the Fleischmann house during one of his visits in 1953. Bax composed symphonies, chamber music, many solo piano pieces as well as song-cycles and pieces for unaccompanied voices.

¹⁹⁶ *London Daily Telegraph*, May 15, 1929.

Bax's comments also reflected the perception held by musicians in other countries that Ireland lacked a sophisticated music tradition. It was clear though, that through Fleischmann's efforts, in Cork at least, a high standard of sacred music was in place.

Through his choir and the repertoire they sang, Aloys Fleischmann maintained the continental model of liturgy and music established by previous foreign organists, Leopold de Prins and his own father-in-law, Conrad Swertz. Fleischmann's influence and contribution went further, however, in that he introduced a high level of performance proficiency in the execution of intricate continental sacred music repertory.

Fleischmann was also responsible for the acquisition of a pipe organ for the cathedral which was built by a firm in Germany and installed by German engineers. He went to Ludwigsburg in Bavaria in 1922, approached the world renowned organ builders Walcker and commissioned the organ he required.¹⁹⁷ Many foreign organists were often approached for advice or were directly responsible for the installation of good pipe organs in their churches. Whilst some of them dealt with Irish organ makers, others made direct contact with organ builders on the continent. Heinrich Bewerunge, for example, commissioned the German builder Stahlhuth to provide the newly built college chapel at Maynooth with a magnificent instrument in 1891.

The acquisition of a new organ was viewed as a significant event and generated much publicity and attention. An interesting aspect of the Irish catholic church in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was the pomp and splendour of its ceremonies.

¹⁹⁷ Fleischmann had for sixteen years yearned for a playable organ, worthy of a cathedral church. With the permission of his bishop in 1922, he travelled to Germany to commission the Walcker firm to build an organ for the cathedral. In the period just after World War I, German finances were bottomless and at their lowest level. It was said therefore that Fleischmann got the organ at a relatively low cost.

High masses were the norm in most cathedrals and larger churches, and they were celebrated in an almost theatrical fashion. The dedication of an organ was carried out in an impressive ceremony to which bishops and clergy of surrounding areas were invited. It was an opportunity for Irish bishops to parade their commitment to the implementation of good sacred music. The ceremony at the dedication of the new organ at Maynooth in 1891 was 'unquestionably the grandest and most impressive ecclesiastical function witnessed in this country for centuries back.'¹⁹⁸ The archbishop of Dublin presided with thirty bishops and 300 priests from every diocese in the country in attendance.¹⁹⁹

The ceremony marking the dedication of Fleischmann's new instrument in Cork cathedral in June 1922 was similarly grand. The day began with High Mass presided over by Bishop Daniel Cohalan. A sermon on St Cecilia was given by Rev. Dr Beecher of Maynooth College and the choir sang Gregorian chant and pieces from the sixteenth-century repertoire. In the afternoon, an organ and choral recital was given for the parishioners which was repeated the following week for the general public. Fleischmann played organ pieces by Frescobaldi, Bach, Handel, Mendelssohn, Listz and Rheinberger during the recital.²⁰⁰ It was the first of many organ recitals that Aloys Fleischmann would give in the cathedral in addition to a series of radio broadcasts of old and modern organ works. He was responsible therefore for bringing the European organ tradition to Cork by acquiring an organ designed by German builders,²⁰¹ and by his subsequent recitals of pieces from the continental organ repertoire, many of which were heard for the first time

¹⁹⁸ *Lyra Ecclesiastica* (July 1891), 50.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁰ Programme: *Prelude and Fugue* - Frescobaldi, *Toccata in D minor* - J.S. Bach, *Concerto in G minor* - Handel, *Phantasy ('Ad nos, ad salutarem undum')* - Listz, *Sonata Op. 89* - Rheinberger.

²⁰¹ The organ consisted of 5,000 pipes, sixty-two stops and four manuals. The instrument was equipped with a dynamic crescendo roller pedal and some pipes up to thirty-two feet.

in the city. It was through Fleischmann's influence that renowned national and international musicians visited and played in the cathedral, commenting favourably on the organ.²⁰²

Aloys Fleischmann also made a notable contribution to secular music-making in Cork. The city already had an active musical life since the 1870s, with societies such as the Cork Musical Society and the Band of the Cork Orchestral Union regularly giving concerts.²⁰³ Similar to Dublin in the mid-nineteenth century, Cork was also a venue for recitals by visiting foreign musicians. Franz Listz played in the city in 1845 and the Polish pianist Ignacy Jan Paderewski (1860-1941) came to Cork in 1898.²⁰⁴ Other foreign musicians took up residence in Cork, such as Theo Gmür from Switzerland, who was musical director of the Cork Amateur Operatic and Dramatic Society from 1880 to 1911.²⁰⁵ For the Cork International Exhibition of 1902, a small orchestra of foreign musicians of various nationalities had been engaged, conducted by the Italian musician Signor Ferruccio Grossi. In the same year, Grossi took up residence in Cork, and with his pianist wife, started on a career of concert giving and teaching which lasted up to 1930.²⁰⁶

Fleischmann conducted the Cork Choral Union in 1909 which gave a series of recitals in the City Hall in Cork. In 1921, after his return to Cork from internment in Germany, he re-established the School of Music Choral Society which gave occasional concerts at the

²⁰² Sir Richard Terry, organist at Westminster cathedral played the organ and enthusiastically declared it to be a wonderful instrument. The same judgment was pronounced by Sir Granville Bantock, Dr Vincent O'Brien, Sir Arnold Bax, Dr Reihmann, director of the *Schola Cantorum* at Ratisbon and Mons Berbericj, director of the Munich Cathedral Choir.

²⁰³ For a detailed overview of musical life in Cork city from the 1870s to the 1960s, see 'Music in Cork', *Music in Ireland: A Symposium*, ed Aloys Fleischmann (Cork: Cork University Press, 1952), 268-276.

²⁰⁴ Fleischmann (as n. 203), 272.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 269.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

Cork Opera House until 1928, performing amongst other works, Mendelssohn's *Die erste Walpurgisnacht* and *Die Lorelei*.²⁰⁷ The involvement of foreign organists such as Fleischmann and Carl Rothe in secular musical activities widened the sphere of their influence and this became particularly apparent with the later group of Belgian organists in the twentieth century. Many secular musical societies in Ireland today trace their foundations and their influences to foreign organists working in the early twentieth century.

Fleischmann was also a prolific and talented composer of sacred choral and organ pieces as well as Lieder and secular choral works. His sacred music compositions were often performed by the cathedral choir in Cork. In general, they reflect a post-cecilian compositional style designed to fulfil a liturgical function. Fleischmann was very conscious of papal decrees relating to the composition of sacred music for liturgical use. Considering that he adhered rigidly to the decrees of *Motu Proprio* (1903) in every aspect of his church music leadership, it is natural that his choral sacred music was written within the constraints of papal guidelines. As a result, the musical language of these compositions looks back to an earlier age while the harmonic language is solidly Germanically Romantic. Whilst there are momentary chromatic indulgences, Fleischmann's vocal sacred compositions are generally written in a conservative, austere style. It seems he felt freer to experiment harmonically and structurally in his organ works.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁷ Fleischmann (as n. 203), 271.

²⁰⁸ See appendix two for samples of Fleischmann's compositions as well as general comments on the compositions of continental organists in Ireland.

Through the collective effort and influence of Conrad Swertz, Tily Swertz-Fleischmann and Aloys Fleischmann, the European tradition of sacred and secular music was introduced to and practised in the city of Cork from the 1870s onwards. The activities of Aloys Fleischmann (junior) firmly imprinted the Fleischmann name in the fabric of musical life in twentieth-century Ireland.²⁰⁹

3.7 Carl Hardebeck (Belfast, Cork, Dublin)

Carl Hardebeck (1869-1945), whose father was German and mother Welsh, came to live in Ireland from London in 1893. Although Hardebeck was a church organist, he is primarily known for his pioneering work in the field of Irish traditional music. His scholarly endeavours in this area over a period of almost fifty years have marked him out as an important figure in Irish musicology studies in the twentieth century. For this reason, he is included in this study.

In 1880, at the age of eleven, Carl Hardebeck was enrolled in the Royal Normal School for the Blind where he received a thorough training in music. One of his teachers was Frederick Corder, an extern lecturer from the Royal Academy of Music in London, who

²⁰⁹ Aloys Fleischmann (junior), son of Aloys and Tily Fleischmann, graduated from University College, Cork with the degrees of BMus (1931) and MA (1932) and subsequently studied composition, conducting and musicology at the State Academy and University of Munich. In 1934, he became professor of music at University College Cork, a post he held until his retirement in 1980. He was awarded a DMus degree by the National University of Ireland in 1963. He was a prolific composer; his compositions include large-scale works for chorus and orchestra, five ballets, a symphony, several song cycles and many chamber and solo works. As founder of the Cork Symphony Orchestra (1934), the Cork International Choral Festival (1954) and a crusading member of many organizations and committees, he was a highly influential figure in musical life in Ireland. He wrote several books and articles on music including his major work, *Sources of Irish Traditional Music* (published posthumously in 1998). He was a member of the Royal Irish Academy and of Aosdána, Ireland's state-sponsored academy of creative artists. Other honours included the Freedom of the City of Cork, the Order of Merit of the German Federal Republic and the Silver Medallion of the Irish American Cultural Institute.

numbered among his pupils Arnold Bax, Granville Bantock (1868-1946) and Ralph Vaughan Williams (1872-1958). Under Corder, Hardebeck won diplomas as organist and pianist and by the age of twenty-three, was a fully qualified music teacher.²¹⁰

In 1893, he moved to Belfast where he was appointed organist and choirmaster at St Matthew's Church, Newington Avenue. In 1904, he was appointed organist at St Peter's Cathedral, Belfast, which was deemed a more illustrious position. There is no documentary evidence of his sacred music work in Belfast, but it is likely he took part in efforts at the time to implement proper sacred music practice in the wake of *Motu Proprio* (1903). It is thought he composed two masses for choir and organ.²¹¹

When the Dublin Feis Ceoil was inaugurated in 1897, Hardebeck submitted an anthem *God of My Salvation*, for contralto and chorus, in the competition for composers. Praised by a critic as 'an uncommonly good anthem with most pleasing harmony', Hardebeck won first prize.²¹² The week-long Feis marked a turning point in Hardebeck's life, not for his success in composition, but because he heard for the first time the songs of Alfred Percival Graves²¹³ and Samuel Ferguson²¹⁴, set to music by such established figures as Charles Villiers Stanford, Charles Wood²¹⁵ and the locally renowned James Culwick. Hardebeck heard in the songs of Graves 'some of the finest lyrical poetry one could have

²¹⁰ Gregory Allen: 'The Blind Bard of Belfast: Carl Gilbert Hardebeck (1869-1945)' (<http://www.historyireland.com/magazine/features/feat1.html>, accessed 22/06/04)

²¹¹ 'Death Of Well-known Irish Music Composer', *Irish Independent*, 12 February 1945.

²¹² Allen (as n. 210).

²¹³ Alfred Percival Graves (1846-1931). Irish poet and folksong collector. Collaborated with Stanford in the publication of Irish folksongs, many of which he collected.

²¹⁴ Samuel Ferguson (1810-1818). Irish poet, barrister, antiquarian and public servant. Perhaps the most important Anglo-Irish poet of the nineteenth century. Because of his interest in Irish mythology and early Irish history, he can be seen as a forerunner of W.B. Yeats and the other poets of the Celtic Twilight.

²¹⁵ Charles Wood (1886-1926). Irish composer and teacher. Lecturer in harmony and counterpoint at Cambridge University from 1897-1924, and professor of music from 1924. Wrote music for plays and operas. He also composed three string quartets, partsongs, solo songs and much church music including over thirty anthems and several services.

for such music; the beauty and plaintiveness...enthralled me.'²¹⁶ The experience aroused his interest in Irish music, particularly in the arrangement of Irish airs and songs which led him to devote the remainder of his life to the development and propagation of Ireland's indigenous musical art.

At the Dublin Feis Ceoil in 1900, he placed himself among the traditionalists when he submitted his cantata, *The Red Hand of Ulster*. His conversion to an Irish idiom was confirmed at a Gaelic League concert in the Ulster Hall on St Patrick's Day in 1900, when he heard a singer from Co. Clare perform unaccompanied songs in Irish: 'I was so enchanted by the flow, the rhythm, the rise and fall of melody and, above all, the simplicity and character of the music that I decided to leave all and follow it.'²¹⁷

Hardebeck recruited native speakers to teach him Irish. He believed it was important, as an arranger of Irish songs, to understand the principles of Gaelic poetry 'essential to the proper appreciation of the music to be noted.'²¹⁸

Hardebeck went on a tour of the Gaeltacht areas of Co. Donegal, noting the music of many songs he heard on the way: 'You have to write as fast as you can to keep up with even the slowest singing pace...If you can write the words below the notes, so much the better... Without the words you have lost only time, taking down a skeleton of the tune.'²¹⁹

²¹⁶ As quoted in Allen (as n. 210).

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*

²¹⁹ *Ibid.* Hardebeck, afflicted with blindness, devised a Braille system to enable him to take down the music.

He subsequently published three volumes of his arrangements of Irish airs with piano accompaniment called *Gems of Melody: A Collection of Old Irish Melodies* (1908, 1910 and 1915). In the preface to the second volume, Hardebeck wrote: ‘the melodies are so beautiful, that they alone, if every other proof were wanting, show that the people who produced them must have been a highly artistic, cultured and civilised nation.’²²⁰ When the first volume of *Gems of Melody* appeared in 1908, musician and Gaelic scholar, Seán O’Boyle of St Patrick’s College, Armagh remarked ‘that even the enemies of traditionalism were silenced by the incomparable beauty of this work.’²²¹ On the publication of the third volume in 1915, a review in the *Journal of the Ivernian Society* hailed the musician of ‘foreign origin’ as having ‘literally fallen in love with Irish music and the Irish themselves.’²²² With his skilful arrangements of Irish melodies, the blind Hardebeck was acclaimed as the successor to the sixteenth-century Ulster musician, Rory Ó Catháin, and to the renowned harper-composer Turlough Carolan (1670-1738). His treatment of Irish melodies was highly praised:

His integrity resulted, for the first time in history, in the publication of Irish song with the natural turns and graces...with the rhythms of the original language faithfully preserved, and the whole supplied with the harmonies of a qualified musician who was great enough to treat his material objectively and without conceit.²²³

²²⁰ As quoted in Allen (as n. 210).

²²¹ *Ibid.*

²²² *Ibid.*

²²³ *Ibid.*

Hardebeck was also seen as the first classically-trained composer to 'acknowledge the irregular metre of Irish traditional music in his art music arrangements, which consequently abound with frequent bar changes throughout the music'.²²⁴

It seemed that Carl Hardebeck studied Gregorian chant in Belfast under the Belgian organist, Arthur de Meulemeester. As a result, Hardebeck believed that there were similarities between Irish music and plainchant: 'I found that the study of plainsong which I pursued with my friend Arthur de Meulemeester... was the greatest help to me in learning to understand the scale and principle of modal music. Irish music is the twin sister of plain chant.'²²⁵ Consequently, he advised colleagues not to write accompaniments for Irish airs if they were not well versed in church music: 'No man who does not love Gregorian music and has not the proper love, feeling and appreciation of the delicate beauty of Gregorian rhythm should tamper with Irish melodies'.²²⁶

In 1922, in recognition of his work in Irish music, Hardebeck was appointed to the newly created professorship of Irish music at University College, Cork.²²⁷ He moved to Dublin in 1932, where he arranged Irish traditional music for various instruments and choral forces (many for educational purposes) for *An Gúm*, the official government publication agency.

²²⁴ Axel Klein: 'Carl Hardebeck' (<http://www.cmc.ie/composers/composer.cfm.html>, accessed 11/8/2004).

²²⁵ As quoted in Allen (as n. 210).

²²⁶ *Ibid.*

²²⁷ Hardebeck, however, resigned from this position two years later in 1924. His new post in Cork carried a salary of £400 and a house, but the house never materialised. Hardebeck had to pay for his lodgings and his income was further depleted by his need to employ a secretary. To make ends meet, he was forced to play piano in a cinema. In 1924, he returned to Belfast. The professorship in Cork was converted into a lectureship in Irish music and Dr Annie Patterson was appointed to the post in 1924 until her death in 1934.

According to the following tribute in a national newspaper on his death, Hardebeck, in his tireless labours for the advancement of Irish music, motivated Irish musicians and composers in the twentieth century to look to their native art form for inspiration. He was deemed, therefore, to be a significant figure in Irish cultural life:

A man of shy disposition, he had an amazing steadfastness of character and refused to turn his attention from the unprofitable task he had set himself, for in his early days there was little reward for a devotion to Irish music. He blazed a trail for our younger composers which has been of great benefit to them, and his services to Ireland cannot be too highly praised. He was one of a number of foreigners who made a noteworthy contribution to Irish culture.²²⁸

3.8 Early Belgian Organists

Although Germans still accounted for the majority of continental organists working in Ireland in the 'post-Bewerunge' era, the Redemptorist congregation continued to employ Belgian organists in their churches. These organists were all graduates of the Lemmens Institute in Belgium and were predecessors to a wave of Belgian organists who came to Ireland in the 1920s and 1930s. These 'early' Belgians made a significant contribution to sacred music in Ireland, sowing the seeds for a future association of their country with Irish catholic church music.²²⁹

After the death of the renowned Belgian organist Francis de Prins in 1884, the Redemptorist congregation in Limerick employed another Belgian, Jozef Bellens (1876-

²²⁸ 'Death of Well-known Irish Music Composer', *Irish Independent*, 2 February 1945.

²²⁹ Information about the early group of Belgians was found in the periodical *Musica Sacra*, the organ of the church music school at Mechlen. The journal was edited by various directors of the school and many articles were written by staff and graduates of the institute. Another more recent source of information on Belgian organists who travelled to Ireland was the booklet *Vlaamse Organisten sinds 1900 in het Buitenland*. (Tonglerlo 2000). This handbook was the result of research carried out by Herman Kerstens, a monk of the Norbetine order in Tonglerlo Abbey in Belgium. It features snippets of biographical information on Belgian organists who emigrated not only to Ireland, but to countries throughout the world.

1939),²³⁰ who was a graduate of the Lemmens Institute and who remained in Limerick for almost twenty-five years. The Belgian organist, Firmin Van de Velde succeeded Bellens at Limerick in 1919. A graduate of the school at Mechelen, Van de Velde came to Limerick from St Nicholas' Pro-Cathedral, Galway, where he had been organist since 1912. He stayed in Limerick until 1935 before moving to the parish church of Kilrush, Co. Clare. Van de Velde contributed greatly to the 1930s revival of plainchant and a *capella* singing in the Irish catholic church. In the rural area of Kilrush, he introduced sacred music pieces by contemporary Flemish composers and trained choirs for the singing of Gregorian chant and polyphonic motets. His work in Kilrush will be discussed in chapter four in the context of the 1930s plainchant revival in Ireland. He also met and worked with the later group of Belgian organists in Ireland in the latter part of his career.

St Joseph's Redemptorist Church in Dundalk was home to several Belgian organists in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Jan Juliaan Stuyck (1880-1957) was organist there in 1903. It is thought he was also organist in Galway cathedral between the years 1914-1919 after which he returned to Belgium. A number of Belgian organists such as Stuyck who came to Ireland in the first years of the twentieth century returned home soon after the First World War had ended. This was also true of Joseph Sireaux who succeeded Stuyck in 1905 and who returned to Belgium in 1919 after a period of employment in St Patrick's Cathedral, Dundalk from 1910. A 'Belgian Relief Fund' was established in Dundalk in 1914 and in a letter to the press, Sireaux thanked the

²³⁰ Jozef Bellens took care of Belgian refugees in Ireland during the First World War. He was chairman of the welcoming committee that greeted these refugees. It may well have been the case that some of the Belgian organists who came to Ireland in the first years of the twentieth century sought employment to escape war conditions in their country. They would have had Belgian contacts in Irish Redemptorist churches.

parishioners for their fund-raising concert and their generosity.²³¹ This would support the suggestion that a number of these early Belgian organists came to Ireland primarily to seek refuge and employment during the war years. Firmin Van de Velde also had a period of employment in the Redemptorist church in Dundalk following Sireaux's departure to St Patrick's Cathedral. The Belgian organist Jan Baptist Van Crean took up employment in the Redemptorist church in 1916 and remained there until 1938.

3.9 Arthur de Meulemeester (Belfast)

Perhaps the most important and influential of the early group of Belgian organists in Ireland was Arthur de Meulemeester (1876-1942). For over forty years, he was employed as organist and choirmaster at the Redemptorist Church, Clonard, in Belfast. Over that period, he trained a fine choir of men and boys from the locality capable of singing Gregorian chant and pieces from the sixteenth-century repertoire. He was a tireless campaigner and leading voice in the area of church music reform, not only in the north of Ireland, but throughout the country.

De Meulemeester was an exceptional student at the Lemmens Institute in Mechelen, where in 1898, he graduated with the 'highest distinction'.²³² In October 1898, he was appointed organist and choirmaster at the Clonard Redemptorist Church in Belfast: 'A new and exciting chapter in the story of Clonard choir was about to begin with the advent

²³¹ Fr Michael Murtagh: *St Patrick's Dundalk: An Anniversary Account* (Dundalk: Bellew Print, 1997), 195.

²³² Albert de Schutter: 'De Laureaten van het Lemmensgesticht in Ierland', *Musica Sacra* (Mechelen), June 1930, 83. At the young age of thirteen, de Meulemeester was accepted as a student at the Conservatoire of Music in Ghent. After a long illness, he entered the Lemmens Institute in 1894 and studied there for four years under Edgar Tinel (director of the Institute), after which he graduated with high distinction. He studied composition for a further year with Ad. D'Hulst.

of this energetic young man who deserves to be called its founder and of all its leaders, the greatest.²³³

The first record of de Meulemeester's work was on the occasion of the laying of the foundation of the present church²³⁴ on 1 October 1908. Plaudits for the Mass music were widespread:

The music was rendered in a faultless style by the meticulously trained choir of Clonard under the conductorship of Monsieur de Meulemeester, the well-known organist and composer. All pieces were sung with rare beauty and taste, the solemnity and impressiveness of the sacred music being fully expressed.²³⁵

Through de Meulemeester, Clonard choir was introduced to the music of contemporary continental composers such as Singenberger and Lemmens and sang regularly sixteenth-century polyphonic repertoire. On the occasion of the blessing of the new organ at Clonard church in 1912, it was reported that 'the following among other pieces of music were beautifully sung by an augmented choir: *Jesu Dulcis Memoria* by Singenberger; *Ave Maria* by Arcadelt; *Easter Sonata* by Lemmens and Prof. De Meulemeester's own composition, *Hymn to St Cecilia*.'²³⁶

De Meulemeester was a prolific composer of motets and masses which were sung regularly by Clonard choir: 'Practically all the beautiful motets sung by Clonard choir on great feast days throughout the year were composed by Mr de Meulemeester himself.'²³⁷

On the dedication of the new church at Clonard by Bishop Tohill in October 1911, the

²³³ Clonard House Annals.

²³⁴ A temporary building which became known as the 'tin church' was erected on the grounds of Clonard monastery in 1897, one year after the Redemptorists had arrived in Belfast.

²³⁵ Clonard House Annals.

²³⁶ *The Irish News*, 26 May, 1912.

²³⁷ Rev. E.H. Jones: 'Chevalier de Meulemeester, K.O.L., K.O.C.B.', *The Redemptorist Record* (1942), 151.

choir sang de Meulemeester's *Missa Sanctissimi Redemptoris* for three male voices and organ, and his motet *Redemisti nos Domine* for four mixed voices and organ.²³⁸ In general, his compositions reflect solid craftsmanship and were designed for liturgical use. De Meulemeester was conscientious in his approach to sacred music composition, and faithfully followed guidelines in *Motu Proprio* (1903) in this regard.²³⁹ Consequently, his music, which is in a conservative, post-cecilian style, is written 'in the best and purest modern musical language.'²⁴⁰ This assessment is borne out by the contents of a lengthy commentary on one of de Meulemeester's masses in *The Irish News* in 1940. The occasion was the Feast of the Most Holy Redeemer in Clonard church at which Dr Mageean, bishop of Down and Connor presided at High Mass. It was the first performance of de Meulemeester's *Missa in honorem Sanctae Mariae de Perpetuo Succurso* and the newspaper described the occasion as 'one of great importance in the history of liturgical music in Ireland.'²⁴¹ De Meulemeester was originally commissioned to write the work, as well as a festival Cantata, for a religious centenary celebration to be held in Belgium in August 1940. He managed to get the score of the mass to its destination before the invasion of Belgium in the Second World War. As the centenary celebrations looked unlikely to happen, Clonard became the setting for the first performance of the new mass. Although the article does not specify where in Belgium the centenary celebrations were intended to take place, or who commissioned the work, it is significant that over forty years after he had left his native land, he was still highly

²³⁸ Clonard House Annals.

²³⁹ In his publication *The Reform of Church Music* (1936), the contents of which are examined on pp. 84-92 of that book, de Meulemeester devotes a substantial section to this subject.

²⁴⁰ Arthur de Meulemeester: *The Reform of Church Music* (Dublin: The Catholic Truth Society of Ireland, 1936), 44.

²⁴¹ *The Irish News*, 19 July, 1940.

regarded and sought after as a composer. De Meulemeester's mass was written for two equal voices and organ, and according to the report in the newspaper article, bore the hallmarks of cecilian ideals and of the tenets laid down in *Motu Proprio*, of which the writer seemed very informed:

Like in all his other works based on sacred text, the composer is again strictly liturgical; there are no repetition of words except-and then only rarely-for the purpose of emphasising the meaning of the text. From start to finish this music is in absolute accordance with the Pontifical prescription of Pius X and Pius XI. Though mostly melodious throughout in the two vocal parts, there is a total absence of sickly sentimentality.²⁴²

The Credo of the mass was singled out for its successful musical setting of the text:

There is scarcely another liturgical text which provides such a testing test as the Credo because of its continuous change of sentiment and ideas. Yet in this Mass the composer seems to have tackled and solved the problem with perfect ease. Indeed, the several musical ideas of so varied a character in the Credo are so cleverly entwined that each one seems necessary for the completion of the other, and thus gives a unique unity to the entire work.²⁴³

The writer mentioned de Meulemeester's 'momentary indulgence into chromatic writing', but hastened to add that 'he does it without infringing in the least the laws of liturgical music, and obviously does so with the intention of giving particular emphasis to the text.' In an effort to state the style in which the mass was written, the author mentioned the German cecilian composers of the latter half of the nineteenth century, Stehle, Mitterer, Goller, Haller as well as Belgian composers of the twentieth century such as Van Hulse, Van Durme and Moortgat, 'who wrote Masses which from an artistic and liturgical aspect, compel our admiration.' In the end, though, he pointed to Lorenzo

²⁴² *The Irish News*, 19 July, 1940.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*

Perosi,²⁴⁴ who, whilst he ‘observed the ecclesiastical requirements as scrupulously as they (the above composers) did, struck a new line by introducing “human” thought and feeling in the musical expression of the sacred text. It seems to us that Professor de Meulemeester’s manner of looking at the text approaches more the Perosi style than that of any other modern church composer.’²⁴⁵

De Meulemeester’s *Missa in honorem Sanctae Mariae de Perpetuo Succurso* was published in Boston in 1940 and was later claimed to have been sung in many churches throughout America.²⁴⁶ Several of the later generation of Belgian organists in Ireland used de Meulemeester’s music in Irish churches and cathedrals where they worked.²⁴⁷ Owing to the fact that his music was known in Ireland, America and Belgium, and that his compositions received prominent attention in the press, de Meulemeester was perhaps the most accomplished and prolific composer of the Belgian organists in Ireland in the first half of the twentieth century. A 1930s article in the periodical *Musica Sacra* (Mechelen), mentioned that de Meulemeester’s works were so extensive that they would give a full report on them in their next edition.²⁴⁸ By choosing to spend his working career in Ireland, de Meulemeester may have, to some extent, relinquished a place amongst the prominent contemporary sacred music composers on the continent.

²⁴⁴ Lorenzo Perosi (1872-1956), Italian composer and priest. He was *maestro di capella* in the Sistine chapel from 1898-1917. He had remarkable success in Milan in 1897 with an oratorio-trilogy. This was followed by eight other oratorios before 1904 which had a spectacular but short-lived success. He also composed over twenty-five masses, many other religious choral works, and several symphonic poems.

²⁴⁵ *The Irish News*, 19 July, 1940. See appendix two for musical examples from de Meulemeester’s *Missa in honorem Sanctae Mariae de Perpetuo Succurso*.

²⁴⁶ Jones (as n. 237), 151.

²⁴⁷ Copies of de Meulemeester’s *Missa in honorem Sanctae Mariae de Perpetuo Succurso* were found in the sacred music libraries of Michael van Dessel in Dundalk, Karl Seeldrayers in Carlow and Jozef Delafaille in Newry.

²⁴⁸ De Schutter (as n. 232), 83.

Nevertheless, Belfast became home to his compositions and to the continental sacred music repertoire that was sung under his direction in Clonard church.

De Meulemeester was also knowledgeable in organ construction, having studied its technical aspects in Belgium.²⁴⁹ At his request and under his direction, a new pipe organ was installed in Clonard church in 1912. De Meulemeester chose the local and comparatively young firm of organ builders, Evans and Barr Ltd., to carry out the task. Much praise was given to their workmanship by de Meulemeester and he wrote an article for a local newspaper giving a description of the organ and some historical background on the project. The completed work was hailed as an 'Irish industrial triumph' resulting in 'an instrument of musical and artistic perfection'.²⁵⁰

3.10 De Meulemeester's *The Reform of Church Music* (1936)

De Meulemeester was an active promoter of church music reform in Ireland and the most vocal of the foreign organists in Ireland in this regard. He outlined his views and proposals in his handbook *The Reform of Church Music*, which was published in 1936 by the Catholic Truth Society of Ireland. De Meulemeester addressed the contents of his book to 'clergy, organists, choirmasters, choirs and students of liturgical art'.²⁵¹ The handbook, a substantial work of over one hundred pages, is a comprehensive examination of papal decrees on sacred music, and contains de Meulemeester's recommendations for the implementation of those decrees in Ireland. Therefore, an extensive analysis of its

²⁴⁹ Herman Kerstens: *Vlaamse Organisten sinds 1900 in het Buitenland* (Tongerlo 2000), 6.

²⁵⁰ As quoted in *Church of the Most Holy Redeemer, Clonard: Organ Restoration 1999-2001* (booklet published for the ceremony marking the blessing of the restored organ in 2001), 2.

²⁵¹ De Meulemeester (as n. 240), 13.

contents is worthwhile in order to appreciate de Meulemeester's absolute commitment to the advancement of sacred music in Ireland and to examine his proposals for effecting an improvement in this area. The book's publication was probably prompted by the Irish hierarchy's efforts at the time to promote a revival in Gregorian chant and good liturgical practice. Therefore its examination is also useful in order to glean an overall impression of sacred music developments in Ireland during the 1930s.

In his book, de Meulemeester pleaded for a greater study of the Apostolic Constitutions on sacred music:

That a reform of Church music in Ireland is needed nobody will deny; that a reform has been ordained is testified by the 'Motu Proprio' of Pius X (1903) and by the 'Constitutio Apostolica' *Divini Cultus* of Pius XI (1928); that a reform has actually started is obvious from the wave of enthusiasm for Gregorian Music which is spreading over the country...it is necessary that the reform should not be unilateral – that is to say, that the intentions of the great Popes shall not be misconstrued.²⁵²

His recommendations throughout the book were grounded in the sacred music decrees laid down in *Motu Proprio* (1903) and *Divini Cultus* (1928).

