

SACRED OR PROFANE

**The Influence of Vatican Legislation on Music
in the Catholic Archdiocese of Melbourne.**

1843 - 1938

Submitted by

**John Henry Byrne, B. Mus. (Hons.) ACU,
B.A. (Soc. Sci.) Monash, Dip.T. MSC, T.T.L.C. MSC**

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the degree of Master of Music

School of Music
Faculty of Arts and Sciences

Australian Catholic University
Research Services
Locked Bag 4115
Fitzroy, Victoria 3065
Australia

1 March 2005

Statement of Authorship and Sources

This thesis contains no material published elsewhere or extracted in whole or in part from a thesis by which I have qualified for or been awarded another degree or diploma.

No parts of this thesis have been submitted towards the award of any other degree or diploma at any other tertiary institution.

No other person's work has been used without due acknowledgment in the main text of the thesis.

All research procedures reported in the thesis received the approval of the relevant Ethics/Safety Committees (where required).

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my thanks to my supervisor Dr Dianne Gome who has been of such great assistance and shown limitless patience in the formulation of this work from its initial concept to the finished product.

I am most grateful to those people who gave so freely of their time in being interviewed especially the late Rev Fr Ernest 'Chappy' Rayson, the late Rev Fr John Riordan, Rev Fr Donald Cave, Rev Fr Paul Ryan, Rev Fr William Jordan and Anthony Way and those who responded to appeals for assistance in the press. Special mention must be made of the staff of The State Library of Victoria, The Catholic Diocesan Historical Commission, The Australian Catholic University Library, The Veech Library, The Royal Historical Society and the Yarra Theological Union Library.

Many thanks to those who so greatly assisted in the completion of this project: Professor Anthony O'Grady, Justice David Byrne, Lucy Byrne and finally Roger Heagney whose inspiration and motivation have been consistent ever since I was the first person to enroll in the fledgling 'Church Music Course' in 1981.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	5
Preface	7
Aims of the thesis	9
Research	12
Sources	13
Structure of the thesis	18
Chapter 1. 19th-century Melbourne and its Catholic community	20
The city	21
The Church	24
The Catholic liturgy	31
Chapter 2. Catholic liturgical music in 19th-century Melbourne	40
Benedict XIV: <i>Annus qui</i> , 1749	41
Humble beginnings, 1843 to 1858	47
The European tradition and the two city churches, 1858 to 1903	52
Repertoire in suburban and country churches	66
Musical forces	70
Guest artists and the links with opera	74
Chapter 3. The Vatican speaks. 1903	84
The Caecilian influence in Rome	86
The Caecilian influence in Melbourne	91
Proclamation of change	105
Pius X: <i>Tra le sollecitudini</i> , 1903	110
Chapter 4. The long road to reform. 1904 to 1938	121
Progress of reform under Archbishop Thomas Carr, 1903-1917	124
The Second Australasian Catholic Congress, 1904	126
Public education through the Press	133
Music in the city churches (1903-1917)	137
Music in churches beyond the city	142
Progress of reform under Archbishop Daniel Mannix, 1917-1928	147
Education and opinion in the Press	150
The visit of the Sistine Choir, 1922	156
Musical formation of the clergy: Corpus Christi Seminary, Werribee, 1923	157
Association of Catholic Choirmasters, 1924	159
Music in the city churches	160
Music in the churches beyond the city	162
Progress of reform under Archbishop Daniel Mannix, 1928-1938	165
Pius XI: <i>Divini cultis sanctitatem</i> , 1928	165
Education and opinion in the Press	168
The National Eucharistic Congress, 1934	169
Archbishop Mannix intervenes	174
Music in the city churches in the 1930s	176
Conclusion	189

Appendices

1. Pius X: <i>Motu proprio</i> (1903) <i>Tra le sollecitudini</i>	197
2. Pius XI: Apostolic Constitution (1928) <i>Divini cultis sanctitatem</i>	208
3. Archbishops of the Melbourne archdiocese	217
4. Deans of St Francis Cathedral and St Patrick's Cathedral, 1858 to 1938	218
5. Directors of Music of St Patrick's Cathedral	219
6. Parish Priests/Administrators of St Francis Church	220
7. Directors of Music of St Francis Church	221
8. Examples of Christmas music performed in the two city churches and others from 1870 to 1940	222
9. Repertoire of music at St Francis Church	224
 Bibliography	 229

Illustrations

St Francis Church (1895)	27
St Patrick's Cathedral	31
George Rutter, Mass	61
Paolo Giorza, Messe Solennelle no.3	63
Charles Tracy, Laudate Dominum	66
Antonio Giammona, Mass	68
Franz Liszt, Ave verum corpus	89
Pope Pius X	107
Archbishop Thomas Carr	124
Achille Rebottaro	144
Rev George Robinson	144
Archbishop Daniel Mannix	147
1934 Eucharistic Congress, part of the procession	172
1934 Eucharistic Congress, part of the crowd at Benediction	173
1934 Eucharistic Congress, panorama of the 500 000 people attending Benediction.	188A

ABSTRACT

Despite the authoritative and very explicit directions from the Vatican in 1903, the Catholic Archdiocese of Melbourne successfully resisted the demands for a major reform of liturgical Church music for 35 years.

Aim

This thesis will examine the reasons for this strong and effective resistance to the demands of the Holy See and show that despite being complex and interrelated these reasons can be summarised under two fundamental headings.

Scope

The thesis will examine the broad spectrum of music performed in the Melbourne Archdiocese, but because of the limited availability of information and the prime importance of the two principal churches of the Archdiocese, it shall concentrate on St. Patrick's Cathedral and on St. Francis Church. The thesis shall also examine in detail the documents of the Holy See concerning liturgical music which were relevant to musical practice in Melbourne. Special attention is drawn to the influential Motu proprio *Tra le sollicitudini* (1903) issued by Pope Pius X. The time span of this thesis covers the 95 years from March 1843 when the first music was sung in Melbourne's only Catholic church to 1938 when Archbishop Daniel Mannix ordered the reforms to liturgical music as demanded by the Vatican.

Conclusions

The thesis shall demonstrate that the resistance to the reform of liturgical music in the Catholic Archdiocese of Melbourne was due to the two following influences:

- the fact that the new freedom and wealth that the immigrant Irish community of the Archdiocese of Melbourne experienced enabled them to establish churches and liturgies whose grandeur and artistic excellence symbolized their success in establishing a major new social and cultural status in their new home. Church music

was one of the great manifestations of this and as an integral part of their new significance and sense of achievement, it was to be jealously guarded.

- the second was the matter of authority and the independence of the Catholic bishops from the dictates and interference of the Vatican authorities. These Irish-born bishops were trained in an historical milieu in Ireland and Europe which fostered a fierce pride in the value of autonomy from external and alien authority. In this they were given a great degree of protection by the isolation of Australia and its distance from outside authority. In this Archbishops Carr and Mannix both proved to be strongly independent leaders who proved to be most reluctant to automatically implement reforms imposed by the Vatican.

It will be shown that only in the fourth decade of the twentieth century was Episcopal authority finally brought to bear to make reforms to liturgical music a reality in the Catholic Church in Melbourne.

Preface

This dissertation grew from research carried out in 1995 by this writer for a history to mark the sesquicentenary of the St Francis Choir, the oldest choral organization in the city of Melbourne¹, and the subsequent discovery that there was no comprehensive overview of Catholic liturgical music in the Archdiocese. Received tradition had long held that one of the most interesting facets of the history of this choir was the way in which it failed to comply with the 1903 Motu proprio of Pope Pius X, *Tra le sollecitudini* regarding the reform of liturgical music. According to the document, the ‘sacred’ music as traditionally performed and cherished in the Catholic Archdiocese of Melbourne was deemed to be ‘profane’ and needed to be replaced by a new repertoire of truly ‘sacred’ music. This decree restricted musical practices to plainchant, 16th-century polyphony or pastiches of the same and banned female singers and orchestras. Examination of contemporary newspapers showed that in 1931, St Francis Choir celebrated Christmas with a performance of *Messe Solennelle à Ste Cécile* by Charles Gounod, with full orchestra. Given the traditions of the choir, this was not unexpected. However, the author was surprised to find that the same mass was also performed that morning in St Patrick’s Cathedral which was certainly not to be expected. If such a large, popular and operatically romantic work was performed in both major city churches on the same Christmas morning, one was led to question whether the tradition of St Francis Choir as holding out as a last bastion of 19th-century liturgical music amid a sea of reformed musical purity was, in fact, credible. If these two churches were resisting the Vatican

¹ J H Byrne, *Echoes of Home, Music at St Francis 1845-1995* (Melbourne, 1995).

reforms, perhaps further research would show whether other churches, or indeed the archdiocese as a whole was resistant to the reforms that had been promulgated in 1903.

The idea that opposition to the decrees of the Holy See would be widespread was a most surprising one. Surely, it could be assumed that the orders of the Pope would be unquestioningly obeyed. However, the 19th century was a period of extreme stress for the papacy. Commencing with Napoleonic wars, the century saw the capture and imprisonment of the Pope and concluded with the unification of Italy, the loss of the papal states and the Pope's voluntary seclusion behind the walls of the Vatican. It may be argued that the definition of papal authority as infallible in the controversial decree of the First Vatican Council (1869-1870) was possibly a response to these events². This thesis, therefore, is an inquiry into why and how the Catholic community of one archdiocese, ruled by two strong and dominant Irish-born archbishops and established for only half a century, should actively resist all attempts at musical reform for 35 years.

Archbishop O'Reilly of Adelaide offended his Irish faithful by simplifying his name to O'Reily upon becoming archbishop. This thesis uses the practice adopted by Patrick O'Farrell in *The Catholic Church and Community* (1992) and retains the original spelling. For convenience the term Catholic Church is used in this thesis to describe the Roman Catholic Church.

² H Kung, *The Catholic Church, a Short History* (London, 2001), p. 175 ; P Collins, *Papal Power* (Melbourne, 1997), p. 44

Aims of the thesis

This thesis will examine the means whereby an outpost of predominantly Irish Catholicism at the far end of the world could resist Vatican reforms to liturgical music for almost four decades until finally ordered to conform by its own bishop.

The thesis centres around three hypotheses:

1) that the people of the Archdiocese of Melbourne, the vast majority of them of Irish descent, strongly supported the tradition of a high liturgical music culture that was developed during the 19th century and greatly enhanced by the affluence generated by the gold rushes. Former Irish peasants or workers suddenly found themselves in a situation where they were able to afford and enjoy the finest fruits of European culture. Patrick O'Farrell wrote that:

In small pioneering societies Irish Catholicism introduced and promoted a whole range of refining processes associate with popular civilization – singing, various kinds of beautification such as flower arrangement, popular religious art such as paintings, statuary, stained glass. ...While Irish Catholicism held no monopoly of such socioreligious promotions, it was in the forefront of their Australian spread.³

Cultural achievements were not only a symbol of the new religious freedom of the Irish; they also served to lift their self-esteem and raised their status in the eyes of their Anglican and Reformed neighbours. As Thomas Day wrote of a similar situation in Chicago,

³ P O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia, 1788 to the present*, 3rd ed. (Sydney, 2000)., p. 110

Cardinal Mundelein [1915-1939] let it be known that when he processed into Holy Name Cathedral in Chicago, he wanted an orchestra in the choir loft and the kind of Great Master music that one could hear in the big churches of Europe.⁴

O'Farrell made a similar point when he wrote in 2000:

From cardinal archbishop to lowliest people, the Irish preference was for the grandiose, the overblown, the garish – the opulent as the seeming opposite of the meanness, deprivation and grey ordinariness from which they had sprung, and in which many still lived. The rich best must be given to God, and to things and persons religious, and thus the standards for taste, beauty, must be the opposite of plain.⁵

2) that Catholicism in Melbourne enjoyed a degree of independence from Vatican influence, especially on the part of churchleaders. As Patrick O'Farrell wrote in *The Catholic Church and community* (1992), “the ferment which troubled Australian Catholicism from the 1840s to the 1860s was a question of authority – any authority”⁶. He later wrote: “nor was Cardinal Moran... who began his Australian episcopate with professions of utter submission to Rome – any less willing to openly criticise Roman decisions and policies and to try to thwart them”⁷. He reinforced this later by stating:

the Irish Australian bishops, even at their most exalted moments of papal loyalty, were ambivalent about Rome and its authority. Rome was, after all, in Italy. And Italy was full of clamorous infidels and blatant secularists... . When it came to

⁴ T Day, *Why Catholics can't sing: the Culture of Catholicism and the Triumph of Bad Taste* (New York, 1990)., p. 24

⁵ O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia, 1788 to the present.*, p. 111

⁶ P O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and community, an Australian history* (Sydney, 1992)., p. 65

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 216

essentials, as the Irish bishops saw them, Italy was not a Christian country, Ireland was.⁸

3) that physical isolation or the “tyranny of distance”, assisted in the independence detailed above. In *A Long Way from Rome* Chris McGillion used terms such as “irrelevance” and “alienated” when writing of the Australian Catholic community’s relationship to Rome and for the first hundred years of the colonies this was to be a formative factor.⁹

In testing the above general hypotheses the following more particular research questions will be explored:

- What was the nature of the liturgico-musical tradition that developed in 19th-century Melbourne?
- To what extent was this tradition affected by Vatican legislation and directives prior to 1903?
- What were the theoretical bases and implications of the 1903 reforms?
- What understandings and views of ‘sacred’ and ‘profane’ with respect to the 1903 reforms were held in Melbourne?
- How did the two Melbourne Archbishops react to the reform requirements?
- What agencies and systems were put in place from 1903 to assist the implementation of reform?
- To what extent did musical reform actually take place in the cathedral and

⁸ Ibid., p. 217

⁹ C McGillion, *A long way from Rome, why the Australian Catholic Church is in crisis*. (Sydney, 2003), p. xxiv

churches of Melbourne between 1903 and 1938?

The study covers a period of 95 years. It commences in 1843 when a group of “Protestant gentlemen” provided music for Mass on St Patrick’s Day (17th March) in the incomplete St Francis Church, and concludes in 1938 when the Archbishop, Dr Daniel Mannix finally issued instructions to the churches of the archdiocese to dismiss all female choristers and to implement the instructions of the 1903 document. This signalled the completion of the reform of liturgical music in the Archdiocese, a reform that was finally achieved after 35 years of effort.

Research

Because of the long time-span in question and the paucity of archival material relating to liturgical music in parish life in the 19th and early 20th centuries, a detailed study of individual parishes is not possible. Rather the emphasis is strongly focussed upon the two city churches (St Patrick’s Cathedral and St Francis Church) for which more information is available. In addition the study will focus on liturgical music for the Eucharist and Vespers, these being the principle liturgies and on music performed by choirs, since this formed the vast bulk of liturgical music during the time frame of the thesis and was the area of music directly affected by the reform legislation. The central core of the thesis will also examine the reasons behind the formulation of the 1903 document, the ways in which it was promulgated to the local church and the success (or otherwise) of the implementation of the reforms in Melbourne. The important discussion in the Catholic press, especially *The Advocate*, is examined, as is public education as encapsulated by the

great Catholic Congresses held in Melbourne in 1904 and 1934. The impact of the 1903 pronouncement on music in the major and minor churches is examined along with the role of the contemporary figures dominating liturgical music in Catholic Melbourne.

Sources

The archives of the Archdiocese of Melbourne and St Francis along with the church newspaper *The Advocate* are the principal primary sources. Searches into holdings pertaining to church music in general, and to liturgical musical practice in the Melbourne Church in particular, were conducted at many libraries. Of special importance is the Dennett Collection at The State Library of Victoria, consisting of nine boxes of secular music and one of unsorted liturgical scores (including local compositions) which appear to date from Dennett's years as Director of St Francis Choir in Melbourne from 1932 to 1945. This library also holds the Enid Matthews Collection which comprises the archives of George Fincham and Son, organ builders, as well as records of church appointments and performances. In addition, her book, *Colonial Organs and Organbuilders* (1969) is a valuable catalogue of the 19th century organ industry. The Rev Dr Percy Jones Music Collection in the Library of Australian Catholic University is especially valuable in providing an insight into music in the Melbourne archdiocese. Another significant source is the music library from St Patrick's College, Manly, now housed in the Veech Library of the Catholic Institute of Sydney. This collection gives a valuable Sydney perspective of the music and repertoire and sources used for the music education of priests during the study era. The archives of St Francis Choir, Melbourne's oldest and most important church choir, are held by the author. These include the unpublished manuscript of a

history of the choir assembled by George Baker in 1945 and which displays a high degree of reliability. These archives also contain interviews and manuscripts of masses and motets by local composers.