He emphasised the need to alter and improve existing conditions in the training of boys' voices. Whilst he acknowledged that there were many advantages to women's choirs, he claimed the sentimental nature of their voices was 'unsuited for truly religious music, however impeccable and artistic their renderings may be.' He urged absolute obedience to the laws laid down in papal decrees in this regard and for 'a complete return to

²⁵² De Meulemeester (as n. 240), 14.

exclusively male choirs' in Ireland.²⁵³ He suggested that the movement for reform and for the promotion of boys' choirs should begin in the schools:

Our choirs must become the nurseries of our future choirs and choir-boys – for we need young boys in our choirs to take the place of women who, by the pontifical prescriptions, are debarred from membership of church choirs...liturgical singing in schools should be controlled and supervised by a competent inspector appointed for the purpose.²⁵⁴

He suggested that teachers should introduce a wider repertoire of music than that already being practised in schools:

It would be well to add several lovely and easy Gregorian Motets to the present unduly restricted programme, which consists only of the 'Missa de Angelis' and two or three Motets. Teachers should be encouraged to prepare the 'Ordinarium' of another Gregorian Mass and a greater selection of Motets should be encouraged.²⁵⁵

He urged the establishment of weekly classes of Gregorian singing in various centres primarily for school teachers, adding also that 'many choirmasters and organists might profit greatly by attending these classes.'²⁵⁶

De Meulemeester favoured the Solesmes edition of the chant as ratified by Rome in 1905. Whilst he acknowledged that the edition printed in ancient notation was preferable, he claimed the modern notation edition was more practical for average choir use. He even had a long debate with Heinrich Beyerung on the matter, an indication that the illustrious Maynooth professor was aware of, and had admiration for the views and

²⁵³ De Meulemeester (as n. 240), 24.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 22-23.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 28.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 32.

efforts of his Belgian colleague. It was also evidence that de Meulemeester was at the forefront of the debate on church music reform in Ireland:

I remember that the late Father Beyerunge (Maynooth), who for a long time anathematized any notation of Gregorian music other than the Ancient, admitted to me, after a prolonged and somewhat heated (!!) discussion, that 'undoubtedly the Modern notation of Plain Chant presented many practical points for the average choirs in Ireland, and was serving a very good purpose'.²⁵⁷

De Meulemeester was pleased to see the enthusiasm for Gregorian music that was spreading throughout the country with classes and competitions in chant being organised in the 1930s. However, he approved of them only in so far as they awakened interest in the Gregorian chant movement and served as propaganda for the cause. He issued a warning against zeal that was not according to discretion, emphasising that plainchant was not the only legitimate kind of church music:

The present-day extraordinary enthusiasm for Plain Chant, following so suddenly upon the old-time resistance to that music, and the twenty-five years indifference to the 'Motu Proprio' of Pius X, causes me often to fear a reaction. It becomes necessary, then, to guard against such a reaction

(1) by popularising Gregorian music on right lines, and by causing an impulsive enthusiasm to be developed into genuine and steady admiration and appreciation.

(2) by cultivating the legitimate polyphonic music (taken in its widest sense) of ancient and modern masters from Palestrina and Victoria down to the present day Mitterer, Stehle, Perosi and many others.

To limit ourselves exclusively to Gregorian music is puritanism, which must inevitably lead to disaster; moreover, it was never the intention of the Church to confine ourselves exclusively to Gregorian Chant.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁷ De Meulemeester (as n. 240), 33.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 35.

De Meulemeester then devoted a large section of his book to an examination of music other than Gregorian chant that was suitable in the church. As a composer, he was naturally drawn to examining the area of modern sacred music. He stated that 'polytonality, endless modulations, super-chromaticism, are not suitable for sacred purposes...modern religious music must be written in the best and purest modern musical language.'²⁵⁹ He then outlined the characteristics of legitimate modern church music. These formed the basis for de Meulemeester's vocal sacred music compositions, as well as those by his continental colleagues in Ireland:

- (1) Religious, i.e. it must lead to meditation, and help to prayer
- (2) Personal, i.e., original, - it must not be a "pasticcio" of ancient works, to the extent of becoming an assimilation.
- (3) Simple of means, - no out of date classicism, - no exaggerated modernism.
- (4) Not difficult of performance, in most cases.
- (5) Respectful of the text, which must always be made intelligible.
- (6) Subject to the rules of accentuation and of prosody.

Again, de Meulemeester based these conditions on his reading of *Motu Proprio* and papal documents on sacred music since 1903. He outlined in further pages the 'shocking abuses' that occurred in the adaptation of secular music for the church and condemned for church use the 'unbridled frivolity' of the Masses of Haydn, Mozart, Weber and others.

In the chapter, 'Church Choirs', de Meulemeester emphasised the privileged position of choir members and gave recommendations for the recruiting of members, and rules for the organisation and conduct of choir members at practises and masses. He suggested that the Irish catholic church should follow continental practice in the appointment of a priest

²⁵⁹ De Meulemeester (as n. 240), 44.

as 'prefect of the choir'. De Meulemeester also hoped 'that the day may not be far off, when every church of any importance, will have at least two salaried adult singers...meanwhile we must carry on with our voluntary choirs.'²⁶⁰

On the topic of congregational singing, de Meulemeester found a lot of room for improvement. While he pointed out that the text of hymns in use in Irish churches was generally of a good standard, he claimed the tunes were often 'trivial and common-place; most of them can scarcely lay claim to anything like artistic value.'²⁶¹ In order to rectify the situation, de Meulemeester compiled a hymnal called *St Cecilia's Hymnbook*, which was published by Cahill and Co. in Dublin in 1911. He suggested that alternative settings of the 'most censurable tunes' were to be found in this hymn book, many of which were by continental composers: 'I have striven to produce a collection particularly suitable for use in Ireland, and introducing new features, - such as many unpublished tunes by church-composers of several countries.'²⁶² In the same chapter, de Meulemeester regretted the use of hymns in the vernacular in some Irish dioceses and urged for a return to Latin texts as stated in *Motu Proprio*:

I believe that in many dioceses, hymns in the vernacular are permitted during Communion of Confraternities, and during Expositions of the Most Blessed Sacrament: but here again, it is hoped that in time, easy Gregorian Motets in honour of God, of the Holy Eucharist, of the Blessed Virgin, will replace vernacular singing in all liturgical services...the custom of singing English hymns in a procession in which the Most Blessed Sacrament is carried, should be stopped entirely and at once.²⁶³

²⁶⁰ De Meulemeester (as n. 240), 66.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 83.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, 89.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, 86.

As a guide to church musicians on suitable sacred music repertoire, de Meulemeester compiled a list of Gregorian motets and liturgical hymns suitable for 'Low Masses, Benedictions, and Processions at various Seasons of the year and at special festivals', and quoted sacred music editions published in Belgium as the main sources for his list.²⁶⁴

De Meulemeester also advocated the publication of church music journals or periodicals in Ireland similar to those published on the continent:

The reform of ecclesiastical music in continental countries has found the press during the last fifty years a staunch champion of its cause. There is hardly a country of continental Europe where Catholic Faith flourishes, which has not at least one periodical or magazine exclusively devoted to Church Music...until Ireland can produce journals or periodicals entirely devoted to Liturgical Music, I would strongly recommend the publication of suitable articles in our Catholic press, on subjects which directly or indirectly concern ecclesiastical tonal art.²⁶⁵

He also fervently pressed for a review of the position of the choirmaster and organist in Irish catholic churches, dedicating a considerable portion of his book to the subject:

I am now approaching a subject, the importance of which appears to have accountably and amazingly escaped attention in these times of reform of Church Music: viz. the position, the duties, the qualifications and the training of choirmasters and organists. Yet no branch of that reform calls for more consideration; it must ultimately become the pivot of reform.²⁶⁶

Whilst De Meulemeester acknowledged that the organisation of plainchant classes in the 1930s were useful, he warned they were not adequate for the training of 'true' church musicians:

²⁶⁴ *Cantus ad Processiones Benedictiones Sanctissimi Sacramenti and Plain Song for Schools* which were both published by Desclee & Co., Tournai, Belgium.

²⁶⁵ De Meulemeester (as n. 240), 104.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 68.

Those who have initiated and who conduct those classes, merit well of the Church...they create and interest and popularise and diffuse Plain Chant; they have attracted a considerable number of the clergy, who, by their attendance at these classes, have acquired a good insight into Gregorian Art...Nobody will deny the big share of these classes in the restoration of Gregorian music...but they do not, and do not even claim to produce Church musicians in the sense in which I understand that term, namely, in its largest and widest meaning.²⁶⁷

De Meulemeester believed that a church organist was 'expected to carry a much more formidable weight of music knowledge than either the Concert pianist or the Organ Recitalist', and went on to carefully outline the many areas that entered into the 'vast curriculum of the education of a Church organist'.²⁶⁸ These included a first rate technique on key and pedal-board, a sound knowledge of the history of the instrument, construction of organs, art of registration, a deep study of Gregorian music and its proper accompaniment, a knowledge of harmony and counterpoint, the skill of improvisation, a knowledge of the rubrics of the liturgy, and experience in training a choir. Coming from a country where a systematic and comprehensive training in these disciplines was the norm, de Meulemeester earnestly pleaded for a similar situation in Ireland: 'There is great scope and need in Ireland for the formation of Catholic organists; this country can be and ought to be made a fruitful and abundant nursery for fine organists.'²⁶⁹

Calls for reform in this area had previously been made by prominent Irish cecilians, clergy and foreign musicians. As early as 1878, Bishop James McDevitt of Raphoe, in a letter to the Irish Society of St Cecilia pledging his support to the movement, added the following: 'I should desire, most of all, to see a school formed in the metropolis for the

²⁶⁷ De Meulemeester (as n. 240), 68-69.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 71.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 74.

cultivation of sacred music.’²⁷⁰ A letter to *Lyra Ecclesiastica* in 1879 signed ‘Cathedral Organist’, saw it as a deplorable situation that organists had no qualification: ‘Any Jack-of-all trades or swaggering adventurer can assume the title and duties of an organist...’²⁷¹ The Dublin cecilian, Brendan Rodgers, organist and choir director in the Pro-Cathedral, wrote frequently on the subject of music education in the 1880s, listing it as one of the main reasons why cecilian music was not being fully embraced by the country. He made an appeal to the ecclesiastical authorities to place music permanently on the school curriculum.²⁷² Bewerunge, writing in 1900, blamed the poor condition of church music in Ireland on a lack of educational facilities for organists and choirmasters. He called for measures to be taken in this regard and saw the presence of foreign organists in Ireland as a consequence of the absence of a systematic sacred music education for Irish musicians:

Ireland is severely handicapped by the almost complete impossibility of our young musicians to get a proper training in Church music, one of the results of this impossibility is that a considerable amount 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...need a school where the Catholic organist will be taught the principles of sound Church music...by calling public attention to it, some little step is taken towards having the need supplied.²⁷³

De Meulemeester in 1906, several years after Bewerunge’s article, took practical steps to rectify the situation by approaching the catholic hierarchy with a proposal for an Irish institution similar to the Lemmens Institute in Belgium:

Thirty years ago, I submitted a scheme for an inter-diocesan School of Church Music in Dublin to the late Most Rev. Dr. Henry, Bishop of Down and Connor,

²⁷⁰ *Lyra Ecclesiastica* (October 1878), 12.

²⁷¹ *Lyra Ecclesiastica* (November 1879), 18.

²⁷² Daly (as n. 50), 46.

²⁷³ Heinrich Bewerunge: ‘Cecilian Music’, *New Ireland Review* (April 1900), 56.

who, together with other high ecclesiastical authorities, considered it quite practical, and who decided to place it before the Standing Committee of the Bishops, at Maynooth. Unfortunately, the sudden death of His Lordship put an end to my scheme...²⁷⁴

In 1936 with the publication of his book, de Meulemeester took up the subject again, this time calling for the establishment of inter-diocesan schools in various urban centres in the country such as Dublin, Belfast, Cork, Limerick and Galway. He also proposed that local structures could be put in place that would suffice until a larger national institution of church music would be created:

Until we have Schools for Church Music which will confer diplomas, a system of local examinations could be evolved under the auspices of Diocesan Committees for the purpose of delivering certificates of various degrees of efficiency to organists and choirmasters.²⁷⁵

The Irish catholic episcopacy, however, failed to attend to de Meulemeester's valiant efforts in the area of church music education in Ireland for almost seventy years after he first approached them. The easier option was to continue to employ foreign organists. These foreign organists, however, such as Bewerunge, de Meulemeester, and later the Belgian, Ernest de Regge, were the most vocal in urging the Irish hierarchy to put structures in place to train Irish organists and choirmasters. They were the products of a system that placed a great emphasis on a comprehensive church music education and were witnesses to its success. It indeed must have been frustrating for continental organists to find themselves in a situation where the same attention and priority was not given to this vital aspect of church music development.

²⁷⁴ De Meulemeester (as n. 240), 74.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 77.

De Meulemeester's handbook was certainly far reaching for its time, with practical suggestions, largely based on the continental model, for the improvement of church music in Ireland. Its contents demonstrate the scholarly expertise of its author in all aspects of liturgical music and reveal his absolute obedience to papal documents on sacred music, of which he was thoroughly knowledgeable. It is also an indication of his utter commitment to the promotion of good liturgical music practice in Ireland based on his experience of continental practice. If some of his proposals had been acted on, Irish catholic church music would indeed have benefited greatly from the recommendations of this Belgian musician. Instead, his views were, for the most part, disregarded by a country, which, according to James Delaney in 1946, failed to give them sufficient attention:

Ten years have passed since the publication of Mr. de Meulemeester's able and well-reasoned Handbook, which received scant notice from the press at the time and is now almost forgotten. It may well be said that we were too occupied with defence problems during the war to give attention to a mere cultural matter like Church music, but surely a fair hearing can now be given to this apostle of the liturgy and champion of good church music.²⁷⁶

Nevertheless, de Meulemeester was highly influential in Belfast. The Clonard choir under his direction quickly gained the reputation of being 'one of the best choirs in the North.'²⁷⁷ Undoubtedly de Meulemeester actively implemented his many views on church music reform in Clonard itself. This was highlighted by Bishop Mageean of Down and Connor, in the 'foreword' to de Meulemeester's book, when he stated that 'on two occasions lately in that church (Clonard), he has shown what expert knowledge and practical experience, inspired by enthusiasm, can accomplish for Congregational Singing

²⁷⁶ James Delaney: 'Church Music Reform', *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, vol. lxxviii (October 1946), 242.

²⁷⁷ O'Donnell (as n. 139), 31.

and the training of Boys' Choirs.'²⁷⁸ Further comments by the bishop, however, may have reflected the perception amongst the Irish hierarchy that de Meulemeester's proposals were impractical. In effect, whilst they acknowledged that some of his suggestions showed potential, one wonders if the hierarchy ever seriously considered implementing de Meulemeester's ideas. Indeed, it seems they were unaware, to some extent, of the neglect of papal decrees on sacred music in this country:

It may be that some readers will consider the author's criticisms too severe, too sweeping, too personal...Is it true that the Papal instructions have been flagrantly violated here in Ireland?...Some of his views may be regarded as revolutionary. It must be admitted, however, that two suggestions made by the author for this diocese are full of promise: the scheme for the training of Church musicians, and the classes for Liturgy and Gregorian Chant. Even if all his recommendations cannot be regarded as practical in this country at present, the booklet is sure to provoke discussion...²⁷⁹

3.11 Appraisal

Altogether there is evidence that ten German and six Belgian organists travelled to Ireland in the period after Beyerunge's appointment in St Patrick's College, Maynooth in 1888. Of the group mentioned, the German, Aloys Fleischmann in Cork, and the Belgian, Arthur de Meulemeester in Belfast, were perhaps the most significant in terms of their sacred music expertise, and in their capacity to successfully establish a sacred music tradition in their respective localities based on continental practice. Because these two musicians were resident and working in Ireland for a period of almost fifty years, the extent of their work and influence in their adopted cities was considerable. The great sacred and choral music traditions associated with these cities, at opposite ends of the

²⁷⁸ D. Mageean: Foreword to *Church Music Reform* (as n. 240), 6.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 6-7.

island of Ireland, are essentially due to the activities of Fleischmann and de Meulemeester in the early twentieth century, and to the continuation of their work by those who followed.

By c1920, eighteen German organists had taken up positions in Irish cathedrals and churches since the 1870s, the greater number of those after Beyerunge's arrival. Soon after 1914, however, the steady flow of German organists to Irish cathedrals and churches began to decline. As was examined previously, the Irish Society of St Cecilia, which was the catalyst for the movement of German organists to Ireland, had effectively ceased to function by the turn of the twentieth century. The position of Germany as an intellectual authority on sacred music was weakened when Rome withdrew its support of the Regensburg edition of the chant in favour of French Gregorian scholarly endeavours in 1905. The enthusiasm of Irish contingents travelling to church music festivals in Germany had begun to wane by 1900. The death of prominent Irish cecilians such as Nicholas Donnelly in 1920 and William Walsh in 1921 effectively ended the church music contacts established with Germany since the 1870s. Nicholas Donnelly had by 1904, turned his attentions to the establishment of a choir of boys and men at St Mary's church, Haddington Road, in Dublin, which occupied the latter years of the bishop's life.²⁸⁰

²⁸⁰ This choir, named the 'Guild of Choristers, under the protection of St Cecilia', was the culmination of Donnelly's work as pastor for the reform of liturgical music. The primary aim of the Guild was to recruit and train young singers from the local national school of St Mary's, and in the manner of a *Schola Cantorum*, a series of regulations governed the Guild. As a parish choir, St Mary's was unique in Dublin for the authoritative and organised support and patronage which it claimed. The choir responded to Donnelly's demand for serviceable church music. Based on cecilian ideals was his insistence that parishioners be at the core of the musical celebration of the liturgy.

Indeed a significant reason for the decline in the appointment of German organists in Ireland must have been the outbreak of World War One in 1914 which made travel from Germany to Ireland almost impossible. German nationals already in the country were interned during the war years as was the case with Aloys Fleischmann in Cork. Bewerber was in Germany on holidays when hostilities commenced in 1914 and was unable to return to Ireland until 1916. By then, the war had taken its toll on his health. He aged prematurely and became seriously ill. According to a college obituary in 1923, the hardship he had undergone in Germany resulted in serious deterioration to his health; 'he was not at all the same man on his return to Ireland.'²⁸¹

By the 1920s, the Irish hierarchy began to look elsewhere for organists. Belgium, mainly through the reputation of its church music school at Mechelen, the Lemmens Institute, had by this time established itself as a leading centre for church music ideals. Several of its graduates were already beginning to make an impact on sacred music practice in Ireland. Thus began the movement of a second generation of continental organists to Ireland.

²⁸¹ As quoted in Daly (as n. 50), 165.

CHAPTER FOUR

Continental Organists in Ireland 1920-1960

4.1 The Lemmens Institute

Belgium became an independent state in 1830 and immediately set about establishing its own national musical institutions with the conservatories of Liege and Brussels.²⁸²

During the nineteenth century, a number of additional music conservatoires were founded, the most important of which was in 1842 in Antwerp. This became the Flemish Music School in 1867 under the direction of Peter Benoît (1834-1901).²⁸³ Within a short time, this school became an important element in the difficult struggle to establish Flemish music education and in the larger movement for the cultural development of the Flemish people. Benoît's untiring efforts were rewarded when the Belgian government not only recognised the school, but in 1898, raised its status to that of the Royal Flemish Conservatory of Music (Antwerp Conservatoire).

Also, as part of the mid-nineteenth-century nationalistic fervour in Belgium, many small music schools were founded to train choir boys, to rebuild cathedral choral traditions and to channel the more gifted students into the state conservatoires.²⁸⁴ By the 1870s, catholic church authorities, encouraged by the foundation of these schools and influenced

²⁸² See Paul Ulveling: 'Low Countries, Art Music: Belgium', in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2nd edn 2001), vol. 15, 243. Before that year musical instruction in Belgium came principally from the French and the Austrians. Following the French Revolution, Napoleonic wars and years of political instability before independence, Belgium was left with broken traditions and none of the foreign teachers on whom it had depended.

²⁸³ As a composer, Benoît brought new life to Flemish music. He gave Flemish people a belief in their art and through his own creative example, he encouraged others to compose. He was principally a composer of vocal music, with a striking mastery of large choral masses. Benoît was a teacher of international stature, whose conservatory curriculum was far ahead of its time.

²⁸⁴ Ulveling (as n. 282), 244.

by the church music reform movement in Germany, decided to establish an institution dedicated to studies in sacred music.

A Belgian ecclesiastic, Canon Van Damme (1832-1891) asked Jaak Nicholas Lemmens (1832-1881) to establish a church music school in Mechelen under the patronage of the Belgian episcopacy in 1878. Lemmens was one of the best organists of his time and was highly regarded as a teacher.²⁸⁵ While professor of organ in the Brussels Conservatoire, his publication, *Ecole d'orgue* (1862), a study in organ technique, ensured his success both in Belgium and abroad.²⁸⁶ Among his pupils were the famous French composer-organists Felix Guilmant (1837-1911) and Charles Marie Widor (1844-1937).

With Van Damme, Lemmens also founded the Society of St Gregory in 1881 whose activities were modelled on and influenced by the cecilian reform movement in Germany. At a mass at the Church of Notre Dame de Hauswyck, Mechelen, to celebrate the Feast of St Gregory, the choir, made up chiefly of pupils from the institute, sang a mass-setting by the German cecilian Michael Haller.²⁸⁷

Lemmens died in 1881 and was succeeded by Edgar Tinel (1854-1912) who remained as director of the institute until 1908.²⁸⁸ Tinel devoted himself to a study of old church

²⁸⁵ See Francois Sabatier: 'Jaak Nikolaas Lemmens', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2nd edn 2001), vol. 13, 541. Lemmens studied organ with the famous Francois-Joseph Fétis at the Brussels Conservatoire in 1839 and completed his studies with Adolf Hesse in the German city of Breslau (today Poland). Hesse had studied with Rinck and a direct line of descent can be traced back through Kittel to J.S. Bach. Lemmens is credited with making a significant contribution to the introduction of the organ works of J.S. Bach to both Belgium and France.

²⁸⁶ His Belgian pupil Alphonse Mailly was considered one of the best exponents of the Belgian organ school. An organ recital by Lemmens in France on 25 February 1852 was a revelation to all the French organists present including Boely, Benoist, Franck, Alkan and Fessy.

²⁸⁷ *Lyra Ecclesiastica* (June 1882), 48.

²⁸⁸ Tinel began his career as a virtuoso pianist but soon abandoned this for composition. His liturgical music includes two concert settings of the *Te Deum*, an oratorio, religious dramas and many masses and

music and it is thought that his ideas gave rise to Pius X's *Motu Proprio* of 1903.²⁸⁹

Under the direction of Lemmens and Tinel, the institute quickly established itself as a leading centre for church music study by the turn of the twentieth century. As seen in chapters two and three, graduates of the school were already working in Irish cathedrals and churches by the 1900s, the majority of whom were employed by the Redemptorist congregation.

However, it was under the directorship of Julius Joseph Van Nuffel²⁹⁰ that the Lemmens Institute achieved international prominence as a leading exponent of sacred music ideals. As director of the institute over a thirty-four year period from 1918 to 1952, Van Nuffel raised its standards by appointing such teachers as Lodewijk Mortelmans,²⁹¹ Marinus de Jong,²⁹² and Staf Nees.²⁹³ It was particularly through the work and influence of another distinguished teacher at the institute, Flor Peeters, that Flemish organists were trained to a

motets. He became professor of counterpoint and fugue at the Brussels Conservatoire in 1896 and its director in 1908.

²⁸⁹ See Henri Vanhulst: 'Edgar Tinel', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2nd edn 2001), vol. 25, 502.

²⁹⁰ Julius Van Nuffel (1883-1953). Belgian conductor, composer and organist. In 1916 Van Nuffel was the driving force behind the foundation of the St Rombout's Cathedral choir in Mechelen which remained under his direction shortly before his death. Together with Charles Van den Borren (1874-1966) and Georges Van Doorslaer (1864-1940), he published a large part of music by sixteenth-century Flemish composer Phillip de Monte. His compositional output consists of masses and psalms; chief among them is *Te Deum* for double chorus and brass (1944).

²⁹¹ Lodewijk Mortelmans (1868-1951). Belgian conductor and composer. Appointed professor of counterpoint and fugue at Antwerp Conservatoire in 1902 and was director from 1924-1933. He also taught composition at the Lemmens Institute where his pupils included Marinus de Jong and Flor Peeters.

²⁹² Marinus de Jong (1891-1984). Belgian pianist and composer of Dutch origin. After taking Belgian nationality, he studied composition with Mortelemans at the Antwerp Conservatoire. He began his career as a piano virtuoso, touring Europe and America. In 1931 he was appointed professor of piano at the Antwerp Conservatoire and professor of counterpoint and fugue in 1948. He was a prolific composer. His works include several symphonies, six string quartets, three piano concertos and three wind quintets. His sacred music compositions gives prominent place to Gregorian melodies harmonised with a twentieth-century chordal repertory.

²⁹³ Staf Nees (1901-1965). Belgian composer and carillonneur. From 1916-1922, he studied with Van Nuffel and Mortelemans at the Lemmens Institute. His studies continued at the Mechelen Carillonneurs School with Jef Denijn. In 1932 he was appointed town carillonneur of Mechelen and gave carillon concerts in Europe and America. He was appointed director of the carillonneurs' school in 1944. His compositions include suites for carillon and choral sacred works.

high standard and became known and indeed sought after in countries throughout the world. After graduating from the Lemmens Institute in 1923, Flor Peeters was immediately appointed professor of organ at the school, a position he held until 1952. From 1931 to 1948, Peeters was also professor of organ at the Ghent Conservatoire and at the Tilburg Conservatoire in the Netherlands. He became organ professor at the Antwerp Conservatoire from 1948 to 1968, of which he was director from 1952 to 1968.

Peeters' many didactic publications included a summary of his teaching methods in three volumes called *Ars Organi* (1952-1954), published with text in Flemish, French, German and English, and a *Pratische methode voor gregoriaansche* (1943), based on the Vatican edition of plainchant, which was simultaneously published in French and English. As a performer, Peeters made numerous commercial recordings and gave over 1200 organ recitals throughout Europe, the Philippines, South Africa and America, completing ten transcontinental tours during the period 1946-1971. His programmes featured the music of Bach, César Franck, the Flemish masters and contemporary works including his own compositions.²⁹⁴ He subsequently won renown internationally as a recitalist and teacher, giving masterclasses in Europe and America. Through Flor Peeters, Flemish organists became synonymous with excellence throughout the world. Between 1920 and 1960, over forty graduates of the Lemmens institute took up positions as organists in countries from North America, Brazil, Argentina, Chile and Ireland to the Congo, the Philippines,

²⁹⁴ For more on the life and compositions of Flor Peeters, see Jennifer Bate: 'Flor Peeters', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2nd edn 2001), vol. 19, 285-6. Although Peeters composed chamber music, piano works, songs and much sacred choral music, the development of his technique and his highly individual style may best be studied in the organ works. These works, which constituted the greater part of his compositional output, have placed Flor Peeters among the great composer-organists of the twentieth century.

and Japan. Peeters gave recitals in many of these countries and it is probable that his Flemish students received employment abroad directly through his influence.

During the first half of the twentieth century, the Lemmens Institute acquired a reputation for supplying organists to countries where perhaps, as was the case in Ireland, there was a lack of sacred music expertise. Graduates of the institute may have been encouraged and perhaps even expected to travel abroad to raise the standard of church music further afield. However, for many of them, emigration was necessary in order to gain employment in their chosen careers. There simply may not have been enough work in Belgium for many of these highly qualified musicians. Although the Lemmens Institute was the main centre of sacred music study in Belgium, organists were also trained at music conservatoires in Antwerp and Ghent where Peeters also taught.²⁹⁵ These Flemish organists travelled to Ireland primarily on the invitation of members of the Irish hierarchy to improve church music conditions. But they also came to seek employment in a country with positions available in cathedrals and churches for qualified organists.

4.2 The Lemmens Institute and Ireland

The Irish Society of St Cecilia notified its members about the establishment of the Lemmens Institute in 1879 through the following notice in *Lyra Ecclesiastica*:

²⁹⁵ Georges Minne (1924-), organist in Armagh cathedral since 1959 was a graduate of the Royal Conservatoire of Music in Ghent.

ACADEMY OF SACRED MUSIC AT MALINES, BELGIUM

Under the august protection of his Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Malines; of their Lordships the Bishops of Belgium; and under the direction of M. J. Lemmens. The Academy is established for the purpose of training and advancing to the highest degree of proficiency, organists, choirmasters, and vocalists for the service of the Holy Catholic Church.²⁹⁶

The proposed courses in the school were then outlined which included studies in religion, liturgy, Latin, plainchant, organ, piano, harmony, counterpoint, fugue, and composition. The price for tuition for the academic year of ten months in 1879 was £16 or 400 francs but 'Belgian students of limited means but endowed with good disposition', were admitted free.²⁹⁷ Classes began 2 January, 1879. The journal also printed a lengthy article written by Lemmens on the subject of church music which was translated by Francis de Prins, organist in Limerick.²⁹⁸

The de Prins brothers in Limerick and Cork were influential in promoting the Belgian school in Ireland and sent some of their organ pupils to the institute for further studies. The Irish cecilian society noted that one of its members, Mr Hanrahan from Limerick, a pupil of Francis de Prins, travelled to Mechelen and was among the first group of students to enrol in the school.²⁹⁹ A year later, it was reported that Hanrahan had distinguished himself in the organ class and was 'warmly commended by the critical jury present.'³⁰⁰ Another Irish organist, Joseph Seymour from Cork, a pupil of Leopold de Prins, travelled to Belgium in 1880 to spend a short time studying with Lemmens 'in

²⁹⁶ *Lyra Ecclesiastica* (March 1879), 51.

²⁹⁷ *Lyra Ecclesiastica* (March 1879), 53.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 51-52. See appendix three for the text of this article and an outline of the proposed courses in the Lemmens Institute in 1879.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 53.

³⁰⁰ *Lyra Ecclesiastica* (January 1880), 8.

preparation for a six month stay at the church music school at Ratisbon.³⁰¹ *Lyra* proudly stated a few months later that ‘Joseph Seymour...who went to Malines was highly spoken of in the Belgian papers for his admirable pianoforte playing. Ireland, on this occasion, was second on the list.’³⁰² However, the fact that Seymour went to Belgium to prepare himself for studies in Ratisbon indicated that Germany was still perceived to be the main centre of church music practice in the late nineteenth century. In 1884, another Limerick organist, Thomas Purcell also went to Germany, this time to a church music school in Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen).³⁰³ These examples of Irish organists travelling to study in church music schools on the continent indicated a desire in Ireland for a professional continental education in church music. Whether prompted by Irish ecclesiastics, continental organists already working in Ireland, or by the initiative of students themselves, it certainly indicated the efforts made in the late nineteenth century to introduce a high standard of liturgical music practice in the country. The cecilian movement in Ireland provided the link between these Irish organists and church music schools on the continent and was the avenue by which the Lemmens Institute and the Ratisbon Church Music School could advertise its courses.

Evidence that Irish cecilians travelled to Belgium to see the school was contained in a report in *Lyra* on the progress of the institute: ‘After showing us over the establishment, Mr. Lemmens gave some specimens of his method of accompanying plainchant at which we were all delighted.’³⁰⁴ An early indication that Lemmens was preparing graduates of

³⁰¹ *Lyra Ecclesiastica* (March 1880), 23.

³⁰² *Lyra Ecclesiastica*, (November 1880), 87.

³⁰³ *Lyra Ecclesiastica* (August 1884), 55.

³⁰⁴ *Lyra Ecclesiastica* (July 1879), 85.

the institute for positions in other countries was apparent in his decision to use several different editions of chant in the classes:

As the school has not been established for any particular diocese or country, and as the pupils, according as they get placed, must use various editions, no one version will be adopted to the exclusion of others, but each pupil will be put in a position to be able to accompany from any edition that may be placed in front of him.³⁰⁵

When *Lyra Ecclesiastica* ceased its publications at the end of the nineteenth century, activities in the Lemmens Institute were no longer reported in Ireland. The Irish Redemptorists though, continued to employ graduates of the institute in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

In the 1920s, Ireland renewed its contact with the Lemmens institute when a member of the Irish hierarchy contacted the Belgian school in an effort to secure Flemish organists for Irish cathedrals and churches. Between the years 1923 and 1935, fourteen Belgian organists travelled to this country. Their appointments coincided with a revival of Gregorian chant in the early twentieth century and may have been largely due to this development in the Irish catholic church.

4.3 The Gregorian Chant Revival in Ireland

In the 1920s and 1930s, the Irish catholic church embarked on a programme of church music renewal and regeneration. This was mainly due to a call by Pope Pius XI in his *Constitutio Apostolica, Divini Cultus* of 1928, for a restoration of sacred music based on the principles of *Motu Proprio* (1903). This revitalization of the liturgy of the Irish

³⁰⁵ *Lyra Ecclesiastica* (July 1879), 85.

catholic church also coincided with the emergence of Ireland as an independent state in 1922. The defining element in the formation of the new state was its strong Roman Catholic ethos. Protestations of loyalty to the papacy were expressed by the new government on behalf of all citizens. De Valera spoke of Ireland as a 'Catholic nation'.³⁰⁶ Ninety percent of the population professed to be catholics and outsiders were struck by the piety of the people:

No one can visit Ireland without being impressed by the intensity of Catholic belief there, and by the fervour of its outward manifestations. Watch the enormous crowds who fill the churches in the towns, the men as numerous as the women; see them all kneeling on the flagstones, without a sound or gesture, as though petrified in prayer.³⁰⁷

It was in this environment of complete devotion and obedience to the teachings of the catholic church that the revival in Gregorian chant was able to take place and succeed.