Initial research involved the systematic examination of *The Advocate* (from 1868) and *The Tribune* (from 1900) for the period under examination. These weekly periodicals, in particular *The Advocate*, provided the only forums for public discussion on liturgical music especially during the decades before and after the publication of the *Motu proprio* of 1903 when public feeling was strongly voiced. Research into the three archbishops during the time in question, Archbishops Goold, Carr and Mannix relied heavily upon secondary sources as many of the diaries of Archbishop Goold were mislaid when they were lent to Cardinal Moran for the writing of his *History of the Catholic Church in Australia*.¹⁰ However, the surviving diaries of Archbishop Goold were all read. The papers of Archbishop Mannix were destroyed at his death on his own instruction. Biographies of these prelates include books on Thomas Carr by T. P. Boland (1997) and on Daniel Mannix by Michael Gilchrist (1982) and B. A. Santamaria (1984).

The principal published studies on the history of Catholicism in 19th-century Melbourne include *History of the Catholic Church in Australia* [1896] by Patrick Cardinal Moran. *The Chronicles of Early Melbourne, 1835-1852* (1888) by 'Garryowen' (Edmund Finn) is an invaluable resource, as it includes many references to music in Catholic churches from the very earliest days of the colony. Other texts which also deal with the history of Catholicism in Melbourne are by Edmund Campion, Walter Ebsworth, Frances O'Kane,

Francis Mackle and Patrick O'Farrell. However, it must be stated that none of these deals with the subject of liturgical music beyond a passing reference. Finally, *Some of the Fruits of Fifty Years* (1897), the published review of the achievements of the Melbourne archdiocese at the end of the 19th century is most valuable. Histories of the Irish experience in Australia are to be found in the writings of Patrick O'Farrell's and Thomas Keneally. Certainly, the Irish perspective of the Catholic community of Melbourne during the period under investigation is integral to its attitudes and values concerning the sacred and the profane in music.

Published literature on liturgical music in Melbourne's Catholic churches for the early years of the colony is relatively rare. Studies of the musical traditions of the two principal churches of the archdiocese are *St Patrick's Cathedral, a Life* (1997) by T. P. Boland which contains an informative chapter on music in the cathedral; *St Francis Choir, 1839-1979* (1979) by David Rankin which contains detailed information on music at Francis' Church; *Echoes of home, Music at St Francis' 1845-1995* (1995) by John Byrne which covers a broader scope and sets the music into a history of the church itself, and finally the booklet *Glory to God, St Patrick's Cathedral Choir 1939-1989* (1989) by Dean Fred Chamberlin. This brief booklet covers the latter half century of music at the Cathedral but does not cover the first seventy years. The biography of Rev Dr Percy Jones by Donald Cave (1988) was also consulted. Insight into the lives of the singers active in Melbourne's Catholic churches during the 19th century is to be found in studies of opera in Melbourne such as *Singers of Australia* (1967) by Barbara and Findlay

¹⁰ P Moran, *History of the Catholic Church in Australia*. (Sydney, nd).

MacKenzie, *The Golden Age of Australian Opera* (1981) by Harold Love, *Civilising the Colonies* (1999) and *Opera for the Antipodes* (1990) both by Alison Gyger.

Further information has been gathered from sources such as diocesan archives and archives and music collections of various parish churches. In response to an appeal in daily journal *The Age* and the weekly Catholic journal *Kairos*, valuable diaries and papers elucidating life in 19th-century Melbourne were made available by the families of John Henry Watmuff, John Conway Bourke and William Parkinson. As a singer Watmuff either appeared with many of the leading Catholic and Anglican choirs or attended notable performances as a member of the congregation, and noted his opinions in his diary. John Conway Bourke was a transported convict, later becoming licensee of the Western Port Hotel in Queen Street. His diary provides interesting comments on various persons and events in the Catholic community following the 1851 gold rush as well as a first-hand account of the opening of the Ladye Chapel of St Francis' Church. William Parkinson was a musician and music teacher who frequently appeared as bass soloist with St Francis Choir and provided one of the major papers in support of the Vatican music reforms at the 1904 Australasian Catholic Congress. The Parkinson family also provided access to the family archives in England.

Personal interviews have been undertaken with a number of people who have been involved with the development of liturgical music in the Melbourne Catholic Church since the 1930s. In particular Rev Paul Ryan provided valuable information about liturgical music, clerical education and personalities both before and after the Second

World War, Rev William Jordan furnished information gained as Diocesan Director of Music and the late Rev Ernest “Chappy” Rayson, who reformed and directed St Francis Choir from 1961 to 1966, and was Superior of St Francis Church, offered many insights gained during his years in Rome. The experience and opinions of these informants have assisted in giving direction to the study and insight into some questions which would otherwise have remained problematic. Interviews have also enabled light to be shed on the complex personality of Archbishop Mannix. Other interviews with current musicians and clergy (as detailed in the bibliography) allowed a clearer portrait to be drawn of musical life in Melbourne’s Catholic Churches, especially of the period since 1930.

Considerable use has been made of three principal sources of Papal directives on music: the collection of papal encyclicals edited in five volumes by Claudia Carlen (1981) and the published decrees issued by the monks of the Abbey of St Pierre at Solesmes (1962). Both contain the principal documents as translated by the Sisters of St Paul and the Order of St Benedict respectively. In addition, *Papal Legislation on Sacred Music* collected, translated and annotated by Robert Hayburn (1979) which includes extensive annotations on the documents, and details of Instructions from the Congregation of Sacred Rites and local directives published by the various offices of the Holy See of both local and international import has also proved invaluable.

Structure of the thesis

Chapter One traces the foundation of the city of Melbourne from its establishment in 1835, through the gold rush and its subsequent and unprecedented growth in the nineteenth century. It also examines some key characteristics of the nineteenth-century Catholic Church in Melbourne and its strong Irish foundations which provided a basis for the attitudes of the community towards church music in the diocese and the resistance to the attempts to impose major reforms to that music.

Chapter Two covers the foundation and establishment of the tradition of liturgical music in Catholic Melbourne from the first music sung in a Catholic church on 17 March 1843 through to the end of the century. During this time the wealth brought by the gold rush enabled the employment of musicians, instrumentalists and soloists in a highly successful attempt to emulate the Catholic traditions of Europe. The strong link with a flourishing opera culture is also examined.

The papal Motu proprio, *Tra le sollecitudini*, of 1903 is examined in Chapter Three. This most important document is scrutinized in the light of the forces and influences behind its revolutionary pronouncements, including the important influence of the Caecilian Movement both in Rome and throughout Europe. The lack of influence of the Caecilian Movement in Melbourne is also examined.

Chapter Four documents the response of the local archdiocese to the 1903 and 1928 papal documents. It demonstrates the archdiocese's initial failure to implement the reforms and discusses the persistence of the old tradition, the failure of the bishop to enforce the reforms up until 1938, the limited nature of support for the reform and the nature of the final official adoption of the reforms. This chapter also examines the principle influences, such as the 1934 Eucharistic Congress, which helped shape the performance practices of liturgical music at this time examined.

Chapter 1

19th-century Melbourne and its Catholic community

This chapter will examine some key elements of the social and historical context to the thesis by providing a brief overview of the foundation of the settlement of Melbourne and the establishment of the Catholic Church and community in the city. Following the gold rush, the settlement became a city of great financial power and achieved considerable renown in the later part of the nineteenth century. This overview provides a framework for understanding the practices and attitudes of Melbourne's Catholic community during that period. These attitudes with regard to the practice of Catholic sacred music were to be challenged at the beginning of the twentieth century when the Vatican authorities attempted to impose a reform of liturgical music on the universal church. To understand the nature of these attitudes it is necessary to examine the forces which shaped Melbourne's infant Catholic community. In the following chapter this will be extended into an examination of musical practices in the Church and the forces influencing them. Taken together the chapters display the complex interplay of social, financial and historic influences which led to the local Catholic community successfully resisting the new Vatican regulations for four decades.

The city

The settlement city of Melbourne¹¹ was established in May 1835 when a party of farmers from Tasmania crossed Bass Strait and illegally settled in Port Phillip Bay on the banks of the Yarra River. One of these first settlers who sailed on the schooner *Enterprise*¹² with John Pascoe Fawkner (one of the two founders of the city) was William Jackson a farmer. On a second crossing from Tasmania with more settlers, William Jackson's brother, Samuel, an architect and builder joined the party. He was the architect of St Francis Church (Melbourne's first Catholic church) and the first St Patrick's Church (later St Patrick's Cathedral). The settlement was established in circumstances of chronic poverty, but Manning Clark emphasizes that after the vicious cruelties and excesses of the penal colony in Tasmania the township on Port Phillip Bay seemed to be a land of boundless opportunity.¹³ From such inauspicious beginnings the settlement, originally known as Bearbrass, was soon established and given formal status when in May 1837, Sir Richard Bourke¹⁴, Governor of New South Wales arrived to inspect the settlement, approve the plans, name the streets and call the village Melbourne after the young Queen Victoria's Prime Minister, Lord Melbourne.

¹¹ M Cannon, *Old Melbourne Town: before the Gold Rush* (Main Ridge (Victoria), 1991).; M Cannon, *Melbourne after the Gold Rush* (Main ridge (Victoria), 1993).; Byrne, *Echoes of Home, Music at St Francis 1845-1995*.; R Annear, *Bearbrass; Imagining Early Melbourne* (Melbourne, 1995).; Edmund Finn (Garryowen), *The Chronicles of Early Melbourne 1835 - 1852* (Melbourne, 1888).; H Lemieaux, *St Francis 1841 - 1941* (Melbourne, 1941).

¹² Annear, *Bearbrass; Imagining Early Melbourne.*, p.15

¹³ Manning Clark, *A Short history of Australia*, revised ed ed. (Melbourne, 1986)., p. 76

¹⁴ Annear, *Bearbrass; Imagining Early Melbourne.*, p. 35

Early Melbourne was primitive and extremely basic and while there were some civilizing influences such as the young Irish barrister, Redmond Barry, who opened his private library to borrowers in 1842, the town was very rudimentary¹⁵. The first decade was marked by disease, the stink of abattoirs and tanning works as well as the lack of any sewerage facilities. Michael Cannon writes that problems caused by the absence of sufficient female residents also led to drunkenness, violence and ‘the lowest depths of vice and wickedness’.¹⁶

The Port Phillip District was granted independence from New South Wales in 1850 and the following year gold was discovered. This discovery transformed the settlement into an exploding metropolis with a massive increase in population and a matching need for physical and spiritual amenities. The vast wealth ensured that the erection of opulent public and private buildings became a necessity as well as a symbol of the young city’s status and ambition. The Melbourne Town Hall, the General Post Office, two cathedrals, large churches, the Treasury, the Customs House, the Parliament, Government House, lavish banks and residences were erected in the following decades.

The historian Brian McKinley went so far as to claim that Melbourne enjoyed the highest standard of living in the world for four decades. He based this claim on the fact that, for the nineteenth century, the ultimate symbol of affluence was the possession of a piano and Melbourne enjoyed the highest recorded number of pianos per head of population in the world. Cannon added to this that...

¹⁵ S Priestley, *Making their Mark (The Victorian Series)* (Sydney, 1984), p. 27

Oscar Comettant, the Frenchman who visited Australia in 1888, describes the huge shipments particularly of German pianos sent out by manufacturers... Although constantly going out of tune, and finished with what Comettant described as 'vulgar moulding and ostentatious double candle-brackets', pianos appeared in city and small town homes and in the 'most distant shacks of the humblest farmer'.¹⁷

This unparalleled financial growth continued unabated until the great financial collapse of the early 1890s¹⁸. Music was a symbol of refined gentility and at the great exhibitions of 1880 and 1888, at which Melbourne's achievements were displayed to the world, music played an integral part. There was no symphonic orchestra in the nineteenth century so orchestras were specially formed and conductors imported from England and Europe and enormous cost¹⁹. The performance of music could be enjoyed by the general public principally through the theatres, visiting opera companies, the Liedertafel Societies and at church.

The Church

In assessing the reasons for the relatively quick formation of a strong and flourishing Catholic community in the colony and its subsequent strong musical tradition, it is necessary to examine the establishment of the church and the milieu in which it arose. The factors which differentiated Melbourne from other Catholic settlements and establishments are also considered. These factors can be reduced to one overshadowing

¹⁶ Cannon, *Old Melbourne Town: before the Gold Rush.*, p. 28

¹⁷ Priestley, *Making their Mark (The Victorian Series).*, p. 236

¹⁸ Personnal communication, Brian McKinley, May 1995

historical event - the discovery of gold. Because of this goldrush, settlers and wealth poured into the community so that the settlement was transformed in a mere decade into an opulent and powerful city of world renown. The Irish Catholic community had money to establish the physical manifestations of their new status based upon romanticized memories of their original homeland.

In understanding the fierce sense of pride which infused the Catholic community of Melbourne from the earliest days, it is necessary to examine the foundations of the Catholic community and its achievements despite the extreme poverty of the early settlement. The discovery of gold from 1851 gave the Catholic community the means to build, not only in the physical sense, but also culturally. For this community with its predominantly Irish heritage it was natural that the principle place to display these cultural achievements would be the church. The papers of the day reported the visits of the finest European artists in music, in the arts, and in architecture, many of whom came to settle²⁰. The impressive accomplishments of this community was built through dedication and frequent hardship and was not to be relinquished without a considerable struggle where music was concerned. More detailed discussion of these achievements will follow.

Catholic Melbourne was proclaimed a diocese separate from Sydney in 1847 and the first Bishop, James Alipius Goold, arrived from Sydney in 1848. He was the first person to

¹⁹ D Dunstan, *Victorian Icon; the Royal Exhibition Building Melbourne* (Melbourne, 1996)., p.16

make the journey overland between the two cities²¹. It is worthwhile scrutinizing the development of this diocese as its development encapsulates the rapid growth of Catholicism in Victoria. The diocese in 1847 comprised the entire State of Victoria from the Murray River to Bass Strait. Subsequently it became an archdiocese when the Diocese of Ballarat was formed in the West of the State in 1874, the Diocese of Sandhurst to the North was formed also in 1874, based on the city of Bendigo, and later in 1887 the Diocese of Sale was formed in the East of the State²².

From the earliest days the Catholic Church in Melbourne was formed around a group of Catholics who met for the Rosary and prayers in the cottage of a French carpenter, Pierre Bodeçin, which was situated in Collins Street between Williams and King Streets. Henri Lemieux²³, in his 1941 history of St Francis Church, relates that this community consisted of a handful of Irish Catholics and one Frenchman, and their families. In March 1839 they erected a room beside Bodeçin's cottage to serve as a chapel and on 28 April that year they drew up a memorial to be sent to the Right Reverend Dr Polding, Bishop and Vicar Apostolic²⁴ in Sydney requesting a priest. In fact, this was unnecessary as at that same time a Franciscan priest, Rev Patrick Bonaventure Geoghegan (b.1805), was en route from Sydney by ship, the Paul Pry.

Geoghegan had arrived in Sydney from Dublin in December 1838 and eventually was sent to the Port Phillip Mission arriving at Williamstown on 15 May 1839, spending his first nights sleeping on some planks between two barrels in a public bar owned by a Catholic landlady. Such a lack of formality and airs immediately endeared him to the

²⁰ Architects such as William Wilkinson Wardell, the artist Eugene von Guerard, the soprano Anna Bishop, the actress Sarah Bernhardt and the dancer Lola Montez were symptomatic of Melbourne's international renown.

²¹ Lemieux, *St Francis 1841 - 1941.*, p. 30

²² *Official directory of the Catholic Church in Australia*, 1990

²³ Lemieaux, *St Francis 1841 - 1941.*, p. 10

local population. Four days later on Pentecost Sunday he celebrated his first Mass in Melbourne in an unroofed store on the corner of Elizabeth and Little Collins Streets. He immediately set about obtaining a land grant so that he could build a church. Because of the chronic poverty of the Irish settlers he was assisted in this task by members of other faiths, especially the Anglican and Jewish communities²⁵. Temporary arrangements gave way to the building of a permanent church and the foundation-stone of the present St Francis' Church in Lonsdale Street was laid on 4 October 1841. The Catholic population at the time numbered 2073 persons²⁶.



ST. FRANCIS CHURCH (1895)

The church that Geoghegan built was a large substantial building; indeed, it was the largest building in Melbourne at the time. For the next eight years it was the only

²⁴ Vicar Apostolic is a title given to a senior Church administrator in situations when extreme distance or primitive facilities make communication with Rome virtually impossible. It gives to the Bishop in question powers which are almost equal to those of the Pope himself.

²⁵ (Garryowen), *The Chronicles of Early Melbourne 1835 - 1852.*, p. 136 ff

Catholic church in Melbourne. St Francis Church in Lonsdale Street was designed by Samuel Jackson and was erected from 1841 to 1842 (the nave) and 1844 to 1845 (the transepts and sanctuary). In 1847, the church became the official Catholic cathedral of Melbourne with the arrival of Bishop James Goold. It retained this title until 1869 when St Patrick's Cathedral was completed enough for the Episcopal See to be transferred to Eastern Hill.

Following the discovery of gold, plans were drawn up for the erection of a magnificent and sumptuous chapel for the church. The splendid Ladye²⁷ Chapel at St Francis Church was completed in 1858 in the most opulent French gothic style. The magnificence and quality of this chapel, built only twenty years after the arrival of the first priest, attest to the ambitions and potential provided by the discovery of gold. The English ecclesiologist, Sir John Betjamen, in an interview in the 1980s described this chapel as the finest Gothic interior built anywhere in the nineteenth century.

After 1851, due to the gold rush, the growth of the city increased rapidly and this was reflected in an attendant growth in the physical establishment of the Church²⁸. Temporary arrangements meant that three balconies had to be inserted into St Francis Church while an ambitious building program of churches and other facilities was undertaken. Apart from a tiny unmanned chapel in Portland on the far West coast of the state, the second church in Melbourne was St Patrick's Church which was built on Eastern Hill in 1850.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 138

²⁷ The chapel has always retained this older form of spelling

²⁸ Byrne, *Echoes of Home, Music at St Francis 1845-1995.*, p. 3ff

This church, also designed by Samuel Jackson, was demolished in 1855 to make way for a larger church to the designs of George and Schneider. This second church, intended to become a cathedral, was only partially complete when Bishop Goold, realizing the vast growth potential of the new city, and flush with money from the goldfields, appointed William Wilkinson Wardell in 1858 to design and erect the present St Patrick's Cathedral. After 39 years of building the cathedral was completed in 1897 and it is indicative of the wealth of the community that on the day of its opening, not a penny of the total price of £217 376 was owing²⁹.

Suburban churches were quick to follow the growth of population throughout the nineteenth century although it is frequently difficult to tell exactly when they became separate parishes. Often a church was built following the celebration of masses in homes or public buildings. After the church was built the parish would be formally declared some years later. Among the principal churches in the inner city areas were Williamstown, St Mary's, erected in 1853; South Melbourne (or Emerald Hill), Ss Peter and Paul's in 1869; West Melbourne (or Hotham), St Mary Star of the Sea in 1872 and North Melbourne, St Michael's also in 1872. Other inner suburbs included Collingwood, St Joseph's in 1861; Richmond, St Ignatius in 1866; Fitzroy, St Brigid's in 1869; Clifton Hill, St John the Baptist's in 1876; Carlton, St George's later Sacred Heart in 1881; South Yarra, St Joseph's in 1887; Brunswick, St Ambrose's in 1890.³⁰ All of these churches were blessed with appropriate panoply and splendour, including masses, frequently with

²⁹ Muirhead, A. St Patrick's Cathedral tour guide notes, private collection, 1997

³⁰ Unknown Author, *Some of the fruits of fifty years* (Melbourne, 1897), pp. 9-54

some form of instrumental accompaniment. These churches were also notable in the nineteenth century for their musical traditions.

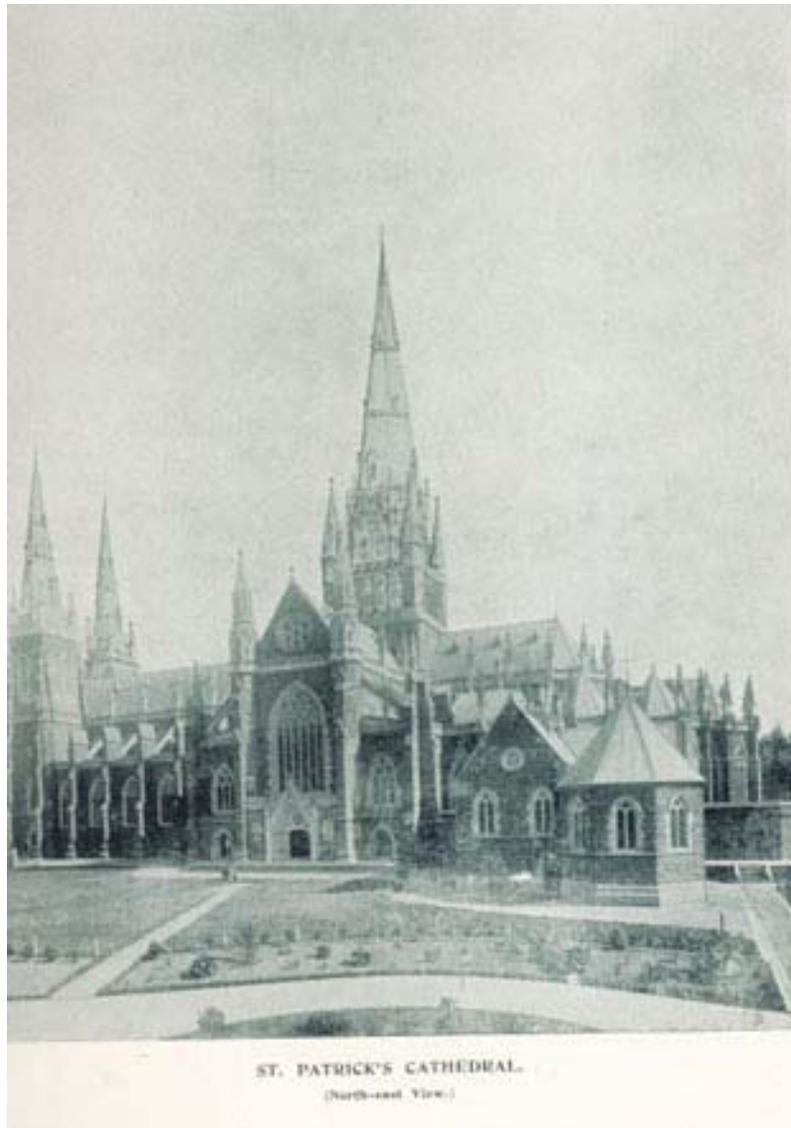
The Catholic community of Melbourne has obviously placed a high priority on establishing the opulent trappings of wealth and traditional high culture in preference to the more practical churches of Ireland. Major country parishes were founded throughout the nineteenth century as the growth of the population, especially in the gold-mining areas gave rise to the need. Upon his arrival in Melbourne Goold noted that his diocese possessed a church in Melbourne, another church in Geelong and a chapel in Portland³¹. In the early days parishes that were country such as Brighton soon found themselves to be suburban. The huge parish of Brighton centered upon St James Church (now Gardenvale), extended to include many country districts. St Mary's Dandenong split off from Brighton and became an independent parish in 1883 and the church was built in 1891. This parish also included the churches at Frankston, Pakenham, Berwick, Cranbourne, Korumburra and Fern Tree Gully. Eventually these churches became independent parishes. On the other side of the bay the mission at Geelong built its first church (St Mary of the Angels) as early as 1842, with the present church being dedicated in 1872. As with Brighton, this district also included churches at Mount Moriac, Little River, Winchelsea, Batesford and Teesdale. Other nineteenth-century missions were settled at Kilmore (St Patricks, 1849); Castlemaine (St Mary's, 1852); Kyneton (St Mary's, 1853); Bacchus Marsh (St Bernard's, 1854); Daylesford (St Peter's 1862); Mansfield (St Francis Xavier, 1862); Lilydale (St Patrick's, 1889); Woodend (St

³¹ Patrick Moran, *History of the Catholic Church in Australasia* (Sydney, ND), p. 730

Ambrose's, 1889); Seymour (St Mary's, 1890) and Yea (Sacred Heart, 1890). Kilmore and Seymour were two important settlements of the way to Sydney³².

The Church in Melbourne was clearly a rapidly growing local institution with the attendant fine buildings and high culture. By the end of the nineteenth century the Catholic community as well as other sections of the city could look back with great pride on a city of conspicuous achievements – cultural, architectural, musical and theatrical. Education and public services were well established and the foundations of the various religious traditions were well laid. The Catholics had a strong infrastructure of orphanages, convents, schools and fine churches.

³² *Unknown Author, Some of the fruits of fifty years.*, pp. 40-67



The Catholic Liturgy

The erection of churches was necessary for the celebration of the Catholic liturgy which has always been the principle focus of Catholic life. Therefore it is necessary to examine the liturgical requirements of Catholic practice at this time. These buildings had a twofold purpose as they were necessary to provide gathering places for the community and as symbols of their new wealth and secure position in society – a security undreamed-of in far distant Ireland. Their erection was made possible by the great public wealth of Melbourne. It was the influx of money that enabled this community to establish a

financial and social support basis which made the erection of churches, schools, convents and orphanages possible. But perhaps more important than these community roles was the focus of the church as the traditional home for the celebration of the Catholic liturgy – a liturgy which was central to the Catholic identity.

The predominant liturgical experience in the Catholic Church from the 16th century to the modern era was the celebration of mass. Other popular liturgical celebrations in the nineteenth century were the Stations of the Cross, Vespers and Benediction, yet they were of lesser significance. Liturgically speaking, the Church throughout the world had entered a state of immobility amounting to stagnation between the Council of Trent (1545) and the liturgical reforms of the twentieth century of which the *Motu proprio* of 1903 was the first intimation. Of the Eucharistic liturgy, Howells has stated:

In one sense it is true to say that there is no history of the Mass liturgy between the Councils of Trent and of Vatican II; there is a history only of the way in which the Tridentine liturgy was performed. The 1570 Missal fixed the texts and rites, and the Sacred Congregation of Rites was founded for the express purpose of preventing any changes. Thus Trent ushered in four centuries of rigidity and fixation; it was an era of rubricism³³.

The popularity of such practices as the Rosary and the reading of prayer books during the Eucharist came about due to the total absence of any real role for the general faithful in the official liturgical practices of the Church except for that of witnesses. There was no external active participation for the congregation and liturgy became a performance in

which the people were passive observers. Prayer books in the vernacular were of limited help as reading was not universal, hence the popularity of the Rosary. The singing of a few hymns before and after Mass may have been essayed, but these always had to be in Latin at this time. In the twentieth century the restriction to Latin hymns was relaxed and a modest introduction of English hymns was attempted. According to Howell, ‘often these had nothing to do with what was going on at the altar, but they were at least filled with pious thoughts and did occupy the people’³⁴. However in nineteenth-century Melbourne, the strong Irish cultural foundations ensured that, while choirs were popular as evidence of artistic maturity, active popular participation was minimal and even Latin hymns were very rarely sung by the community even at Vespers or Benediction. As Rev Paul Ryan stated with respect to the congregation: ‘Before Vatican II, the Mass was totally silent’³⁵.

The weight of liturgical regulation and tradition can be seen in the catalogue of the different kinds of Mass listed in *The Catholic Educator* (ca.1890). This book lists over a dozen different kinds of Tridentine Mass from the grandeur of the *Missa solemnis* or High Mass, with deacon, subdeacon, incense, ceremonial, choirs and orchestras, through the *Missa cantata* or Sung Mass, a similar mass but without the ceremonial, the *Missa bassa* or Low Mass, which was theoretically without music during the actual service, to the *Missa Sicca*, which was celebrated without consecration or communion on board

³³ Howell in *The Study of Liturgy* (ed C Jones, G Wainwright, E Yarnold) 1980 London: SPCK 1978, p. 241

³⁴ Ibid., p. 244

³⁵ Personal communication, Rev Paul Ryan, May 1997

ships at sea³⁶. Although there was often simple repetitive music at ‘children’s masses’, the *Missa solemnis* and the *Missa cantata* are of most relevance to the present discussion..

As has been stated, various other liturgies were also to be found in Catholic churches during the 19th century, the principal ones being Vespers, Benediction and the Stations of the Cross. Benediction was a short ceremony that had existed from medieval times, and consisted of prayers and a blessing of the Faithful with the sacred host in a monstrance. While certain Latin hymns such as *O salutaris hostia* and *Tantum ergo* were traditionally associated with this ritual and were sometimes sung by members of the congregation, the nineteenth century summary of religious practice ‘The Catholic Treasury’ in *The Catholic Educator* (published in the United States), states that they were usually ‘sung by the choir’³⁷. The Stations of the Cross was meditation on the passion of Christ and included prayers but usually no music apart from a possible verse of the *Stabat Mater* .

The most important liturgical celebration outside the Mass was the Office of Vespers. Vespers consists of psalms, lessons, prayers and hymns and is derived from the evening monastic office found in the breviary³⁸. As the evening service of the church it is still judged to be the most important of the monastic Offices³⁹. Crighton⁴⁰ states that the

³⁶ J G Shea, *The Catholic Educator* (Melbourne, 1892c), vol.1, p. 295

³⁷ Ibid., vol.1, p. 55

³⁸ Ibid., vol.1, p.72

³⁹ J Crighton, ed., *The Office in the West; the Roman Rite from the Sixteenth Century*, The study of the Liturgy (London, 1980), p. 387

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 385

rigidity of the Offices, of which Vesper was the final one of the day, ensured that they lost their appeal and so attempts were made to involve the people more. However this was difficult as the format was very structured and inflexible. Ruth Steiner⁴¹ lists the ritual for Vespers as consisting of the following principal sections: Psalms - Capitulum (Reading) - Hymnus - Magnificat - Preces (Prayer) - Oratio (Commendation). The five chanted psalms could vary with the season and the day and, together with the Magnificat, were the principal musical sections of the service. *The Australian Catholic Hymn Book* (13th. ed., 1916) list the fifteen Vesper psalms and a wide selection of Vesper hymns suitable for addition to this liturgy on various occasions. The opportunity for active participation, so rare in other major liturgies such as the Mass, may account for the popularity of the Office of Vespers. Judging from the weekly reports in *The Advocate* (1868-1990) over many decades the celebration of Vespers on a Sunday evening was common in Melbourne and elsewhere during the 19th century. Vespers, as has been suggested, was also seen as an opportunity to experiment and expand upon the approved formula. Hence one could participate in Vespers being celebrated with a full orchestra and soloists singing Rossini's *Stabat Mater* or, towards the end of the century, with the austerity of plainchant.

Religious observance in the colony was an important part of social life and despite the obvious difficulties, the Irish settlers attempted to sustain some sort of religious life, even if it was extremely difficult for those in the more remote inland. David Fitzpatrick (1995) cites the letter of one Biddy Burke to her family in Ireland in 1882: 'I go to Mass every

⁴¹ R Steiner, (1991) 'Vespers' in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (S Sadie (ed)) London: Macmillan, vol. 19 p. 685

Sunday at 9 clock and to vespers at night and so does Patt so ye neadend [needn't] be uneasy atall about us'⁴² (sic). To readers in Ireland this was obviously a great consolation.

Thus it may be seen that the Catholic community of Melbourne and the surrounding districts quickly built a society which relied upon a strong religious core to sustain it. This community took tremendous pride in this achievement which was so different from the fearsome struggle that they had known in Ireland where churches, convents and schools also existed, but had been won at great cost over a long time.

The priesthood had been legalised in Ireland in 1782⁴³, but the memories of priests hunted for sport and masses celebrated in secret on flat stones under hedges was still very fresh. Despite the legality of Catholicism in Ireland, life outside the main cities was still marked by bigotry, legal oppression and the cruel insolence of the landed gentry⁴⁴.

David Fitzpatrick (1995) reports that they took pride in writing home that 'well-being was attainable for those of every faith and that participation in the churches was an important element in achieving contentment. Faith enriched life in Australia and reinforced the bond with Ireland'. Edmund Burke, the 18th-century orator and Member of Parliament, attacked the Irish Penal Code as 'a machine as well-fitted for the oppression, impoverishment and degradation of the people, and the debasement of human nature

⁴² D Fitzpatrick, *Oceans of Consolation; Personal Accounts of Irish Migration to Australia* (Melbourne, 1995), p. 604

⁴³ T Keneally, *The Great Shame; the Story of the Irish in the Old World and the New* (Sydney, 1998), p. 10

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 11

itself, as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man'.⁴⁵ After conditions such as this, is it any wonder that Australia, with all its hardship, seemed to indeed be a promised land and that the formal manifestations of a strong and free faith were so important?