Fr John Burke, Dean of Residence in University College, Dublin, and one of the main figures in the promotion of the plainchant revival in Ireland, anticipated its arrival:

'Instinctively the children of Erin love Plainsong, and the time is not far distant when throughout the country, one great incessant prayer-song will arise for the supplication of the whole world.'³⁰⁸ He spoke of a 'propagation of the faith' which involved 'telling people what to do and repeat telling them until your idea possesses them and they act upon it.'³⁰⁹ The Irish catholic hierarchy were, by the 1920s, anxious to promote and

³⁰⁶ As quoted in Kenneth Milne: 'The Church of Ireland since Partition', in *Christianity in Ireland: Revisiting the Story*, ed. Brendan Bradshaw and Dáire Keogh (Dublin: Columba Press, 2002), 223.

³⁰⁷ As quoted in J.H. Whyte: *Church and State in Modern Ireland 1923-1979* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1984), 4.

³⁰⁸ Fr John Burke: 'The Official Music of the Catholic Church', *Music and Liturgy* (London), October 1929, 19.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

implement a national programme whereby Gregorian chant would be restored to its rightful place as the true music of the church. It had to some extent neglected the subject of sacred music since the cecilian movement ended its activities at the turn of the twentieth century. De Meulemeester claimed in 1936 that there had been a twenty-five years' long indifference to the *Motu Proprio* in Ireland and he called for a reform in church music based on the law laid down in *Motu Proprio* and in the light of the 1928 papal encyclical of Pius XI.³¹⁰

This reform in Irish church music took the form of a national public campaign:

Our Holy Father recently said that a propaganda was the first thing necessary before these ideals could be realised among the faithful... We can, without a doubt, cultivate among the universality of people, a public opinion in favour of the best in music.³¹¹

Through the initiative of Fr Burke, classes in Gregorian chant were organised which included the first annual summer school of chant at Mount Anville Convent, Dublin, in 1926. For the summer school, Fr Burke invited Dom Jean Hebert Desrocquettes, O.S.B. of Solesmes to direct the courses. The Dublin Feis Ceoil, the principal competitive music festival in Ireland, included a plainchant competition for the first time in 1928.

Competitions created the possibility of massed singing of Gregorian chant:

In 1928, an opportunity was given for the first time in Ireland of a public demonstration of congregational singing of Plainsong when 600 massed competitors at the close of the day sang the prescribed pieces... Public demonstration is necessary and people learn twice as willingly and twice as fast

³¹⁰ De Meulemeester (as n. 240), 14.

³¹¹ Burke (as n. 308), 19.

when preparing for some competition...it builds up a high standard and creates enthusiasm.³¹²

In the 1930s, plainchant competitions were organised in many parts of the country.

These competitions were particularly directed at school choirs so as to instil the singing of Gregorian chant from a young age. Church music festivals, which contained plainchant competitions, were organised on a diocesan level and attracted many school as well as adult choirs.

The annual church music festival in the diocese of Killaloe, which took place in Ennis, was a typical example.³¹³ It was a highly organised day-long event and special trains brought people from all over the diocese to Ennis. The festival began with high mass in the town's pro-cathedral at noon presided over by the bishop and attended by up to fifty priests. The common of a Gregorian mass was sung by the whole congregation of which there was reported to be 2,500 in 1936.³¹⁴ The proper of the mass was sung by the cathedral choir and the bishop usually gave a sermon on the subject of sacred music. In the afternoon, plainchant competitions for adult choirs and senior and junior school choirs were held. The choirs were required to sing test pieces from the Gregorian chant repertoire and in the case of the adult and senior school choirs, additional pieces from the sixteenth-century repertoire. In the evening, there was a sacred music concert in which the cathedral organist performed organ solos and the cathedral choir sang a selection of pieces. This was the model for similar church music festivals in Limerick, Tuam, Armagh, Kilkenny and Thurles throughout the 1930s.

³¹² Burke (as n. 308), 19.

³¹³ Accounts of church music festivals in Ennis were given in an annual Killaloe diocesan magazine called *Molua*.

³¹⁴ *Molua* (1936), 89.

Varying opinions abounded as to whether these plainchant competitions were successful in raising the standard of sacred music in the country. In a 1940s article assessing the impact of the Gregorian revival in Ireland, Hubert Rooney questioned the validity and value of competitions:

After adjudicating for many years at countless competitions all over the country, I am afraid I must admit that such competitions do not get us very much further towards the desired goal. To my own knowledge it has often happened that winning choirs, schooled by some efficient teacher, give practically faultless performances of test-pieces, and then scarcely sing a note of chant until preparing for a similar competition a year later. Then, again, the very virtuosity of these choirs will frequently deter others, not so well equipped, from taking part in the competition.³¹⁵

Nevertheless, he admitted that ‘these young people, growing up with a Gregorian tradition, will surely treasure it throughout their lives’ and that they will eventually become ‘active participators in the Liturgy.’³¹⁶ Rooney also acknowledged that the standard of singing at these liturgical festivals was good as observed by a Belgian Benedictine monk who was living in Limerick; ‘What of the standard of the singing at these festivals? At Limerick, the distinguished Benedictine Dom Winoc Mertens said: ‘The picked choirs I heard are as good as any children’s choir in Europe’.³¹⁷ This Belgian monk interestingly attributed the successful widespread implementation of the Gregorian revival in Ireland to the fact that there was no developed tradition of plainchant in the country:

³¹⁵ Hubert Rooney: ‘The Gregorian Revival in Ireland’, *Music and Liturgy* (London), October 1940, 113.

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 114.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 114. Winoc Mertens was one of six Benedictine monks who came to Ireland from Belgium in 1927 to found a community at Glenstal, Limerick. He was a leading figure in the Gregorian chant revival in Belgium in the 1900s and was influential in promoting the same revival in Ireland in the 1930s. He was a frequent adjudicator at plainchant festivals throughout Ireland and gave courses and lectures on plainchant in the Munster region. He brought to that part of the country the version of plainchant as practiced in the Belgian Benedictine Abbey at Maredsous, which was ultimately based on the Solesmes model.

We (in Belgium) had about thirty years start of you in Ireland...but in Belgium, we were handicapped by having to build on a foundation of bad music, whereas in Ireland you were in the happier position of having practically no Gregorian music. In Ireland during the last five years you have made more progress than we have in Belgium in thirty years.³¹⁸

Merten's comments raised several observations about the state of sacred music in Ireland at that time. Firstly, they indicated the limited influence nationally of the Irish cecilian movement in promoting a similar programme of sacred music restoration at the end of the nineteenth century. Secondly, his claim that the revival was so successful in such a short time pointed to the presence of sacred music expertise in the country. This expertise was in the form of a group of Belgian organists who through the influence of an Irish bishop came to Ireland in the 1920s and 1930s to raise the standard of liturgical music in the country.

4.4 Bishop Fogarty and Belgian organists

Bishop Michael Fogarty was one of the main figures actively involved in implementing the plainchant revival in Ireland and particularly in his diocese of Killaloe. Fogarty had the longest episcopate in the history of the Irish hierarchy in modern times, a total of fifty-one years. He had a keen interest in sacred music and strongly advocated the implementation of papal decrees on the subject. On his appointment as bishop of Killaloe in 1904, just one year after the publication of *Motu Proprio*, he raised the question of sacred music at a national bishops' meeting. The archbishop of Dublin appointed Bishop Fogarty along with the bishops of Ardagh and Galway 'to form a

³¹⁸ Rooney (as n. 315), 115.

committee to deal with the subject.³¹⁹ A year later, Fogarty was appointed to act as secretary to the committee and was 'to convene meetings when necessary.'³²⁰ These were the only references to church music found in the bishops' meetings from 1904 to 1950. It illustrated once again that church music was a low priority on the agenda of the Irish catholic hierarchy. Thus it appears it was left to individuals like Bishop Fogarty, Fr John Burke, and others to deal with and promote proper sacred music practice in the country. The Gregorian revival of the 1920s and 1930s was a result of their efforts. The appointment of organists from the Lemmens institute to implement this revival and to raise the standard of sacred music was another and perhaps a more significant consequence of their endeavours.

The following letter was initial evidence of Fogarty's contact with the Lemmens Institute:

We are in urgent need of an organist for the Catholic Cathedral in Ennis in the Diocese of Killaloe and although I have made the most exhaustive enquiries I have failed to find any qualified organist in this country, and under these circumstances I have, with the sanction of my Bishop, been obliged to endeavour to obtain a qualified organist in Belgium, and for that purpose I have been in communication with the Reverend L'Abbe Van Nuffel, the Director of the Musical Institute at Malines, Belgium, whose letter to the Bishop dated the 11 February 1920 I enclose.³²¹

The letter, presumed to be written by a priest of the cathedral parish in Ennis, was sent to the Ministry of Labour in order to obtain permission for a Belgian organist to enter the country. The Belgian organist in question, Antoon Slickx, graduated from the Lemmens Institute in 1917 with high distinction and according to this letter came to Ennis in 1920.

³¹⁹ Minutes of bishops' meetings, 22 June, 1904.

³²⁰ *Ibid.*, 10 October, 1905.

³²¹ Letter dated 14 February 1920 found unsigned in Cathedral File, Killaloe Diocesan Archives, Ennis.

Slickx's appointment in the diocese of Killaloe marked the beginning of a movement of a second generation of foreign organists to Ireland initiated by Fogarty.

Further evidence that Fogarty contacted the institute for Belgian organists was found in a 1930s article from the periodical *Musica Sacra*, the journal associated with the Lemmens Institute. In it, the author stated that Ireland lacked the resources for the training of church musicians and that Irish bishops 'took flight to the Lemmens Institute to provide those needs.'³²² Bishop Fogarty was mentioned in the article as being the principal figure associated with this 'flight'. Throughout the 1920s, Fogarty maintained contact with the institute. The same article stated that he invited Van Nuffel, the director of the institute, on a tour through Ireland in the 1920s to visit graduates of the Belgian school working there. In return, Fogarty visited the Lemmens Institute in 1928. He also entrusted Van Nuffel with the task of commissioning a firm in Belgium to build a suitable organ for Ennis cathedral. Even though the organ never arrived at Ennis due to difficulties with the manufacturers in question, it was another example of an Irish ecclesiastic looking to the continent for guidance in the implementation of good sacred music practice. In a series of letters between the two on the subject of the organ, it was evident that Van Nuffel had expended much time and energy on the project and deeply regretted that Fogarty was let down by the Belgian organ builders:

I would not be able to tell you how much suffering and unhappiness this has caused me and I dare to hope that you will believe me when I assure you that I have done all that I can in order to avoid this unhappiness...I hope this sad affair which had troubled my rest for several months does not make you believe that all Belgians are men without word and without faith.³²³

³²² De Schutter (as n. 232), 81.

³²³ Van Nuffel: Letter to Bishop Fogarty, 26 May, 1929. Cathedral File, Killaloe Diocesan Archives, Ennis.

When Fogarty decided to commission the Belfast organ manufacturers, Evans and Barr, to build the organ instead, he again turned to Van Nuffel for guidance, sending him the specifications and estimate for the proposed instrument. Van Nuffel expressed satisfaction with the Belfast organbuilders and was happy with their estimate.³²⁴

Fogarty's central role in the link between Ireland and graduates of the Lemmens Institute was further emphasised in another letter in which Van Nuffel expressed dismay at the possibility that Belgian organists would have to leave their positions in Irish churches and cathedrals. He asked Fogarty to use his influence to intervene on behalf of the Belgian organists. Van Nuffel's comments also further supported the theory that Belgian organists came to Ireland not on their own initiative but at the request of the Irish church:

I am learning that the Irish government has begun an action against foreign subjects living in Ireland. Mr Toulemonde, the organist in Clongoise, has just received orders to leave Ireland before May or June next. The Jesuits are very happy with Mr Toulemonde and are doing their utmost to keep their Belgian organist in Clongoise. We have just sent a demand for an explanation to the Irish consulate in Brussels...I dare to hope that the other Belgian organists are not also threatened. In the case of where it is such, I dare to count on your great influence as well as on all the bishops to the Irish government. In fact, we would find such a measure totally unexplainable, in so far as our Belgian organists have been sought in Ireland, and that they have not been called abroad on their own initiative.³²⁵

It is safe to assume therefore that Bishop Michael Fogarty had an important role in the implementation of continental church music practice in early twentieth-century Ireland. As a result of his association with the Lemmens Institute throughout the 1920s, many of its graduates took up positions as organists in Irish cathedrals and churches. His initial move to establish contact with the institute represented a wider need within the Irish

³²⁴ Van Nuffel: Letter to Bishop Fogarty (as n. 321).

³²⁵ Van Nuffel: Letter to Bishop Fogarty, 30 December 1928.

hierarchy to refocus its attention on the reform of sacred music in the 1920s. As in the late nineteenth century, the Irish hierarchy once again turned to the continent for guidance, and through Bishop Fogarty, looked specifically to Belgian as the leading exponent of church music ideals. As will be evidenced, these Belgian organists laboured tirelessly in an effort to raise the standard of liturgical music in this country and were influential in shaping its course in the twentieth century.

4.5 Belgian Organists in the Diocese of Killaloe

The diocese of Killaloe was unique in the 1920s and 1930s in that it had five foreign organists working there at the same time. Bishop Fogarty was keen to implement proper sacred music practice not just in the cathedral parish, but throughout his entire diocese. Therefore, as well as there being a Belgian organist in Ennis, smaller parishes such as Kilrush, Roscrea and Nenagh, also appointed foreign organists. During the 1920s and 1930s, these organists were leading figures in the Gregorian chant revival in the diocese. They introduced continental church music practice and repertoire and often collaborated with each other for major liturgical occasions within the diocese. Consequently, the diocese of Killaloe was a flurry of sacred music activity during this period which found focus and expression in the church music festivals of the 1930s. Through the presence of these foreign organists, festivals and other significant liturgical events in the diocese were of a high standard and embodied continental sacred music influences.

Antoon Slickx was succeeded by a fellow Lemmens Institute graduate, Ernest de Regge, who arrived in Ennis in 1923, and remained until his death in 1958. De Regge was a

classmate of Flor Peeters and the two were firm friends.³²⁶ As well as being organist and choir director in the cathedral, de Regge taught chant and music in St Flannan's College, Ennis. In the 1930s, he was very active in the Gregorian revival in the county and was instrumental in establishing a society called the 'Association of St Gregory' for the promotion of church music in the diocese. The association, founded in 1934, had a journal, *Molua*, which was circulated once a year throughout the diocese. *Molua* reported on sacred music activity in the diocese, gave accounts of the annual church music festivals and featured articles by leading activists in the Gregorian chant movement in the country.³²⁷ Its objectives were laid out in the first issue in 1934:

The aim of the Association of St. Gregory is to promote the glory of God by striving to put into practice the teachings of our Holy Father Pope Pius X and his successors concerning the liturgy and music of the Church. It is a Diocesan Association, and received the approval and earnest blessing of his Lordship the Bishop on 4th January, 1933. Since then, many branches have been established and are working quietly, but steadily, towards the goal, namely, the cultivation of an appreciation of Plain Chant and other good Church music and the restoration of congregational singing.³²⁸

It was a ground-breaking venture for its time and as well as being an indication of valiant efforts in the diocese to promote proper sacred music practice, it signified continental influences. The association and its journal were undoubtedly influenced by a similar association of the same name founded in Mechelen by Lemmens in 1881 and its journal, *Musica Sacra*.

³²⁶ Flor Peeters played at de Regge's wedding and composed an organ piece for the occasion.

³²⁷ These included articles by Dublin clergy and laity involved in the chant revival such as Rev. M. Kennedy: 'The participation of the faithful in the liturgy of the Church' (1934), Fr John Burke: 'The Prayer-Song of the Church' (1934), 'Restoring all things in Christ' (1935) and Hubert Rooney: 'Plainsong, Folksongs and Carols' (1936). Bishop Fogarty also regularly contributed articles to the magazine.

³²⁸ *Molua* (1934), 3.

Through the pages of *Molua*, the activities of de Regge and other Belgian organists were propagated throughout the diocese. Sacred music concerts which were under the patronage of Bishop Fogarty, and directed by de Regge, were often reported in the journal. These concerts were mediums by which papal decrees on sacred music were promulgated by foreign organists. After a 1934 concert in which Fogarty and many priests of the diocese attended, *Molua* stated that it had been a remarkable occasion 'owing to the fact that all the items of the first half of the programme were specifically chosen with a view to giving a practical illustration of the principles embodied in the *Motu Proprio* of Pius X concerning liturgical music.'³²⁹ Introductory remarks in booklets outlining the programme for these concerts carefully stated that two kinds of music, namely liturgical and sacred would feature. Liturgical music was defined as that 'which according to the law of the Church may be employed', whilst sacred music was understood as that of a religious nature but 'not permissible in Liturgical functions because of the absence of some conditions required for Liturgical Music'.³³⁰

These concerts also featured music by contemporary Belgian composers. In a 1936 concert, de Regge played two organ pieces by Lemmens, and under his direction, the cathedral choir performed a setting of the *Regina Coeli* by Edgar Tinel.³³¹ For the occasion, de Regge enlisted the assistance of his Flemish colleague, Louis Evers, in Galway, who accompanied the choir whilst de Regge conducted.³³² The concerts aroused much interest and were

³²⁹ *Molua* (1934), 31.

³³⁰ See appendix three for a sample programme from one of these sacred music concerts.

³³¹ *Molua* (1936), 18.

³³² Louis Evers came to Roscrea, Co. Clare in 1925. Two years later, he was appointed organist in Galway cathedral and was professor of music in the Jesuit College. He did much pioneering work in Galway, establishing a boys' choir of 25-30 members who were reported to have practiced five times a week. Under Evers's direction, they exclusively sang Gregorian music for a whole year at liturgies and within a year had learned fourteen Gregorian masses. After several years, Evers was able to establish a four-part choir. It is

broadcast on Radio Éireann. Through the use of the media, they became great examples of the Church's renewed commitment to proper sacred music practice and were intended to be national standard bearers for church music. Bishop Fogarty, in a speech after one of these concerts in 1935, praised the work of de Regge, and emphasised the importance of these concerts for the enhancement not only of sacred but also secular music on a national scale:

What a delightful exhibit they (Ennis cathedral choir) have given us of Church music in some of its highest forms under the leadership of their eminent conductor M. de Regge...it is no small achievement for Ennis that with its limited population, it has produced a choir of one hundred young people...here in Ennis, we are endeavouring to raise the standard of sacred music in our churches amongst ourselves...thanks to the wonders of the wireless, local exhibitions such as this of ours are no longer merely local...they serve a national purpose also. High class music in our churches will inevitably lead ...to a demand for a higher and more artistic standard in secular music than is prevalent in Ireland at present.³³³

Therefore the concerts served a dual function in promoting ideals in both sacred and secular music performance in Ireland. They also signified the dependence of the Irish hierarchy on foreign musicians to achieve these ideals. The concerts were directed and accompanied solely by Flemish organists. In that regard, they were also exhibitions of continental music practice and with plainchant competitions, were mediums through which continental repertoire was taught and disseminated in early twentieth-century Ireland.

not known how long he stayed in Ireland before he returned to Belgium, but he is mentioned in *Molua* as accompanying de Regge's choir in 1936.

³³³ *Molua* (1935), 74

The 1936 sacred music concert in Ennis was heard on the radio by another Flemish organist, Jozef Cuypers, who was in the Dominican College in Newbridge, Co.

Kildare.³³⁴ He wrote a letter to Bishop Fogarty congratulating him on the occasion:

The choral singing was of a very high order, the balance was perfect, every part was clear and precise and there was a real blending of resonance, volume and artistry. I thought the 'Regina Coeli' by Tinel was really outstanding...³³⁵

As well as reflecting Cuypers's opinion of the high performance standard of the Ennis cathedral choir under de Regge's direction, the letter possibly indicated that Cuypers was known to Bishop Fogarty.³³⁶ It further supported the idea that Fogarty was responsible for the introduction of these Belgian organists throughout the country.

As with Arthur de Meulemeester in Belfast, de Regge strongly advocated the establishment of an institution for the education of students in the arts of sacred music. His frequent letters to Bishop Fogarty on the subject once again reflected the commitment of foreign organists in Ireland to the improvement of sacred music practice based on their continental experience. On one occasion, de Regge even submitted a draft of his proposed scheme for a diocesan church music school based on the Lemmens Institute:

As you are already aware, I have been for a long time considering the formation at Ennis of a School of Music which would be intended to remedy the many deficiencies which exist in so far as Church Music in this country is concerned. It is

³³⁴ Jozef Cuypers, a graduate of the Lemmens Institute, was appointed professor of music in the Dominican College, Newbridge, Co. Kildare in 1923. He trained a choir in the college and under his direction, performed pieces by continental sacred music composers such as Stehle, Goller and Albergoni and by contemporary Flemish composers such as Van Nuffel, de Boeck and Meulemans.

³³⁵ Jozef Cuypers: Letter to Bishop Fogarty, 3 April, 1936. Cathedral File, Killaloe Diocesan Archives, Ennis.

³³⁶ Also, some of Cuypers's compositions were found in the Bishop's House in Ennis with the inscription 'To Most Reverend Dr. Fogarty, from Jozef Cuypers'.

very well known that your Lordship has at all times taken a very keen interest in the development of Church Music, particularly Gregorian Chant, in your diocese. In view of these facts, I am now presenting to your Lordship a well considered and detailed draft of a scheme for the formation of the School in question: this scheme has been modelled on that of the famous Malines School in Belgium and similar Continental Schools of the same type; minor modifications have been made in order that the school I have in view, may be suited to the conditions in this country.³³⁷

He outlined the necessity for trained organists and choir directors to sustain the present revival in church music in Ireland:

If the movement concerning Gregorian Chant and Congregational singing which your Lordship has so happily and so successfully started is to be maintained and extended, there is no doubt that trained leaders in the persons of Organists, Directors and Choir-masters must be provided...the effect which efficient organists can have on the musical culture of the people is very easily visualised; Organists, who are deeply imbued with the spirit of the 'Motu Proprio' of our Holy Father Pope Pius X...are of paramount importance if we are to witness the revival of Liturgy and Liturgical Spirit which is so necessary at the present time and which is the cherished wish of our Holy Mother, the Church.³³⁸

Whether de Regge's proposals were considered by Bishop Fogarty or the Irish hierarchy in general is unknown. What is certain is that they were never acted upon. It was obvious that the Irish hierarchy had a high regard for the Lemmens Institute and were aware of and actively sought the expertise of its graduates. However, it disregarded the pleas of its graduates to establish a similar institution in Ireland that was obviously going to have far-reaching benefits for the future of Irish catholic church music. It may be that Irish ecclesiastics were satisfied with their policy of recruiting foreign organists to implement good sacred music practice and did not feel the need to look any further. After all, it had

³³⁷ Ernest de Regge: Letter to Bishop Michael Fogarty, 27 July, 1936. Cathedral File, Killaloe Diocesan Archives, Ennis.

³³⁸ *Ibid.* See appendix four for a full text of this letter and the prospectus of de Regge's proposed school of church music in Ennis.

worked well since the late nineteenth century, and was still experiencing success in the early twentieth century, particularly in connection with the Irish sacred music renaissance of the 1920s and 1930s. Whatever the reason for the Irish hierarchy's neglect in providing a systematic education in the arts of sacred music, their inactivity in this regard was to impact greatly on the development of Irish catholic church music in the late twentieth century.

Other continental organists in Killaloe diocese during this period included the Belgian Firmin Van de Velde and a German organist, Paul Botz. Van de Velde, who was part of the first generation of Belgian organists, came to Ireland in 1910. After working in Redemptorist churches in Dundalk and Limerick, and in St Nicholas' Pro-Cathedral, Galway, de Velde moved to the parish church of Kilrush in 1935. Van de Velde moved to Kilrush when the plainchant revival was at its peak in the diocese and this was probably the reason for his move from a city church to a rural parish. His appointment to Kilrush was probably due to efforts made by Fogarty to implement the restoration of sacred music throughout his entire diocese and not just in the cathedral parish of Ennis.

Van de Velde made a remarkable contribution to the development of sacred music in a relatively small rural parish. During the 1940s, *Molua* reported that a four-part adult choir of sixty voices was practising twice a week under his direction.³³⁹ He also trained a school girls' choir of thirty voices, who sang at benediction, Requiem masses and who joined with the adult choir during the Holy Week ceremonies. All the children of the parish sang at a Missa Cantata on the third Sunday of each month.³⁴⁰ Van de Velde also

³³⁹ *Molua* (1946), 55

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

introduced continental repertoire to his parish. In a sacred music concert to mark the installation of a new organ in Kilrush church, his choir sang music by the contemporary Flemish composer August de Boeck³⁴¹, as well as Van de Velde's own sacred music compositions.³⁴² De Regge accompanied the choir while Van de Velde conducted. In a speech after the concert, the parish priest, Fr Kelly, said that the occasion marked a significant advance 'in a movement which has been put in foot here in response to papal decrees and the constant urgings of the Bishop to introduce and cultivate good church music in all its forms.'³⁴³

Similarly, in the town of Nenagh, not far from Kilrush, another foreign organist, Paul Botz was having a beneficial effect on the practice of sacred music in the town. Botz was one of only a few Germans in the second generation of foreign organists in Ireland.³⁴⁴ He

³⁴¹ August de Boeck (1865-1937). He studied at the Brussels Conservatoire, and along with his teacher Paul Gilson, was taught to have been responsible for the introduction of musical impressionism into Belgium. De Boeck taught harmony and organ at the Antwerp Conservatoire from 1909 to 1921, and at the Brussels Conservatoire from 1909 to 1930. As a composer, he is better known for his orchestral works, various piano works, works for brass bands and a number of cantatas, than as a composer of organ and sacred vocal music. He is considered to be one of the most representative Belgian composers of his generation.

³⁴² *Molua* (1947), 39

³⁴³ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁴ Other German organists in Ireland at that time included Clement Haan (1908-1981) in Derry and Karl Wolff (1897-1982) in Loughrea, Co. Galway. Clement Haan, who grew up in Ireland, was a son of the organist Alphonse Haan in Longford. He was sent by his father to study music in Cologne, Germany. On his return to Ireland in 1931, Clement was appointed organist and choirmaster in St Eugene's Cathedral, Derry, where he remained for fifty years.

Karl Wolff was organist in St Brendan's Cathedral, Loughrea from 1927 to 1980. Wolfe, who studied in Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen), succeeded another German organist Jean Thauet who had been in Loughrea since 1925. Thauet, who wished to return to Germany to pursue further studies, informed Wolff of the vacant position in Loughrea. Wolff did much to improve sacred and secular music conditions in Loughrea. For a town of only 2,000 inhabitants in the 1930s, Loughrea boasted, under Wolff's direction a substantial four-part cathedral choir capable of singing Gregorian chant and sixteenth-century polyphony. Wolff was also a prolific sacred music composer and the choir in Loughrea regularly sang his compositions. He also taught music in Garbally, the diocesan boys' college in Ballinasloe, where he directed an annual student operetta. He taught piano, organ and trained a brass band in the town. He wrote and scored music for many plays in Loughrea throughout the 1930s which proved very successful, with performances attracting audiences from many parts of Galway.

Karl Wolff's son, Dom Sebastian, has been a Benedictine monk in Buckfast Abbey, Devon, England since 1948. In the 1950s, he studied organ with Dr Lionel Dakers at Exeter Cathedral and gained his Fellowship of the Royal College of Organists in 1962. Shortly afterwards he was appointed musical advisor in the

was first mentioned in *Molua* in 1935 on the occasion of the blessing of the new organ in Nenagh church. In a sacred music concert to mark the occasion, Botz gave an organ recital and directed the choir who sang music by the sixteenth-century composers Palestrina, Vittoria and Lassus.³⁴⁵ Much credit was given to Botz, 'who had very limited time at his disposal to prepare the choir of some fifty voices for the broadcast concert.'³⁴⁶ It seems that Botz trained his choirs in Nenagh to a high level of performance proficiency. Results of plainchant competitions printed in *Molua* throughout the 1930s indicated that both his adult and school choirs were frequently awarded first place ahead of many others in the diocese, including the Ennis cathedral and college choirs.

Due to the presence of these continental organists, the diocese of Killaloe became the leading centre of sacred music activity in early twentieth-century Ireland. Through their involvement in plainchant competitions, sacred music concerts, and in the 'Association of St Gregory', the renewal of sacred music instigated by Bishop Fogarty spread throughout the diocese and was a remarkable success. Not only did the efforts of Ernest de Regge, Firmin Van de Velde, Louis Evers, Paul Botz and George Minne³⁴⁷ result in the implementation of proper sacred music practice in the diocese, but also the standard of church music performance was dramatically improved. Large numbers of school children and adults were taught the technicalities of Gregorian chant. Many choirs in the diocese

diocese of Plymouth to help the changeover from Latin to English in the catholic church, following the sacred music decrees of the Second Vatican Council. A renowned organist, Dom Sebastian has given many recitals throughout Britain and Europe and is a respected sacred music composer. In 1999, a CD of his organ works, played by the distinguished English organist, Jeremy Filsell, and recorded at Buckfast Abbey, was produced by Herald AV Publications.

³⁴⁵ *Molua* (1935), 70

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁷ George Minne was the last of the Flemish organists to come to Ireland. He succeeded Van de Velde as organist in Roscrea in 1952 and moved to Kilrush parish in 1956. In 1959, he was appointed organist and choirmaster in Armagh Cathedral, a position he still holds.

were trained to sing intricate sixteenth-century polyphony as well as music by contemporary continental composers. A piece by the Flemish composer Lodewijk Mortelmans was even one of the test pieces for the diocesan plainchant competition in 1934.³⁴⁸ The most interesting aspect of this development was that it occurred mostly in rural parishes and medium-sized towns.

In the 1940s, church music festivals in Killaloe diocese were abandoned due to the Second World War.³⁴⁹ In 1956, Fr Kieran O’Gorman, on his appointment as director of church music in the diocese, reported in *Molua* that he pledged to revive the sacred music festival: ‘It proved itself an excellent means for promoting interest in and raising the standards of church music in the diocese, putting into effect the commands issued by Pius X in *Motu Proprio*.’³⁵⁰ However, the death of Bishop Fogarty in 1955 and Ernest de Regge in 1958, effectively ended hopes of rekindling the sacred music initiatives of the 1920s and 1930s in Killaloe. When *Molua* ceased its publications in 1959, the curtain was finally drawn on a remarkable period of church music history in a west of Ireland diocese, which, through the appointments of five foreign organists, witnessed the practice of a continental model of sacred music.

³⁴⁸ *Molua* (1934), 89.

³⁴⁹ War conditions restricted the use of transport and the supply of tea and refreshments for the visitors at the festival.

³⁵⁰ *Molua* (1957), 70.

4.6 Karl Seeldrayers (Westport, Sligo, Carlow)

In 1941, Karl Seeldrayers (1907-1996), a graduate of the Lemmens Institute, was appointed organist of Carlow cathedral.³⁵¹ Seeldrayers had been in Ireland since 1930, and was organist in Westport church and Sligo cathedral before moving to Carlow.

Westport, a comparatively small town on the western Atlantic coast, was the furthestmost point in the west of Ireland to which a foreign organist travelled to take up employment. Seeldrayers' appointment in Westport indicated an awareness amongst clergy in other rural parts of Ireland of Bishop Fogarty's initiative in Co. Clare to recruit graduates of the Lemmens Institute to improve sacred music practice. It signified a desire by clergy in towns such as Westport to implement proper sacred music practice in a similar way. Although Seeldrayers remained in Westport for only six years, he helped to establish sacred music structures in the town. In the same year that he arrived, he formed a boys' choir, and in 1931, was asked to establish a choral society to promote both sacred and secular music in the area:

An important meeting will take place in the Sacristy on Sunday immediately after last Mass, for the purpose of founding and establishing a Society to be called 'Westport Catholic Choral Society' on a proper basis, the object of which will be to propagate Sacred and Concert Music. Fr. Patterson will preside, and an address will be delivered by Dr. Carl Seeldrayers, who also will outline the Programme.³⁵²

³⁵¹ Carlow had two German organists between the years 1893 and 1929. Gustav Haan, who was appointed organist in 1893, was succeeded by another German, Franz Born in 1923. Born remained in Carlow for six years and returned to Germany in 1929.

³⁵² M.J. Lyons: Letter to Westport parishioners, 12 November, 1931. Karl Seeldrayers' library, St Patrick's College, Carlow.