In short, three general historical factors may be identified as contributing to the especially favourable circumstances from which the European tradition of opulent Catholic liturgies of colonial Melbourne emerged when compared to England, Ireland or the other Australian colonies.

The first was religious freedom. From the earliest days of the settlement, Australian Catholics were free to practise their religion. Moreover, from 1836 government grants for church building by the Catholic church and other denominations constituted⁴⁶ both official encouragement and recognition. Such assistance was unknown in Britain and Ireland, where the Catholic Emancipation Bill had been passed only in 1829. For the Catholics of early Australia the freedom to practise their faith was thus a comparatively new experience and one in which they could take considerable pride⁴⁷. In this regard Melbourne's predominately Irish Catholic population was different from Sydney where the population was more diverse with a strong English emphasis which included the hierarchy of the Church drawn principally from English Benedictines and a faithful based largely upon convict antecedents .

⁴⁵ Fitzpatrick, *Oceans of Consolation; Personal Accounts of Irish Migration to Australia.*, p. 606

⁴⁶ O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and community, an Australian history.*, p. 40ff

Secondly, from this freedom emerged a great social pride in the ability to achieve cultural distinction. Whether it was liturgical or social music, art or architecture (such as the erection of the vast St Patrick's Cathedral from 1858 to 1897⁴⁸), the atmosphere of freedom and growing wealth enabled the predominately Irish Catholic population to publicly display their cultural achievements. This is in contrast to Sydney for example where the Catholic community was essentially founded upon a convict underclass of grinding poverty and social isolation⁴⁹ or Adelaide where the Catholic population was very much a minority.

The third factor was financial in nature. Due to the discovery of gold during the period under discussion, Melbourne grew very rapidly from a primitive settlement in the 1830s to one of the wealthiest cities in the world with an economy that encompassed notorious slums and poverty yet which also permitted conspicuous display, wealth, and brash confidence⁵⁰. Churches, convents, hospitals and schools were quickly financed, the most prominent of which was the Cathedral of St Patrick which ranks as a magnificent example of Gothic architecture of world standard. The wealth which provided for such excellence of architecture also allowed for the establishment of an impressive social network. Money was also lavishly spent on organs, vestments, plate, stained glass, paintings, musicians and other luxuries. These were frequently imported and of the highest European quality.

⁴⁷ U. de Jong, (1983). *William Wilkinson Wardell: his life and work 1823-1899*. (Ph.D. thesis).Melbourne: Department of Visual Arts, Monash University., p. 43

⁴⁸ Muirhead, A. St Patrick's Cathedral tour guide notes, private collection, 1997

⁴⁹ O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and community, an Australian history.*, p. 40

Most importantly, money was readily available in Melbourne churches for the formation and support of musical establishments for much of the nineteenth century. These musical establishments made possible the performance of sacred music which embraced the most cultivated European traditions involving organs, orchestras and leading soloists. Even if the clergy were trained in Ireland, they in turn were invariably educated by priests who drew their training and inspiration from the great seminaries of Europe. the performance of a culture of 'high art' music was a source of great pride to a community which had its roots in the poverty-stricken and oppressed Catholicism of Ireland.

⁵⁰ *The Oxford Companion to Australian History* (ed G Davison, J Hirst, S Macintyre) Melbourne: Oxford 1998, p. 413

Chapter 2

Catholic liturgical music in 19th century Melbourne

Having established something of the development and features of Catholicism in nineteenth-century Melbourne, the discussion now turns to a detailed examination of the liturgical music which graced this tradition. It has been noted that during this period Melbourne Catholics enjoyed music of considerable sophistication, with repertoire drawn from the finest European works and forces frequently including orchestras, professional soloists and large choirs. The chapter seeks to identify the particular circumstances and influences that made possible such a rapid development of impressive liturgical music, taking into account the sociological factors outlined in the previous chapter (not least the wealth occasioned by the gold rush) the role of the Archbishops Goold (1848 - 1886) and Carr (1886 - 1917), the aesthetic tastes of the period, opportunities afforded by the presence of opera companies in the city and the prevailing papal legislation pertaining to liturgical music. Since documentation from the period is especially rich for the two city churches, St Francis' and St Patrick's Cathedral, the discussion will be centred on these institutions, but reference will also be made where possible to the developing musical traditions in suburban churches in the diocese. As noted previously the Diocese of Melbourne comprised until 1874 a vast rural area (the whole present state of Victoria), but our knowledge of liturgical music in country areas is too limited to merit more than a passing mention in this study. Because of the limited place of congregational singing in the liturgies of 19th-century Catholicism, especially in the Eucharist, this aspect is not

investigated here. It is maintained that the strength of the flourishing musical tradition of colonial Melbourne lay in that which was sung by choirs, soloists and played by organists and other instrumentalists and it was this practice that was to be so profoundly affected by the papal legislation of 1903.

Given these parameters, it is intended that the following portrait of liturgical music in 19th-century Catholic Melbourne will serve as a basis from which to assess the impact of early 20th century reforms.

Benedict XIV: *Annus qui*, 1749

Prior to examining the workings of sacred liturgical music in the Archdiocese of Melbourne it is necessary to examine the 1749 encyclical *Annus Qui* (hereinafter **AQ**) promulgated by Benedict XIV in some detail. This encyclical was almost a century old at the time of the foundation of Melbourne and it was primarily directed towards abuses in the Church in the city of Rome itself prior to the Holy Year of 1750. It was to be the last major document on music issued by the Holy See until 1903 when Pope Pius X issued his *motu proprio* on the reform of sacred music. That is to say, 150 years elapsed with no global statement by the Church on the role of liturgical music – despite the frequent appellation of the period as ‘watershed years in musical history and political history’⁵¹.

⁵¹ C Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth Century Music*, J Bradford Robinson trans. (Berkeley CA, 1989)., p. 1

Benedict XIV was a highly progressive Pope and a true product of the Enlightenment. Hans Kung characterizes him as ‘friendly, social, learned and enlightened⁵²’, while Eamon Duffy describes him as ‘the most genial, able and attractive practitioner of eighteenth-century papal statecraft⁵³’ and in addition:

every inch an eighteenth-century man. Benedict strolled around Rome chatting to visitors, approachable, friendly, efficient, fond of slang. His long pontificate was filled with activity, all designed to streamline and modernise the traditional work of the papacy... He was unflappable, amused. Benedict was universally admired by Protestants as well as Catholics and Voltaire dedicated one of his works to him⁵⁴.

Since *Annus Qui* was intended as a list of instructions for the appropriate celebration of the forthcoming jubilee year, it is not surprising that directives on music do not form a large part of the document and they generally took the form of recommendations rather than firm pronouncements⁵⁵.

Annus Qui acknowledged differences of opinion at the time concerning ‘the use of chant and musical instruments’ in general, and enumerated the various arguments for and against these differing styles. Benedict presumably used the term ‘chant’ in the broadest sense as referring to ‘song’, not restricting it to plainchant. Without specifically banning

⁵² Kung, *The Catholic Church, a Short History*., p. 159

⁵³ E Duffy, *Saints and Sinners, a History of the Popes* (np, 1997)., p. 191

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 191

⁵⁵ AQ, paras.1-31

the use of particular voices, instruments or types of music, the Pope was clearly anxious to protect the church from ‘theatrical and profane’ musical practices:

Certainly there will also be strangers from regions where chant and musical instruments are used in churches, as is the case in some of our regions; but if such pilgrims are wise and animated by true piety, they will certainly feel deluded at not finding in the chant and music of our churches the remedy they desired to apply so as to heal the ill that invaded their homeland. In fact, leaving aside the dispute that sees the adversaries divided into two fields: those who condemn and detest in their churches the use of chant and musical instruments and on the other hand those who approve and praise it, there is certainly no one who does not desire a certain difference between ecclesiastical chant and theatrical melodies, and who does not acknowledge that the use of theatrical and profane chant must not be tolerated in churches⁵⁶.

Although the document emphasised the essential dignity and sanctity of liturgical action, the enforcement of such ideals relied upon the common-sense of the local bishop to interpret its advice in the light of local customs and traditions.⁵⁷ Noting the widespread liturgical use of elaborate music and instruments, Benedict XIV suggested that such musical instruments were quite satisfactory if they were used ‘in a manner that would help souls to become more united to the Lord and increase their respect for the Church’⁵⁸. He emphasised that the practice of the orchestral mass was to be found throughout the realm of the universal church:

⁵⁶ AQ, para.15

⁵⁷ AQ, para.31

⁵⁸ AQ, para.19

The use of harmonic or figurative chant and of musical instruments at Masses, at Vespers and other Church functions is now so largely spread that it has reached *Paraguay*⁵⁹.

Finally he recommended the use of chant and music that is of a suitable nature although falling short of defining what this was. However, he clearly cited ‘theatrical compositions’ as being unsuitable:

To conclude what We have to say on this argument, that is, on the abuse of theatrical compositions in churches, (the abuse is evident and requires no words to demonstrate it), it suffices to mention that all the authors whom We have quoted above as being favourable to figurative chant and the use of musical instruments in churches, clearly say and testify that they have always meant and wished by their writings to exclude chant and that music proper to platforms and theatres, because they, like others, condemn and despise such chant and music. When they professed to be in favour of chant and music they always meant chant and music suitable for churches and which excites the faithful to devotion. It is enough to read their works to know their true intentions⁶⁰.

The tone of *Annus Qui* was definitely not instructional: instead it comprised a scholarly discourse with citations from various Church Fathers upon the appropriate manner in which music should celebrate the sacred liturgy. Liturgical music was viewed as a means to ‘excite the souls of the faithful to devotion and piety’⁶¹ and it was acknowledged that music ‘stirs the lazy, spurs on the diligent, inspires the just to love, recalls sinners to

⁵⁹ AQ, para.28

⁶⁰ AQ, para.31

⁶¹ AQ, para.12

penance'⁶². These qualities amply justify its existence. Thus Benedict XIV sees no problem in using music as a means to encourage the faithful to attend church. He cites the case of the churches of religious orders being more popular than the churches of secular clergy because of their musical 'diligence and care'⁶³.

With respect to musical form, style and the place of instruments, his concern was with theatricality rather than the suitability of modern musical forms or instrumental accompaniment. Nevertheless he took care to observe historical theory and precedents, stating that unaccompanied music was the preferred mode of liturgical expression. He stated that...

no one can rightly disapprove if, after many centuries, the use of organs and of instruments formed from reeds of different sizes and united together be used. The sound of the organ causes joy to the sad soul of man and recalls the happiness of the heavenly city'⁶⁴.

He cited authors such as Suarez to justify the principle that the word 'organ' also includes other instruments'⁶⁵.

In the 18th century, church music was largely under the control of the local Ordinary (or bishop) who possessed enormous latitude in the interpretation and implementation of *Annus Qui*. Thus if a local bishop were to tolerate or encourage liturgical music in his

⁶² AQ, para.25

⁶³ AQ, para.12

⁶⁴ AQ, para.25

⁶⁵ AQ, para.26

cathedral and parish churches that was more suitable to the court than the church, then such music could be performed. There is evidence to suggest that this was the case throughout the Catholic church world-wide. It is not unusual for a Vatican document to contain this apparent two-fold vision such as, in this case, promoting chant while permitting soloists, orchestras and music of a style associated with the court.⁶⁶

In spite of the suggestions surfacing during the 19th century that the secular worlds of the opera and the court were defacing the practice of liturgical music, very few regulations pertaining to church music were issued during this time. Moreover, most were directed at local congregations and were based upon regulations of *Annus Qui* which, in view of the length of time for which it stood unamended, stands as notable for its longevity. In view of the enormous production of all forms of music in the nineteenth century, the proliferation of opera, the growth of musical scholarship and the influence of Romanticism, the reticence of the Holy See to publish any universal statement on the role of liturgical music is surprising.

Therefore it can be postulated that the climate for the establishment and growth of a tradition of liturgical music in a Catholic community such as Melbourne was made possible by the self determination and the liberties allowed by *Annus Qui*, which although emphasising that sacred music should be appropriate and dignified, gave the local bishop almost complete powers with regard to the music performed in his diocese. It will now be shown how this freedom was put into practice in colonial Melbourne.

⁶⁶ Personal communication Rev E Rayson, May 1995

Humble beginnings, 1843 to 1858

The first record of Catholic liturgical music performed in Melbourne was for St Patrick's Day (17 March) 1843 when a Solemn High Mass was celebrated for the first time in the colony. Garryowen wrote:

In 1843, the Rev. Daniel McEvey, a young clergyman of exceptional ability, arrived from Dublin, and on 17th March (St. Patrick's Day) High Mass was solemnised for the first time in Port Phillip. Father McEvey was the celebrant with the Rev. Messrs. Geoghegan and Stevens as Deacon and sub-Deacon. The singing was very effective, as several gentlemen, members of the Philharmonic Club, volunteered their services as an amateur choir, and acquitted themselves creditably⁶⁷.

As reported in the *Port Phillip Herald*, a similar choir furnished the music for the following St Patrick's Day when 'the appropriate singing of the choir, composed of Protestant gentlemen who volunteered their services, had a most imposing and pleasing effect'⁶⁸. By the following October, however, the church had a male-voice choir directed by William Clarke (formerly an organist from Liverpool) who owned a music shop in Collins Street. That month saw the first visit of the Most Rev. Dr. John Bede Polding, Archbishop of Sydney and the Right Rev. Francis Murphy, Bishop of Adelaide with their vicars-general. It was reported by the *Port Phillip Herald* of 22 October 1844 that 'Mr Clarke, with several members of the Philharmonic Society, were present, who contributed

⁶⁷ (Garryowen), *The Chronicles of Early Melbourne 1835 - 1852.*, p. 139

⁶⁸ F Mackle, *The Footprints of our Catholic Pioneers* (Melbourne, c1926)., p. 39

much to heighten its solemn and devotional effect'. Despite the favourable report in the press, Garryowen⁶⁹ stated that the ten men were better at 'trolling a catch than singing High Mass' and he quoted Rev McEvey as stating that 'they made a precious mess of it'. No details of the music performed have been preserved although Garryowen reports the accompaniment to have been 'a cornopean [a two piston cornet], a clarionet [clarinet], and a seraphine' [a primitive harmonium]. The seraphine was the gift of one 'Micky Mac' an ex-murderer from Limerick in Ireland who sold his gold watch to pay for it⁷⁰.

According to the *Chronicles of St Francis' Choir*⁷¹, the male-voice choir of 1844 was unsuccessful and collapsed after the single performance for Archbishop Polding. Baker also states that a second attempt to found a choir was made in 1845 to mark the opening of the church, and due to the enthusiasm and active assistance of some female choristers it was a success. As will be seen below, at some time during these years the group of men managed to form a Vesper Choir to sing on Sunday evenings⁷². These modest beginnings indicate a community already striving to glorify its liturgy to the best of its limited capacity.

St Francis' Church was officially opened on 23 October 1845. Despite the importance of the occasion, the only press report was a notice in the *Port Phillip Herald* on the previous

⁶⁹ (Garryowen), *The Chronicles of Early Melbourne 1835 - 1852.*, p. 967

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 967

⁷¹ A Baker, *The Choir of St Francis*, (Private Collection 1945), p.1

⁷² (Garryowen), *The Chronicles of Early Melbourne 1835 - 1852.*, p. 967

day, stating that ‘the solemn services of the altar will be chaunted (sic), assisted by a select choir under the direction of Mr Clarke⁷³. Members of most Protestant denominations were in attendance as well as members of the Jewish community. The ecumenical spirit in early Melbourne was very strong⁷⁴, each denomination assisting the others to become established and to build their church or synagogue. Sectarian divisions slowly began to arise following the arrival of the first Bishop of Melbourne (Anglican), Dr Perry, a man of evangelical beliefs who soon antagonised not only members of the Catholic Church, but also many members of his own flock with his anti-Catholic stance. This spirit of dissention was exacerbated by the attitudes of the extreme Presbyterian faction led by Rev John Dunmore Lang⁷⁵, the formation of the Loyal Orange Lodge and the anti-Catholic Orange Riots of 1844 and 1846.⁷⁶

At the opening of the church, the choir was again assisted by members of the Philharmonic Society and the Father Mathew Temperance Band (formed in the earliest days of the church and continuing for most of the nineteenth century)⁷⁷ was in attendance. The orchestra, whose forces are not recorded, was led by Mr Megson, leader of the local theatre orchestra while Mr Clarke presided at the seraphine⁷⁸. Already a link between the church and the theatre was flourishing. An unconfirmed but persistent tradition states that the music was by Rossini, Haydn and Handel together with parts of a Mass by Carl Maria

⁷³ *Port Phillip Herald*, 22 October 1845, p. 1

⁷⁴ Lemieux, *St Francis 1841 - 1941.*, p. 22

⁷⁵ O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and community, an Australian history.*, p. 106

⁷⁶ Cannon, *Old Melbourne Town: before the Gold Rush.*, p. 288

⁷⁷ D Rankin, *The History of Music at St Francis' Church 1839-1979* (Melbourne, 1979), p. 22

⁷⁸ (Garryowen), *The Chronicles of Early Melbourne 1835 - 1852.*, p. 140

von Weber⁷⁹. This choir appears to be the principal Catholic choral group then active in the colony until the formation of the choir of St Patrick's Cathedral which was first mentioned in August 1873 soon after the cathedral was opened.⁸⁰

In 1847 St Francis' was officially elevated to the status of a cathedral.⁸¹ However, improving musical standards were evident in 1853 when at the official opening of the first organ at St Francis' on 22 November 1853, the choir numbered fifty voices and the music consisted of works by Handel, Mozart, Haydn, Mendelssohn, and Rossini⁸². Tickets for this occasion cost as much as one pound (three pounds for a family) and five or ten shillings for seats in the porches⁸³. There is no record of any instruments being present on this occasion nor is there any information about when the choir was established as a permanent weekly feature of church life but it is obvious that even at this early stage the desire for improving standards of performance and an atmosphere of high culture was seen as paramount.

Vespers were an integral part of Catholic life in the nineteenth century especially at St Francis and the cathedral. Albert Baker (c.1945) wrote that the Vesper choir at St Francis was first mentioned in the *Melbourne Morning Herald* of December 26, 1854 which recorded Vespers for Christmas being sung the previous day at 5.00 p.m. with a

⁷⁹ Personal communication, Rev E Rayson, April 1991

⁸⁰ T P Boland, *St Patrick's Cathedral, a Life* (Melbourne, 1997), p. 122

⁸¹ *The Age*, 9 September 1859, p. 5; *The Argus*, 16 August 1866, p. 4

⁸² Rankin, *The History of Music at St Francis' Church 1839-1979.*, p. 26

⁸³ *Ibid.*

Pontifical Blessing being given by the bishop.⁸⁴ Baker went on to say that Vespers were then sung at St Francis every Sunday and on Holy Days of Obligation, St Patrick's Day and the Feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin until the 1920s. Mr Plunkett conducted the Vesper choir for many years and in the 1880s and 1890s it comprised girls from the Children of Mary Sodality. In 1887 he introduced 'double chants' and 'after seven or eight years a return to the Gregorian tones was made'.⁸⁵ In 1890 Fr Robinson (see below, chapter 4) was appointed to St Francis and introduced a choir of girls and boys as well as changing the Vesper choir to an all-male choir of men and boys.

An important milestone in the history of Melbourne's Catholic community was the blessing and dedication of the Ladye Chapel of Melbourne's St Francis' Cathedral (Church) on Monday, 31 May 1858. The solemnity of the celebrations engendered much press coverage⁸⁶. The liturgy was celebrated by Dr Polding (Metropolitan of Australia), the Bishop of Melbourne, Dr Goold, twelve priests, processions of children, an expanded choir, and included a performance of Haydn's *Nelson Mass* with full orchestra. According to Mackle⁸⁷ this was the first orchestral liturgy presented in Melbourne. The Director, William Wilkinson had been imported from Dublin to assume direction of music at St Patrick's Cathedral, but due to the recent demolition of the original St Patrick's' to make way for the present cathedral, he became Director of Music at St Francis'.

⁸⁴ Baker, *The Choir of St Francis.*, p. 21

⁸⁵ Ibid

⁸⁶ *The Argus*, 1 June 1858, p. 5; *The Herald*, 1 June, 1858, p. 5

⁸⁷ Mackle, *The Footprints of our Catholic Pioneers.*, p. 112

To conclude the account of early musical developments in the Catholic church of Melbourne it is fitting to note the first music heard in the then St Patrick's Church (later St Patrick's Cathedral) was performed by a choir consisting of Sisters of Mercy, on 21 February 1858⁸⁸ although no further details are known. It can be seen, however, that from the earliest days, an atmosphere of striving for cultural excellence was a hallmark of liturgical music in Melbourne.

The European tradition and the two city churches, 1858 to 1903

It is unclear exactly when the St Patrick's Cathedral Choir originated. In May 1868 *The Advocate*⁸⁹ reported a concert by the cathedral organist, Professor C. A. Tracy and choir of St Patrick's to help re-establish the choir of St Mary's Church Williamstown. However, later that year⁹⁰ the cathedral bells were consecrated with music provided by the choir of St Francis'. Two years later a meeting of St Patrick's Cathedral Choral Society to inaugurate 'a powerful choir for the Cathedral'⁹¹ was reported, but this was two weeks after a report of music performed by the Cathedral Choir under Tracy's direction.⁹² Seven months later *The Advocate* reported that 'the altar boys had been formed into a youth's

⁸⁸ Sr M Ignatius, *The Wheel of Time; a Brief Survey of ninety-six years' Work of the Sisters of Mercy in Victoria 1857-1953* (Melbourne, 1954), p. 17

⁸⁹ *The Advocate*, 23 May 1868, p. 11

⁹⁰ *The Advocate*, 12 December 1868, p. 12

⁹¹ *The Advocate*, 19 November 1870, p. 5

⁹² *The Advocate*, 5 November 1870, p.4

choir hopefully to be established as a Cathedral Choir in the future'⁹³. In 1880 an account of the inauguration of yet another cathedral choir of 60 singers, under the conductor, Mr Plumpton was reported. The organist was Prof. Tracy assisted by Mr C. Plunkett, formerly of St Francis' Church⁹⁴. The above-mentioned reports are indeed confusing. It is possible that they actually refer to two separate choirs: a large mixed choir and a smaller male group, possibly for Vespers. What can be certain, however, was the importance of the need for a notable choral body to enhance the liturgies in the cathedral.

For Melbourne's large Irish Catholic community it must have been a source of great pride that the St Francis Choir had become noted for its high standard within a few decades. The choir was hailed by musicians from outside the Catholic community for its excellence and was frequently promoted as one of the leading choirs in Australasia⁹⁵ with the result that it attracted 'a large and fashionable audience and fulfilled the highest expectations of educated musicians'⁹⁶. However, despite this recognition and the establishment of its own choir(s), the opening of the partially completed cathedral in 1868 ensured that St Patrick's quickly provided the most influential musical appointment in the diocese. There was a movement of staff among the principal churches as cathedral music staff were often recruited from St Francis' as in the case of Mr W. Furlong who moved to the cathedral in 1884 (replacing Alfred Plumpton) after being at St Francis since 1872. His position at St Francis was taken by a Mr Plumpton who was also

⁹³ *The Advocate*, 15 July 1871, p. 5

⁹⁴ *The Advocate*, 8 May 1880, p. 6

⁹⁵ *The Advocate*, 30 November 1878, p. 6 & 9 August 1884, p. 16

involved with St Ignatius, Richmond⁹⁷. Thus St Francis', in turn, frequently obtained its musicians from the more important parish choirs. St Ignatius, one of the largest churches in Melbourne, was built for the Jesuit Fathers to designs by William Wardell, architect of the cathedral. Commenced in 1867 and completed in 1883 the church was an earlier leader in promoting the musical reforms espoused in the 1903 *Motu proprio*.⁹⁸

Soloists at St Francis' Church were very well paid. John Henry Watmuff noted in his diary that the salary offered to him as a soloist there in April 1864 was £32 per annum. In 1875, he later accepted a position with St Mary's Catholic Choir, East St Kilda, for £26 per annum.⁹⁹ Presumably the organist and choirmaster were also well remunerated. Financial details are scarce but in 1901 *The Advocate* reported the leading choir soloists at St Francis' as costing £250 per year¹⁰⁰. However, as discussed below, guest soloists such as Amy Castles, who was renowned as a the equal of Melba, frequently donated their services especially in the case of fund-raising efforts¹⁰¹.

It should always be remembered that the celebration of the Eucharist was the central event in Catholic life therefore the sung settings of the Ordinary of the Mass were of

⁹⁶ *The Advocate*, 17 October 1868, p, 12

⁹⁷ *The Advocate*, 1 May 1880, p. 6; 9 August 1884, p. 16; 27 September 1884, p. 15; 1 November 1884, p. 16; 4 April 1885, p.15 & 1 May 1886, p. 10

⁹⁸ Author, *Some of the fruits of fifty years.*, p. 43

⁹⁹ Diary of John Henry Watmuff, private collection

¹⁰⁰ *The Advocate*, 22 July 1901, p. 16

¹⁰¹ *Table Talk*, 21 April 1899

special musical importance. The earliest references to repertoire, following the few contained in Garryowen's book (1888) and the secular press, are from the Sydney-based *Freeman's Journal* of 1861 where mention is made of Christmas celebrations at St Francis' Church, Melbourne. The choir performed music by Mozart and Haydn as well as other unnamed motets¹⁰². The following year the same journal stated that Christmas was celebrated at St Francis' with Pontifical High Mass, Mr Reiff conducting Mozart's *Mass XII* with soloists including Julia Matthews and Armes Beaumont¹⁰³. The liturgy was 'reputed to be the finest ecclesiastical service in the city'¹⁰⁴.

The music performed by Catholic choirs in 19th-century Melbourne was rather restricted. During the second half of the century two masses dominated the repertoire of every important Catholic choir. The spurious *Mass XII* (K.anh.232) by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart¹⁰⁵ was the most frequently performed work. Almost every single choir sang this work whether accompanied by full orchestra, a group of instruments, an organ or even a harmonium. This is borne out by the fact that that it was occasionally noted as being sung in country churches where there was no organ and the prospects of obtaining an orchestra were minimal. The *Nelson Mass* by Haydn was also immensely popular.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² *Freeman's Journal*, 5 January 1861, p. 3

¹⁰³ Julia Matthews (1842-1876) was an English-born dancer and theatrical artist; Armes Beaumont (1840-1913) was a cclaimed English-born tenor

¹⁰⁴ *Freeman's Journal*, 15 January 1862, p. 6

¹⁰⁵ S Sadie, ed., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 1991), vol. 12, p. 726

¹⁰⁶ *The Advocate*, 5 September 1868, p. 12 & 14 April 1869, p. 6

This limited repertoire was soon supplemented by works such as the *Messe Solennelle de Ste Cécile* by Charles Gounod, first performed at St Francis' Church on 1 November 1868 by an expanded choir. Watmuff noted in his diary: 'Sunday morning went to the Catholic Chapel and sang in Gounod's new Mass, a fine production but nothing in comparison to some of the Masses of Haydn or Mozart'.¹⁰⁷ Along with the *Mass in C* by Beethoven (first local performance 1870) this work became extremely popular at St Patrick's Cathedral and St Francis' Church¹⁰⁸ and at other churches such as St Mary's West Melbourne, St Peter and Paul's South Melbourne and St Mary's East St Kilda¹⁰⁹. Other Masses frequently performed included *Mass in G major* by Weber¹¹⁰ and Haydn's *Missa in Tempore Belli*¹¹¹, *Theresien Mass*¹¹² and *Creation Mass*¹¹³. Haydn's *Heilig Mass*¹¹⁴ and *Harmonie Mass*¹¹⁵ were also occasionally performed, but judging by reports in *The Advocate* much less frequently. Most received their colonial premieres at either St Patrick's Cathedral or St Francis' Church. Once again, judging from reports in *The Advocate* and the music held in the Catholic Diocesan Archives, of the eighteen Mozart masses, four were performed in Melbourne: *Coronation Mass* (K.V.317), *Credo Mass* (K.V.257), *Missa Brevis in F* (K.V.192), *Missa Brevis in C* (K.V.140) along with the 'Twelfth Mass'. Other masses being performed during the nineteenth century included

¹⁰⁷ Diary of John Henry Watmuff, private collection

¹⁰⁸ *The Advocate*, 23 April 1870, p. 4 & 31 October 1885, p. 16

¹⁰⁹ *The Advocate*, 29 June 1889, p. 16; 2 May 1891, p. 15 & 22 August 1891, p. 16

¹¹⁰ *The Advocate*, 20 November 1869, p. 5

¹¹¹ *The Advocate*, 1 October 1869, p. 11

¹¹² *The Advocate*, 5 July 1884, p. 15

¹¹³ *The Advocate*, 30 May 1884, p. 15

¹¹⁴ *The Advocate*, 21 February 1885, p. 16

¹¹⁵ *The Advocate*, 22 April 1876, p. 6

Mass in B flat by Louis Spohr¹¹⁶, *Mass in E flat* by Johann Hummel¹¹⁷, *Masses in E flat and C* by Franz Schubert¹¹⁸ and the *Mass in A* by Luigi Cherubini¹¹⁹. It can be seen that the main interest of the church choirs was the performance of settings of the mass usually drawn from the Austrian tradition. .

The musical articulation of the liturgical year was rather unsophisticated: the same masses and motets were performed with scant regard to liturgical season. While we may assume that the seasons of Lent and Advent were observed with appropriate austerity by omitting the *Gloria*, as required by liturgical demands, these seasons were not marked by ‘appropriate’ musical choices. Thus Gounod's *Messe Solennelle* was quite happily performed at the cathedral on the Feast of St Patrick despite the Lenten season¹²⁰ while Giammona's Mass was performed at St Ignatius, Richmond, in Lent 1882¹²¹. Such programming was apparently not questioned at the time.

From 1870 until its demise in 1990, *The Advocate* reported the Easter celebrations every year, listing the principal liturgical and musical presentations.¹²² During the 19th century

¹¹⁶ *The Advocate*, 8 December 1900, p. 9

¹¹⁷ *The Advocate*, 29 November 1879, p. 7

¹¹⁸ *The Advocate*, 31 October 1891, p. 16 & 31 June 1893, p. 13

¹¹⁹ *The Advocate*, 5 October 1901, p. 9

¹²⁰ *The Advocate*, 23 March 1889, p. 16

¹²¹ *The Advocate*, 25 March 1882, p. 15

¹²² *The Advocate*, 15 April 1871, p.6; 3 April 1875, p.7; 15 April 1882, p.15; 1 May 1886, p.16 & 16 April 1887, p.5

the principal city churches commenced Easter celebrations with an orchestral mass on Palm Sunday followed by chanted Tenebrae on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday of Holy Week. The service on Good Friday was usually sung without organ and the solemn celebration of Vespers on Good Friday evening frequently included a musical performance such as Rossini's *Stabat Mater*, which was also occasionally performed on the evening of Palm Sunday. The principal liturgy was celebrated with the utmost pomp on Easter Sunday, often featuring a mass setting by Haydn or Gounod and invariably concluding with the Handel's *Hallelujah*.

Notable royal, ecclesiastical or papal events overseas were occasionally marked by musical references in the celebration of the Eucharist. A requiem was celebrated, for example, at St Francis' Church to mark the death of the Irish patriot Daniel O'Connell¹²³, and the Golden Jubilee of Pope Leo XIII was the occasion for a performance of Romberg's *Te Deum* by the Cathedral Choir¹²⁴. The funeral march from *Saul* by Handel was played in St Francis' Church to mark the death of Cardinal McCabe of Dublin¹²⁵ and repeated for the assassination of President McKinley of the United States. Apart from major festivals and occasions such as these little attempt was made to match musical repertoire with liturgical season.