Seeldrayers also introduced the music of contemporary Flemish and Dutch composers to Westport. He regularly played the organ music of Flor Peeters, Jef Van Hoof,³⁵³ Jef Van Durme,³⁵⁴ Johannes Verhulst,³⁵⁵ Jaak Nicholas Lemmens, Hendrick Andriessen,³⁵⁶ as well as organ pieces by Bach and Handel at Sunday Masses.³⁵⁷

In 1930, the Belgian organist Renaat Segers who was in Longford,³⁵⁸ travelled to Westport to join Seeldrayers in giving an organ recital in the church. Segers and Seeldrayers were students together in the Lemmens Institute and were both pupils of Flor Peeters.³⁵⁹ The recital, which was an enormous success and a pioneering event for the town, was even reported on in the Belgian periodical, *Musica Sacra*³⁶⁰. Seeldrayers played organ music by Bach, Dacquin and Schubert, and Segers performed organ works by Widor and César Franck.³⁶¹

³⁵³ Jef Van Hoof (1886-1959). Belgian composer. Studied composition at the Antwerp Conservatoire with Mortelemans and Gilson. As a composer, he was influenced by Peter Benoît and became well known for his espousal of Flemish nationalism. In 1933 he founded the Flemish National Song Festival.

³⁵⁴ Jef Van Durme (1907-1965). Studied composition at the Antwerp Conservatoire and later with Alban Berg (1885-1935) in Vienna. As a composer, he was directly influenced by the expression of the Second Viennese School. His works include operas, songs and seven symphonies.

³⁵⁵ Johannes Verhulst (1816-1891). Dutch composer and conductor. Achieved international fame as director of the 1854 Rotterdam festival. During the 1860s, he assumed virtual control of Dutch musical life, becoming director of the Diligentia concerts in The Hague (1860), the choir of the Amsterdam section of Toonkunst and the Caecilia orchestra (both 1864) and the Felix Meritis orchestra (1865).

³⁵⁶ Heinrich Andriessen (1892-1981). Dutch composer, organist and teacher. In the 1920s, he taught composition and analysis at the Amsterdam Conservatoire, concurrently teaching organ and chant at the catholic school of church music in Utrecht. In 1949 he was appointed director of the Royal Conservatoire of Music in The Hague. After 1945 he became quite prolific in his production of sacred choral music.

³⁵⁷ A handwritten list of organ pieces played on each Sunday between January and April 1932 was found in Seeldrayers' library in St Patrick's College, Carlow. See appendix five for this list.

³⁵⁸ Segers was organist in Longford cathedral from 1928 to 1956, in which year he returned to retirement in Belgium. He laid the foundations for a very successful adult choir that the cathedral has to the present. Segers also established a boys' choir in the town which won many prizes in plainchant competitions led by Fr John Burke in Dublin. He also taught music in St Mel's College, Longford from 1945 to 1956.

³⁵⁹ Kerstens (as n. 249), 21.

³⁶⁰ 'Orgelrecital in de parochiekerk te Westport (Ierland)', *Musica Sacra* (Mechelen), March 1931, 38-9.

³⁶¹ *Ibid.*

Both organists also played arrangements of Irish folk songs on the organ, such as *Let Erin Remember*, *The Snowy Breasted Pearl* and *Seán Ó Duibhir an Gleanna*.³⁶² Their inclusion in the organ recital is interesting. They were probably incorporated in the programme by the Belgians out of respect for the folk music of their adopted country. Another possibility for their inclusion was that these melodies would have been easily recognisable by the Westport audience. This would have been an important consideration in view of the fact that many of the audience may not have been familiar with continental organ music repertoire or accustomed to this type of recital. On another level, however, it also reflected the interest of Belgian organists in Irish folk music.³⁶³

In 1936, Seeldrayers left Westport to take up a position as organist and choirmaster in Sligo cathedral. He succeeded another Belgian organist, Albert de Meester (1906-1991), who had been in Sligo since 1929. De Meester formed a cathedral choir of thirty men and 120 children in Sligo and was also responsible for the acquisition of a new organ for the cathedral in 1930. In a sacred music concert to mark the occasion of the blessing of the organ, the choir sang a mass by Van Nuffel and motets by Palestrina.³⁶⁴

The initial concern therefore of Seeldrayers in Westport and de Meester in Sligo was to establish choirs, introduce continental church music repertoire, and oversee the installation of new organs. These were the tasks many Belgian organists set themselves in early-twentieth century Ireland, particularly in towns where there had previously been no foreign organist. A letter sent by the administrator of Sligo cathedral to Seeldrayers

³⁶² 'Orgelrecital in de parochiekerk te Westport (Ierland)', (as n. 360).

³⁶³ Many Belgian organists, particularly those who spent a long time in Ireland, took a keen interest in Irish music. As will be evidenced, this was especially apparent in the case of Staf Gebruers in Cobh, who arranged Irish melodies for piano, organ and orchestra, as well as composing sacred and secular music in an Irish idiom.

³⁶⁴ Kerstens (as n. 249), 6.

outlining his duties, verified that church music practice had been firmly established there by de Meester:

I offer the position to you temporarily for three years on the following conditions: Whole-time service to the Cathedral as Organist and Choir-master, involving maintenance and training of a choir of men and boys for ordinary and special occasions of such standard and proportions as befits the cathedral, and the usual duties of attendance at Services on Sundays and Holydays and Requiem Masses, Holy Hour and such-like occasions. Vocal tuition in two sessions per week of one hour each to the general body of students at the College or to groups, in secular or sacred music, as may be arranged with the President.

...I do suggest that the sooner you are able to spend some considerable time with Mr. De Meester here the better...Mr. De Meester would hand you over all the Cathedral music, indicate lines of choir organisation, explain the entire 'physiology' of the organ and its moods and humours and would be helpful in many ways.³⁶⁵

Seeldrayers remained in Sligo for six years and in that time continued to introduce continental sacred music practice and repertoire. In a radio broadcast from the cathedral in 1939, the choir sang pieces by Palestrina, Lassus, Van Nuffel and de Puydt, and Seeldrayers played organ music by the Dutch composer Hendrick Andriessen.³⁶⁶

In 1941, Seeldrayers left Sligo and took up the position as organist and choirmaster in Carlow cathedral. The move to Carlow appealed to Seeldrayers as it was home to the second largest seminary in the country, St Patrick's College. As well as his duties in the cathedral, Seeldrayers was appointed professor of chant and sacred music in the seminary. He was particularly interested in the study and execution of plainchant and this

³⁶⁵ John Feeley: Letter to Karl Seeldrayers, 11 September 1936. Elphin Diocesan Archives, Sligo.

³⁶⁶ Programme of the concert found in Seeldrayers' library, St Patrick's College, Carlow.

position in the college gave him the opportunity to utilise his expertise in this area to a greater extent.³⁶⁷

For the next thirty-six years, Seeldrayers laboured tirelessly for the proper practice of sacred music in Carlow. It was through his position in the seminary that Seeldrayers had the greatest impact. He was regularly able to propagate sacred music ideals through articles in the college magazine³⁶⁸, and by means of his work with the seminarians. This was particularly reflected in a detailed article written by a seminarian, Carlo Centra,³⁶⁹ in the college magazine *Carlovian* in 1949. In the article, Centra described in detail Seeldrayers' work in the college and the repertoire he introduced into the choir. He mentioned that all students in the college received two classes each week devoted to the study and singing of plainchant and that masses were entirely sung in plainchant. He indicated the importance that Seeldrayers placed on the technicalities of chant:

Among the details that are continually insisted upon are the proper pronunciation of the Latin text and the giving to all notes in the chant their proper value, especially in places where they are commonly slurred.³⁷⁰

³⁶⁷ Many theoretical books on plainchant were found in his library in St Patrick's College. Among these were several books from the period of the cecilian movement in Ireland. These included the treatise *Grammar of Gregorian and Modern Music* by Rev. Hackett (1865), the translation of Haberl's *Magister Choralis* by Nicholas Donnelly (1877), a copy of *Grammar of Gregorian Music* by William Walsh (1885), and the *Ratisbon Graduale* (1869). Seeldrayers possibly found these books in the college, as the inscription 'Stephen Bavis, Carlow' was written inside the *Ratisbon Graduale*. St Patrick's College did not appoint its first professor of sacred music until 1893. The presence of these books therefore, is evidence that students in Carlow, before 1893, were already implementing continental sacred music practice as advocated by the Irish cecilian movement.

³⁶⁸ Seeldrayers regularly contributed articles on the subject of chant and sacred music to the college magazine, *Carlovian*. These included 'Church Music' (1963), 'What of Church Music (1968), and 'Music and the Scriptures (1973).

³⁶⁹ Fr Carlo Centra was born in Co Donegal and was ordained in St Patrick's College, Carlow, for Glasgow diocese in 1950.

³⁷⁰ Carlo A. Centra: 'Our Sacred Music', *Carlovian* (June 1949), 75.

Forty students were chosen by Seeldrayers from different classes to form a *Schola Cantorum* to sing more intricate sacred music repertoire. He introduced a wide range of continental sacred music into the repertoire of his *schola*, from sixteenth-century motets to modern compositions of the twentieth century:

The relatively small number of singers in the schola limits the field of its endeavours, but a short glance at its repertoire will suffice to show both the taste and energy of its conductor.³⁷¹

Centra listed the main pieces of the repertoire sung by the *schola* which included works by the sixteenth-century composers Palestrina, Vittoria, Handl and Croce.³⁷²

The students also sang many sacred vocal works by continental contemporary composers:

It is left to the discriminating taste of one, who is not only a recognised authority on Plain Chant but who is, at the same time, a graduate of distinction of the great Belgian school of music at Mechlin, ... to determine whether the modern works that we execute have the sanctity and goodness of form that the Holy See demands of them.³⁷³

Centra commended Seeldrayers for choosing modern compositions that 'are remarkable for their close resemblance in movement and inspiration to the supreme model and criterion of true church music, Gregorian chant.'³⁷⁴ One of those pieces was a mass by

³⁷¹ Centra (as n. 370), 77.

³⁷² The following pieces by these composers were sung; *Improperia* and *Tenebrae factae sunt* (four voices) by Palestrina, *O vos omnes*, *Domine non sum dignus* and *Ecce quomodo* by Vittoria, *Haec est Dies* (eight voices) and *Ave Maria* (five voices) by Handl.

³⁷³ Centra (as n. 370), 78.

³⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

the Belgian organist Michael Van Dessel (1899-1974)³⁷⁵, organist and choirmaster in

Dundalk:

In this connection especially, one might mention the most recent achievement of our schola which lies in the perfecting of a new Mass – the “Missa Sine Nominee” by the present cathedral organist of Dundalk, M. Van Dessel. The Mass is written for 3 voices with organ accompaniment. It is a work of easy movement, marked by a peculiar charm and grace and is, in parts, in marked contrast to the other Mass that we perform, the “Missa Septima” of Bruno Stein. The contrast is especially noticeable in the “Benedictus”, where in the “Missa Septima”, “He who cometh”, is welcomed with loud ringing Hosannas, while in the other the note is one of wonder, of humble silent adoration.³⁷⁶

Other Flemish composers whose music featured in the college repertoire were Verhulst,

Van Hoof and Van Nuffel:

“Salve, Sancte Pater” is an attractive and sincere little prayer by Van Hoof, and perhaps our most striking motet is the “Christus Vincit” by the distinguished director of the Lemmens Institute.³⁷⁷

Seeldrayers also introduced into both the cathedral and college choirs music by Flor

Peeters, Moortgat, Lodewijk Mortelmans, Marinus de Jong, Lode Van Dessel, Lodewijk

de Vocht,³⁷⁸ Joseph Ryelandt,³⁷⁹ Jules Vyverman,³⁸⁰ Staf Nees, and Arthur Verhoeven.³⁸¹

³⁷⁵ As will be examined, Van Dessel was a skilled composer and organist who had an immense influence on sacred music practice in Dundalk between the years 1923 and 1974. The inclusion of his music by Seeldrayers in the repertoire of the college choir indicated that Van Dessel was recognised as a prominent sacred music composer amongst his Flemish colleagues.

³⁷⁶ *Centra* (as n. 370), 78.

³⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁸ Lodewijk de Vocht (1887-1977). Belgian conductor and composer. Professor of harmony at the Antwerp Conservatoire from 1921, and was appointed director of the institute in 1944. He founded the Royal Chorale Caecilian in 1916 and remained as its conductor until 1967.

³⁷⁹ Joseph Ryelandt (1870-1965). Belgian composer. Director of Bruges Conservatoire (1924-1945), and taught harmony at the Ghent Conservatoire (1929-1939). The core of his compositional output consists of religious music, especially large oratorios in the tradition of Listz, Franck and Elgar. On Edgar Tinel's recommendation, some of his early works were published by Breitkopf and Härtel, but most of his works remain unpublished and unknown.

³⁸⁰ Jules Vyverman (1900-1989). Director of the Lemmens institute.

³⁸¹ Copies of music by these composers were found in Seeldrayers' library in St Patrick's College, Carlow.

Music by nineteenth and twentieth-century German composers also constituted part of Carlow's sacred music repertoire. Compositions by the German cecilians Filke, Goller, Mitterer and Gruber as well as works by a twentieth-century German composer, Heinrich Lemacher³⁸² were mentioned in the article as being part of the repertoire of the college choir.³⁸³ Choir reports from the 1940s found in Seelldrayers's library also indicated that the cathedral and college choirs often sang many pieces by the renowned nineteenth-century German cecilian Michael Haller.

Through the introduction and practice of such a wide and varied repertoire of church music, Carlow certainly felt the effects of continental sacred music practice:

Our repertoire, therefore, in church music is extensive and it requires continual and persevering work to keep the performances of such a variety of pieces at the very high level that Carlow has set in this field.³⁸⁴

Regular sacred music classes with all seminarians and particularly with the *schola* gave Seelldrayers the opportunity to teach and perfect such a repertoire. Because the college was adjacent to the cathedral, Seelldrayers often combined both choirs for major liturgical occasions and concerts. At the end of a concert in the cathedral in 1948, both the college and cathedral choirs united for the performance of music by Van Nuffel and Flor Peeters. The local newspaper reporting on the occasion stated that the cathedral choir, which

³⁸² Heinrich Lemacher (1891-1966). German teacher and composer. Studied at the Colonge Conservatoire between 1911 and 1916, and became its professor in 1928. He was one of the leading composers of catholic church music in Germany from the 1920s to the 1960s. His ambition, as composer and teacher, was to overcome the stylistic construction of the 'music within walls' supported by the cecilian movement, and to re-establish the links between sacred and secular music by means of good *Gebrauchsmusik*. Herman Schroeder (1904-1984) and Bernd Alois Zimmermann (1918-1970) are among his pupils.

³⁸³ *Centra* (as n. 370), 77.

³⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 78.

comprised men and boys, numbered eighty voices.³⁸⁵ The college choir had forty voices. Therefore, in an Irish town in the 1940s, a foreign organist had instigated the massed singing of contemporary continental sacred music.

Seeldrayers also contributed greatly to secular music-making in Carlow. He formed the Carlow Musical Society in 1940 and in its first concert in 1941, the programme included songs by Schubert, Gounod and Bach, whilst Seeldrayers played piano pieces by Sibelius and Beethoven.³⁸⁶ He was also responsible for organising a series of classical music recitals in the 1960s, one of which was an organ recital given by him in 1969.³⁸⁷ In 1965, Seeldrayers founded the 'Choral Union' which was made up of various choirs from the Carlow area. It later changed its name to the Carlow Choral Society.

Throughout his life, Seeldrayers kept in touch with sacred music developments on the continent. He was in regular contact with the Lemmens Institute particularly in the early part of his career and was kept updated on happenings there through the journal *Musica Sacra* which he received throughout the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s.³⁸⁸ The journal often enclosed music supplements which contained compositions by Flemish composers attached to the Lemmens Institute. Therefore Seeldrayers was in constant supply of contemporary continental church music repertoire. It was perhaps in the introduction and practice of such a repertoire that Seeldrayers made his most notable contribution to the development of church music in Carlow.

³⁸⁵ *The Nationalist*, May 15, 1948.

³⁸⁶ Concert programme found in Seeldrayers' library, St Patrick's College, Carlow.

³⁸⁷ Recital programme dated 11 November 1969 was found in his library. On this occasion, Seeldrayers played pieces by Bach, César Franck, Flor Peeters, Claussman, Vierne and Widor. A notice at the end of the programme indicated that in the following month, a recital would be given by the Allegri String Quartet.

³⁸⁸ Many copies of *Musica Sacra* were found in his library, as well as copies of the church music journal, *Musicae Sacrae Ministerium* which was published in Rome.

4.7 Staf Gebruers (Cobh)

The harbour town of Cobh in Co. Cork was home to several continental organists in the early twentieth century. As seen in chapter three, Bishop Robert Browne took an active interest in improving sacred music practice in the town, and between 1902 and 1913, three continental organists were appointed at different times to St Colman's Cathedral. In 1924, the bishop appointed the Belgian organist Staf Gebruers who was unique amongst foreign organists in Ireland in that he was also a carillonneur.³⁸⁹

Carillon playing was essentially a Flemish tradition which was identified with the Low Countries and particularly the area of Flanders in Belgium since the sixteenth century. The art of carillon playing only became popular outside of these areas after the First World War. However, to this day, the concentration of carillons in the Netherlands and Belgium is striking.³⁹⁰

Gebruers was a student of the Carillon School in Mechelen as well as studying at the Lemmens Institute.³⁹¹ Under Jef Denijn (1862-1941), who was credited with the

³⁸⁹ A carillon is a musical instrument consisting of twenty-three or more cast bronze shaped bells, which have been precisely tuned so that any can be sounded together to produce a harmonious effect. The clapper of each bell is connected by wires to the console. The console contains a double row of rounded levers called batons and a pedal board. The carillonneur sits on a bench facing the console and plays the instrument by depressing the batons with loosely clenched fists. The batons are arranged in the same pattern as the keys of a piano and the console ranges in size from two to six octaves. Carillons were installed in towers of churches and cathedrals. The art of carillon playing is also called campanology.

³⁹⁰ Luc Rombouts: 'In Search of the Origin of the Carillon: An Interdisciplinary Approach', *Proceedings of the 13th World Carillon Congress* (Cobh 2002), 38.

³⁹¹ The Carillon School in Mechelen was established in 1922 by Jef Denijn and its opening coincided with the first World Carillon Congress which was held in Mechelen. The school was intended to be the leading institute in the world for the development of carillon art.

renaissance of Flemish carillon art in the twentieth century, Staf Gebruers quickly excelled on the instrument.³⁹²

In Cobh, Bishop Browne oversaw the final stages of the building of the cathedral, and decided to install bells in its tower. In 1914, he made initial contact with the renowned Taylor Bellfoundry in Loughborough, England, to order a sixteen-bell chime. The bishop also engaged a bell consultant, William Starmer (1866-1927), Fellow of the Royal Academy of Music and Lecturer in Campanology at Birmingham University for further advice.³⁹³ As a result, he ended up with forty-two bells instead of sixteen, and in 1916, an early, modern, well-tuned carillon was installed in Cobh cathedral.³⁹⁴ Despite the fact that the cathedral tower was not originally designed for the installation of a carillon, St Colman's turned out to be an ideal acoustical setting for the instrument:

The belfry, located some forty-five metres above sea level, enjoys a fine elevation for hearing the bells. In front of the building the land drops sharply to the harbour, in effect almost a land-locked expanse of water, ideal for carrying the sound of bells. Behind the cathedral, the land rises in a semicircle, thus creating the effect of an amphitheatre, a perfect acoustical shape.³⁹⁵

³⁹² Adrian Gebruers. Personal interview, 27 April 2004. Adrian, a son of Staf Gebruers, succeeded his father as carillonneur, organist and choirmaster in Cobh in 1970. After receiving his initial carillon tuition from his father, Adrian went to the Carillon School in Mechelen to pursue further studies. He holds the unique distinction of being the first Irish-born carillonneur and is a frequent guest recitalist abroad. Adrian currently lectures in carillon studies at the Music Department of University College Cork and is also president of the World Carillon Federation.

³⁹³ Adrian Gebruers: 'Cobh, its Cathedral and Carillon', *13th Congress – World Carillon Federation (Cobh 2002)*, 36.

³⁹⁴ By early 1916, the forty-two bells were on the dockside in Liverpool awaiting shipment to Cobh (then known as Queenstown). However, the outbreak of World War 1 (1914-18) presented something of a problem, given that German U-boats were quite active in the waters approaching Cork Harbour. However, Bishop Browne, who was a good friend of Admiral Sir Lewis Bayley, commander of the Irish Station and based at Queenstown, managed to get the bell cargo to its destination courtesy of the Royal Navy. The bells were landed on the quayside and hauled up the hills to the cathedral on horse-drawn drays. The bishop had to wait until 1919 before the carillon was actually played.

³⁹⁵ Gebruers (as n. 393), 37.

It was remarkable that a member of the Irish hierarchy in 1916 had the vision and foresight to install such an instrument, the only one of its kind in the Republic of Ireland.³⁹⁶ Bishop Browne introduced an instrument to Ireland which was deeply embedded in a Flemish tradition. By doing so, he set the scene for links between Cobh and the continental art of carillon playing. On several occasions, Browne engaged visiting carillonneurs from Belgium to give recitals on the instrument. One of them, Antoine Nauwelaerts, City Carillonneur of Bruges, gave the inaugural recital in 1919.³⁹⁷ During the next five years, the carillon was only played twice by visiting carillonneurs. The bishop was anxious to appoint a resident carillonneur. He also needed an organist and choirmaster. In 1924, the Lemmens Institute provided him with the perfect candidate, Staf Gebruers, who fulfilled all three roles.

For almost the next fifty years Staf Gebruers played a major role in the musical life of his adoptive town and country. As well as firmly establishing the Flemish art of carillon playing in Cobh, he also implemented good sacred music practice in the town based on the principles of *Motu Proprio* (1903). He directed a sixty-strong cathedral choir of men and boys who regularly sang Gregorian chant at all masses. He published a manual of sacred music, *Cantuarium* (1944), which consisted of 'the most popular Gregorian Masses, also Chants and Hymns from the Divine Office and various liturgical functions.'³⁹⁸ The manual also contained a five-page introduction written by Gebruers on the technique of chant performance and on Latin pronunciation:

³⁹⁶ There is a carillon in St Patrick's Cathedral, Armagh. It has thirty-nine bells and is slightly smaller than the one in Cobh. It was constructed in 1921.

³⁹⁷ Gebruers (as n. 393), 36.

³⁹⁸ Staf Gebruers: *Cantuarium* (Manual of Sacred Music), (Dublin 1944), 3.

Pope after Pope, and Council after Council has insisted on the importance of preserving the Gregorian melodies, until at last in 1903 the rule was laid down by Pope Pius X to the effect that the Gregorian chants are the supreme type and model for all Church music. That is why every Catholic should study these melodies and learn to sing them with the utmost reverence.³⁹⁹

Gebruers also taught plainchant in primary and secondary schools in Cobh and surrounding areas. He was professor of chant at the Mount Melleray Cistercian seminary in Co. Waterford, almost sixty miles from Cobh.⁴⁰⁰

Like Seelldrayers, Gebruers also introduced sacred music compositions of Flemish composers such as Julius Van Nuffel, Lodewijk de Vocht, Flor Peeters and Jef Van Hoof to his cathedral choir. Through regular open air carillon recitals given by Gebruers throughout his life, the residents of Cobh also became accustomed to the rendition of Flemish folk songs and carillon compositions by Belgian composers such as Emile Hullebroeck (1878-1965), Charles-Auguste de Bériot (1802-1870) and Flor Van Duyse (1843-1910).

Gebruers had a particular fascination with Irish folk music. In the 1930s, he acquired the famous Francis O'Neill (1848-1936) and Edward Bunting (1773-1843) collections of Irish folk music and accumulated many old books on the theory of Irish music.⁴⁰¹ As a result, many of his sacred compositions were based on Irish folk melodies. An example of such is his *Missa Laudate Domine* composed in 1950 for the Jubilee mass of Bishop

³⁹⁹ Gebruers (as n. 398).

⁴⁰⁰ Mount Melleray ceased to be a seminary twenty-five years ago.

⁴⁰¹ These collections and books are now in Adrian Gebruers' residence and are highly valuable to the Irish musicologist, as many of them are unique. Archivists and librarians have expressed interest in acquiring them for relevant institutions. Staf Gebruers collected these publications at a time when the same knowledge was not known about them. He also did a limited amount of Irish folk song collecting particularly among the Mount Melleray students who lived in isolated areas of the Knockmealdon Mountains in Co. Waterford, where folk traditions were still alive in the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s.

Roche of Cloyne, which was based on the tune ‘Turas go Tír Na nÓg’.⁴⁰² Gebruers also composed secular works in the Gaelic tradition and many of these were published in England in the 1920s and 1930s. These included several operas and oratorios based on legendary figures and events in Irish history. The most famous of these was the oratorio, *St Patrick’s Advent to Ireland* which was published in Liverpool in 1932. It was a pioneering venture for its time. Gebruers claimed it may have been the first musical dramatisation of an Irish subject by a catholic composer:

This work was originally intended for the use of the Students’ Choir at Mount Melleray, but yielding to the urgency of experienced friends, I have at length decided to offer it to the public at large. So far as I am aware, it represents the first effort on the part of a Catholic composer to utilise for musical treatment any one of the outstanding incidents in Ireland’s tragic story. There are plenty of Oratorios of foreign and non-Catholic origin. I have myself witnessed the presentation of an Oratorio, composed by an alien Protestant and impregnated with the Protestant spirit, in an Irish Catholic school. It was in fact this experience that inspired me with the purpose of attempting something which would be more in keeping with religious and national sentiments of the Gael.⁴⁰³

The work, which combined elements of sacred and Irish music, foreshadowed to some extent the compositional genre of renowned late twentieth-century Irish composers such as Seán Ó Riada, Michéal Ó Suillebháin and Shaun Davey:

With regard to the music, I have employed the well-known liturgical hymn: ISTE CONFESSOR: as theme for St. Patrick; for the Druids I have adopted a close approximation to the Irish Traditional idiom; the Christians sing their parts according to the more ancient type of Sacred music; whilst the Angelic Choruses have been set to a more modern style.⁴⁰⁴

⁴⁰² Gebruers chose this Irish melody as it was a particular favourite of Bishop Roche. See appendix two for an excerpt from this mass.

⁴⁰³ Staf Gebruers: Preface to *St Patrick’s Advent to Ireland* (Liverpool 1932).

⁴⁰⁴ *Ibid.* See appendix two for excerpts from this work.

So successful was Gebruers in writing in an Irish idiom that he was the recipient on at least five occasions of the much coveted Milligan Fox Gold Medal for his original compositions.⁴⁰⁵

Staf Gebruers was also renowned nationally for his choral and orchestral arrangements of Irish music. He worked for a number of years with the Radio Éireann Light Orchestra, arranging the majority of their Irish music repertoire. His choral arrangements of Irish music also won him recognition in Belgium as many of these were published in Antwerp in the 1960s. His works and arrangements were often featured on Belgian radio, with the result that in Belgium, he became known as 'the Flemish-Irish man'.⁴⁰⁶

Gebruers also contributed greatly to secular musical life in Cobh. In the 1930s, he founded an operatic society in the town, which drew membership from surrounding areas. Despite opposition by those who deemed such a venture unfeasible, the operatic society was a success and productions such as Puccini's *La Bohème*, Strauss's *Die Fledermaus* and Verdi's *Il Trovatore* were staged in Cobh in the 1930s and 1940s. The local orchestra was of a good standard due largely to the legacy of the British army and navy bands from whose members many locals received instrumental tuition.

Gebruers was also in demand as a lecturer on various musical subjects, which often included the lives and works of Flemish composers. These lectures were given throughout his life and were usually at the invitation of various musical and other

⁴⁰⁵ Charlotte Milligan Fox (1864-1910), born in Omagh, Co. Tyrone, was a collector of Irish folk music. She founded the Irish Folk Song Society in 1904. The Milligan Fox competition for original Irish composition was part of the Dublin Feis Ceoil. Gebruers won the medal on five successive years from 1949 to 1953.

⁴⁰⁶ Adrian Gebruers. Personal interview, 27 April 2004.

societies.⁴⁰⁷ As well as being indicative of his stature as an authority on a wide range of musical topics, these lectures, and particularly those on Flemish topics, signified a desire for knowledge of continental music history in parts of Ireland. They were also another avenue by which foreign organists could disseminate the characteristics and values of their indigenous music traditions to an Irish audience.

Over a period of fifty years, Staf Gebruers had a wide influence on many aspects of musical life in Cobh and its surrounding areas. Through his position as organist and choirmaster in the cathedral, proper sacred music practice based on papal documents was strictly adhered to. Under his direction, large scale operatic productions were staged in a relatively small town. As a result of his many lectures, Western Art music was talked about and discussed in many towns and villages in Cork. He gained national and international recognition for his vocal and orchestral arrangements of Irish music, for his original compositions in an Irish idiom and for his work in promoting Irish music and history. However, it was in his position as carillonneur that Staf Gebruers made his most valuable and unique contribution to Irish musical life. He established a distinctive Flemish tradition in a south of Ireland town, and through his many recitals at home and abroad, Cobh was recognised internationally as a leading centre for carillon art. In 1958, the International Carillon festival took place in Cobh, and Staf Gebruers, who organised the week-long event, engaged over ten continental carillonneurs to participate in the

⁴⁰⁷ Some lecture titles included; 'Music Appreciation', 'The Carillon of St Colman's Cathedral', 'Our Lady of Flanders' (Flemish music), 'Beethoven's *Missa Solemnis*', 'The Five' (Balakirev, Cui, Mussorgsky, Borodin, Rimsky-Korsakov), 'Flemish Composers' (Benoit, de Vocht, Hullebroeck, Van Hoof, Gilson), 'The Heart of Bronze' (Oratorio by Flemish composer Feremans), 'Atonality', 'Albert Schweitzer', 'Van Den Gheyn' (Flemish carillon composer).

festival.⁴⁰⁸ It was indeed unique in 1950s Ireland to have a week-long festival with international recitalists, and all the more unusual in that it was dedicated to Flemish carillon playing.

Since the 1958 festival, visits to Cobh by guest carillonneurs have become more frequent and are much anticipated events. Through the tireless efforts of Staf Gebruers' son, Adrian, guest recitalists have come to Cobh from throughout Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand. In 2002, Cobh was chosen to be the venue for the thirteenth congress of the World Carillon Federation. The week-long congress featured carillon seminars and recitals given by over thirty renowned international carillonneurs.⁴⁰⁹ The event also marked the eightieth anniversary of the first world carillon congress, which took place in Mechelen in 1922. It was indeed a fitting legacy to an Irish bishop who had the vision to introduce a Flemish art tradition to Ireland in 1916, and to a Belgian organist, who over a period of fifty years, successfully integrated that continental music tradition into an Irish setting.

⁴⁰⁸ For a list of names of the carillonneurs who participated in the 1959 festival, see Gebruers (as n. 393), 37.

⁴⁰⁹ It was the first occasion that the event took place in Britain or Ireland. Adrian Gebruers, who is currently president of the World Carillon Federation, spearheaded the organization of the congress, which attracted 170 delegates from all over the world.

4.8 Belgian organists in Northern Ireland

Three Belgian organists were employed in Northern Ireland in the early and mid-twentieth century. They were Leon Rittweger in Belfast, George Minne in Armagh, and Jozef Delafaille in Newry.

A fourth Belgian organist, Michael Van Dessel was employed in Dundalk, which is situated approximately thirteen miles south of Newry in the Republic of Ireland. All four organists worked and lived within a relatively short distance of each other. As well as individually influencing the musical life of the cities and towns where they worked, they collectively made an immense contribution to sacred and secular music practice developments in the northern part of the country. Like the Belgian organists in the diocese of Killaloe, these organists often collaborated with each other for concerts, recitals and major liturgical occasions.

4.9 Michael Van Dessel (Dundalk)

The first of this group to arrive was Michael Van Dessel in 1923. He is perhaps considered to be the most renowned of the early twentieth-century Belgian organists who worked to Ireland. For over fifty years, he was recognised as a sacred music authority not only in Dundalk where he was based, but in many other parts of the country. During that time, he had a notable influence on sacred and secular music practice and development in Ireland and his expertise in these areas was frequently sought. He was held in high regard by his many Belgian colleagues both in Ireland and in Belgium.

Van Dessel was described as ‘one of the most outstanding graduates’ of the Lemmens Institute in the Belgian periodical *Musica Sacra*.⁴¹⁰ In 1919, he was awarded the Lemmens-Tinel prize with great distinction and as a result was immediately appointed organ tutor and monitor in the institute. In the same year, he was also given the post of assistant organist in St Rombout’s Cathedral, Mechelen, which was a prestigious position for a young Belgian organist to achieve. An indication of the high standard of his keyboard performance was reflected in his final examination in the institute in which he gave a performance of the highly virtuosic piano piece, *Prelude, Chorale and Fugue* by César Franck.⁴¹¹

As a student, Van Dessel became firm friends with Flor Peeters, who was junior to him in the institute. Van Dessel was in fact one of Peeters’ first organ teachers, and his famous student regarded him as an excellent tutor.⁴¹² Further evidence of the high regard which Peeters retained for Van Dessel was reflected some years later in 1954, when he asked his former teacher to be the English translator for his famous publication *Ars Organi*, a theoretical and practical method for organ playing in three volumes.

In 1923, Van Dessel took up the position of organist and choirmaster in Dundalk cathedral. He originally intended to stay in Ireland for only one year, as he felt his best career prospects lay in his native country.⁴¹³ However, he remained in Dundalk for the next fifty years. It was said that one of the reasons for Van Dessel’s decision to stay was the fact that the cathedral had a fine Willis organ which was built in 1900:

⁴¹⁰ De Schutter (as n. 232), 85.

⁴¹¹ Jan Van Dessel and Brian McIvor: ‘A Tribute to Michael Van Dessel (1899-1974)’, sleeve notes for audiocassette. n.p. n.d.

⁴¹² Kerstens (as n. 249), 25.

⁴¹³ Jan Van Dessel. Personal interview, 1 October 2003.

No account of the life and work of Michael Van Dessel would be complete without due recognition being given to the magnificent 'Father' Willis instrument in St. Patrick's. The Willis firm of organ builders had been prominent in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Among their finest achievements are the organ in Alexandra Palace and the Cathedral organs of St. Paul's, London, and Canterbury. The affectionate title 'Father' was given to the founder member of that family, Henry Willis, who built the organ in St. Patrick's Pro-Cathedral in Dundalk. It is said to be 'Father' Willis's last great instrument. Michael Van Dessel once said of it that it boasted the best Swell Choir (division) of any Willis instruments in these islands.⁴¹⁴

It was Heinrich Bewerunge, who, having visited the cathedral in Dundalk in 1898, advised church authorities to build a new organ, and recommended that up to £1000 would need to be spent on the instrument.⁴¹⁵ The administrator of the cathedral, Fr Donnellan, caused controversy at the time by commissioning the London-based Willis firm, and not an Irish company, with the building of the organ. In a letter to the *Dundalk Democrat* in 1899, Donnellan defended his actions by stating that his primary concern was the acquisition of an organ built to the highest standards for the cathedral in Dundalk:

The Catholic inhabitants of Dundalk know full well that I, at least, had no axe to grind, and that my sole and only thought in this matter was to do the best for them. Everything that care and anxious inquiry could do had been done to secure a builder whose past work is a guarantee against all sham and jobbery. This man we have secured. And then after a few months the church of St Patrick, and the people of Dundalk will be in a position to boast that they possess one of the finest organs of its dimensions in the Three Kingdoms.⁴¹⁶

The decision showed remarkable foresight on the part of Donnellan and had beneficial consequences for future church music developments in Dundalk. In the early twentieth

⁴¹⁴ Van Dessel and McIvor (as n. 411).

⁴¹⁵ Murtagh (as n. 231), 147.

⁴¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 151-152. See appendix six for the programme of the inaugural recital on the organ in 1900. The organist for the occasion was the renowned English composer, Henry Gardiner Balfour (1877-1950), who was then organist of the Royal Albert Hall, London.

century, the organ became synonymous with the musical career of Van Dessel: 'As custodian of the magnificent 'Father' Willis organ in the cathedral, he grew to play, understand, and love the Dundalk instrument as nobody else could.'⁴¹⁷ Through his skilled playing of the instrument, he placed Dundalk and its cathedral as an important centre of organ and sacred music performance in the country. As a result, Van Dessel was renowned as an organ recitalist not only in Dundalk, but in many other parts of the country:

Since he came to Dundalk from Belgium...as organist of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Michael Van Dessel has been acknowledged as a player of exceptional refinement and sensitivity...One recalls with particular pleasure his well-nigh incomparable Cesar Franck, the pellucid clarity of his contrapuntal playing, his championing of the music of life-long friend and compatriot Flor Peeters, and the great reverence with which he approached all music. One also remembers his mastery of the art of improvising plainsong accompaniments.⁴¹⁸

Many of Van Dessel's organ recitals in Dundalk and Belfast were broadcast live on Radio Éireann and BBC Radio Northern Ireland throughout the 1940s and 1950s.⁴¹⁹ He was also asked to give inaugural recitals on several new and rebuilt organs throughout the country, including St Laurence O'Toole's Church, Seville Place, Dublin and St Mary's Church, Westport, Co. Mayo. In 1955, he gave the inaugural recital on an organ built by the Dutch firm Pels and Zoon in the Municipal School of Music, Chatham Row, Dublin. These Dutch manufacturers based in Alkmaar, Holland, exported organs to many countries throughout the world including America, South Africa and Belgium in the mid-nineteenth century. Both Staf Nees and Flor Peeters noted the high standard of the workmanship of Pels and Zoon organs and highly recommended them for use in churches

⁴¹⁷ Gerard Gillen: 'Michael Van Dessel – An Appreciation', *Irish Times*, January 11 1974.

⁴¹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁹ Jan Van Dessel. Personal interview, 1 October 2003.

and cathedrals.⁴²⁰ In the 1950s, possibly encouraged by the number of Flemish organists working in Ireland, Pels and Zoon looked to the country as a potential market.⁴²¹ Van Dessel's recital in the Municipal School of Music in 1955 was an important occasion for the Dutch firm as it was the first public performance on one of their instruments in Ireland. The fact that they chose Van Dessel for the occasion confirmed his position as a distinguished organist in Ireland. In the pamphlet containing the programme of music for the recital, Pels added that Van Dessel 'can justly claim place alongside the greatest organists of our time...'⁴²² During the recital, Van Dessel played a varied programme of music by composers such as Henry Purcell, J.S. Bach, Georg Böhm (1661-1733), Jean Baptiste Loeillet (1680-1730), G.F. Handel, W.A Mozart and Flor Peeters.⁴²³ On this occasion, he also premiered a work in Ireland by the contemporary Dutch composer, Jacob Byster.⁴²⁴

As well as being in demand as a recitalist, Van Dessel was recognised as an authority in organ design and was often consulted by ecclesiastics throughout the country in this regard.⁴²⁵ The most important of these was his involvement in the design of the organ in Galway cathedral in 1966.

Van Dessel was instrumental in improving sacred music practice in Dundalk throughout his life. Soon after his arrival in 1923, he set to work on building a successful cathedral

⁴²⁰ These recommendations were part of Pels and Zoon advertising literature found in Seeldrayers' library in St Patrick's College, Carlow.

⁴²¹ The sole agent in Ireland for Pels and Zoon organs was Mr John Holmes, Monasterevan, Co. Kildare.

⁴²² Programme found in Seeldrayers' library, St Patrick's College, Carlow.

⁴²³ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁴ The piece, *Variations On An Old Netherlands Song*, was composed in 1934. At the time of the recital, Byster was organist in Haarlem, Holland.

⁴²⁵ He was influential in the design of organs in St John's Cathedral, Limerick; St Mary's Church, Westport; St Laurence O'Toole's Church, Dublin, and the Church of the Holy Redeemer, Dundalk.

and boys' choir in St Patrick's. These were highly praised by Van Nuffel who heard them perform on his visit to Dundalk in the late 1920s.⁴²⁶ For the next fifty years, the cathedral choir in Dundalk established itself as a leading exponent of continental sacred music repertoire. Van Dessel chose music from a wide range of sacred music composers of varying nationalities and periods in his cathedral choir. These included nineteenth-century German cecilian composers such as Haberl, Witt, Haller, Obersteiner, Goller and Jaspers, and Albergoni, as well as music by sixteenth-century composers Palestrina, Perosi and Aichinger.⁴²⁷ Music by several of Van Dessel's teachers in the Lemmens institute such as Van Nuffel, Aloys Desmet and O. Depuydt was also sung regularly in Dundalk cathedral. The choir also performed the music of Italian contemporary composers such as Licinio Refice,⁴²⁸ Filippo Capocci,⁴²⁹ and Oreste Ravenello.⁴³⁰ These composers primarily wrote liturgical music in a conservative style and were active in the restoration of sacred music instituted by Pius X in 1903. The inclusion of their music, and a considerable amount of music by German cecilians, indicated Van Dessel's

⁴²⁶ De Schutter (as n. 232), 86. The visit to Dundalk was part of a nationwide tour by Van Nuffel in which he met Flemish organists. This Irish visit by the director of the Lemmens Institute was initiated by Bishop Fogarty.

⁴²⁷ Gregor Aichinger (1564-1628). German composer and organist. Ranks with Hans Leo Hassler among the most important and prolific composers in southern Germany in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

⁴²⁸ Licinio Refice (1883-1954). Taught at the Scuola Superiore (later the Istituto Pontificio), di Musica Sacra (1912-1950), and was *maestro di cappella* at S Maria Maggiore (1911-1947). In his late years, he made several international tours as a conductor. His output chiefly comprises church music for chorus and organ. Regarded as Perosi's heir, he was supported by the Vatican, which widely propagated his masses.

⁴²⁹ Filippo Capocci (1840-1911). *Maestro di cappella* at the church of S Giovanni in Laterane from 1898. A visit by Alexandre Guilmant to Rome in 1880 inspired Capocci to devote himself to organ teaching. As a concert performer, he became known for the excellent taste of his registration and for the admirable clarity of his playing. He was a member of the commission that executed the restoration of Italian church music in accordance with the decree *Motu Proprio* (1903).

⁴³⁰ Oreste Ravenello (1871-1938). From 1898 he was *maestro di cappella* at the church of S Antonio in Padua. He taught organ at the Venice Conservatory from 1902, and was director of the Istituto Musicale Cesare Pollini, Padua from 1912. An active supporter of the cecilian movement, he sat on the committee instituted by Pius X for the renewal of sacred music.

preference for sacred music in a traditionalist style as favoured by Rome. Successive directors maintained this continental repertoire throughout the 1970s.⁴³¹

Michael Van Dessel was also a distinguished sacred music composer. He composed five mass settings, three of which were written for mixed choir, and each of the other two for three male voices and two female voices respectively.⁴³² These date mainly from the early to mid-1940s and were regularly sung by Dundalk cathedral choir from this period onwards. As with Fleishmann and de Meulemeester, Van Dessel's compositional style reflects his preference for sacred music repertoire in a traditionalist mode as promulgated by papal decrees. As a result, his choral sacred music is written in a conservative, devout and academic style specifically designed for liturgical use. Van Dessel, however, was able to skilfully marry this traditional musical language with individual compositional flair and twentieth-century harmonic expression. His compositions contain some adventurous chromatic sequences which are successfully incorporated so as not to detract from the meaning of the text as required by papal decrees. In effect, they are good

⁴³¹ Una Russell succeeded Van Dessel as choir director in 1974 and remained in this position until 1983. As a student, she recalls spending many hours in St Patrick's listening to Van Dessel playing works from the organ repertoire. He encouraged her to study organ in Belgium and contacted Flor Peeters as a potential teacher. Peeters, however, had retired at that stage and Una studied in the Antwerp Conservatoire under Professor Stanislas Deriemaeker. She is at present lecturing in organ at the DIT Conservatory of Music and Drama, Dublin. On succeeding Van Dessel as choir director, Una Russell continued with the established repertoire, adding new works in line with changes in the liturgy after Vatican II. She remembers that the four-part choir, numbering about forty voices, was of a good standard when she took up the position. The choir was also well trained in solfège. Brian McIvor, former choir-boy in Van Dessel's choir, also recalls that through the solfège system, they were able to learn intricate works quickly. The choir also sang a lot of the repertoire from memory. It seems that a number of Belgian organists in Ireland used tonic-solfa when teaching sacred choral works.

⁴³² Apart from masses, Van Dessel's sacred music compositions also included settings for soloist and/or chorus of *Ecce Sacerdos Magnus*, *Pie Jesu Domine*, *Magna Res Est Amor*, *Ave Verum Corpus* and *O Quam Suavis*. Unfortunately, none of Van Dessel's music was ever published.

examples of how conservative and progressive modes of expression are combined to produce music deemed worthy of liturgical use in the early twentieth century.⁴³³

Van Dessel's *Missa in Honorem Beatae Mariae Virginis* was first performed at Christmas Eve mass in 1942. The same mass received international attention in 1968 when its performance by the choir was broadcast live on RTE television, and via Eurovision was channelled to France, Spain, Belgium and Switzerland. The Armagh Diocesan Choir also sang this setting at the Tridium of Masses in Rome to mark the canonisation of St Oliver in 1975. Another indication of Van Dessel's standing as an eminent sacred music composer was reflected in the performance of his music by choirs directed by other Belgian organists living in Ireland.⁴³⁴

As well as being frequently engaged as a consultant in organ planning and design, Van Dessel's expertise in Gregorian chant performance was equally recognised, and as a result, he was in regular demand as an adjudicator for plainchant competitions throughout the country in the 1930s and 1940s. The most notable of these was the plainchant competition in Ennis in which Van Dessel was one of four adjudicators for this much publicised annual event throughout the 1930s.⁴³⁵ In the 1940s, he also acted as an adjudicator for the vocal and plainchant sections of the prestigious Feis Ceoil in Dublin. A newspaper report on the proceedings of the competition commended Van Dessel for his insightful comments on plainchant technique:

⁴³³ See appendix two for examples of Van Dessel's sacred music compositions.

⁴³⁴ Van Dessel's sacred music compositions were found in the libraries of Ernest de Regge, Karl Seeldrayers, Jozef Delafaille and George Minne.

⁴³⁵ The other adjudicators were Hubert Rooney and Fr John Fennelly, both from Dublin, and Dom. Winoc Mertens from Glenstal Abbey in Limerick.

It was with great satisfaction that I heard Mr. Van Dessel speak on the first day of Feis Ceoil Week, against the artificial style that has been brought into the singing of Plain Chant. He said the unnecessary breath pressure variations and accentuation distort the natural line of the Chant and savour of stunt singing. The winning choir of boys sang naturally with good tone and smooth phrasing.⁴³⁶

In the latter part of his career, Van Dessel was an examiner with the Department of Education, which saw him travelling to many schools throughout the country between the years 1964 and 1974.

Van Dessel often commented on church music matters in Ireland through the print media. In 1933, he wrote an article on the state of Irish catholic church music for the Belgian periodical, *Musica Sacra*, the organ of the Lemmens Institute. The request for such an article reflected the institute's interest in sacred music developments in Ireland and indicated Van Dessel's position in Belgium as an authoritative voice on such developments. Its contents were also further evidence of efforts that had been made by Irish ecclesiastics to improve sacred music standards in the 1930s. Van Dessel introduced the article by commenting on the state of Irish church music before the 1920s. He spoke of untrained organists and choirmasters performing works by Mozart, Haydn and Schubert and largely ignoring the Gregorian chant repertoire:

Orgelisten en koorleiders die over goede uitvoeringsmiddelen beschikten, voerden slechts MOZART, HAYDN, SCHUBERT uit, of muziek die op liturgische hoedanigheden geen aanspraak kon maken. Gregoriaansch werd zelden of nooit gezongen.⁴³⁷

⁴³⁶ *Irish Independent*, 9 May 1944.

⁴³⁷ Michael Van Dessel: 'De Kerkmuziekbeweging in Ierland', *Musica Sacra* (Mechelen), March 1933, 58. 'Organists and choirmasters were required with insufficient resources to perform the works of Mozart, Haydn and Schubert, music that is hardly of liturgical character. Gregorian chant was never or seldom sung.' (author's translation)

He criticised clergy, who, having secured a systematic sacred music education in Maynooth, failed to implement what they had been taught in the parishes to which they were assigned. In short, he said, the Pope's teachings on sacred music in the *Motu Proprio* document of 1903 were largely ignored and that the Irish church was reluctant to change in this regard:

Seminaristen, die in hun « Alma Mater » te Maynooth een gezonde muzikale opvoeding genoten, lieten maar begaan wanneer zij hunne hooge roeping in hun onderscheidene parochies uitoefenden...In één word, het Motu Proprio was een ijdel dokument.⁴³⁸

This view of Irish church music by Van Dessel must have been based on his assessment of the scene on his arrival in 1923. If this is the case, the efforts made in Irish sacred music during the period of the cecilian movement in the late nineteenth century did not seem to have permanent lasting effects. His comments strengthened the view that after the cessation of Irish cecilian activities at the turn of the twentieth century, Irish sacred music practice effectively relapsed to its pre-cecilian state. In Van Dessel's opinion, the 1920s and 1930s witnessed a resurgence in efforts to improve Irish sacred music. As well as complimenting members of the Irish hierarchy for their part in this revival, Van Dessel largely attributed the improvement of Irish sacred music in the 1930s to the work of Belgian organists. At the time of writing in 1933, he was confident that through the continued efforts of these graduates of the Lemmens Institute, the future of Irish church music was bright:

⁴³⁸ Van Dessel (as n. 437), 58. 'Seminarists, who in their 'Alma Mater' at Maynooth received a sustained musical education, did not take proper action to make an improvement in the parishes where they were sent...In short, the *Motu Proprio* was of no liturgical value' (author's translation)

Op dat gebied in 't bijzonder, zijn de oud-leerlingen van Mechelen uitstekend werk aan 't verrichten, dat met de toekomst rijke vruchten zal opleveren.⁴³⁹

His remarks pointed to a view that Belgian organists, at the request of the Irish hierarchy, were effectively on a mission to Ireland to remedy its poor state of church music. This 'missionary role' assigned to graduates of the Lemmens Institute was further emphasised by Van Dessel in a newspaper interview in 1952. The reporter, who travelled to Dundalk because 'we had heard so much, all over Ireland, about the magnificent singing that you hear in St Patrick's...and about the wonderful teacher, Michael Van Dessel', asked Van Dessel to explain why Belgium was associated with 'better church music'.⁴⁴⁰ Van Dessel pointed out that organists in the Lemmens Institute were 'trained to teach a type of music more strictly liturgical than is generally heard.' He stated that most of them were 'destined for export' and that there was 'no comparable school or team of pupil-teachers in the whole world'.⁴⁴¹

Van Dessel also made a significant contribution to secular music in Dundalk and surrounding areas. Shortly after his arrival in Dundalk, he was musical director of the Catholic Young Men's Society which under his direction staged annual productions of Gilbert and Sullivan operettas. In 1966, he founded the Dundalk Municipal Choir, which drew its members from church choirs of different denominations in Dundalk. The choir, which consisted of seventy members, gave annual concerts of sacred and secular music

⁴³⁹ Van Dessel (as n. 437), 60. 'The efforts of former qualified students of the Lemmens Institute have greatly contributed towards this success, which anticipates a rich future' (for church music) (author's translation).

⁴⁴⁰ *Sunday Press*, 21 December 1952.

⁴⁴¹ *Ibid.*

and were a successful group. After Van Dessel's death in 1974, the choir changed its name to the Michael Van Dessel Choir.⁴⁴²

Van Dessel also taught singing in all primary schools in Dundalk and gave private tuition in piano, organ and violin. Many testified to his absolute commitment to raising the standard of sacred and secular music practice in Dundalk, which saw him forsaking a musical career of international fame:

Indeed, so firm was his devotion to Dundalk, its cathedral, organ, and people, that he would never consider leaving his adopted home-town even though artistically it could not provide the outlets which were more worthy of a man of his talents and accomplishments...in another society he would have been accoladed and a greater outlet provided for his superior gifts. In Ireland, he was very much taken for granted.⁴⁴³

Many tributes after his death reiterated this point and further emphasised his influence in all spheres of music practice in Dundalk and throughout the country over a period of fifty years:

Michael van Dessel...chose to sacrifice a career of international fame in order to devote all his talents and genius to the service of Church Music as Organist of St. Patrick's Dundalk. He will always be remembered for his wonderful musicianship – not only in organ playing, but in choir training and every branch of musical education. Added to this his personal charm, overflowing kindness, and a humility as great as his genius... While his colleagues in other countries have received the civil honours which these countries are accustomed to bestow on distinguished musicians, it is hoped that this tribute from Dundalk and Galway might represent Ireland's gratitude to one who had done so much for music in this country over the past fifty years.⁴⁴⁴

⁴⁴² Also, in the late 1970s, a Michael Van Dessel Choral Festival was established. The festival, which is still in existence, is a weekend-long event and attracts choirs from around the country.

⁴⁴³ Gillen (as n. 417)

⁴⁴⁴ 'Choral Tributes to Renowned Musician', *Connaught Tribune*, June 19 1974.

4.10 Jozef Delafaille (Newry)

Jozef Delafaille, a graduate of the Lemmens Institute, was appointed organist and choirmaster in Newry in 1929. This large provincial town was quite active in promoting cecilian ideals in the late nineteenth century. This was due to the efforts of its parish priest, Fr McPolin, who formed a cecilian society in Newry in 1883. The town was one of only a few outside Dublin who responded to the Irish cecilian movement's request for programmes of music sung at masses. In 1884, Fr McPolin submitted the programme of music sung in the cathedral during a three-week mission in Lent. The programme, which comprised music by the Dublin cecilian composer Joseph Seymour, Leopold de Prins, Caspar Ett and Palestrina, was described by *Lyra* as being 'strictly cecilian and rendered most sufficiently by the excellent Choir of the Cathedral.'⁴⁴⁵ Fr McPolin added: 'I have been enabled to convert our cathedral choir here into a Cecilian choir and under the direction of the organist, it is now engaged in practising the above pieces'.⁴⁴⁶ It is doubtful that Fr McPolin was directly influential in the appointment of a Belgian organist forty years later in Newry, but it is likely that his efforts in sacred music set the scene for such an appointment, which ensured the continuation of continental sacred music practice in the town.

Delafaille impacted greatly on music education in the town and it is in this sphere that his influence was most widely felt. Newry was unique amongst towns of its size in that it had four large grammar schools.⁴⁴⁷ The total student intake of these schools in the 1930s was

⁴⁴⁵ *Lyra Ecclesiastica* (April 1884), 32.

⁴⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁷ A grammar school in Northern Ireland is equivalent to the secondary school system in the republic of Ireland, educating students from the ages of approximately twelve to eighteen. The four schools in Newry were all run by diocesan and religious orders. There were two schools for boys, St Colman's College, run

1500, today it is 3500. Delafaille taught in all these schools and as a result, was in contact with and influenced many students in Newry and those in surrounding areas who travelled to schools in the town. The consequence of his work in this field was the establishment of a strong choral and orchestral tradition in Newry.

Due to the ban on women in choirs imposed by Pius X in his 1903 *Motu Proprio*, Delafaille particularly focused his attention on choral training in boys' schools. As well as teaching music theory in St Colman's College, the diocesan school for boys, he established a choir in the school which he often combined with the cathedral choir for major occasions. So successful was St Colman's choir that it was the only choir to sing for the Chrism mass during Holy Week ceremonies in the 1930s, and to this day the choir maintains this tradition.⁴⁴⁸ Under his direction, annual musicals were staged in the college throughout the 1940s which were performed solely by the boys of the school. St Colman's College has now become synonymous with producing annual musicals to a high level of performance proficiency. Because of Delafaille's influence, sustained choral training currently occupies an integral part of the school's curriculum. St Colman's College boasts a four-part choir which has achieved much success in competitions throughout the North, and which has recently produced a CD of sacred music:

...Gaudate is the first CD of organ and sacred choral repertoire by the students of St Colman's College. Gaudate is the programme of music which was sung in the Cathedral of Ss Patrick and Colman, Newry on January 19. It was recently described by *The Irish News* as having 'won respect among the male voice choir family for technical expertise and, more importantly, for a beautiful sound'.⁴⁴⁹

by diocesan priests, and The Abbey under the Christian Brothers. The girls' schools, Our Lady's and The Sacred Heart convent schools were run by the Mercy Sisters and the St Clare Sisters respectively.

⁴⁴⁸ Fr Terence Rafferty. Letter to the author, August 10 2004.

⁴⁴⁹ 'Gaudate Press Release' ([http:// www.stcolmans.org.uk/News/16Arp03html](http://www.stcolmans.org.uk/News/16Arp03html), accessed 22/10/2004)

The school is recognised as a rich recruiting ground for much sought after well-trained male singers. It was Delafaille's vision that this would be the case, particularly for the continuation of good sacred music in the cathedral.

In the girls' schools, Delafaille laid the foundations of a rich orchestral tradition. He particularly established a tradition of string playing in Our Lady's School and eventually incorporated these players in the town orchestra, which he also directed. The school continued the tradition established by Delafaille, and to this day, is highly regarded for its orchestral tuition.

Delafaille made a significant contribution to the teaching and promotion of Gregorian chant in Newry. This was mentioned as one of his achievements in a 1930s article in the Belgian periodical *Musica Sacra*.⁴⁵⁰ As well as dedicating a lot of time to plainchant performance proficiency in the cathedral choir, Delafaille used his influence in schools to promote the singing of Gregorian chant. Like his Belgian colleagues in other parts of the country, Delafaille was instrumental in promoting the Gregorian revival in Newry and other parts of the diocese of Dromore in the 1930s. In 1934, he gave a series of lectures to teachers and other interested people in the diocese on the technicalities of chant performance.⁴⁵¹ He became interested in a possible link between Irish music and chant and held a concert of 'Gaelic music and Chant' in St Colman's College in 1936.⁴⁵² He was also professor of sacred music and chant in Dromatine College, which was a seminary run by the SMA Fathers for the training of priests for missionary work in Africa.

⁴⁵⁰ De Schutter (as n. 232), 92.

⁴⁵¹ Rafferty (as n. 448)

⁴⁵² *Ibid.*

Delafaille also introduced a wide range of continental sacred music into the cathedral choir repertoire. He particularly favoured music by sixteenth-century composers such as Palestrina, Soriano, Lotti, Jacobus de Kerle (1531-1591)⁴⁵³ and the Italian composer J.P. Praenestino (1525-1594).⁴⁵⁴ The cathedral choir in Newry also sang music by nineteenth-century German cecilians Haller and Stehle and compositions by twentieth-century Flemish composers such as Van Nuffel, Staf Nees, Nieland, and Verhulst. Pieces by less well-known sacred music composers Louis Niedermeyer⁴⁵⁵ and Sigismund Neukomm⁴⁵⁶ were also part of the repertoire of Newry cathedral choir. Delafaille also introduced the sacred music compositions of Arthur de Meulemeester and Michael Van Dessel, which was a further indication of the prominence of these organists as composers in Ireland.

One of Delafaille's students in St Colman's College, Fr Seamus Moore, went on to be a respected sacred music composer in the diocese. Moore, who was taught organ and singing by Delafaille, succeeded his teacher as organist and choirmaster in Newry in 1951. He continued to implement continental sacred music practices until his death in 1974. During this time, Moore's well-known boys' choir regularly sang the sixteenth-century polyphonic repertoire at major liturgical events.

⁴⁵³ Jacobus de Kerle. Flemish composer and organist. Was one of the last important composers of the Netherlandish school. His music combines Flemish polyphony of the post-Josquin generation with an Italian clarity deriving from the Roman school.

⁴⁵⁴ Music by these sixteenth-century composers were found in Delafaille's music library in the cathedral in Newry.

⁴⁵⁵ Louis Niedermeyer (1802-1861). Swiss composer and educationalist. In 1853, he reopened the school of church music which Choron had founded in 1818, under the name of the *École Niedermeyer*. It quickly established itself in the forefront of French musical education. Charles Camille Saint-Saëns taught there and Gabriel Fauré was a pupil of the school.

⁴⁵⁶ Sigismund Neukomm (1778-1858). Austrian composer, pianist, scholar and pupil of Joseph Haydn. His chief importance is as a transitional figure between Classicism and Romanticism. His was a prolific composer of some 1300 works which included much sacred vocal music.

Moore also founded the South Down Choral Union and was influential in the installation of at least seven pipe organs of various sizes for churches in the diocese. He was known to be knowledgeable on the mechanics of the organ through his time as a student of Delafaille's.⁴⁵⁷

It is perhaps in the work of his student, Seamus Moore, that Delafaille's influence in sacred music developments in Newry is most apparent. Moore, as well as continuing the continental tradition established by Delafaille, composed music in the style of his Belgian teacher, which is still sung throughout the diocese today.⁴⁵⁸

4.11 Leon Rittweger (Belfast)

Leon Rittweger (1915-1969) succeeded Arthur de Meulemeester as organist in Clonard Redemptorist Church, Belfast in 1948. For the next twenty years, he continued to implement and develop the continental sacred music tradition established by de Meulemeester since the late nineteenth century. He maintained the polyphonic repertoire of the sixteenth century in Clonard choir, and added in the 1950s, music by contemporary Flemish composers such as Julius Van Nuffel, Jules Vyverman and Flor Peeters. Mass settings by Flor Peeters became the mainstay of the choir's repertoire in the 1950s and 1960s.

Flor Peeters taught Rittweger at the Lemmens Institute, and in 1968, was invited to Belfast by his former student. On Sunday 21 April 1968, Flor Peeters played at masses in

⁴⁵⁷ Rafferty (as n. 448)

⁴⁵⁸ One of Moore's psalms is still used for all Confirmation ceremonies in the diocese.

Clonard church and in St Peter's Pro-Cathedral.⁴⁵⁹ In the afternoon of the same day, he gave a recital in the Methodist church, Donegall Square in Belfast.⁴⁶⁰ The presence in Ireland of Flor Peeters, one of the most famous composer-organists of the twentieth century reflected another aspect of the influence of foreign organists on Irish cultural life. The North of Ireland was already accustomed to the sacred compositions of Peeters as propagated by Rittweger and other Flemish organists working there. Now it was the venue for a recital by this leading exponent of organ technique, who was in demand as a performer and teacher throughout the world.

Rittweger also introduced the Dutch organ building firm, Firma Pels and Zoon to Belfast. In 1957, he commissioned Pels and Zoon to build an organ for the music room of his home in Belfast. As Rittweger needed the organ for serious practice as well as for pleasure, he requested that the console layout and equipment of the new organ would be similar to one built to recognised standards in an average sized church.⁴⁶¹ Rittweger was satisfied with the result and possibly was the first organist in the country to have an organ installed in his private residence. Such was the publicity that this received, that shortly afterwards, BBC Radio broadcast an organ recital by Rittweger from his own home in which he played music by J.S. Bach, Frederick Zachow (1663-1712) and Jean-Baptiste Loeillet (1680-1730).⁴⁶² Also, in 1957, Rittweger entrusted Pels and Zoon with the contract to completely rebuild the organ in Clonard church. The organ, which was built in 1912 by the firm Evans and Barr under de Meulemeester's direction, was recognised as

⁴⁵⁹ Clonard House Annals.

⁴⁶⁰ The recital was interrupted by the leader of the Unionist party in Northern Ireland, Ian Paisley, who with his followers, created a disturbance outside the church.

⁴⁶¹ Pels and Zoon built a small two-manual organ with sixteen stops and pedals for Rittweger's residence.

⁴⁶² Specifications for the organ in Rittweger's home and details of the broadcast were found in Seeldrayers' library, Carlow.

one of the most important instruments in Belfast. By assigning the contract to a renowned Dutch firm of organ builders, Rittweger ensured the continuation of continental influences and a high standard of sacred music practice at Clonard.

In March 1968, Rittweger was appointed organist and choirmaster to St Peter's Pro-Cathedral, Belfast. He relished the move to a cathedral position and oversaw the building of a new organ there. However, he had moved from a church where there was an established sacred music tradition to one where the state of sacred music had to some extent been allowed to lapse. Rittweger quickly set about remedying the situation and in the space of six months, had built up a fine choir capable of singing sixteenth-century polyphony and mass settings by Flor Peeters.

Unfortunately, within a year of arriving at the cathedral, Rittweger died unexpectedly after a short illness. He was succeeded by Raymond Lennon who had been taught and influenced by Rittweger over a thirteen-year period from 1956 to 1969. Lennon continued to implement throughout the 1970s and 1980s the continental sacred music model which had been instigated by Rittweger at the cathedral. While the rest of the country in this period underwent changes in sacred music practice in the aftermath of Vatican Two, St Peter's Pro-Cathedral in Belfast continued to perform the continental repertoire established by Rittweger. This may have been partly due to the troubles in Northern Ireland which, having reached their peak in the 1970s and 1980s, effectively isolated Belfast from influences felt in the rest of the country. The continuation, however, of a continental model of sacred music in Belfast up to the mid 1990s was more likely attributed to the lasting influence of de Meulemeester and Rittweger.

4.12 George Minne (Roscrea, Kilrush, Armagh)

George Minne was the last of the second generation of Belgian organists to arrive in Ireland. In 1952, he was appointed organist and choirmaster in Roscrea, and in 1956, moved to the parish of Kilrush where he succeeded Firmin Van de Velde. Minne was first mentioned in *Molua* in 1953 in connection with the new organ at St Cronan's Church, Roscrea. In an impressive ceremony to mark the blessing of the organ, he played organ music by a range of composers of different nationalities. These included the English composer, John Stanley (1713-1786), the French composer Léon Boëllman (1862-1879), the Flemish composer Mathias Van den Gheyn (1721-1785) and the German, Max Reger (1873-1916).⁴⁶³ The journal also noted that it was on this occasion that the people of Roscrea heard Bach's *Toccatà and Fugue in D minor* for the first time.⁴⁶⁴ Minne left the diocese of Killaloe in 1959 for the cathedral position in Armagh. His departure from Killaloe marked the end of a forty-year association between the diocese and Belgian organists.⁴⁶⁵ It also signified the end of a period of church music renewal in the diocese which had relied on continental musicians for its maintenance and success.