¹²³ *Port Phillip Herald*, 28 September 1847, p. 5

¹²⁴ *The Advocate*, 31 December 1887, p. 11

¹²⁵ *The Advocate*, 21 February 1885, p. 16

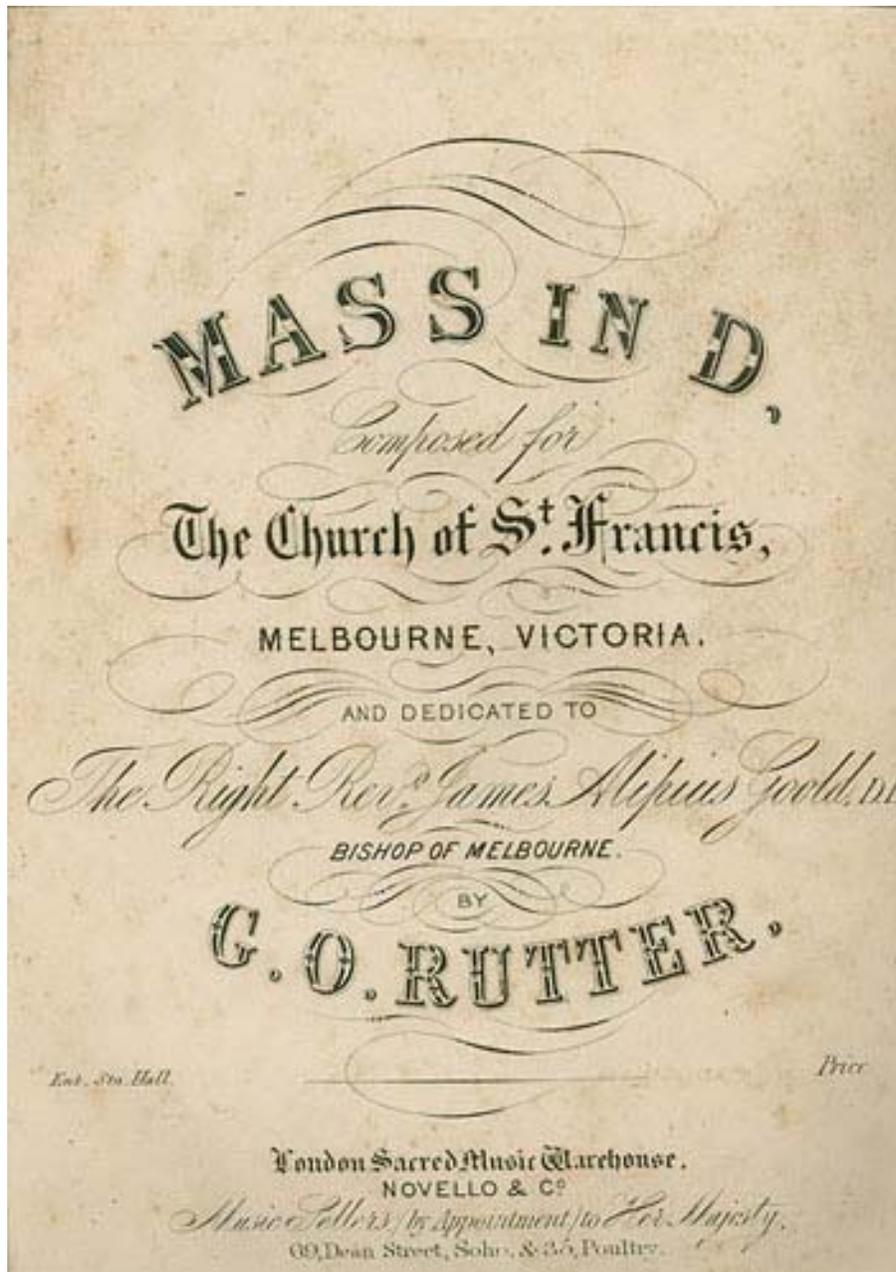
The last two decades of the century saw three important premieres epitomising the ambitious musical aspirations of Melbourne Catholicism, one being the first colonial performance of Mozart's *Requiem*. Involving the combined choirs of St Patrick's Cathedral, St Francis' and Sts Peter and Paul's Church this took place in the cathedral on 17 July as part of the Month's Mind following the death of Archbishop Goold¹²⁶. It is also possible that rivalry was a factor in the choice of unusually large-scale works such as Rossini's *Petite Messe Solennelle* which was performed by St Francis' Choir on 26 June 1881. Scored for soloists, choir, harmonium and piano duet, this vast mass was a daring choice even by the standards of the time. So enthusiastic was its reception however that it was repeated the following week and occasionally thereafter¹²⁷. Undoubtedly the climax of musical ambition occurred on 24 November 1889 when the cathedral choir performed Beethoven's monumental *Missa Solemnis in D major* at a special Eucharistic liturgy to raise money for the choir library¹²⁸. Other works performed on that occasion included *Sancta Mater* by Rossini (at the Offertory), *Offertoire in G* by Lefébure-Wély (during the collection) and the chorus *Fixed in his everlasting seat* from Handel's *Samson*. This was most important, for to perform this Beethoven mass was an artistic achievement of the foremost magnitude. Because of the immense physical and artistic demands it places upon the performers, it displayed the enormity of the Catholic community's cultural achievements to the population at large.

¹²⁶ *The Advocate*, 11 & 17 July 1886, p. 16

¹²⁷ *The Advocate*, 2 July 1881, p. 7

¹²⁸ *The Advocate*, 23 & 30 November 1889, p. 16

Within six years of the opening of St Francis Church the tradition of commissioning new works by local or visiting composers was established. Many were major compositions, often numbering up to 100 vocal-score pages and comparable in dimensions to the major compositions of Haydn and Gounod upon which they were occasionally modeled. The earliest surviving local liturgical composition is a large *Mass in D major* (1851) for soloists, choir and orchestra by G. O. Rutter, Organist at St Francis' Church. Held in the choir archives (although the orchestral parts have disappeared), this work of great dignity and musical quality is closely modeled upon Beethoven's *Mass in C major* and has been performed by the choir in recent years with notable effect.



A *Mass in G major* by Alfred Plumpton was performed at St Patrick's Cathedral in January 1881¹²⁹. A contemporary description of this work pays tribute to its excellence and originality and refers to a passage for the tolling cathedral bells during the *sepultus est* of the *Credo*.

One of the most deeply impressive compositions that we remember in connection with church music. The culmination point is reached at the words *passus et sepultus est* when the commencement of each mournful bar is marked by the solemn toll of the great bell in the tower above the choir... the startling and deep solemnity which attached to it are undeniable and they are powerfully felt and frankly acknowledged by all who are truly responsive to the influence of music.¹³⁰

Despite its widespread popularity in Melbourne and Sydney, no copy has been located. Plumpton's other works, especially the cantata *Endymion* written for the opening of the organ in the Melbourne Town Hall, earned him international acclaim¹³¹. Two years earlier the first complete performance of a *Grand Mass in D* by Austin Turner of Ballarat took place at the opening of the new sanctuary of St Francis' Church in 1879, although it had been performed without orchestra the previous year in Ballarat¹³². This mass, which was later performed in St Patrick's Cathedral, has also not survived.

Of the nine masses composed by the visiting Italian composer Paolo Giorza, two were written in Melbourne specifically for St Francis Church, where he was organist in 1872. Giorza's popularity extended beyond St Francis', his *Mass in E* and *Messe Solennelle (no.3)* had frequent performances in several Melbourne churches, such as the cathedral

¹²⁹ *The Advocate*, 1 January 1881, p. 9

¹³⁰ *The Advocate*, 15 January 1881, p. 6

¹³¹ *The Advocate*, 22 December 1882, p. 9

¹³² *The Advocate*, 14 June 1879, p. 6

and St George's (Carlton) throughout the century, and indications are that at least one other mass was also performed. This surviving *Messe Solennelle* is a large work for orchestra, soloists and choir, and although popular in its day, it now appears facile and shows Giorza's training as a composer of light ballets writing music in the style Sullivan or Offenbach. All of these local masses were written in the nineteenth century operatic style. While some of these works are of purely academic interest it is important to note that the local Catholic community was interested in liturgical music to the extent of actively commissioning and performing many new works.

Messe Solennelle
 N.3
 COMPOSED BY
PAOLO GIORZA
 1870

Messa N.1 KYRIE . CORO	.....	1. 25
Messa . 2 MISERERE . CORO	.....	1. 15
Messa . 3 INVOCAMUS TE . QUARTETTO	.....	1. 15
Messa . 4 CRUCIUS ET DOMINE DEUS . Coro + Soprano solo	.....	1. 25
Messa . 5 QUI TOLLIS . Mesto Soprano con Coro	.....	1. 25
Messa . 6 QUI SEDIS ET QUONIAM DIXISTI . Coro + Soprano	.....	1. 25
Messa . 7 CUM SANCTO SPIRITU . CORO	.....	1. 15
Messa . 8 Credo . Coro + Solo	.....	1. 25
Messa . 9 ET INCARNATUS EST . Soprano solo + Coro	.....	1. 25
Messa . 10 ET RESURREXIT . Coro Tenore + Soprano solo	.....	1. 25
Messa . 11 ET EXIIT AD RESURRECTIONEM . CORO	.....	1. 25
Messa . 12 SANCTUS . CORO	.....	1. 15
Messa . 13 BENEDICTUS DIXIT . Mesto Solo + Coro con Coro	.....	1. 25
Messa . 14 AGNUS DEI . DIXIT . Solo + Coro con Coro	.....	1. 25
Messa LA MESSA COMPLETA	.....	1. 25

Preparata dall'Editore per tutti i prezzi

MILANO, Stabilimento Musicale di F. LUCCA

Anno 1870

While a great deal of effort was expended in performing an extensive range of masses, the motets performed in Melbourne's churches were more restricted in scope. A principal source of motets was the various movements from larger concert works such as Rossini's *Stabat Mater*, Handel's *Messiah* and to a lesser extent Haydn's *The Creation*, Mendelssohn's *Elijah*, Beethoven's *Christ on the Mount of Olives* and other oratorios by Handel. The *Stabat Mater* by Rossini was the most popular choral work, written for church performance but not linked to a specific liturgy, and was often performed with organ or orchestra.

Many surviving motets are quite undistinguished and by composers long since forgotten. Some survive as single sheet copies; others were included in anthologies such as *The Catholic Chorister, a New Collection of Sacred Music for the Morning and Evening Service of the Catholic Church* compiled by B.Hamma¹³³ and the six volumes of *Novello's Collection of Anthems*¹³⁴. Other motets which were frequently performed include *Salve Regina* by Fabio Campana, *Ave Maria* by Luigi Cherubini, Doré's *O Salutaris*; Millard's *Ave Verum*, Rossini's *La Carita* and Wotzell's duet *In Nomine Domini*. The most popular motets during the century, apart from Handel's *Hallelujah*, were *Laudate Dominum* by Zingarelli and *O salutaris* by Cherubini. In 1887 St Patrick's Cathedral Choir first sang the *Te Deum* by Andreas Romberg (1767-1821) to mark the reception of the new Archbishop, Thomas Carr¹³⁵. This work became a frequently

¹³³ 1893, New York, J. Fischer & Bro.

¹³⁴ n.d. London, Novello, Ewer & Co.

¹³⁵ *The Advocate*, 16 April 1887, p. 15

performed addition to the choir's repertoire. As with mass settings, motets were generally not chosen to mark the particular liturgical season and appear to be chosen for musical reasons or because of popularity rather than because of liturgical requirement. However, Christmas was invariably differentiated by performances of Vincent Novello's arrangement of *Adeste Fideles* and suitable choruses from Handel's *Messiah*¹³⁶.

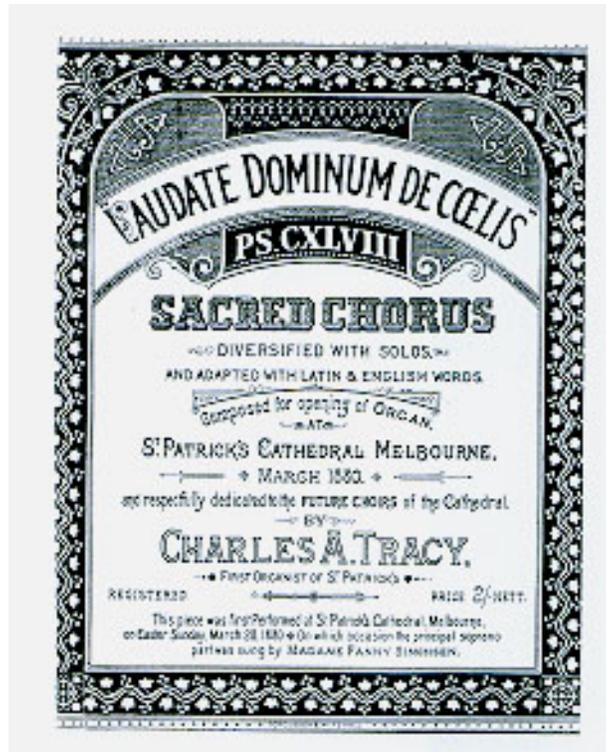
Local and visiting composers such as Paolo Giorza also contributed to the motet repertory. On leaving Melbourne in 1873 he continued to write and forward motets from overseas to his old choir in Melbourne.¹³⁷ His works include settings of Vespers and settings of *O Salutaris*, *Regina Coeli* and *Salve Maria* which were popular with all Catholic choirs. Other local composers of motets include William Furlong, Director of Music at St Francis' from 1872 to 1884, whose setting of the *Litany* (now lost) was often sung at Vespers there on Sunday evening, and Charles Tracy, organist of St Patrick's Choir (1869-1879), who composed the cantata *Litania* (1869) which was sung at the Cathedral and St Francis' Church, as well as a setting of Ave Maria¹³⁸ and a *Laudate dominum* which has survived and which was written for the opening of St Patrick's Cathedral organ at Easter 1880.¹³⁹ Alberto Zelman wrote Six Offertories to raise money for the building of St Ignatius, Richmond, which have survived.

¹³⁶ *The Advocate*, 30 December 1871, p. 5; 2 January 1875, p. 7; 3 January 1880, p. 6 & 29 December 1888, p. 15

¹³⁷ *The Advocate*, 22 March 1873, p. 4 and St Francis Choir archives

¹³⁸ *The Advocate*, 15 December 1882, p. 17

¹³⁹ *The Advocate*, 3 April 1880, p.16



Repertoire in suburban and country churches

Very few records of musical activities of the many new country churches and suburban missions that emerged during the nineteenth century have survived. Available evidence suggests that churches beyond the city tried, as far as resources would allow, to follow the repertoire of the major churches even if only on important occasions such as church openings and often with very limited forces.

However, some churches in the inner city area, notably St Peter and Paul's Church, South Melbourne (Emerald Hill) sustained extensive and ambitious repertoires. In fact a report in *The Advocate* in 1876 shows that in that year the St Peter and Paul's Church Choir

performed the same music as the city churches¹⁴⁰. Whether or not a similar degree of orchestral involvement and quality of solo singing was the case is not known. This choir also achieved the distinction of two colonial premieres with Haydn's *Theresien Mass* on 11 May 1873¹⁴¹ and Weber's *Mass in E flat* on 31 May 1874¹⁴². On the latter occasion it was reported that the organist Mr O'Gorman imported the orchestral parts from London. A mass was specially composed for St Peter and Paul's by the flautist Signor Giammona. A criticism of it in the pages of the paper *The Argus* resulted in a public brawl between the composer and the critic with the consequence of the composer being fined £5 with £7/7/- costs for assault.¹⁴³ An examination of the score shows it to be a trite work with a plethora of simple tunes and a inappropriate word placement displaying a total disregard for word accents. The following illustration shows some of these weakness.

¹⁴⁰ *The Advocate*, 29 April 1876, p. 5

¹⁴¹ *The Advocate*, 17 May 1873, p. 6

¹⁴² *The Advocate*, 6 June 1874, p. 6

¹⁴³ *The Advocate*, 8 October 1881, p. 20 & 15 October 1881, p. 21



ANTONIO GIAMMONA'S MASS

The important town of Geelong (the first church, St Mary of the Angels, built in 1842)¹⁴⁴ was also quick to adopt the practices of the city. In relating the preparations for the opening of the second St Mary's Church in February 1872, it is stated in the parish history that 'Mrs Langhorn was engaged as organist and the tenor, Mr Brearley, had been engaged to teach the choristers. It is likely that Mozart's Twelfth will be performed'.¹⁴⁵ On other occasions the choir of St Mary's was reported as performing the masses by Giorza and Haydn.¹⁴⁶

Smaller rural churches were less fortunate. According to the Lilydale parish centenary pamphlet, the parish's first choir was established for the opening of the enlarged church in 1893. However it quickly disbanded and the singing was done by boarders from Mt Lilydale Convent under the direction of Sister Teresa¹⁴⁷. In an early reference to the opening of the Werribee church in 1871, it is stated that the Mozart *Mass XII* was performed by the choir from St Mary's Church, Williamstown. No mention is made of instrumentalists, nor is there evidence of the establishment of a choir at Werribee¹⁴⁸. But at St Peter's Church, Daylesford, Weber's Mass no.1 was performed by a quintet of singers four of whom were female, accompanied by an organ (harmonium?) on

¹⁴⁴ Unknown Author, *Some of the fruits of fifty years*, (Melbourne, 1897), Author, *Some of the fruits of fifty years*.pp. 40-67

¹⁴⁵ I Wynd, *St Mary of the Angels* (Geelong, 1972)., p. 34

¹⁴⁶ *The Advocate*, 1 January 1876, p. 6 & 2 January 1886, p. 17

¹⁴⁷ *Vine and Branches*, 1989, p. 112

¹⁴⁸ *The Advocate*, 16 September 1871, p. 4

Christmas Day 1870¹⁴⁹. A very popular work in a number of parish churches was Henry Farmer's *Mass in B flat*, first performed in Victoria at St Patrick's Cathedral for Christmas 1874.¹⁵⁰ Scored for orchestra, soloists and choir was it was specially appreciated for its devotional atmosphere. However, it is worth noting that despite the difficulties, most suburban and country parishes attempted the grand repertoire in some form or other .