The attraction of a cathedral position was no doubt an incentive for Minne to move to Armagh in 1959 where he inherited a very good church music tradition established by his predecessor who had held the position since 1903.⁴⁶⁶

⁴⁶³ *Molua* (1953), 36.

⁴⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶⁵ Ernest de Regge died in 1958.

⁴⁶⁶ Thomas Holden from Bath in England was appointed organist and choirmaster in Armagh cathedral in 1903. References to Holden in the Armagh historical journal *Seanchas Ard Mhacha* (1989), suggest that he had a considerable influence on church music developments in the city during his fifty-six years there. He established a cathedral choir which gained considerable renown in the country in the 1920s, achieving success in many competitions. Under his direction, a choir of 700 voices sang the ordinary of a Gregorian

Apart from his duties in the cathedral and his teaching position in the local secondary school, Minne became known and was in demand as an organ recitalist not only in Armagh and across the North of Ireland, but in many other parts of the country. It was perhaps in this capacity that he made his most notable contribution to Irish musical life.⁴⁶⁷ Through national radio broadcasts of Minne's recitals, his playing reached a wide audience. Many were exposed for the first time to continental organ repertoire and others were influenced by his virtuosic playing:

I first remember the name 'Georges Minne' as a young school boy in the 1950s when I listened avidly to Georges' organ recitals from Kilrush, Co. Clare, broadcast on Radio Eireann. His playing at that time was a tremendous inspiration to me in my career. I still remember vividly his performance of Bach's St. Anne Prelude...⁴⁶⁸

In a series of organ recitals held in St Teresa's Church, Clarendon Street, Dublin in 1975, Minne played music by German composers Bach and Helmut Walcha,⁴⁶⁹ as well as compositions by Flemish and Dutch composers such as Flor Peeters, Hendrik Andriessen and Joseph Jongen.⁴⁷⁰ His recital received much praise in a review by Charles Acton⁴⁷¹ in the *Irish Times*:

mass in the cathedral before the opening of the annual Armagh plainchant competition in 1934. Holden also gave informal recitals on the carillon which was installed in the cathedral in 1921.

⁴⁶⁷ Minne studied piano and organ at the Royal Conservatoire of Music in Ghent. In 1952, he was awarded the coveted 'Premier Prix' with distinction for organ by an examining jury which included Flor Peeters.

⁴⁶⁸ Gerard Gillen: Letter dated 22 October 1989 to organising committee in Armagh to mark the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of George Minne as organist and choirmaster of the cathedral. Given by George Minne to the author.

⁴⁶⁹ Helmut Walcha (1907-1991). His fame as an organist quickly spread through international recitals, broadcasts and recordings. He is thought to be one of the greatest European interpreters of Bach. He composed three volumes of chorales preludes, published organ versions of the Art of Fugue, and edited Handel's twelve organ concertos.

⁴⁷⁰ Joseph Jongen (1873-1953). Belgian composer and teacher. Professor of counterpoint at Brussels Conservatoire in 1920, becoming director in the same year until 1939.

⁴⁷¹ Charles Acton (1914-1999). Music critic of the *Irish Times* from 1955 to 1986. He established a formidable reputation for sternly demanding high standards of performers but also for generously praising

I greatly liked his Bach. When he wanted it, he found brilliant colours, but always so blended that, no matter how many upper components there were, notes sounded as written and parts were totally clear without interacting confusion. His speeds were all apt, with bravura not too fast to enjoy and slow movements not too slow for life. The truly tripartite thought in the sonata and the evenness of the voices were most impressive.

Flor Peeters is not my favourite composer, but Mr. Minne made it seem an important sonata, giving enough substance to the second half to balance the first. Helmut Walcha's short, deceptively simple canonic piece is an absolute delight - at least Mr. Minne made it seem so – and a perfect foil to the larger work.⁴⁷²

Through many such recitals given by Belgian organists working in Ireland, the performance of continental organ repertoire was a regular occurrence throughout the country. The North of Ireland, home to several Flemish organists, witnessed many of these recitals. The province was already accustomed to high standards of choral and organ performance due to an established sacred music tradition in protestant cathedrals and churches. In 1918, protestant musicians established the Ulster Society of Organists and Choirmasters. The catholic organists Leon Rittweger, George Minne and Michael Van Dessel were influential and prominent members of this society in the 1950s and 1960s. Under the auspices of the society, they regularly gave recitals in many protestant and catholic cathedrals and churches throughout the North of Ireland and in 1965, they gave a collaborative organ recital in St Peter's Catholic Pro-Cathedral, Belfast.⁴⁷³ These exhibitions of technical virtuosity by Flemish organists became an important part of the fabric of musical life in that part of the country.

them when, in his opinion, they attained excellence. He campaigned tirelessly for better funding for music, a proper concert hall in Dublin and related objectives.

⁴⁷² Charles Acton: 'Organ Recital in St. Teresa's', *Irish Times*, 10 March 1975.

⁴⁷³ The programme for the recital which included music by J.S. Bach, Georg Dietrich Leyding (1664-1710), Johann Kuhnau (1660-1722), Dietrich Buxtehude (1637-1707), Marie-Louise Girod and Flor Peeters, was given by George Minne to author.

The influence and work of this group of Belgian organists in the early to mid-twentieth century has undoubtedly contributed to the existence of a rich sacred and secular music tradition in the northern part of Ireland.

4.13 Appraisal

Altogether there is evidence that fourteen Belgian⁴⁷⁴ and five German organists travelled to Ireland between 1920 and 1960. This period witnessed a considerable number of Belgian organists taking up positions in Irish churches and cathedral, clearly illustrating the shift in emphasis to Belgium as the centre for sacred music ideals in the twentieth century. Their arrival also placed the Lemmens Institute, of which the majority were graduates, as the prominent centre for sacred music studies, not only in Europe, but throughout the world

This period also saw the emergence of certain individuals who gained prominence in the movement to promote proper sacred music practice in Ireland. Bishop Michael Fogarty travelled to the Lemmens Institute, and it seems that he was largely responsible for the arrival of the majority of second generation Belgian organists. Hubert Rooney, Fr John Burke and the Glenstal, Belgian-born Dom Winoc Mertens, became prominent activists in the Gregorian chant revival of the 1920s and 1930s.

⁴⁷⁴ Another Belgian organist, Theo Verheggen, arrived in Thurles in 1934 and returned to Belgium in 1946. As well his duties in the cathedral, Verheggen was professor of chant in St Patrick's College, Thurles, and part-time choir and music teacher in the Christian Brothers' School and Ursuline Convent in Thurles. He was an active promoter in Thurles of the Gregorian chant revival of the 1930s. The Belgian organist, Heinrich Tirez, travelled to Newry in 1924. He returned to Belgium in 1929, and was succeeded by Jozef Delafaille.

The Belgian organists for the most part, became significant musical figures in their local communities, some of them achieving regional eminence. There are also examples, especially in the diocese of Killaloe and in Northern Ireland, where the Belgian colleagues collaborated with each other in mutual support of particular projects.

The practice of a continental model of sacred music, especially in the introduction of music by twentieth-century Flemish composers, was a significant consequence of their endeavours. The enhancement of the general musical life of towns and cities where they worked was another notable outcome of their presence in this country.

Conclusion

The objective of this study has been to record and document the work and influence of continental organists in Ireland from 1860 to 1960. In the course of research it was obvious that this aspect of the history of Irish catholic church music had been poorly documented and was in danger of being forgotten. By examining and detailing the work of foreign organists in Ireland it is hoped that another facet of the history of the Irish catholic church in the last century is accounted for and recognised, and that an additional insight is given into the development of its sacred music.

The continuous movement of continental organists to Ireland for a period of over one hundred years was indeed an interesting occurrence. It indicated the speed with which the Irish catholic church organised itself into a powerful institution after centuries of persecution. It pointed to a sophisticated Church, which, under Cardinal Cullen in the mid-nineteenth century, swiftly adopted the Roman ideal of a Latinised sacred music and effectively turned its back on the development of an indigenous liturgical music. The recruitment of foreign organists in Ireland from 1860 onwards, who promoted Romanised sacred music favoured by Cullen, indicated active relations between Irish ecclesiastics and their continental colleagues.

The establishment of the Irish Society of St Cecilia in the late nineteenth century was also an influential factor in the movement of continental organists to Ireland. European sacred music ideals, vigorously advocated by the Irish cecilian movement, received the full support of the Irish hierarchy. The enthusiastic implementation of these ideals was, according to Harry White, 'one of the revivals in Irish cultural history which has been so

little noticed until recently'.⁴⁷⁵ The presence of Heinrich Beyerunge within this culture emphasised and consolidated the 'productive relationship which the cecilian revival enjoyed with its European forbears...'⁴⁷⁶ Undoubtedly Beyerunge's appointment as professor of sacred music in St Patrick's College, Maynooth, influenced future appointments of German and Belgian organists. The eventual demise of the cecilian movement and the weakening of German influence on Irish sacred music may have been partly due, among other factors outlined, to 'the different *tempi* of Irish and German musical sensibilities in this enterprise'.⁴⁷⁷ Nevertheless, according to White, the activities of the cecilian society in Ireland, 'attests to a rare consonance between Irish and European musical culture' and the 'cultural significance of the movement as a whole stands here as a vital issue in the history of catholic church music in Ireland.'⁴⁷⁸ The Irish cecilian movement certainly was a vital issue in the history of continental organists in Ireland. It set the scene for their arrival, and through its journal, *Lyra Ecclesiastica*, drew public attention to their activities. It became the advertising medium for church music schools on the continent, and increased awareness among the Irish hierarchy as to the role of these institutions in the future of Irish sacred music.

Ironically, the activities of the Irish cecilian society, in its pursuit of the improvement of Irish sacred music, may also have had a damaging effect on its future. The appointment of Beyerunge, a consequence of cecilianism in Ireland, meant that the Irish church would for many years, equate church music professionalism with foreign personnel. One wonders, if in fact this was an influencing factor in the indifference shown by the Irish

⁴⁷⁵ White (as n. 35), 10.

⁴⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁴⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

hierarchy towards providing sacred music education for Irish students. It seems that the hierarchy had resigned themselves to a policy of 'importing' professional church musicians. By failing to provide an institution dedicated to training Irish students in the art of sacred music, the episcopacy may have made the work of foreign organists in Ireland more difficult. Indeed, as documented, continental musicians such as Bewerunge, de Meulemeester, and de Regge fervently called on the Irish hierarchy to establish such an institution in Ireland. Aloys Fleishmann (junior) even claimed in 1952, that the supply of qualified Irish organists would not only have a beneficial effect on the advancement of sacred music, but would enhance the general standard of music-making in this country. One could say that the hierarchy's inactivity in this matter may also have had a detrimental effect on the general musical life of this island:

Apart from its (church music school) intrinsic importance from the point of view of church worship itself, the standard of a country's church music affects the entire population, since to a large portion of the community the music they hear in church is their sole point of contact with this particular art...a supply of fully-trained young organists would soon make their influence felt, not only on church music but on provincial music generally, for the dearth of musical activity in most country towns is due to the lack of a musician with the training and the personality to set things in motion.⁴⁷⁹

At best, according to Gerard Gillen, the attitude of successive Irish catholic episcopacies in this regard could be described as one of 'complacency and laissez-faire.'⁴⁸⁰ Gillen adds that the hierarchy may have found it 'easier and cheaper to engage organists from Germany and Belgium to fill positions of musical leadership throughout the country as they became available. After all, Bewerunge's appointment had set an impressive

⁴⁷⁹ Fleishmann (as n. 203), 87-88.

⁴⁸⁰ Gerard Gillen: 'From Emancipation to the Second Vatican Council: Latin Works for the Roman Catholic Church', *Irish Musical Studies* vi: *A Historical Anthology of Irish Church Music*, ed. Gerard Gillen and Andrew Johnstone (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001), 29.

precedent.' It was not till 1970, that the Irish hierarchy 'belatedly attempted redress in a crucial area of liturgical music training', by establishing the *Schola Cantorum* at St Finian's College, Mullingar.⁴⁸¹

Nevertheless, this issue must not detract from the beneficial effects that continental organists had on sacred music practice in this country. Their influence is perhaps confined to, and most apparent in the particular towns and cities where they worked. It is evident that many communities were made aware of a continental sacred music model, and faithfully practised this model for many years. As discovered, not only were the principles of papal documents implemented by foreign organists, but contemporary Flemish, Dutch and German sacred music repertoire was taught and regularly performed in many Irish towns and cities in the early and mid-twentieth century. The involvement of continental organists, particularly the second generation of Belgians, in the general musical life of their localities, raised the profile of music-making which is still resonant today. Many music societies in towns and cities across the country trace their foundations to the initiatives of these continental musicians. One could say, therefore, that the most significant aspect of the influence of foreign organists in this country has been to instil a professional attitude to sacred and secular music in areas where this was lacking. This development has been most apparent in localities outside Dublin and other large urban centres. Rural towns such as Kilrush in Co. Clare for example, are still feeling the effects of continental influences forty years after the last foreign organist departed.

The presence of continental organists in Ireland, particularly the second generation of Belgians, influenced Irish organists to travel to the continent for study. Such organists

⁴⁸¹ Gerard Gillen (as n. 480), 29.

included Professor Gerard Gillen, Department of Music, National University of Ireland, Maynooth, and Una Russell,⁴⁸² DIT Conservatory of Music and Drama, Dublin. Gerard Gillen received organ tuition from Michael Van Dessel in Dundalk in the early 1960s, and it was he, together with distinguished London organist, Ralph Downes (1904-1993), who advised Gillen to study with Flor Peeters at the Royal Flemish Conservatoire in Antwerp.⁴⁸³

Nationally, however, the movement of continental organists to Ireland may not have had the major impact that was hoped for. In effect, the phenomenon was more exciting in its potential than its realisation. The reason for this is largely due to the general attitude of the Irish church to sacred music and church musicians. Although material conditions were initially satisfactory for continental organists, they were not sufficiently reviewed by church authorities in the course of the working careers of many of these musicians. Proper career structures, similar to those experienced by church musicians on the continent, were not adequately implemented for foreign organists in this country. Many of them were forced to supplement their income by private tuition and other related assignments, leaving less time to apply towards the advancement of sacred music. The absence of a church music school resulted in continental organists having to expend much time and energy teaching the basic elements of church musicianship, a task that, perhaps, did not use their talents to the full. These highly qualified professional church

⁴⁸² See n. 431 for further information on Una Russell.

⁴⁸³ Gillen studied at the Antwerp Conservatoire under Flor Peeters for the academic year 1963-4, gaining the 'Premier Prix' with 'great distinction'. He returned to Belgium for the academic year 1966-7 (having been awarded the National University of Ireland Travelling Studentship in Music), and gained the conservatoire's highest honour, the 'Prix d'Excellence'. Gillen has since been in demand as a recitalist, not only in Ireland, but across Europe and the United States. He has been organist of the Pro-Cathedral in Dublin since 1976 and holds his current position at the National University of Ireland, Maynooth since 1985.

musicians and composers were often taken for granted by many of their employers, and were effectively working in a system where their efforts were not truly valued.

Consequently, many continental organists became apathetic and lost enthusiasm for their work. Life in many provincial towns in mid-twentieth century Ireland was socially and economically stagnant. On the whole, it seems that conditions were better for organists in Northern Ireland due to a better overall music infrastructure.

The 1960s signalled the end of this chapter in the history of Irish catholic church music.

The year 1959 saw the last appointment of a foreign organist in this country.⁴⁸⁴ Vatican II heralded a completely new agenda in the practice of liturgical music, leaving many of the principles advocated and implemented by foreign organists since the late nineteenth century, effectively invalid. Naturally, these continental musicians, who had spent a lifetime promoting and teaching certain sacred music ideals, found it difficult to adapt to the sweeping changes of the new regime.⁴⁸⁵ Vernacular liturgical music now became a central and urgent requirement of the reformed liturgy with its demand for 'active congregational participation.' This new system significantly reduced the influence of foreign organists in the life of the Irish catholic church thereafter.⁴⁸⁶

The legacy of these continental organists in Ireland, through no fault of their own, is sadly limited. Very few churches and cathedrals have replaced these eminent musicians

⁴⁸⁴ See n. 1.

⁴⁸⁵ Raymond Lennon, pupil of Leon Rittweger, recalls that his Belgian teacher had great difficulty adapting to these changes. The full and active participation of the congregation, advocated by the Council, caused him particular problems. He could not reconcile the notion of promoting the choir as the primary vehicle of music, and involving the congregation at the same time. Lennon recalls that Rittweger chose to ignore the new instructions and effectively continued as he had done.

⁴⁸⁶ The change of emphasis placed on sacred music education at the Lemmens Institute was another indicator of the weakening of a once vibrant regime. Sacred music studies presently constitute a small part of a general music education at the institute. It is now situated in Leuven and is considered to be one of the largest conservatoires in Belgium.

with comparable professionals. The efforts of foreign organists were not developed.⁴⁸⁷

Consequently, the standard of Irish sacred music has significantly dropped since the mid-twentieth century. The following summation by Joseph Ryan on the history of music in Ireland, could easily apply to the endeavours of foreign organists for the improvement of Irish sacred music:

It is embarrassing in the light of such proud reputation to record that there is in Ireland little consistent interest in matters musical. The narrative of music in the country is a tale of heroic individual endeavour in the face of successive waves of public enthusiasm which invariably fades into indifference. Accordingly, the history is not the record of people and its art but the commitment of individual labourers whose dedication and vision was responsible for providing a modicum of music.⁴⁸⁸

Regardless of the extent of the legacy left by continental organists in this country, it is interesting to document the phenomenon, and also worthwhile to acknowledge the notable contribution these musicians made to Irish catholic church music.

In conclusion, it is appropriate to quote the words of the Belgian organist, Arthur de Meulemeester, who graciously viewed his service and that of his colleagues as one of gratitude to Ireland for sowing the seeds of faith in their country. His final comments

⁴⁸⁷ In Dundalk, however, a memorial fund was established in the 1970s to endow a Michael Van Dessel Foundation which would provide music and musical education in the town and district of Dundalk. The foundation strove to promote co-operation between representatives of church, educational and general musical interests to ensure the location of Dundalk of a musician capable of carrying on in the tradition of Michael Van Dessel. It aimed to advise and encourage young musicians in the continuation of their studies and to promote musical performances in Dundalk by Irish and international musicians. A series of organ recitals, known as the Michael Van Dessel Memorial Recitals were organised in the 1970s to support the foundation. These recitals featured prominent Irish and international organists, and continued up to the mid-1990s. The foundation, however, due to a general lack of support and encouragement, has been in limbo for some time. Funds raised as a result of various endeavours were modest and therefore not sufficient to implement the original objectives of the foundation.

⁴⁸⁸ Joseph J. Ryan: 'Nationalism and Irish Music', *Irish Musical Studies* iii: *Music and Irish Cultural History*, ed. Gerard Gillen and Harry White (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1995), 104.

encapsulate the dedication and commitment of foreign organists to the sacred music of their adoptive country:

Since Belgium does not forget how much her Faith and her Culture owe to the Irish Apostles of early Christendom and to the great ancient scholars of this nation, it will not be considered incongruous, that Belgium in the 20th Century should come and help to restore to Ireland the glories of ecclesiastical art which it once received from Ireland.

Ireland has been the cradle of sacred music...it must not remain the cradle of that music; every Irishman and every Irishwoman should endeavour to make it its throne.⁴⁸⁹

⁴⁸⁹ De Meulemeester (as n. 240), 110.

APPENDIX ONE

Chronological list of Continental Organists in Ireland 1860-1960

The following list of continental organists is shown according to date of arrival. Some arrival dates are approximate. Details relating to nationality, and place and duration of service (where known) are also specified.

First Generation of Organists (1860-1920)			(Chapters Two and Three)	
1	Francis de Prins	Belgian	Limerick	(1862-1884)
2	Leopold de Prins	Belgian	Cork	(1870-1890)
3	Alois Volkmer	German	Dublin	(c1870s- ?)
4	Herr Stein	German	Bray	(c1870s- ?)
5	Herr Moomaier	German	Kilkenny	(c1870s- ?)
6	Leo Kerbusch	German	Belfast	(c1870s- ?)
7	Herr Thinnes	German	Cork	(c1870s- ?)
8	Conrad Swertz	German	Cork (St Vincent's)	(1879-1890)
			Cathedral	(1890-1906)
9	Alphonse Haan	German	Longford	(1879-1909)
10	Joseph Bellens	Belgian	Limerick	(1884-1919)
11	Maximillian Scherrer	German	Thurles	(1887- ?)
12	Heinrich Bewerunge	German	Maynooth	(1888-1923)
13	Carl Hardebeck	German	Belfast (St Matthew's)	(1893-1904)
			St Peter's	(1904- ?)
14	Gustav Haan	German	Carlow	(1894-1922)
15	Arthur de Meulemeester	Belgian	Belfast	(1898-1942)
16	Carl William Rothe	German	Ardee	(1900-1908)

17	Alphonsus Frederick Graff	German	Cobh	(1902-1908)
18	Dominic Nono	Belgian	Ennis	(1902-1915)
19	Jan Juliaan Stuyck	Belgian	Dundalk	(1903-1905)
20	Hans Marx	German	Tuam	(1904-1905)
21	Joseph Sireaux	Belgian	Dundalk	(1905-1910)
22	Joseph Koss	German	Loughrea	(1905-1912)
			Kilkenny	(1912- ?)
23	Aloys Fleishmann	German	Cork	(1906-1964)
24	Rudolf Niermann	German	Kilkenny	(1906-1908)
			Cobh	(1908-1911)
			Longford	(1911-1922)
25	Firmin Van de Velde	Belgian	Dundalk	(1910-1912)
			Galway	(1912-1919)
			Limerick	(1919-1935)
			Kilrush	(1935-1952)
26	George Oberhoffer	German	Longford	(1910-1911)
27	Jean Baptiste Van Crean	Belgian	Dundalk	(1916-1938)

Second Generation of Organists 1920-1960

(Chapter Four)

28	Antoon Slickx	Belgian	Ennis	(1920-1923)
29	Franz Born	German	Carlow	(1922-1928)
30	Ernest de Regge	Belgian	Ennis	(1923-1958)
31	Jozef Cuypers	Belgian	Newbridge	(1923-1978)

32	Michael Van Dessel	Belgian	Dundalk (cathedral)	(1923-1974)
			Redemptorist Church	(1963-1974)
33	Staf Gebruers	Belgian	Cobh	(1924-1970)
34	Henri Tirez	Belgian	Newry	(1924-1929)
35	Louis Evers	Belgian	Roscrea	(1925-1927)
			Galway	(1927- ?)
36	Jean Thauet	German	Loughrea	(1925-1927)
37	Karl Wolff	German	Loughrea	(1927-1980)
38	René Segers	Belgian	Longford	(1928-1956)
39	Albert de Meester	Belgian	Sligo	(1929-1936)
40	Jozef Delafaille	Belgian	Newry	(1929-1951)
41	Karl Seeldrayers	Belgian	Westport	(1930-1936)
			Sligo	(1936-1941)
			Carlow	(1941-1977)
42	Clement Haan	German	Derry	(1931-1981)
42	Paul Botz	German	Nenagh	(c1935-?)
44	Theo Verheggen	Belgian	Thurles	(1935-1947)
45	Leon Rittweger	Belgian	Belfast (Clonard)	(1948-1968)
			St Peter's	(1968-1969)
46	George Minne	Belgian	Roscrea	(1952-1956)
			Kilrush	(1956-1959)
			Armagh	(1959-)

Full names of cathedrals, churches and institutions where above foreign organists were employed:

St Alphonsus Redemptorist Church, Limerick	(1, 10, 25)
St Mary's Cathedral, Cork	(2, 8, 23)
St Andrew's Church, Westland Row, Dublin	(3)
St Mary's Cathedral, Kilkenny	(5, 22, 24)
St Vincent's Church, Sunday's Well, Cork	(7, 8)
St Mel's Cathedral, Longford	(9, 24, 26, 38)
Cathedral of the Assumption, Thurles	(11, 44)
St Patrick's College, Maynooth	(12)
St Matthew's Church, Newington Avenue, Belfast	(13)
St Peter's Pro-Cathedral, Belfast	(13, 45)
Cathedral of the Assumption, Carlow	(14, 29, 41)
Clonard Redemptorist Church	(15, 45)
St Mary's Church, Ardee	(16)
St Colman's Cathedral, Cobh	(17, 24, 33)
SS Peter and Paul's Pro-Cathedral, Ennis	(18, 28, 30)
St Joseph's Redemptorist Church, Dundalk	(19, 21, 25, 27, 32)
Cathedral of the Assumption, Tuam	(20)
St Brendan's Cathedral, Loughrea	(22, 36, 37)
St Nicholas' Pro-Cathedral, Galway	(25, 35)
Dominican College, Newbridge	(31)
St Patrick's Cathedral, Dundalk	(32)

SS Patrick and Colman's Cathedral, Newry	(34, 40)
St Cronan's Church, Roscrea	(35, 46)
St Brendan's Cathedral, Loughrea	(36, 37)
St Mary's Cathedral, Sligo	(39, 41)
St Mary's Church, Westport	(41)
St Eugene's Cathedral, Derry	(42)
St Mary of the Rosary Church, Nenagh	(43)
St Senan's Church, Kilrush	(25, 46)
St Patrick's Cathedral, Armagh	(46)

(It is not known what church Herr Stein (4) and Leo Kerbusch (6) were attached to)

APPENDIX TWO

**Compositions of Continental Organists in Ireland with
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Introduction

The compositions of foreign organists in Ireland generally fall into the *Gebrauchsmusik* category. This term was applied in the 1920s to works which were directed to some social or educational purpose instead of being 'art for art's sake'. The purpose of the majority of sacred music compositions by foreign organists in Ireland was to provide suitable music for liturgical use in Irish cathedrals and churches. Considering these organists faithfully implemented the sacred music decrees of *Motu Proprio* (1903), it is not surprising that their compositional style was largely determined by guidelines in this document: 'The more closely a composition for Church approaches in its movement, inspiration, and savour the Gregorian form, the more sacred and liturgical it becomes.'⁴⁹⁰ De Meulemeester was particularly keen to adhere to papal decrees in his compositions and directed his contemporaries to do the same. In his publication *The Reform of Church Music* (1936), he devoted a considerable portion of the book to this subject.⁴⁹¹ In general therefore, his, and the sacred compositions of his continental colleagues in Ireland, are mainly in a traditional, conservative, devout style, aimed at raising 'the minds of the faithful to the worship of the Divine Majesty.'⁴⁹² Consequently, they are based on similar principles favoured by cecilian composers of the nineteenth century, who modelled their works on the sixteenth-century *a capella* repertoire. Foreign organists in Ireland were effectively writing in a post-cecilian style in that their musical language also looked back to an earlier age. Although they were writing at a time when traditional harmonic and

⁴⁹⁰ As quoted in de Meulemeester (as n. 240), 43.

⁴⁹¹ De Meulemeester (as n. 240), 41-56.

⁴⁹² *Ibid.*, 51.

melodic relationships were blurred, there is little to suggest the imminence of a twentieth-century tonal collapse in their music. Undoubtedly these foreign organists were aware of the latest trends as composition occupied an important part of studies at the Lemmens Institute and comparable German institutions. However, according to de Meulemeester, composing for liturgy provoked a different approach:

A modern composer... permeated with sincere religion, will instinctively sacrifice exaggerated expression, as well as any resources which lack dignity or which belong to the theatrical style... It must not be forgotten that the object of church singing is to give effect to the words, and to strengthen their meaning; and it is not by curious modulations...that this can be achieved.⁴⁹³

It seems then that these foreign musicians were prompted to write sacred music in a traditional style, based on papal instructions and also on the demands of their environment. No doubt they were conscious of their constituents, the musically conservative choirs with which they were dealing, and the even more musically conservative clergy and public whom they were anxious to please.

Nevertheless, it would be wrong to suggest that their compositions are mere imitations of sixteenth-century works:

To claim that this musical expression is the only, the exclusive formula which is appropriate for Catholic prayer, would be a bold assertion, very difficult to maintain; it would amount to an assertion that the XVIth Century had discovered the definite form of religious music, - and to denying to later epochs the right to express the sentiments of the believing souls in their own way.⁴⁹⁴

⁴⁹³ De Meulemeester (as n. 240), 51.

⁴⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 42.

Foreign musicians in Ireland were able to successfully imprint a degree of individuality into their sacred music compositions without infringing papal decrees. One sees in their vocal sacred music, the skilful integration of chromaticism with music fit for liturgical use. This is particularly evident in the music of Van Dessel, where moments of indeed progressive chromaticism are balanced with and submerged in an overall austere mode of expression.

Overall, these works successfully achieved the purpose for which they were intended, that of providing suitable and meaningful music for liturgical worship. An analysis of their success in this field might be a more worthwhile assessment of their true value.

In works which were not within the confines of liturgical suitability, foreign organists were freer to express their individuality and experiment with twentieth-century musical language. Fleischmann's organ music, for example, is harmonically adventurous and written in an almost free improvisatory manner.

Some foreign organists integrated Irish folk melodies into their vocal sacred compositions. Gebruers, in his *Missa Laudate Domine*, took part of the Irish tune, 'Turas go Tír Na nÓg', and incorporated it throughout the work.

Arthur de Meulemeester

'Kyrie and Credo' from *Missa in honorem Sanctae Mariae de Perpetuo Succurso* (Two equal voices and organ), (Boston: McLaughlin & Reilly Company, 1940) 191-199

MISSA

in honorem

SANCTÆ MARIÆ DE PERPETUO SUCCURSU

Ad Duas Voces Aequales Comitante Organo

Kyrie

ARTH. DE MEULEMEESTER, Op. 63

Andante M. M. ♩ = 66

ORGAN

Organ introduction in B-flat major, 4/4 time, marked *p*. The music features a gentle, flowing melody in the right hand and a supporting bass line in the left hand.

Vocal entries for the first two voices (I and II) and organ accompaniment. The music is in B-flat major, 4/4 time, marked *p*. The lyrics are: Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son.

Vocal entries for the Soprano (ST) and Alto (AB) voices and organ accompaniment. The music is in B-flat major, 4/4 time, marked *p*. The lyrics are: Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son. Chri - ste e -

le - i - son. Chri - ste e - le - i - son. Chri - ste e -

Chri - ste e le - i - son. Chri - ste e -

rit. *ST p*

rit. *AB p*

p

le - i - son.

le - i - son.

ST p

AB p Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son, e - le - i - son.

Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son. Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son

ST p *mf* *rit.*

Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son. Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son.

AB mf *rit.*

Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son.

p *mf* *rit.*

Credo

Allegro maestoso M.M. ♩ = 92

ST
Pa - trem om - ni - po - ten - tem, fa - cto - rem coe - li et ter - rae, vi - si -

AB
Pa - trem om - ni - po - ten - tem, fa - cto - rem coe - li et ter - rae, vi - si -

bi - li - um om - ni - um, et in - vi - si - bi - li - um.

bi - li - um om - ni - um, et in - vi - si - bi - li - um. Et in

Je - sum - Chri - stum,

u - num Do - mi - num Fi - li - um

f

Et ex Pa - tre na - tum an - te om - ni - a sae - cu -

f

De - i u - ni - ge - ni - tum. Et ex Pa - tre na - tum an - te om - ni - a sae - cu -

ST f

la. De - um de De - o,

la.

mf *f*

molto rit.

lu - men de lu - mi - ne, De - um ve - rum de De - o ve - ro.

B mf

Ge - ni - tum, non fa - ctum,

molto rit.

mf *rit.*

con - sub - stan - ti - a - lem Pa - tri: per quem om - ni - a fa - cta sunt.

mf *rit.*

con - sub - stan - ti - a - lem Pa - tri: per quem om - ni - a fa - cta sunt.

mf *rit.*

ST *mf*

Qui pro-pter nos ho-mi-nes, et pro-pter no-stram sa-lu-tem de-

AB *f*

Qui pro-pter nos ho-mi-nes, et pro-pter no-stram sa-lu-tem de-

mf

SA *pp semplice*

scen-dit de coe-lis. Et in-car-

scen-dit de coe-lis.

rall. M. M. ♩ = 69

pp *pp*

poco rubato

na-tus est de Spi-ri-tu San-cto ex Ma-ri-a Vir-gi-ne; et ho-mo factus est.

rubato

M. M. ♩ = 88 *p*

p Cru-ci-fi-xus e-ti-am pro no-bis; sub Pon-ti-o Pi-la-to

Cru-ci-fi-xus e-ti-am pro no-bis; sub Pon-ti-o Pi-la-to

M. M. ♩ = 88

p

mf

pas - sus, et se - pul - tus est.

mf

pas - sus, et se - pul - tus est.

poco a poco ac - ce - le - ran - do

ST *ff* M.M. ♩ : 96

Et re - sur - re - xit ter - ti - a

AB ff

cre - scen - do

Et re - sur - re - xit ter - ti - a

M.M. ♩ : 96

ST *f* *Allegro moderato*

di - e, se - cun - dum Scri - ptu - ras. Et a - scen - dit in coe - lum

Allegro moderato *AB f*

di - e, se - cun - dum Scri - ptu - ras. se - det ad dex - te - ram

st f Et i - te - rum ven - tu - rus est cum glo - ri - a, ju - di - *ff*
ff Pa - tris. Et i - te - rum ven - tu - rus est cum glo - ri - a, ju - di -

poco rit. ca - re vi - vos et mor - tu - os: — cu - jus re - gni non *mf*
poco rit. ca - re vi - vos et mor - tu - os: — cu - jus re - gni non *mf*

poco rit. e - rit fi - nis.
poco rit. e - rit fi - nis.
poco rit.

mf Et in Spi - ri - tum, San - ctum Do - mi - num, et vi - vi - fi - can *poco rit.*
mf *poco rit.*

12

a tempo

tem: qui ex Pa-tre Fi-li-o que pro-ce-dit.

B

Qui cum Pa-tre et

p

Fi-li-o si-mul a-do-ra-tur, et con-glo-ri-fi-ca-tur

p

mf

qui lo-cu-tus est per Pro-phe-tas.

mf

qui lo-cu-tus est per Pro-phe-tas. *Allegro maestoso*

ST f Tempo marcato

Et u-nam, san-ctam ca-tho-li-cam et a-po-sto-li-cam Ec-

AB f Tempo marcato

Et u-nam, san-ctam ca-tho-li-cam et a-po-sto-li-cam Ec-

Tempo marcato

molto rit.

molto rit.

sp M. M. ♩ = 96

cle - si - am. Con - fi - te - or u - num ba - pti - sma

AP

cle - si - am. Con - fi - te - or u - num ba - pti - sma

M. M. ♩ = 96

p

in re - mis - si - o - nem pec - ca - to - rum

in re - mis - si - o - nem pec - ca - to - rum.

ST Et ex -

AB Et ex -

spe - cto re - sur - re - cti o - nem mor - tu - o - rum. Et

spe - cto re - sur - re - cti o - nem mor - tu - o - rum. Et

ff

vi - tam ven - tu - ri sae - cu - li. A men.

vi - tam ven - tu - ri sae - cu - li. A men.

ff *molto rit.*

ff *molto rit.*

ff *molto rit.*

Aloys Fleischmann

<i>Ave Maria</i> (SSA), composed 1959, Cork	201
<i>Magnificat</i> (organ), composed c1920, Cork	204

Ave Maria

Flauto

Allegro moderato

Andante religioso.

mf.

a tempo

The Lord is with thee

p

stans ma-ri-ae gratia plena. Do-mi-nus te-cum

mf

poco rall.

bles-sed fruit art thou a woman

be-ne-di-ctus tu in mu-li-eribus.

mf

poco rall.

+ blessed is the fruit of my womb

mp

et be-ne-di-ctus frui-ctus ven-tris tu-i ge-

cresc.

mf

sus, de - - - sus

mp fp

Soprano I+II animato

(Choir ad lib.) San - cta Ma - ri - a Ma - ter

mf f

dim.

De - i o - ra pro no - bis, pec - ca - to - ri - bus,

dist.



mf i nunc et in ho - ra

The first system shows a vocal line with notes for 'i nunc et in ho - ra'. Below it is a piano accompaniment with chords and melodic lines. A '+' sign is written above the first measure of the piano part. The dynamic *mf* is written at the beginning of the piano part.

molto cresc.

mf mor - tis * no - strae,

The second system continues the vocal line with 'mor - tis * no - strae,'. The piano accompaniment features chords and a melodic line. A circled 'p' is written below the first measure of the piano part.

A

mf mor - tis * no - strae,

The third system continues the vocal line with 'mor - tis * no - strae,'. The piano accompaniment includes chords and a melodic line. A circled 'p' is written below the first measure of the piano part.

mf men, - A - men.

The fourth system continues the vocal line with 'men, - A - men.'. The piano accompaniment includes chords and a melodic line. The word 'copyright' is written in the right margin of this system.

For Organ

Magnificat.

Alloys G Fleischmann

Soloamente m m d. 98

The first system of the musical score consists of four staves. The top staff is a treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature. The second staff is a treble clef with a key signature of one sharp. The third and fourth staves are bass clefs with a key signature of one sharp. The music is marked with a tempo of 'm m' and a dynamic of 'd. 98'. Registration instructions are placed above the staves: 'III man.' above the second staff, 'IV man.' above the third staff, and 'Celestial Organ (or IV man.)' above the fourth staff. The notation includes various notes, rests, and dynamic markings such as 'mf' and 'f'.

The second system of the musical score continues the piece. It features the same four-staff layout. The registration instructions are updated: 'II man.' is placed above the second staff, and 'L.H.' is placed above the fourth staff. The musical notation continues with various notes and rests, maintaining the dynamic and tempo markings.

The third system of the musical score concludes the piece. It features the same four-staff layout. The registration instruction 'I man.' is placed above the second staff. The musical notation continues with various notes and rests, maintaining the dynamic and tempo markings.

Handwritten musical score for a string quartet, featuring staves for Violin I, Violin II, Viola, and Cello/Double Bass. The score includes dynamic markings such as *mf*, *I man.*, *f*, *ff*, and *p*, along with various musical notations like slurs, accents, and phrasing slurs.

Violin I: *mf* *I man.* *f* *I man.*

Violin II: *mf* *I man.* *f* *I man.*

Viola: *mf* *I man.* *f* *I man.*

Cello/Double Bass: *mf* *I man.* *f* *I man.*

Additional markings include *sfz*, *ffz*, *gru - fi - cat*, and *II man.*

9.

Handwritten musical score for the first system. The top staff is in treble clef and contains a melodic line with various notes and rests. The bottom staff is in bass clef and contains accompaniment. The system is divided into four measures by vertical bar lines.

Handwritten musical score for the second system. It continues the melodic and accompaniment lines from the first system. The system is divided into three measures by vertical bar lines.

bon moto.

mf

sempre cresc.

Handwritten musical score for the third system. It begins with the tempo marking *bon moto.* and the dynamic marking *mf*. The system is divided into three measures by vertical bar lines. The music shows a clear upward trend in dynamics, indicated by the *sempre cresc.* instruction.

stringendo

stringendo

Handwritten musical score for the fourth system. It begins with the tempo marking *stringendo*. The system is divided into three measures by vertical bar lines. The music is more complex and dense than the previous systems.

Handwritten musical score for the first system. The top staff is in treble clef, showing a melodic line with various notes and rests. Below it is a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) with accompaniment. A 'rall.' marking is written in the second measure of the grand staff.

Handwritten musical score for the second system. It continues the melodic and accompaniment lines from the first system. Dynamic markings 'f' and 'p' are visible. The notation includes various notes, rests, and slurs.

Handwritten musical score for the third system. It begins with the tempo marking 'Con fubilo: m. m. c = 108.' and dynamic markings 'molto rit' and 'mf'. The notation includes various notes, rests, and slurs.

Handwritten musical score for the fourth system. It continues the melodic and accompaniment lines. The notation includes various notes, rests, and slurs.

Musical score system 1, consisting of two staves. The upper staff is a treble clef with a melodic line featuring various notes, rests, and slurs. The lower staff is a bass clef with a simpler accompaniment line. A dynamic marking *mf* is present in the lower staff. The system is divided into measures by vertical bar lines.

Musical score system 2, consisting of two staves. The upper staff is a treble clef with a melodic line featuring various notes, rests, and slurs. The lower staff is a bass clef with a simpler accompaniment line. The system is divided into measures by vertical bar lines.

Handwritten musical score for "SYMPHAX" 756. The score is written on ten staves, organized into two systems of five staves each. The notation includes various rhythmic values, dynamic markings such as "p" (piano) and "f" (forte), and performance instructions like "Poco a poco crescendo e più moto:". The music features complex rhythmic patterns, including sixteenth and thirty-second notes, and rests. The score is written in a single system with multiple staves per system, typical of a manuscript for a large ensemble or orchestra.

M.L.S. 'SYMPHAX' 756

Handwritten musical score system 1, consisting of two staves. The upper staff contains a melodic line with various notes, rests, and slurs. The lower staff contains a bass line with notes and rests. The system is divided into measures by vertical bar lines.

Handwritten musical score system 2, consisting of two staves. The upper staff continues the melodic line with notes and slurs. The lower staff continues the bass line. The system is divided into measures by vertical bar lines.

Handwritten musical score system 3, consisting of two staves. The upper staff contains notes and slurs, with the word "man." written above the staff. The lower staff contains notes and rests, with the word "ch" written below the staff. The system is divided into measures by vertical bar lines.

Handwritten musical score system 4, consisting of two staves. The upper staff contains notes and slurs. The lower staff contains notes and rests, with the word "ch" written below the staff. The system is divided into measures by vertical bar lines.

This page contains a handwritten musical score for a piece, likely in the key of B-flat major or D-flat major, as indicated by the key signature (two flats). The score is written on ten staves, with the first two staves forming a system and the remaining eight staves forming two systems of four staves each. The notation includes various note values (quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes), rests, and dynamic markings. Performance instructions are written in Italian: "Piu crescendo" appears on the third staff, "I man" (ritardando) on the fifth staff, "animoso" on the sixth staff, "crescendo" on the seventh staff, and "ritato" on the eighth staff. The score concludes with a final chord on the tenth staff, marked with a fermata. The handwriting is clear and professional, typical of a composer's manuscript.

Handwritten musical score system 1, consisting of three staves. The top staff is a treble clef with a whole note chord. The middle staff is a bass clef with a whole note chord and a fermata. The bottom staff is a bass clef with a whole note chord and a fermata.

Handwritten musical score system 2, consisting of three staves. The top staff is a treble clef with a melodic line and a fermata. The middle staff is a bass clef with a melodic line and a fermata. The bottom staff is a bass clef with a melodic line and a fermata. The tempo marking is *Andante quasi all'impetu* and the time signature is *m. m. c = 54*. The dynamic marking is *man*. The text below the staff reads: *Et misericordia eius a propitio in propitio timentibus eum*. The tempo marking *(tranquillo)* is written on the left.

Handwritten musical score system 3, consisting of three staves. The top staff is a treble clef with a melodic line and a fermata. The middle staff is a bass clef with a melodic line and a fermata. The bottom staff is a bass clef with a melodic line and a fermata. The dynamic marking is *dim*.

Handwritten musical score system 4, consisting of three staves. The top staff is a treble clef with a melodic line and a fermata. The middle staff is a bass clef with a melodic line and a fermata. The bottom staff is a bass clef with a melodic line and a fermata. The tempo marking is *assai rit*. The dynamic marking is *mf*. The text below the staff reads: *Tempo di mezzo*. The tempo marking *man* is written on the left.

Handwritten musical score for the first system. The top staff is in treble clef and contains notes with stems, some marked with 'mf' and 'I. man'. The bottom staff is in bass clef and contains notes with stems. There are various musical notations such as beams, slurs, and dynamic markings.

Handwritten musical score for the second system. The top staff is in treble clef and contains notes with stems, some marked with 'I. man.' and 'r'. The bottom staff is in bass clef and contains notes with stems. There are various musical notations such as beams, slurs, and dynamic markings.

Handwritten musical score for the third system. The top staff is in treble clef and contains notes with stems, some marked with 'sempre crescendo:' and 'string'. The bottom staff is in bass clef and contains notes with stems. There are various musical notations such as beams, slurs, and dynamic markings.

Handwritten musical score for the fourth system. The top staff is in treble clef and contains notes with stems, some marked with 'OK'. The bottom staff is in bass clef and contains notes with stems. There are various musical notations such as beams, slurs, and dynamic markings.

Handwritten musical score for the first system. It consists of five staves. The top staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The second staff has a bass clef. The third staff has a treble clef. The fourth and fifth staves have bass clefs. The music includes various note values, rests, and dynamic markings. The word "Allegro" is written above the first staff. The word "Maestoso" is written above the fourth staff. There are also some handwritten annotations like "poco assai" and "ff".

Handwritten musical score for the second system. It consists of three staves. The top staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The middle staff has a treble clef. The bottom staff has a bass clef. The music includes various note values and rests. The dynamic marking "II man." is written above the first staff. The word "leggiero:" is written above the middle staff. The word "pesante:" is written above the bottom staff. There is a handwritten number "12" above the middle staff.

Handwritten musical score for the third system. It consists of three staves. The top staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The middle staff has a treble clef. The bottom staff has a bass clef. The music includes various note values and rests. The dynamic marking "I man." is written above the first staff. The dynamic marking "II man." is written above the middle staff. There is a handwritten number "12" above the middle staff.

Handwritten musical score with multiple staves. The notation includes notes, rests, and dynamic markings. A large 'V' shape is drawn across the top staves. The text "(Allegro)" and "pp rubato" are written in the middle section. The bottom right section includes the marking "rit." and a circled "2".

Handwritten musical score with multiple staves. The notation includes notes, rests, and dynamic markings. A large 'V' shape is drawn across the top staves. The text "mf" is written in the middle section. The bottom right section includes a circled "2".

IL 59 ' SYMPHAX ' 756

The image shows a handwritten musical score for a string quartet, consisting of four staves. The notation is as follows:

- Staff 1 (Violin I):** Labeled "I. man." at the beginning. It contains several measures of music with notes and rests. A large slur covers the first two measures.
- Staff 2 (Violin II):** Labeled "II. man." at the beginning. It contains several measures of music with notes and rests. A large slur covers the first two measures.
- Staff 3 (Viola):** Labeled "I. man." at the beginning. It contains several measures of music with notes and rests. A large slur covers the first two measures.
- Staff 4 (Cello/Double Bass):** Labeled "Solo" at the beginning. It contains several measures of music with notes and rests. A large slur covers the first two measures. Below this staff, there are markings for "R.H." and "L.H.".

Additional markings include dynamics such as "p" (piano) and "mf" (mezzo-forte), and various musical symbols like "ff" (fortissimo) and "f" (forte). The score is written in a cursive, handwritten style.

Tempo I, con Brno:

The image shows a handwritten musical score for a string quartet, consisting of four systems of staves. The notation includes notes, rests, and various musical symbols. Dynamics such as *ff* (fortissimo) and *mf* (mezzo-forte) are used throughout. Performance instructions include *tr* (trill), *man. II* (second manual), and *dim.* (diminuendo). The score is written in a style typical of a composer's manuscript, with some corrections and markings visible.

13.

g Fernwerk:
8va

Handwritten musical score for the first system. It consists of a grand staff with treble and bass clefs. The music includes various notes, rests, and dynamic markings such as *ppp*. Performance instructions include *man. IV*, *quasi distant Voices.*, and *man. III*. There are also some handwritten annotations like *ppp* and *ppp* in the bass staff.

Handwritten musical score for the second system. It consists of a grand staff with treble and bass clefs. The music includes notes, rests, and dynamic markings such as *ppp estinto* and *ppp*. There are also some handwritten annotations like *ppp* and *ppp*.

copyright

A series of empty musical staves, likely for additional notation or practice.

Michael Van Dessel

- Magna Res est Amor* (solo and organ), composed c1930s, Dundalk 218
- 'Kyrie and Gloria' from *Missa in honorem Beatae Mariae Mariae Virginis* (SATB and organ), composed 1942, Dundalk. 222

MAGNA RES EST AMOR.

THOMAS A KEMPIS.

MICH VAN DESS

MAGNA

RES EST AMOR, MAGNUM OMNINO BONUM, QUOD SOLUM

LEVAVIT OMNIBUS, ET FERT AEQUALITER

OMNE INAEQUALI. NIHI

Handwritten musical score for 'Magna Res Est Amor' by Thomas a Kempis, arranged by Mich van Dess. The score is in G major, 3/4 time, and consists of vocal and piano parts. It includes Latin lyrics and dynamic markings such as 'p' and 'PED'.

DUL-CI-US EST A-MO - - - RE, NI-HIL FOR-TI-US,

NI-HIL AL-TI-US NI-HIL KA-TI-TI-US.

NI-HIL JU-CUN-DIUS NI-HIL PLE-NI-US NEC ME-LI-US IN

COE-LO ET IN TER-RA.

QUI - A A - MOR EX DE - O MA - TUS EST
NEC PO - TES

Handwritten musical score for the first system. It features a vocal line in treble clef with lyrics 'QUI - A A - MOR EX DE - O MA - TUS EST' and 'NEC PO - TES'. Below it is a piano accompaniment with two staves, including chords and melodic lines.

NI - SI IN JE - O, SU - PER OMNI - A CRE - A - TA QUI - ES
CE - RE.

Handwritten musical score for the second system. It features a vocal line in treble clef with lyrics 'NI - SI IN JE - O, SU - PER OMNI - A CRE - A - TA QUI - ES' and 'CE - RE.'. Below it is a piano accompaniment with two staves, including chords and melodic lines. A 'PED.' marking is visible at the bottom.

TEMPO I

Handwritten musical score for the third system. It features a piano accompaniment with two staves. The tempo marking 'TEMPO I' is written on the left. The system includes chords and melodic lines.

RES EST A - MOR, MA - GNUM O - MNI - NO BO - NUM,

Handwritten musical score for the fourth system. It features a vocal line in treble clef with lyrics 'RES EST A - MOR, MA - GNUM O - MNI - NO BO - NUM,'. Below it is a piano accompaniment with two staves, including chords and melodic lines.

QUOD SO-LUM LE-VE FA-CIT O-MNE O-NE-RO SUM

This system contains the first line of the musical score. It features a vocal line on a single staff and a piano accompaniment on two staves. The lyrics are: QUOD SO-LUM LE-VE FA-CIT O-MNE O-NE-RO SUM. The music is in a minor key and 4/4 time. The piano accompaniment consists of a steady bass line and chords in the right hand.

ET FERT AE-QUA-LI-TER O-MNE I-NAE QUA-

This system contains the second line of the musical score. It features a vocal line on a single staff and a piano accompaniment on two staves. The lyrics are: ET FERT AE-QUA-LI-TER O-MNE I-NAE QUA-. The music continues with similar notation and accompaniment.

LE.

This system contains the third line of the musical score. It features a vocal line on a single staff and a piano accompaniment on two staves. The lyrics are: LE. The piano accompaniment continues with sustained chords and a moving bass line.

This system contains the fourth line of the musical score. It features a vocal line on a single staff and a piano accompaniment on two staves. The lyrics are not visible in this section. The music concludes with sustained chords in the piano accompaniment.

KYRIE

moderato

CANTUS
ALTUS

Espress mf

TENOR
BASSUS

Ky - RI - E E - LE - I -

moderato

ORGANUM

mf Ky - RI - E E - LE - I - SON.

SON.

f Ky - RI - E E - LE - I - SON.

RALL.

STRINGENDO
CHRISTE E

Piu mosso

CHRISTE E - LE-I - SON.

CHRISTE E - LE - I - SON.

Piu mosso

LE-I - SON.

CHRISTE E - LE-I - SON,

f CHRISTE E - LE - I - SON.

Rall. & dim

LE-I - SON, E - LE - I - SON.

Rall. & dim.

Tempo I

mf *espress.*

Ky - RI - E E - LE - I - SON.

Tempo I

Ky - RI - E E - LE - I - SON.

Rall. & dim.

f Ky - RI - E E - LE I - SON.

Rall. & dim.

GLORIA

Con moto

ET IN TERRA PAX HO-MI-NI-BUS BO-NAE VO-LON-TA-TIS. LAU-

Con moto

BE-NE-DI-CI-MUS TE.

Solo

DA - MUS TE. BE-NE-DI-CI-MUS TE. A - DO

GLORI-FI-CA - MUS

A Tempo

RA - MUS TE.

GLORI-FI-CA - MUS

A Tempo

TE ,

GLO-RI-FI-CA - MUS TE .

MOLTO

mf

TE ,

GRA-TI-AS

MOLTO

A - GI-MUS TI - BI . PROP - TER MAG - NAM GLO - RI - A

DÓ - MI - NE DE - US' REX COE - LE - STIS

TU - AM .

DO - MI - NE JE - SU - STE.

mf. Do - MI - NE

Poco Rit. A TEMPO (Tutti)

DO - MI - NE FI - LI - NI - GE - NI - TE JE - SU - STE.

mf.

DE - US PA - TR O - NI - US PA - TR O - NI - US PA - TR O - NI - US PA - TR O - NI - US

f

P *mf* *cresc.* *f*

DE - US, A - GNUS DE - I, FI - LI - US PA

A - GNUS DE I, FI - LI - US PA

TRIS. *OR AL - P* QUI TOL - LIS PEC - CA - TA MUN -

TRIS.

mf QUI TOL - LIS PEC - CA - TA MUN -

DI MI - SE - RE - RE NO Bis.

Molto stringendo

Rit.

Di SU - SCI - PE DE - PRE - CA - TI - O - NEM NO -

Espress.

stringendo

Rit.

STRAM.

Risoluto

Qui SE - DES AD DEX - TE - RAM PA - TRIS MI - SE

STRAM.

RE - RE NO - BIS QUO - NI - AM TU SO - LU

SAN CTUS TU SO LUS DO-MI-NUS, TU

SO LUS AL-TIS-SI-MUS, Je-SU CHRI

meno

STP. CUM SAN-CTO Spi-ri-tu, CUM SAN-CTO

Spi - RI - TU IN GLO - RI - A, IN GLO - RI - A, IN

GLO - RI - A, DE - I PA TRIS.

Poco RALL.

Poco RALL.

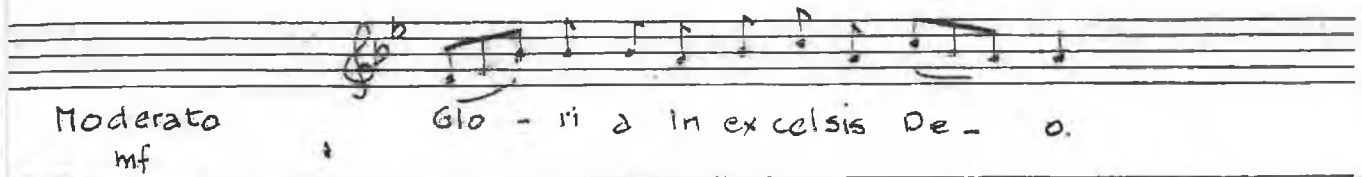
A - MEN, A - MEN,

Staf Gebruers

- 'Gloria' from *Missa Laudate Domine* (based on Irish melody 'Turas go Tír Na nÓg')
composed 1950, Cobh. (bs 1-10) 233
- Memorare* (two equal voices and organ), composed 1953, Cobh. (bs 1-17) 234
- St Patrick's Advent to Ireland* (Oratorio), (Liverpool: Hugh Evans and Sons Limited,
1932). Preface, p. 1 and p. 25 of score. 235

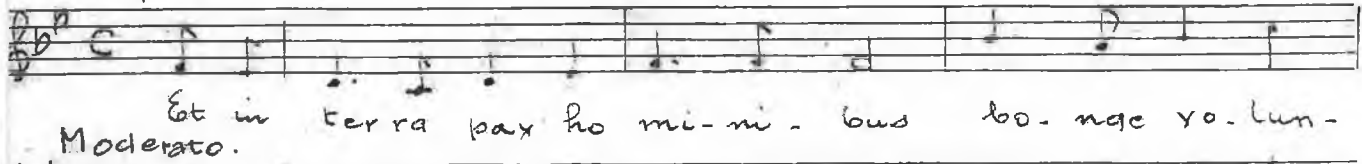
GLORIA.

Moderato
mf



Glo - ri a In excelsis De - o.

Moderato.

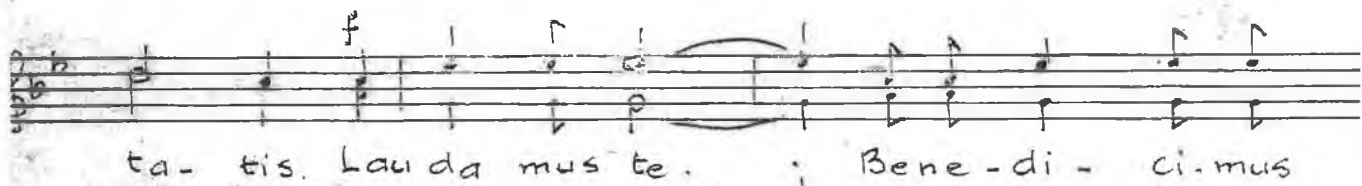


Et in terra pax ho mi - ni - bus bo - nae vo - lun -

mf

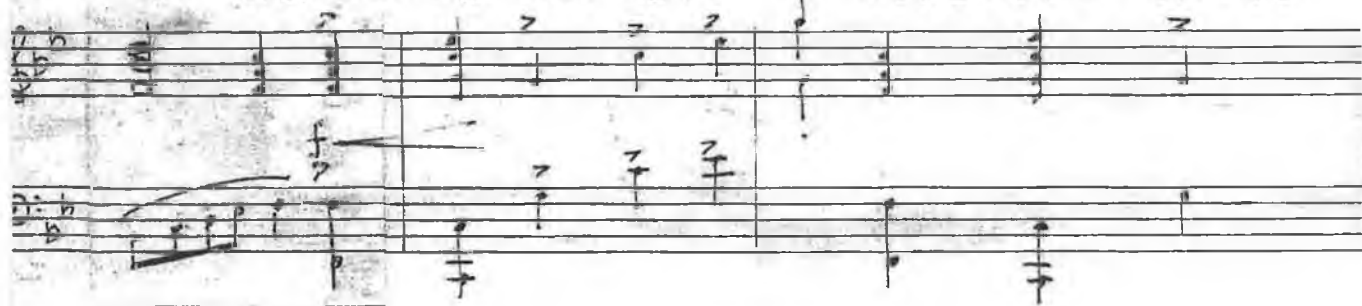


f



ta - tis. Lau da mus te. Bene - di - ci - mus

f



f




te. A do - ra - mus te, glo ri fi - ca -

f



MEMORARE

Poco Adagio
M. 56 = 

2 vocum aequalium comitante organo

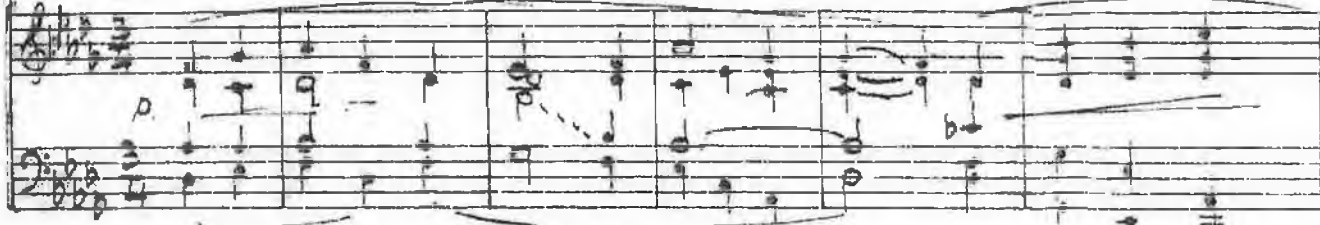
STAF GEBRUEERS



Verse 1. Memo- ra-re, o pi-is-si-ma Virgo Ma-ri - a, non es- se au -



Verse 2. E-go ta-li a-ni-ma - tus con - fi-dentia ad te Virgo



dim. *mf*



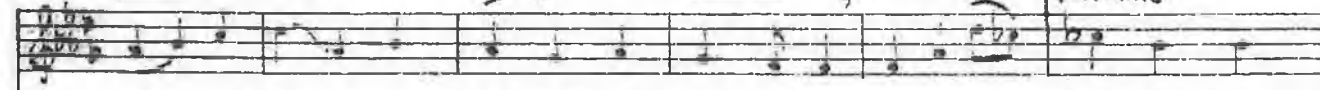
1. di-tum ^{*dim*} in sae-cu-lo quem quad ad tu-a cur-rentem praesi-di-a,



2. Virgi-num Ma - - ter cu - - ro ad - te ve - - ni - o -



1st. time



1. tu - a im - - plo-ran-tem, au-xi-li-a, tu-a pe - ten-tem suf -



2. coram te gemens pec-ca-tor as-sis - to. Noli Mater ^{1st. time.}



PREFACE.

ST. PATRICK'S ADVENT TO IRELAND.

This work was originally intended for the use of the Students' Choir at Mount Melleray, but yielding to the urgency of experienced friends, I have at length decided to offer it to the public at large. So far as I am aware, it represents the first effort on the part of a Catholic composer to utilise for musical treatment any one of the outstanding incidents in Ireland's tragic story. There are plenty Oratorios of foreign and non-Catholic origin. I have myself witnessed the presentation of an Oratorio, composed by an alien Protestant and impregnated with the Protestant spirit, in an Irish Catholic school. It was in fact this experience that inspired me with the purpose of attempting something which would be more in keeping with the religious and national sentiments of the Gael. This year being the fifteen hundredth anniversary of the Introduction of Christianity into Ireland, the advent of St. Patrick naturally suggested itself as the most appropriate theme. I have spared no pains to make the Oratorio as little unworthy as possible of its inspiring subject. It is for the public to judge how far I have succeeded. I can only hope that the work will meet with such a reception as may encourage others to exercise their talents in this much-neglected field.

The Text of the piece has been so constructed as to give the composer ample opportunity for an easy, flowing melody, and at the same time to facilitate the work of the conductor and singers.

With regard to the music, I have employed the well-known liturgical hymn: *ISTE CONFESSOR*: as theme for St. Patrick; for the Druids I have adopted a close approximation to the Irish Traditional idiom; the Christians sing their parts according to the more ancient type of Sacred music; whilst the Angelic Choruses have been set to a more modern style.

It is important that the time and expression marks, used throughout the score for the guidance of the Conductor should be carefully attended to. In the execution, anything suggestive of dragging time would be simply fatal to success. This remark applies especially to the rendering of the Chorus: "To Christ our great and glorious King," which should be sung according to the principles of Gregorian Chant governing syllabic music:—stress the accented syllables, prolong every note preceding a rest—these notes are marked in the score with a crotchet—and above all adopt a fairly brisk movement.

It is possible with the use of ancient Irish costumes and appropriate acting to present this Oratorio as a Lyric Drama. In this case the "Apotheose" would begin at the chorus: "Bless ye Christ." Or the whole piece can be sung in unison. If this method be preferred, the melody written to "As the Children of light" may be sung to the air of "The dear little Shamrock," but the accompaniment of the Oratorio should be used. The same remark applies to the last chorus, where "Thanks to the Maid" and "Hail Glorious St. Patrick" may be sung to the melody of the hymn just mentioned. In selecting this particular setting of the hymn I have been influenced more by its popularity than by its merits from the musical point of view.

For the beautifully designed cover and title page, etc., I am indebted to my friend and colleague, Mr. J. J. Lavelle.

Orchestra score and parts may be obtained at Mount Melleray.

St. Patrick's
Cobh. Co. Cork.
17th March, 1932.

ST. PATRICK'S ADVENT TO IRELAND

(ORATORIO,)

Words by
Ailbe J. Luddy O.Cist



Music by
Staf Sebruers.

Maestoso molto marcato. ♩ = 80.

ff

Con Pedale.

Con Allegrezza. ♩ = 84.

ritenuto.

fff

p

EVERY

ANGELIC CHORUS.
Joyously. (A few voices)

1. Ye
2. He

p

mor - tals bless and glo - ri - fy
saved us from the black ab - yss

CHORUS.

With
And

Glo ri - a

Andante più tosto Allegretto. ♩ = 95.

CHORALE.

f DRUIDS AND PAGANS.

SOP.
ALTO.
TEN.
BASS.

We have al - so seen the light	To
Ho - mage due to Christ a - lone	

We have al - so seen the light
Ho - mage due to Christ a - lone

We have al - so seen the light
Ho - mage due to Christ a - lone

Andante più tosto Allegretto. ♩ = 95

Dawn - ing on that dis - mal night.	Where to
dead _____ blocks of wood or stone.	Now we
Dawn - ing on that dis - mal night.	Where to
dead _____ blocks of wood or stone.	Now we
Dawn - ing on that dis - mal night.	Where to
dead _____ blocks of wood or stone.	Now we

Dawn - ing on that dis - mal night.
dead _____ blocks of wood or stone.

Where to
Now we

APPENDIX THREE

Programme of 1935 Sacred Music Concert, Ennis

SS. Peter & Paul's Pro-Cathedral,
ENNIS

PROGRAMME

OF

Sacred Concert

UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF

*Most Rev. Michael Fogarty, D.D.,
Lord Bishop of Killaloe,*

On Sunday, 31st March, 1935,

Commencing at 8.30 p.m. at above Cathedral.