Musical forces

In the earliest years the sparse musical forces used in the presentation of the Eucharist obviously reflected the chronic poverty of the initial settlement, but with the growing wealth of Melbourne in the 1850s the community quickly acquired a taste for luxury. After the first orchestral liturgy in 1858, presented at the dedication of the Ladye Chapel of St Francis Church, resources soon became available to celebrate major events at this church with choir, orchestra and soloists. A precise definition of 'orchestra' in this context is difficult to achieve. An orchestra is frequently mentioned as being a feature at major liturgical celebrations, but the size or make-up of the ensemble is invariably not recorded, and it is likely that some re-orchestration or adaptation of forces was not uncommon. It was reported in 1877 of St Francis', for example, that 'this is the only church in Melbourne where the compositions of the great masters are heard with proper effects...' ¹⁵¹, suggesting that other churches did not perform the masses with the proper [orchestral] effects. It is certainly known that at church openings such as those at St

¹⁴⁹ *The Advocate*, 31 December 1870, p. 5

¹⁵⁰ *The Advocate*, 2 January 1875, p. 7

¹⁵¹ *The Advocate*, 10 February 1877, p. 8

Augustine's, Melbourne¹⁵², St Ignatius, Richmond¹⁵³ and the blessing of Xavier College in Kew¹⁵⁴ the visiting choir frequently had to sing Mozart or Haydn to the accompaniment of a harmonium. Orchestral parts, which had to be imported from London, were often the private property of one musician who lent them out as required. This is true of Mr Kennedy, librarian of St Francis' Choir in the 1870s, who lent music to other choirs and sold scores to the general public¹⁵⁵. It is also likely that church conductors, like their operatic counterparts, often had to work with nothing more than vocal score, thus orchestrating music themselves for the available forces. This happened with the first Australian performance of Wagner's *Lohengrin* in 1877 when the opera was scored by the violinist Alberto Zelman using a vocal score even though he had never heard a note of Wagner's music.¹⁵⁶

The St Francis Choir archives, as assembled by Albert Baker, list a great number of guest soloists from the Lyster Opera Company singing at that church during the 1870s and 1880s. This also included occasional appearances by the opera chorus and the orchestra from Her Majesty's Theatre who occasionally joined with the church's own forces. Alberto Zelman, a dominating figure in opera and orchestral music at this time frequently led the orchestra at St Francis'.¹⁵⁷ The small pool of available musicians meant that the churches were relying upon opera musicians to provide players and singers, thus

¹⁵² *The Advocate*, 1 October 1870, p. 5

¹⁵³ *The Advocate*, 19 March 1870, p. 5

¹⁵⁴ G Denning, *Xavier, a Centenary Portrait* (Melbourne, 1978), p. 30

¹⁵⁵ *The Advocate*, 13 June 1874, p. 7

¹⁵⁶ A Gyger, *Civilising the Colonies; Pioneering Opera in Australia* (Sydney, 1999), p. 221

¹⁵⁷ Baker, *The Choir of St Francis.*, p. 12

strengthening the link between the opera house and the church, there being no professional orchestra in Melbourne in the nineteenth century.

The primary musical instrument in the Roman Catholic church has always been the pipe organ although its status was obviously reduced with the popularity of orchestral liturgies in the 18th and 19th centuries. In colonial times the purchase of a pipe organ was a project of huge dimensions making the instrument an object of immense pride to the church. The first organ in a Melbourne Catholic church was built by Henry Bevington of London. Purchased by Bishop Goold in 1852 at the Crystal Palace Exhibition in London it was installed in St Francis' Church in 1853 and opened in November that year with a recital of works by Handel, Haydn, Mozart, Mendelssohn and Rossini. For a short time it was reputed to be the largest organ in Australia.¹⁵⁸ At the time of purchase there was no local organ building industry, but with the arrival of George Fincham from London in 1852 a local building tradition of considerable prestige was quickly established. Indeed, the maintenance and frequent enlargements of the St Francis' instrument (with only one exception), were undertaken by Fincham¹⁵⁹. Other craftsmen to set up business included William Anderson and Robert Mackenzie who, like Fincham took advantage of plentiful natural resources and a buoyant market¹⁶⁰.

¹⁵⁸ Rankin, *The History of Music at St Francis' Church 1839-1979.*, p. 33

¹⁵⁹ E N Matthews, *Colonial Organs and Organ Builders* (Melbourne, 1969)., p. 111

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 13

The Advocate reported in 1877¹⁶¹ on the planned purchase of an organ for St Patrick's Cathedral. The contract was let for £720 for an instrument projected to cost from £2000 to £3000. This instrument was opened in March, 1880¹⁶² and blessed soon after at Pentecost¹⁶³. This was the first part of a projected three-manual, 53-stop pipe-organ for the cathedral to be built by the local builder, Mr McKenzie¹⁶⁴. A raffle to pay for the 14-stop addition by William Hill of London was financed through the donation of a diamond ring by the jewellers, Gaunts of Bourke Street¹⁶⁵. St James Church, Elsternwick (Gardenvale) also benefited from the generosity of the same benefactor in the purchase of a pipe organ built by Alfred Fuller in 1882¹⁶⁶. It can be seen that the same wealth that made the grandest liturgical music possible, also help to found a flourishing organ-building industry.

In the 19th century the usual instrument found in outer suburban and rural churches was the harmonium which could be augmented by small ensembles for important occasions. The anonymous history of St Thomas Aquinas Church, Clunes indirectly cites the *Clunes Guardian* of 11 October 1869 when reporting the purchase of a musical instrument for the church: The paper reports the purchase of a new harmonium by Alexandre pere et fils, Paris, ordered from Wildie, Webster & Co. of Melbourne. There is also mention of a

¹⁶¹ *The Advocate*, 20 January 1877, p. 6

¹⁶² *The Advocate*, 20 March 1880, p. 6

¹⁶³ *The Advocate*, 22 May 1880, p. 7

¹⁶⁴ *The Advocate*, 5 August 1876, p. 6

¹⁶⁵ *The Advocate*, 7 March 1874, p.5

¹⁶⁶ *The Advocate*, 16 December 1882, p. 15; Matthews, *Colonial Organs and Organ Builders.*, p. 135

choir¹⁶⁷. In her gazetteer of organs built for country churches in the nineteenth century Edith Matthews does not list a single organ in a Catholic church¹⁶⁸. However, despite the lack of major instrumental resources it has been seen that these small isolated churches did attempt to enhance their liturgies with notable musical performances.

Guest artists and the link with opera

Not only were masses with orchestra the norm for the principal churches, but a strong link with the stage and visiting opera companies was forged from the 1860s. Opera was an important part of musical life in 19th-century Melbourne, there being no permanent orchestra. The pre-eminent local company was directed by the Irish impresario William Lyster and his singers provided an especially valuable resource to Catholic churches between 1861 and 1880. But there were other visiting companies of British, American and Italian origin which also proved to be an excellent source of soloists¹⁶⁹. Not only did these singers (many of them of international renown) enhance the liturgy, but they brought immense status and prestige to the churches in which they sang.

With the presentation of masses by Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven and Gounod, great interest was taken by the public in the role of the soloists. The internationally famous soprano Anna Bishop who came to Australia as part of a world concert tour was first mentioned in

¹⁶⁷ *St Thomas Aquinas Church, Clunes, Centenary Celebrations*, 1974, p. 3

¹⁶⁸ Matthews, *Colonial Organs and Organ Builders.*, p. 158ff

¹⁶⁹ H Love, *Golden Age of Australian Opera* (Sydney, 1981).; B & F Mackenzie, *Singers of Australia from Melba to Sutherland* (Melbourne, 1967)., p. 266

The Advocate of 5 September 1868¹⁷⁰ as singing with St Francis' Choir in performances of Haydn's *Nelson Mass* and the air *In verdure clad* from *The Creation*. Bishop's stay in Melbourne must have been extended for John Henry Watmuff reported in his diary that he heard her sing 'in a very creditable manner' the tenor aria (sic) from Rossini's *Stabat Mater, Cuius animam*, at St Francis' on 11 April 1869 with organ and clarinet. He also made note of Armes Beaumont's performance of the same aria on 16 August 1868 (also at St Francis'), describing his top D flat as of 'a style and a force never equalled in Australia. He took it full voice, a note I have never heard sung before, or read of being sung by anybody'.¹⁷¹ The internationally renowned Croatian soprano Ilma Di Murska amazed the public with her three octave range, her spectacular operatic performances and her appearances at both leading churches¹⁷², however her popularity quickly declined when she married John Hill (the organist of St Francis' Church) in a Registry Office¹⁷³.

One of the most popular of soloists to sing in Melbourne churches was the local celebrity Amy Castles, whose appearance at St Francis was described in an undated letter (arguably 1899) from a Miss Dunne:

Oh! When Sunday arrived the church resounded and the crowds who came there were too tremendous to imagine. Many remained from an earlier Mass. The beautiful choir of chosen voices, the magnificent and skilled orchestra from *Her*

¹⁷⁰ Page 5

¹⁷¹ Diary of John Henry Watmuff, private collection

¹⁷² *The Advocate*, 18 September 1875, p. 5 & 20 May 1876, p. 5

¹⁷³ *The Advocate*, 3 June 1876, p. 10

Majesty's Theatre and the fine voice of Amy Castles – it was sheer joy to hear this combination as they set out to a rendering of a chosen Mass. As the priests entered the centre aisle, their vestments plus the flower-bedecked altar, made the Sanctuary one of sacred splendour¹⁷⁴.

Amy Castles (1880-1951) was arguably one of the most important soloists to sing at St Francis and at the cathedral at the end of the nineteenth century. She was born in Bendigo with two sisters and a brother all of whom were musical. After making a notable early impression her career was established by Fr George Robinson, then at St Francis, (see chapter 4) and her future was entrusted to the impresario J. C. Williamson. A great local favourite she achieved immense fame especially among Catholic audiences, but her international career faltered with the outbreak of the Great War. Her paramount importance to Catholic music lovers was that she was seen as their answer to the older (Presbyterian) Nellie Melba.¹⁷⁵

There was undoubted rivalry between St Patrick's Cathedral and St Francis' Church as to who could attract the most renowned artists. Catherine Hayes, Lucy Escott, Armes Beaumont and the notorious Anna Bishop¹⁷⁶ were frequent artists with St Francis' Choir, which was to boast for a century that they had been the first to employ Dame Nellie

¹⁷⁴ Rankin, *The History of Music at St Francis' Church 1839-1979.*, p. 26

¹⁷⁵ Personal communication Miss P. Finn, August 1993

¹⁷⁶ Anna Bishop (1810-1884), wife of the composer Sir Henry Bishop abandoned her husband and children to run away with a Czech harpist, Nicholas Bochsa. She was an inveterate traveller and sang in every continent of the world. It is probable that Bishop sang at St Francis through the influence of a long-time friend, the flautist Julius Siede who later became Director of Music there. Baker, *The Choir of St Francis'*, p.3 and Davis, 1997, p.191

Melba¹⁷⁷. The Cathedral, however, was also ready to promote its favourite artists such as Gabriella Boema and the famous English baritone Sir Charles Santley who sang at the cathedral on Christmas Day 1889 and at St Ignatius, Richmond for the Feast of St Ignatius.¹⁷⁸ Press reports suggest that most important soloists like Amy Castles, Guilia and Leandro Coy, Armes Beaumont and Fannie Simonsen sang in both churches as required and when fund raising was involved usually gave their services free of charge. Other prominent guest soloists to be heard in city churches included Fannie Simonsen¹⁷⁹ and Signora Tagliavia¹⁸⁰.

Opera companies not only supplied soloists in considerable abundance but also orchestral players (see above) and even choristers. For example, Paolo Giorza was sufficiently influential to be able to obtain an entire opera chorus to donate its service when it combined with St Francis Choir in 1872.¹⁸¹

Theatricality in repertoire and performance practice was clearly a fact of life in 19th-century Melbourne city churches, even in the case of organ playing, as for example in 1869 at St Francis' when the guest organist Mr Heller was described as 'improvising in a very operatic style'. At this service the theatrical element reached something of an

¹⁷⁷ J Hetherington, *Melba* (Melbourne, 1967), p. 44

¹⁷⁸ *The Advocate*, 4 January 1890, p. 16 & 9 August 1890, p. 16

¹⁷⁹ *The Advocate*, 25 October 1879, p. 6

¹⁸⁰ *The Advocate*, 29 October 1887, p. 16

¹⁸¹ *The Advocate*, 7 September 1872, p. 5

extreme with the choice of the *Within this sacred portal* from Mozart's Masonic opera *The Magic Flute* as the offertory motet¹⁸²!

However the generally fortuitous co-operation between Melbourne's Catholic churches and opera companies weakened considerably following the bankruptcy in 1894 of the company which had been founded by William Lyster and was continued under Martin and Fannie Simonsen after his death in 1880¹⁸³.

Despite some occasional questionable lapses such as that detailed above, it should be stated that the link between the opera house and the church was of great benefit to both organisations, especially in an isolated community with limited resources. The sacred and profane duality which was to cause such concern to Church authorities in Rome was not seen as a problem in the local Church if it was discussed at all. The magnificence of the liturgies was seen by the predominantly Irish community as an achievement in which to glory. After centuries of oppression they were praising their God in a manner scarcely imagined by those left behind in Ireland.

The foregoing account has shown that the nineteenth century saw the formation of a vibrant, impressive and independent tradition of Catholic liturgical music in Melbourne. As in other centres in Australia and elsewhere, this tradition was centred around the celebration of the Eucharist, which was and remains the primary function of liturgical life. It is apparent that the people took great pride in their choirs and the musical

¹⁸² *The Advocate*, 20 November 1869, p. 5

achievements that they attained. The laity supported the choirs and saw them as a valid means of religious expression. In particular, the two principal churches, achieved a degree of vocal and instrumental excellence. Pride in these achievements was frequently expressed in the Catholic press as well as in personal diaries and letters, especially by members of Irish descent, for whom such artistic opulence represented the antithesis of their former impoverished and downtrodden existence.

In accounting for the rapid development of the tradition the great wealth generated from the Victorian gold rushes from 1851 onwards cannot be overestimated. In the city of Melbourne there was money available for the purchase of fine instruments, for the employment of competent choir directors and organists, for the hiring of orchestral players and soloists (often at great expense), for the commissioning of new works and the purchase of copious amounts of music.

It has been seen that the prevailing papal legislation, *Annus qui*, allowed for much latitude of interpretation and implementation at the local level and that virtually nothing was done, either by Roman or local authorities, to constrain the lavishness of music performed and enjoyed in Melbourne's Catholic churches. The fact that Archbishop Goold financed the purchase of the first organ at St Francis' and himself was at the centre of the grandiose opening ceremony suggests that he had no objection to the style of music involved.

¹⁸³ A Gyger, *Opera for the Antipodes* (Sydney, 1990)., p. 82

In the early days of the settlement at Melbourne ecumenical co-operation played an important part in the establishment of churches of all denominations. This was especially crucial in the early years of music making in Catholic Melbourne when liturgico-musical performances relied upon assistance from Protestant musicians and the tradition in fact has continued to the present day. It is also worth recalling that support from other denominations was evident when representatives attended major events such as organ installations. Assistance given by the Philharmonic Society on occasions also assisted the development of fine liturgical music in Melbourne

Of particular importance during the 19th century was the co-operation which existed between the city Catholic churches and the resident and visiting opera companies. This fortuitous situation did much to alleviate the dearth of local talent, not only in respect of solo singers but also of orchestral players and choristers and allowed for the performance of large-scale works which may not otherwise have been possible. The involvement of celebrities such as Armes Beaumont, Nellie Melba and Amy Castles undoubtedly contributed to the prestigious status of the liturgical music performed in Melbourne's city churches. It is clear that parishioners relished the opportunity to hear great music performed by celebrated artists at Sunday mass.