CONDUCTED BY

Heer Ernest De Regge, L.M.L.I., Organist.

NONO'S PRINTINGHOUSE, ENNIS.



Most Rev. Dr. Fogarty, Bishop of Killaloe
(under whose patronage the Concert is being held).

FOREWORD.

As far as is possible in a programme of this kind, short reviews of the composers' lives together with an explanation of the piece in question, is given, wherever considered helpful or interesting.

In order to have this broadcast a successful one, we earnestly request the audience to maintain a *strict silence* during the Concert.

All vocal items are rendered exclusively by members of the Ennis Pro-Cathedral Choir, and accompanied by Dr. LOUIS EVERS, Organist at the Pro-Cathedral, Galway.



PROGRAMME.

PART I.

This Programme of which the first part will be broadcast through the Dublin, Cork and Athlone broadcasting stations, will include two kinds of Music, namely—
Liturgical and Sacred Music.

LITURGICAL MUSIC.

By Liturgical Music is meant Music which according to the law of the Church may be employed during Liturgical functions.

There are three types of Vocal Liturgical Music:—

- (A) PLAIN CHANT—A diatonic, unison melody, set to the rhythm of the words known as free rhythm without strictly measured time, and used by the Church in her sacred functions.
- (B) POLYPHONY—A style of music which reached its highest development during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. It is harmonised music strictly vocal, where the same melody is taken up by different parts alternately.
- (C) MODERN LITURGICAL MUSIC embraces all styles of compositions, but is distinguished from A and B chiefly by—
 - (a) Instrumental accompaniment,
 - (b) Introduction of strict time,
 - (c) Chromatism as well as diatonicism.

N.B.—In this Programme the various styles will be marked A,B,C, in order to define the style to which the particular piece belongs.

SACRED MUSIC—By Sacred Music is here understood music of a religious nature which, however, is not permissible in Liturgical functions because of the absence of some conditions required for Liturgical Music, *e.g.*, being written in a language other than Latin or in a style too emotional.

I. Introduction—Fugue in G minor ... *J. S. Bach*

E. DE REGGE, L.M.L.I.

LITURGICAL MUSIC.

A (1). Introit.

Translation—The Lord made to him a covenant of peace, and made him a prince; that the dignity of Priesthood should be to him for ever.

Ps.—O Lord, remember David, and all his meekness.
Glory be, etc.

Few Introits, indeed, possess such majestic appeal and balanced construction as this introduction to the Mass of the Bishop Confessors

A (2). Kyrie Orbis Factor.

Translation—Lord have mercy (thrice repeat).
 Christ have mercy (thrice repeat).
 Lord have mercy (thrice repeat)

This Kyrie was composed in the Tenth Century. The devotional exclamations and the solemnity of the rhythm classify this as a work of descriptive character and therefore easily appreciated.

C (3). Regina Coeli (S., A., T., B.) .. *E. Tinel* (1854—†1912)

Translation—Rejoice, O Queen of Heaven. Alleluia.
 For He whom thou wast made worthy to bear. Alleluia.
 Hath risen, as He said. Alleluia.
 Pray for us to God. Alleluia.

Notice the jubilant intonation, the joy of the imitative Alleluias and the prayerful effects of the music at "Ora Pro Nobis Deum."

Edgar Tinel was one of the greatest musicians and promoters of Liturgical Music of the Belgian School. He was director of the Belgian High School of Church Music at Malines.

This motet is one of the three composed by him in honour of our Blessed Lady.

C. Ave Maria (S., A., T., B.) *E. De Regge.* *Translation*—The Hail Mary.

This motet intoned by the Tenors finishes its first phrase in a dialogue between the upper parts and the Bass. The final sentence is an enlargement of the introductory melody.

Note the dramatic appeal at the end of the words "Mortis Nostrae."

B. Exultate Deo (S. A. A. T. B.) ... *G. P. Palestrina.* (1514—†1594).

Translation--Praise ye, the Lord, our keeper,
 Exult unto the God of Jacob,
 Raise the song; make the tabret resound
 The sweet harp and the zither.
 At the new moon let the trumpet resound
 On your splendid festal day.

Palestrina was the greatest representative of the Roman school. He occupied several positions as organist and choirmaster in Rome until finally he was appointed choirmaster at St. Peter's under the reign of Pope Pius IV., who conferred on him the title of "Composer of the Pope's Chapel," an honour of new creation. He died on the 2nd February, 1594, and his body was laid to rest in St. Peter's before the Altar of the Apostles Simon and Jude. On his tomb was placed a plate bearing the unique description—J. P. H. Praenestinus, "Prince of Music."

SACRED MUSIC

(VOCAL SOLO).

1. If Thou art near *J. S. Bach*
(1685—†1750).

MR. J. TUOHY (Tenor).

Refrain—If Thou art near I will with gladness
Proceed to death and to my rest,
Unto death and to my rest.
And now in peace shall I be lying,
If Thou art near when I am dying.
If by Thy Presence I am blessed.

Refrain—If Thou art near, etc.

This favourite sacred song, with its broad rhythm and prayerful melodies, is one of the many song compositions which enjoy a world-wide appreciation. The added accompaniment displays a richness of harmony which is a common characteristic of that great genius, *Bach*.

- Coecilia* (S. A. T. B.) *L. Mortelmans*
(1867.....)

Translation—*Coecilia*, most noble Virgin,
Who wears a glorious crown in heaven.
Hail! Patroness of an art sublime,
The art which raises our souls to God.
Triumphant are you *Coecilia*.
Let us rejoice, rejoice with thee
Who wears the immortal crown of art,
Most sublime of all the arts—Music.

N.B.—This chorus will be rendered in the original language (Dutch).

Lodewyk Mortelmans is the Hon. President of the King's Conservatorium of Antwerp. At the age of 26 he gained the greatest distinction in Music--known on the Continent as 1st Prize of Rome.

- Litany* *Schubert*.
(1797—†1828)

MR. LOUIS MOLONY (Bass).

1. Rest in peace all souls departed !
Ye in weary ways who wended.
Ye whose happy dream is ended
'Take your rest, ye peaceful hearted.
2. Maiden souls from earth departed,
Ye whose hearts with sore betray'd and outcast made,
'To the world no more awaking,
'Take your rest, ye peaceful hearted !

The popularity of *Frantz Schubert* as a song writer needs no comment. He wrote hundreds of songs and it is especially through song compositions that he became famous. He died after a short illness at the early age of 31 years.

Choral—"Glory now to Thee be given" ... *J. S. Bach*
(1685—1750)

"Glory now to Thee be given
On earth as in the highest heaven
With lute and harp in sweetest tone.

All of pearl each dazzling portal
Where we shall join the song immortal
Of Saints and Angels round Thy throne.

Beyond all earthly ken those wondrous joys remain
That God prepares, our hearts rejoice,
I-o! i-o; Ever in dulci jubilo."

A choral is in the general sense a hymn or choir-chant in slow tempo, unison or harmonised. It developed hand in hand with liturgical church music. It came to its highest perfection under the master hand of *Bach*. His works in this domain display a wonderful field of beauty and harmonious richness. The easy rhythm and regular pauses of choral tunes make them most suitable for congregational singing.

J. S. Bach succeeded in all styles of music. He was the greatest organist of his time and his compositions remain to this day unsurpassed.

Bach is in music what *Shakespeare* is in English literature.

[END OF PART I.]



PART II.

INTRODUCTION.

Organ Solo *Dr. Louis Evers.*

LITURGICAL MUSIC.

A. Gregorian Chant .. "O Sacrum Con Vivium."

O Sacred banquet, in which Christ is received; the memory of His passion is renewed; the soul is filled with grace; and a pledge of future glory is given us.

N.B.—Few Gregorian compositions display such a warmth in melody, such an inspired movement in rhythm as this Canticle in honour of the Blessed Sacrament.

Choral—Holy is the Lord ... *F. Mendelssohn*
(1809—†1847)

Recit : Above Him stood the Seraphim ;
And one cried to another :

Choir : Holy, holy, holy is God the Lord ;
The Lord Sabaoth.
Now His Glory hath filled all the earth ;
Holy, holy, holy is God the Lord.
Now His glory hath filled all the earth.

This double choir (in 8 parts) is taken from the oratorium "Elias." There are few choruses in existence which, using so little material, result in such wonderful effects and grandiose appeal.

Mendelssohn was one of the greatest musicians of the 19th Century. He occupied many leading places in the musical world ; conducted musical festivals in England, Belgium and Germany ; and finally founded the now famous Leipzig Conservatorium of Music. He died at Leipzig on 4th November, 1847.

Organ Solos—(a) Berceuse *R. Schumann.*
(b) Selection of Irish Airs.

E. DE REGGE, L.M.L.I.

ÁR N-ΔΤΑΙΡ.

Δοιηρέαδ (Μίσεάλ Ó Óléιηίς) ... S. de hÓròδ.

Ár n-Δταίρ δά iní na fλαταίρ σο háíτ
So naom̄taí trác t' ainn-re ;
So oíγíò do híógaδt, do tóil ar an raíógaδ,
Maí véantaí i sctíoc̄ páraítaí :
Ár n-arán laeṫeaṫaíl, tabaí é úinn.
Á'í maíṫ úinn ár sctíonnta aínḃíí ;
Maí maíṫmíò do cáδ, ná leíς rínn i oclár
Δé raor rínn ó báí anabaíò.

Do cúm Seán de hÓròδ an amháin reo—"Ár n-Δταίρ,"—'ran oṫm̄aδ doír véaς. Níl don eolar cruinn aḡaínn ar raíógaδ nó ar fáoṫaí Seáin de hÓròδ, aṫt deíreann daíne sūr ruḡaδ é í sctíll Cáoíde i sConnṫae an Óláíí 'ran oṫm̄aδ doír véaς. Deíreann daíne eile sūr Córcaígaδ á beaδ é, aḡur náí táiníς ré so oṫí Co. an Óláíí so oṫí so maíḃ ré in a óíḡfear.

Fuaíí ré báí 'ran mbliadán, 1780 A.D.

FINALE—Alleluia Chorus (S. A. T. B.) ... *Handel*
(1685—†1750)

Composed in Dublin in 1741, where it was first performed.

This chorus illustrates the greatest elevation and most powerful display ever given to the words—

Alleluia : For the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth.

Alleluia : The kingdom of this world is become
The kingdom of Our Lord and of His Christ ;
And He shall reign for ever and ever. Alleluia !
King of Kings, and Lord of Lords. Alleluia !

Handel was born in 1685, at Halle, Germany. He composed a great number of operas, cantatas and oratoria, and was employed as choirmaster by the nobility of Germany and England.

He is regarded as one of the greatest masters of all time. It was in 1741 that he visited Ireland, where he composed the famous Oratorium "The Messiah," from which this famous Hallelujah chorus is taken. In England he was regarded as the *Milton* of music, and like *Milton* and his contemporary *Bach*, became blind.

He died on Good Friday in the year 1750, and was buried with great honour in Westminster Abbey.



APPENDIX FOUR

Letter from Ernest de Regge to Bishop Fogarty

De Regge's Prospectus for Church Music School at Ennis (1936)

The Most Reverend Michael Fogarty, D. D.,
 Lord Bishop of Killaloe,
 The Palace,
 Ennis.

My Lord Bishop,

As you are already aware, I have been for a long time considering the formation at Ennis of a school of Music which would be intended to remedy the many deficiencies which exist in so far as Church-Music in this Country is concerned. It is very well known that your Lordship has at all times taken a very keen interest in the development of Churchmusic, particularly Gregorian chant, in your diocese. In view of these facts, I am now presenting to your Lordship a well considered and detailed

draft of a scheme for the formation of the School in question; this scheme has been modelled on that of the famous Malines school in Belgium and similar Continental schools of the same type; minor modifications have been made in order that the school, I have in view, may be suited to the conditions that exist in this country.

If the movement concerning Gregorian chant and Congregational singing which Your Lordship has so happily and so successfully started is to be maintained and extended, there is no doubt that trained Leaders in the persons of Organists, Directors and Choir-masters must be provided; such Leaders must be men who have received a sound, classical training in every thing that appertains to Church Music.

The effect which efficient organists can have on the musical culture of the people is

3.

is very easily visualised; Organists, who are deeply imbued with the spirit of the "Motu Proprio" of our Holy Father Pope Pius X, and whose technique is perfected to an extent that it will enable them to give full expression to their thoughts, are of paramount importance if we are to witness that revival of Liturgy and Liturgical Spirit which is so necessary at the present time and which is the cherished wish of our Holy Mother the Church.

What are the conditions which are prevalent in the Church Musical sphere in this Country at the moment? The singing of Masses has to be curtailed because the majority of Choirs know nothing of the proper of the Masses and there is nobody, possessing the necessary knowledge, to train them; nobody in particular can be blamed for the existence of this sorry state of affairs; the absence of a proper school is the root cause of this

4.

inefficiency. With few exceptions, the position to day so far as Organists are concerned is that they are completely devoid of Musial ability and are also deplorably deficient in so far as a knowledge of Liturgy is concerned. Again, Choris are still undering Hymns Canticles, etc., the sacred words of which are wedded to the most incorrect and trivial melodies.

Musical ability and correct technique, then, on the part of an Organist, do not suffice; here permit me to quote a sentence from the programme which M. J. Lemmens had drawn up for submission to the Bishops when he opened his Institute at Malines in 1878: - "Quand même avec la fécondité d'un Mozart, il aurait l'âme tendre d'un Weber, et la puissance d'un Bach, et tout le vaste génie d'un Beethoven, si le Christ ne respire et ne vit en lui, et s'il ne respire

5.

et ne vit en le brist, il ne sera jamais dans l'assemblée des fideles qu'un airain sonore et une cymbale retentissante."

I am firmly convinced that this scheme of mine is feasible; it is, therefore worthy of your Lordship's consideration. In my opinion, Ireland would benefit immensely if this scheme were to be placed before the Irish Hierarchy for approval when their Lordships meet in Maynooth in October next. If, in your Lordship's opinion, it would not be advisable to do so, I respectfully submit that it could be profitably considered by individual members of the Hierarchy, particularly by those whose dioceses are situated in close proximity to the diocese of Kells.

There is a lot being said, over the Radio and otherwise, about an Irish Musical Renaissance and its necessity; there is nothing practical being done, though, by anyone.

6.

I would much prefer to be a doer than a mere talker; hence, I am convinced, that, as I have devised the necessary remedy, it is my bounden duty to do all that I can to make my scheme the success which I firmly believe it can and ought to be.

Your Lordship's valued approval and patronage are all that I now require; I sincerely trust that I will be favoured with both. Should your Lordship approve of my scheme, it is my intention to send a copy of the enclosed programme to every member of the Irish Hierarchy, to all Heads of Religious Institutes and Religious Houses in Ireland, to each of the Parish Priests in Ireland to the press and to all who may be expected to co-operate in making the scheme a success in order that an idea may be obtained as to the actual support that may be forthcoming. In conclusion, please permit me to state

7.

again that the main reason which so strongly urges me to do all that I possibly can to establish this School of Culture and Art is the urgent need that exists for an Institution for the training of ideal Organists, men of knowledge and art, possessing the real Liturgical outlook in the most divine of all arts, Music. Trusting that your Lordship's approval and patronage will make this desired ideal a reality,

I remain, My Lord, your humble and obedient servant,



Overmere, 27: 7: '36.

SCHOOL OF CHURCH MUSIC

AND

ACADEMY OF MUSIC

at

Ennis, Co. Clare, Ireland.

FOR THE TRAINING OF ALL GRADES OF ORGANISTS,
CHOIRMASTERS AND MUSIC TEACHERS.

P R O S P E C T U S

1936

The Church Music School and Academy of Music is being founded with the object of enabling music students who possess real musical talent to pursue their studies to a degree that will entitle them to Diplomas which are necessary if they are to be able to perform their duties as Organists, Choirmasters and Music Teachers in the most efficient manner.

The need for such a School in this country is obvious. Hitherto, we have had to rely on Continental Schools for many of our Organists and Choirmasters. The School at Ennis is now being founded in order that Irish students who possess the necessary talent may be given the opportunity of being qualified to fill future vacancies. That there is sufficient talent in this country to justify the establishment of such a School is beyond doubt; everybody of note in Irish musical circles is well aware of this fact. Hence, it only fit and proper that talented Irish students should be given the same facilities which students in similar circumstances in other countries have so long enjoyed.

There are immense possibilities for fully qualified musicians in this country; students who will successfully complete the course of training which the School will provide may confidently look forward to a very successful and lucrative career. The training of Church Organists and Choirmasters in accordance with the principles set out in the "Motu Proprio" of Our Holy Father, Pope Pius X, would most undoubtedly help to bring about a Liturgical Revival which has already received a considerable impetus in various parts of this country in very recent times.

The standards of proficiency attained by successful students of the School will be indicated by means of the following Diplomas which the School will grant to such Students:-

1. Diploma of Fellowship.
2. " Excellence.
3. " Efficiency.

1. GREGORIAN CHANT Its construction, style, execution, history, etc.
2. RELIGIOUS COURSE Catholic Doctrine, Liturgy, Church Latin, Explanation of the "Motu Proprio" of Pope Pius X and of other Papal Pronouncements concerning Church music and Liturgy.
3. ORGAN Accompaniment of Gregorian Chant, Execution of Classical and modern compositions, Registration Organ technique, etc., etc.
4. PIANO Technique, Scales, Arpeggios, Studies, Sonatas, Pieces in classical and modern styles, Rudiments of Music, Musical analysis, Psychology of Teaching.
5. HARMONY Study of Chords, Harmonization of figured bass, Modulation, etc.
6. COUNTERPOINT
 - (I) Four-part Counterpoint, florid style, for students studying for the Diploma of Efficiency
 - (II) Figured choral, for students studying for the Diploma of Excellence.
 - (III) Fugue, for students studying for the Diploma of Fellowship.
7. COMPOSITION Composition of Sacred and Irish Music, vocal and instrumental. This course will be given to students who have shown the necessary proficiency in Part 6 of the Syllabus.
8. ORGAN IMPROVISATION
 - (I) On a classical plan, for students studying for the Diploma of Efficiency.
 - (II) In imitation, for students studying for the Diploma of Excellence.
 - (III) In fugue style, for those studying for the Diploma of Fellowship.

ADMISSION OF STUDENTS

1. Before a student can be admitted he will be required to produce a Certificate of good conduct which must be signed by his Parish Priest.
2. Students, prior to admission, must have passed the Intermediate Certificate Examination or another examination which is considered equivalent to it.
3. Students seeking admission to the School will be required to pass an Entrance Examination based on the following programme:-
 - (I) Scales, Major and minor harmonic scales, three octaves
 - (II) Arpeggios, Major and minor arpeggios, extended position
 - (III) Studies. "School of Mechanism" by Cserney, any fifteen.
 - (IV) Pieces. "Two-Part Inventions" by Bach, any five.
 - (V) Rudiments of Music. Rudiments of music connected with the chosen programme.
4. Students who can produce a Certificate to show that they have already passed an Examination equivalent to the Entrance Examination will not be asked to pass the Entrance Examination.
5. The School authorities will take steps to provide suitable residential accommodation in Ennis for students, Irish or foreign, who in consequence of the distance of their homes, would find it necessary to reside temporarily in the vicinity of the school.
6. Students who would be able to satisfy the requirements specified in paragraphs 3 or 4 but who would not have passed the Intermediate Certificate Examination could be provided with facilities for passing this Examination at St. Flannan's College, Ennis.

SCHOOL YEAR, FEES, ETC.

1. The School Year will be divided into three Terms. The First Term will begin on the Second Monday in September and end during the third week of Advent. The Second Term will begin on the Monday that immediately follows the feast of Epiphany and end on Monday in Passion week. The Third Term will begin on the Monday following Low Sunday and end with the Annual Examinations which will be held during the month of July.
 2. The School Year will begin with the celebration of Votive Mass of the Holy Ghost which will be preceded by the singing of the "Veni Creator Spiritus"; this Mass, at which His Lordship the Bishop of Killaloe will preside, will be celebrated in the Pro-Cathedral, Ennis, at 11.0. a.m.
 3. The fee to be paid by each student will be £6. 0. Od. per Term which will be payable in advance. Irish students of exceptional ability will be admitted under more favourable terms should their proficiency in their studies be such as to entitle them to special consideration.
 4. Students who wish to obtain admission to the School or any further particulars concerning it should write to E. de Regge, Esq., "Ashline House", Ennis, Co. Clare, Ireland.
-

APPENDIX FIVE

Karl Seeldrayers' Programme of Organ Music for Westport Church

Jan. 31 - 1932.

Manche Gavotte de Jousé - Fländel.
 Koral: Nun freut euch 44. VII. Bach
 Koral: O Lamm Gottes 48. VII. Bach.
 Carillon de Westminster. Keane.

Febr. 7 - 1932.

Durch Adam's Fall. 15. V. Bach.
 Gott, durch deine Güte 19. V. Bach
 Höflich thut mich 27. V. Bach.
 Liebster Jesu, wir sind 37. V. Bach
 Fantasia C Minor Hermann Beerens.

Febr. 14 - 1932.

Ach wie wichtig, ... 1 V. Bach
 alle Menschen müssen 2 V. Bach.
 O Mensch, bewein'... 45 V. Bach.
 Petite Pastorale c min. Ravel.
 Chacone a min Aug. Durona (H. 52)
 Adagio hede f# min. H. Peters.
 3^o Koral. a min. J. B. Andriessen

Feb. 21/32.

Proel: & fuga n ^o 6 (Kleine Proel & fug) G. kl.	J. S. Bach.
Liebster Jesu n ^o 36. II	J. S. Bach
Andante uit de 3 ^e Maent (la g.)	F. Mendelssohn.
Choral uit Kantoria & Choral	H. Smart.

Feb. 28-32.

Christe, du Lamm Gottes 3 II.	J. S. Bach.
Der Tag, den ist so freudenreich II II	J. S. Bach.
Praeludium in la kl	Jef van Hoof.
Fugato do kl	Jef van Hoof.
Interludium 20 ^e kl.	Jef van Hoof.
Pastorale si kl.	Jef van Hoof.

Maent 6 - 32.

Proel: & fuga n ^o 1 (Kleine Proel & fug) do ga.	J. S. Bach.
Durch Adam's Fall 13 F	J. S. Bach
Herr Christ, der ein'ge 22 II	J. S. Bach.
Herr Gott, nun schleuss 24 II	J. S. Bach
In die ist Freude 34 II	J. S. Bach.

13 Maart 32.

- Proel & fuga (kl. proel & fug.) n^o 2 re kl. J. S. Bach
- Andante in la gr. O. Van Duorne
- Andante con moto in fa groot. O. Van Duorne
- 3^e Variation in g. O. Van Duorne.
- Allegretto la kl. O. Van Duorne.
- x x x in g. O. Van Duorne
- Musik Triumphale re g. J. Lemmens.

17 Maart 32. (S^t Patrick)

- Erin, the Swan & the milks Traditional.
- Memories of a Piper " " "
- The dear little Shamrock " " "
- Killarney " " "
- S^t Patrick's day " " "
- Come back to Erin " " "

20 Maart. (Palmzondag) 32.

- Proel & fuga (kl. proel & fug.) n^o 3. re kl. J. S. Bach
- " " " (" " " ") n^o 5 sol g. J. S. Bach

Ciacaja la kl. (uit Tweel. Adag. fuga in 20 gr.) J. S. Baer
 Tocata a fuga in 2e kl. J. S. Baer
 2 fugen (uit de boppel fuga) mi 0 gr. J. S. Baer
 Tocatta in drieën toonaard J. S. Baer

27 Maart 32 (Pasen).

Mis. "Christus Koning" 20 gr. Kon. H. Bebelst
 Fontaine Heroique 20 kl. A. Blaessmann
 alleluia uit de "Messias" 2 gr. Böndel.

3 April 32 (Beloken Pasen)

Ave in 20 gr (onthe 2e tijd) J. S. Baer
 Fontaine in 2e kl. J. S. Baer
 Marche in 2e gr. A. Blaessmann.

10 April.

Piece Heroique 2e kl. C. Franck.
 Piece mi gr. J. Lemmens
 Finale 2e gr. J. Lemmens.
 Reverie 2e 6 gr. J. Bonnet.
 Marche Drevencat 2e kl. J. Bonnet.

APPENDIX SIX

Programme of inaugural organ recital in St Patrick's Cathedral, Dundalk, 1900

ST. PATRICK'S, DUNDALK.

1ST JULY, 1900.

Programme.

1 o'clock.

1. Overture, "Egmont," *Beethoven.*
2. Priere a Notre Dame *Boellmann.*
3. Caprice, *Guilmant.*
4. Fantasia, "O Sanctissima," *Fr. Lutz.*
5. Audante from 4th Sonata, *J S Bach.*
6. Scherzo, *Hoyle.*
7. Overture in C Minor, *Hollins.*

3.15 o'clock.

1. Overture, "Ruy Blas," *Mendelssohn,*
2. (a) "Ave Maria," *Hinselt.*
(b) Berceuse *Gounod,*
3. "Offertoire in D," *Battisti.*
4. Idyll "At Evening," *Ludley Buck*
5. Sonata da Camera No 1, *Dr Peace.*
6. Melodie, *J A West.*
7. Grand Chœur, *Hollins.*

St. Patrick's Catholic Church,

DUNDALK.

ORGAN RECITALS

ON

SUNDAY, JULY 1st, 1900,

At 1 o'clock p.m., and 8.15 p.m.

BY

Mr. H. C. Balfour,

Organist of the Royal Albert Hall, London,

On the occasion of the opening of the New
Organ

(Built by Messrs Henry Willis & Sons, London).

The Grand Solemn Opening and Dedication, in presence of
His Eminence Cardinal Logue, will take place
early next year.

[Programme on last Page.]

THE ORGAN has been built by the eminent firm of **Messrs WILLIS & SONS**, of London, who have built many of the greatest Organs in England and the Colonies. The Head of the Firm is **MR HENRY WILLIS**. The Firm has gained a wide and high reputation as the builders of many Cathedral Organs. The following is a list of some :—

St. Paul's, (London),	Exeter,	St Davids,
Aberdeen,	Glasgow,	Salisbury,
Canterbury,	Hereford,	Truro,
Carlisle,	Lincoln,	Wells,
Durham,	Oxford,	Winchester,
Edinburgh,	Gloucester.	

In addition, Mr WILLIS has built the great Organ of the Royal Albert Hall, London, which is too well known to need more than passing mention. Suffice it to say that he designed it entirely himself, that he had not to compete for the building of it, and that he had "carte blanche" in regard to every detail of that huge "King of Instruments." The Firm also built the Grand Organ in the St. George's Hall, Liverpool; the Organ in Windsor Castle, two large Organs in the Alexandra Palace, and many others. In Ireland the Firm have recently erected a New Organ in the Royal Dublin Society. The "Musical Times," of the 1st May, 1898, in an article on Mr HENRY WILLIS, says :—

"Two hundred years ago there lived in this country a great organ builder, whose instruments were the glory of their maker. Two of his nephews were associated with him in his business. Partly in order to distinguish him from his younger relatives, but more especially as a mark of high appreciation of his great abilities and artistic worth, he was canonized so to speak with the title "Father." His name is familiar enough in the history of organ building—Father Smith. HENRY WILLIS is also assisted by a younger generation, having one son—Henry—working with him, in whom he has great confidence and hope. It is natural, therefore, that he, the greatest organ builder of the Victorian Era, will be called **FATHER WILLIS**."

DESCRIPTION OF ORGAN

As built by Messrs HENRY WILLIS & SON.

The Instrument consists of three complete manuals from C C to A (58 notes) and two-and-a-half Octaves of concave and radiating Pedals from C C C to F (30 notes).

Great Organ

1. Double Open Diapason	16 feet	58 pipes.
2. Open Diapason (No 1)	8 "	58 "
3. Open Diapason (No 2)	8 "	58 "
4. Claribel Flute	8 "	58 "
5. Principal	4 "	58 "
6. Flute Harmonique	4 "	58 "
7. Fifteenth	2 "	58 "
8. Mixture	4 ranks	— "	232 "
9. Trumpet (on heavy pressure wind)	8 "	58 "
10. Clarion	do do	4 "	58 "

Swell Organ

1. Lieblich Bourdon	16 feet	58 pipes.
2. Lieblich Gedact	8 "	58 "
3. Open Diapason	8 "	58 "
4. Salcional	8 "	58 "
5. Vox Angelica	8 "	46 "
6. Gemshorn	4 "	58 "
7. Flageolet	2 "	98 "
8. Mixture	3 ranks	—	174 "
9. Cornopean (on heavy pressure wind)	8 "	—	58 "
10. Oboe do do	8 "	—	58 "
11. Vox Humana, and Tremulant	8 "	—	58 "
12. Clarion	(Spare Slides have been provided for		
13. Contra Pasaune	{ these stops which will be inserted		
	{ when funds permit.		

Choir Organ.

1. Gamba (bearded)	8 feet.	58 pipes.
2. Clarabella	8 "	58 "
3. Dulciana	8 "	58 "
4. Concert Flute	4 "	58 "
5. Piccolo	2 "	58 "
6. Corno-de-Bassetto	8 "	58 "

Pedale.

1. Open Diapason	16 feet.	30 pipes.
2. Bourdon	16 "	30 "
3. Violone (partly derived from Great Organ)	16 "	18 "
4. Octave (partly derived from No. 1 Pedal)	8 "	12 "
5. Bass Flute (partly derived from No. 2 Pedal)	8 "	12 "
6. Ophicleide	16 "	30 "

Couplers and Accessories.

1. Swell to Great Pneumatic.
2. Swell to Choir do.
3. Swell to Pedals Mechanical.
4. Great to Pedals do.
5. Choir to Pedals do.

4 Composition Pedals to Great and Pedal Organs.

4 Composition Pedals to Swell Organ.

1 Double-acting Piston to Great to Pedal Coupler.

1 do do to Swell to Great do.

The whole of the Manual and Pedal Action is Tubular Pneumatic.

The Key Fittings are in dark Oak, have splayed Jambes at an angle of 45°, and are fitted with Ivory draw stop knob.

The pitch of the Organ is Diapason Normal.

ANALYSIS OF CONTENTS.

6 Stops	16 ft tone	224 pipes	10 stops	Great organ	754 pipes
17 "	8 "	882 "	11 "	Swell "	742 "
5 "	4 "	290 "	6 "	Choir "	848 "
5 "	Various	580 "	6 "	Pedal "	182 "

33 speaking stops with 1976 pipes 33 speaking stops with 1976 pipes
5 Couplers 5 Couplers

38 Ivory knobs 38 Ivory knobs
2 spare knobs and slides 2 spare knobs and slides

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Abstract

From the early nineteenth century to the middle of the twentieth century, organists from the continent have been associated with promoting good sacred music practice in the Irish catholic church. Ireland's sacred music tradition was denied a normal course of development between the sixteenth and early nineteenth centuries due to conflicts, invasions and persecutions. Consequently, after Catholic Emancipation in 1829, the Irish catholic church was faced with a dearth of Irish professional musical leadership. Members of the Irish hierarchy then turned to the continent for guidance, and for approximately the next hundred years a number of foreign organists filled positions of organist and choirmaster in cathedrals and churches throughout the country. This present work sets out to record and document this interesting period in Irish catholic church music, which saw forty-six continental organists arriving to raise the standard of sacred music in this country.

The thesis initially traces the events which led to the movement of foreign organists to Ireland, and identifies the principal figures involved in the process. An historical synopsis of sacred music developments in Ireland since monastic times to the late nineteenth century is presented to set the context for their arrival. Likewise, church music developments on the continent in the nineteenth century are discussed to complete the background.

Subsequent chapters identify these continental musicians, indicate where they went, present an examination of their work and ultimately assess their influence on Irish sacred

music practice. The musicians are mainly categorized according to their dates of arrival and are broadly divided into two generations.

The first generation, which consisted primarily of German organists, started arriving in Ireland in the 1870s. Through the influence of Heinrich Beyerunge, professor of sacred music in Maynooth from 1888 to 1923, they continued to take up appointments in this country up to the 1920s. Their influence and that of the Irish cecilian movement, which was a significant factor in their arrival, is surveyed and assessed.

The final chapter is devoted to an examination of the work and influence of a second generation of foreign organists who arrived in Ireland between 1920 and 1960. These organists were mostly Belgian and were students of the Lemmens Institute, which was renowned internationally for its expertise in sacred music studies. A detailed study of their working careers in cities and towns throughout the country reveals the extent of their influence not only in sacred music practice, but in the wider realm of music-making.

By documenting and examining the work of continental organists in Ireland from 1860 to 1960, an interpretation of the state of Irish catholic church music at that time is also formed. The pro-active stance of certain members of the hierarchy towards sacred music during this period is also discussed and assessed.