The tradition of liturgical music in Melbourne was shown to have originated at St Francis Church, which became the city's first cathedral and rapidly became a centre of musical excellence and remained so throughout the century and beyond. From the late 1860s a tradition of comparable prestige was established at St Patrick's Cathedral. The highlights

of liturgical music during the period under discussion invariably involve these two institutions. Nevertheless, the role played by several inner-city churches and St Mary's Geelong in fostering grand liturgical music should not be overlooked. In particular the musical achievements in terms of repertoire, premieres and commissions at the Church of Sts Peter and Paul, South Melbourne were seen to be impressive. Even outer-suburban and rural churches did their best to emulate the repertoire of the major city churches, even if this were restricted to very special occasions, with slender resources and often with the assistance of visiting choirs.

In respect to repertoire, the largest churches could be described as 'state of the art', including most if not all the major Eucharistic works of the established European tradition and recently-composed works by contemporary European composers. Undaunted by the large-scale dimensions by works such as the *Stabat Mater* by Rossini and the *Missa Solemnis* by Beethoven, colonial choir directors were incredibly resourceful in gathering the forces required or adept at making necessary adjustments of orchestration and indefatigable in training their choristers to achieve what could be seen as the impossible. In addition they stimulated and often contributed themselves to a local tradition of composition which also received enthusiastic reception and support from parishioners. The fact that certain works were performed on numerous occasions suggests on the one hand that they were known by choirs and that scores were available, but it also indicates much about the preferences of the people who sang, played and listened to these works.

Finally, mention must be made of an important understanding the role of the Catholic choir as encapsulated in an article published in *The Advocate* of April 1876.¹⁸⁴ This article recorded the successful establishment of the choir at St John's Church, Hoddle Street, East Melbourne by Fr O'Malley. Despite unsteady beginnings, the choir had just successfully performed Weber's Mass in G and it was noted that it even surpassed the efforts for Palm Sunday when it 'had rendered the difficult Mass of Haydn, No.2 [Nelson Mass] in a manner that must have been equally gratifying to themselves as it was to him'. Fr O'Malley S.J. was then quoted on the special role played by music in the liturgy:

The world was continually seeking to lure men to destruction by appealing to their senses, and the Catholic Church knowing intimately man's nature, appealed to his senses to lead him to God. She provided music, flowers, fragrant incense and beautiful colors to give an idea of the beauty of heaven by what was most beautiful on earth¹⁸⁵.

However, this must be countered with the problem of the guilty pleasure that such a sensory overload can involve. As an anonymous critic wrote in *The Advocate* of April 1903 when reviewing *Music in the History of the Western Church* by Professor Edward Dickinson:

One flagrant example of the operatic Mass still survives in Melbourne, namely, Signor Giorza's. It is largely reminiscent of Italian operas, parts of the Gloria and a considerable portion of the Credo being based on Verdi's opera 'Ernani'. Still I must plead guilty to a sneaking fondness for Giorza's Mass myself, and during my last visit

¹⁸⁴ *The Advocate*, 29 April 1876, p. 5

to Melbourne I went to Fr O'Connell's church in Carlton expressly to hear it. But there are many things we like which are not good for us, and Giorza's Mass is one of them.¹⁸⁶

Thus the Catholic choir during this period was seen to speak for the people at the Eucharist and to assist in raising their spirits and minds to a contemplation of divine goodness in creation. Moreover, the repertoire performed in colonial Melbourne's Catholic churches was evidently understood to fulfill the function admirably. However, this stance did not remain unquestioned as the following chapters will amplify.

¹⁸⁵ *The Advocate*, 29 April 1876, p. 5

¹⁸⁶ *The Advocate*, 4 April 1903, p. 9

Chapter 3

The Vatican Speaks: 1903

At the beginning of the 20th century liturgical music in Melbourne's Catholic churches boasted an enviable reputation. Those early settlers who founded a trading settlement beside the River Yarra could never have imagined how far they would progress in less than six decades. The formerly poverty-stricken Irish settlers were now rejoicing in a liturgy that their parents and grandparents in Ireland could not imagine, in a cathedral which was not only the second largest erected anywhere in the world in the nineteenth-century, but was also fully paid off!¹⁸⁷ For almost half a century the principal and more ambitious Catholic churches of the diocese had presented rich and opulent liturgies in a tradition based upon the finest European practices. However, the very achievements of this artistic heritage throughout western Catholicism also incorporated the seeds of its own destruction. As the English Jesuit, Clifford Howell wrote in 1978:

Artistically this was a marvellous enrichment of Christian culture, but liturgically it was disastrous. For music had become the mistress rather than the handmaid of liturgy; it submerged the whole Mass in a beautiful sea of sound, in which the liturgy was carried on unobtrusively in the depths, without any significance, coming to the surface of attention only when the music paused briefly at the Elevation. The liturgy had degenerated into a sort of opera looked at by the nobility from galleries and boxes near the sanctuary while choirs and orchestras

¹⁸⁷

Notes issued by St Patrick's Cathedral authorities to assist tour guides

displayed their talents from other galleries in the nave. The people down below gazed and listened.¹⁸⁸

While it may be argued that Catholic liturgy in Melbourne never descended to these depths of purely facile entertainment, it must be stated that the authorities in Rome were becoming concerned.

However, concurrent with the development of the liturgical music tradition in Melbourne was that of a movement which seriously questioned the appropriateness of such grandiose celebrations inspired by the traditions of the court and the opera house. Centred in Germany, Italy and other parts of the Catholic world, the proponents of this movement (called the Caecilian Movement,) asked whether the links between Catholic liturgical music and the opera house or court comprised a mutually enriching cross-fertilization or a pernicious infection that debased the sacred liturgy it was intended to enhance. It was inevitable that the impact of these theories would eventually come to bear in the colonial outpost of Melbourne.

Because the work of the Caecilian Movement was the predominant intellectual source underlying the papal legislation of 1903, this chapter will investigate the origins of the movement in Germany and its development, beliefs and growing influence on the Vatican during the 19th century. This will provide valuable insight into the reasoning behind the 1903 Motu proprio and will take into account the re-appraisals of chant, particularly by the monks of the abbey of Solesmes and the interest of musicians and historians in the unaccompanied music of the sixteenth century. The particular influences

¹⁸⁸ Howell, 1978, p. 245

to shape the attitudes, opinions and teachings of Cardinal Sarto, future Pope Pius X, are specially relevant to this chapter. Of central importance to the discussion is the text of the revolutionary *Motu proprio* of 1903, the first published document of Pius X, demanding a complete reassessment of liturgical music in respect of function, form, style and forces. In order to assess the immediate impact of these extraordinary developments on Catholicism in Melbourne, the chapter will provide a scrutiny of the manner in which such events were reported in *The Advocate* and the responses and discussion evoked.

The Caecilian influence in Rome

Despite the relative dearth of Vatican legislation on sacred music in the nineteenth century, the period saw the rise of an important movement within the Church in the form of the *Caecilien-Bündnisse* (Caecilian Associations), as mentioned above. The movement originated in Vienna and Passau in the early eighteenth century with the principal objective of preserving the traditions of *a cappella* singing in church, traditions that were not popular in Italy, but which had retained some influence in the Germanic countries¹⁸⁹. The most influential Caecilian society, the extensive *Allgemeine Cäcilien-Verein* was formed in Germany under Franz Witt in 1869, and this received papal ratification from Pius IX in 1870. It became the model for similar societies in the United States under John Singenberger and in Belgium, Ireland, Poland, Holland, Bohemia and Hungary¹⁹⁰. The movement was to influence composers such as Johann Fux (1660-1741), Michael Haydn (1737-1806), Giuseppe Baini (1775-1844), Johann Aiblinger (1779-1867) and Kaspar Ett

¹⁸⁹ E A Wienandt, *Choral Music of the Church* (New York, 1980), p. 420n

¹⁹⁰ Fellerer, K. (1991) 'Cecilian Movement' in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (S Sadie (ed)) London: Macmillan vol. 4, pp. 47-48

(1788-1847), all of whom were of limited fame. Although not constituting the official voice of the Church, these societies were to have an important influence upon the development of papal policy towards church music¹⁹¹. In France at the Abbey of St Pierre de Solesmes, the Caecilian Movement flourished under Dom Prosper Guéranger, while the Italian Association of St Cecilia was approved on August 14, 1830 by Pius VIII (1829-30) in response to requests from interested musicians. The lengthy statutes of this organisation 'gives strong evidence of the wish of the Holy See to change the musical situation'¹⁹².

The re-emergence of interest in chant was pioneered by musicians such as Ett and Lambillotte, with the strong support of Cardinals Geissel, Diepenbrock and Sailer, culminating in a new edition of chant published in Regensburg (Ratisbon), commencing in 1868.¹⁹³ This edition received the Papal imprimatur, becoming the official edition for the Church from 1870 to 1900 and was widely used throughout Germany. The moving spirit behind this edition was Franz Xaver Haberl who became Director of Music in Regensburg at the instigation of Franz Witt of the German Caecilian Association. He also published complete editions of the music of Palestrina and Lassus. It was his influence that helped to gain the printer Frederick Pustet a thirty year privilege to publish the official chant editions of the Church. This German edition from Ratisbon was given the

¹⁹¹ Wienandt, *Choral Music of the Church*.. p. 421

¹⁹² R Hayburn, *Papal legislation on Sacred Music* (Collegeville MN, 1979),. p. 121

¹⁹³ Fellerer, K. (1991) 'Cecilian Movement' in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (S Sadie (ed)) London: Macmillan vol. 4, pp. 47-48

highest commendation by the authorities before being supplanted by the French edition from Solesmes¹⁹⁴.

The achievement of the Caecilian Association was twofold:

It strove to acquaint Church musicians with the laws of the Church on sacred music. At the same time these groups presented acceptable Church music to the organists and choirmasters, in order that they would perform music in accordance with Church legislation. Congresses and conventions were held at regular intervals, often annually. Workshops were organised to diffuse technical knowledge, and at competitions choral groups could hear the results of the reform¹⁹⁵.

In addition to a new awareness of the value and historical significance of plainchant, Caecilian devotees tirelessly promoted the treasures of sixteenth-century polyphony, previously only known in very flawed editions and now considered to represent an exemplary repertoire of liturgical music. In particular, the style of Palestrina was seen as the ideal for the composition of masses and motets as promoted by the various Caecilian Associations. This ideal was to remain throughout the nineteenth century and continued until the Second Vatican Council in 1962. Although these compositions varied widely in style and quality, they were invariably austere, using minimal word repetition and the

¹⁹⁴ Hayburn, *Papal legislation on Sacred Music.*, pp. 148-169

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 115

Liszt A

Liszt B

barest accompaniment. Major composers who embraced the ideals of Caecilianism include Charles Gounod, Franz Liszt and Anton Bruckner. The attached musical example exemplifies the best of Caecilian music. The example Franz Liszt's *Ave verum corpus* which obeys every principle of the Caecilians while using imagination, austerity and daring harmony, but very few Caecilian compositions were of this quality. However, despite the interest of many bishops and some liturgical musicians, the Caecilian Movement 'barely affected actual practice, especially in small churches'¹⁹⁶.

The Influence of Caecilianism in Melbourne

No evidence of the establishment of Caecilian Society Melbourne has been found. However the St Cecily [sic] Society for Boys and Men had been formed as early as 1872 by Dr Barsanti at St Mary's Seminary in Sydney¹⁹⁷. It should be noted that the appellation of 'St Cecilia' was frequently used in the nineteenth century for concert and choral organisations and does not necessarily imply an association with the principles of the Caecilian Movement. This is due to the link with St Cecilia who is revered as the patron saint of music. This would account for the tradition of secular choral societies named after St Cecilia in Sydney as early as 1839¹⁹⁸. Notwithstanding the existence of the society, the choir of St Mary's Cathedral in Sydney performed a repertoire of Haydn, Cherubini, Gounod and Schubert until the late 1890s. The conductor John Delaney (St

¹⁹⁶ Fellerer, K. (1991) 'Cecilian Movement' in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (ed S Sadie) London: Macmillan vol. 4, pp. 47

¹⁹⁷ A Tarleton, *St Mary's Cathedral Choir: some important facts*, (Sydney, 1988), p. 4

Mary's Cathedral, 1886-1907) was president of the local Caecilian Society in 1873, and despite being known for his Caecilian ideals, still maintained a full repertoire of orchestral masses with the active support of Cardinal Moran and, in fact, wrote two masses in the grand orchestral style one of which has been recorded.¹⁹⁹

The first-known published criticism of current liturgical musical practice appeared in *The Advocate* of 7 November 1874 in an article reprinted from the *New York Tablet*:

A considerable difference of opinion prevails among Catholics as to the description of music proper to accompany the sacrifice of the altar and the sacred ceremonies. Many entertain conscientious scruples as to light music, or what they deem not sufficiently solemn for the orchestra of a church, and therefore object to what they apprehend to be a departure from the spirit and intent of religion. It is well known that houses of divine worship like Trinity Church, St. Paul's (Dr. McGlynn's Church), and St. Stephen's New York, are frequented Sunday after Sunday by a class of people who have little religion in their hearts, and are scarcely inclined to practice decency or propriety in deportment, but come solely influenced by the attraction of fashionable assemblages and superior music²⁰⁰.

The writer went on to vigorously attacked these sentiments, which were claimed to be scandalous and offensive to Catholic congregations.

¹⁹⁸ *The Australian*, 9 March 1839, p. 3; 8 June 1841, p. 2 & 31 March 1842, p. 2

¹⁹⁹ Tarleton, *St Mary's Cathedral Choir: some important facts.*, p.5

²⁰⁰ *The Advocate*, 7 November 1874, p.16

An opposing point of view may be seen in an article reprinted the following year from the *Catholic Times* of Liverpool which lent support to current practices. It described musical practices in Rome during the political turmoil caused by Italian unification:

Rome is even now in her hour of trial showing the world, in a practical way, what is best. The festival celebrations in honour of the Sacred Heart, and the Pope's Election and Coronation, were accompanied by music of the most elaborate and costly kind, and even some Masses of Requiem, celebrated, moreover, for deceased members of the Papal Court were in a florid style... So if any choir master has a doubt about what music he should employ, he need look only to Rome, 'the city of our solemnities,' for guidance in this as in other matters, and leave archæologists and rubricians to their theories, 'do as Rome does'²⁰¹.

The tension caused by the attempts of the Roman authorities to reform liturgical music may be inferred from the dismissal of the theories of 'archæologists and rubricians'. It also suggests that any active campaign for a reform of musical practices in Rome had apparently achieved little success. As cited above, this was confirmed by a report of the American critic H. L. Mencken writing in the Baltimore *Herald* of September 30, 1905:

At one time, in truth, the composers of masses borrowed melodic ideas from popular secular songs, much after the manner of The Salvation Army. Three years

²⁰¹ *The Advocate*, 9 October 1875, p. 7

ago, in Italy, there occurred something almost as grotesque, the singing of a whole act of 'Il Trovatore' as part of a church service²⁰².

This *New York Tablet* article was reinforced by another one published in 1876 giving a detailed description of mass at the Church of the Paulist Fathers in New York. The writer praised the Caecilian-inspired male-voice choir of 70 voices and its repertoire of plainsong and sixteenth century polyphony and compared it to a mixed-voice choir:

There is such an infectious enthusiasm about musical boys that it runs away with all our natural prejudice against them. They are quite different from your sleepy, venal, stuck-up, conceited, airish *prime donne* with their elaborate toilets, ribbons, feathers, fans, flowers, smirks and simpers. All of these but help to stop the ears by vulgarly attracting the eye, and robbing poor music of her right alone to compel admiration²⁰³.

The growing dissatisfaction in the Church about liturgical music continued to be reported in *The Advocate* even though there was, as yet, no attempt to apply the same criteria of criticism to music in the local Church. In 1877 a report from the *London Echo* announced that a public meeting was to be held in the Archdiocese of Westminster to protest against the stoppage of classical music in all churches in the diocese and its replacement by...

²⁰² H L Mencken, *HL Mencken on Music*, ed. Louis Cheslock (New York, 1961), p. 134

²⁰³ *The Advocate*, 8 August 1876, p. 7

so-called congregational music - namely humming Latin that only a few can pronounce and understand, to monotonous Gregorian music - such being detrimental to the advance of Catholicism, and not in unison with the times and the cultured musical taste of the majority of English Catholics²⁰⁴.

The overseas interest in improving standards of church music and removing the ‘taint’ of opera came to be felt in the local Church when it was announced in 1877 that a Cathedral Choral Society was being formed from the altar boys at Melbourne's St Patrick's Cathedral to promote appropriate ecclesiastical music²⁰⁵. The following year it was reported that Archbishop Vaughan in Sydney was forming a committee to investigate music in St Mary's Cathedral²⁰⁶. In 1879 a series of articles were published in *The Advocate* calling for the promotion of congregational singing²⁰⁷.

Not all the discussion was in favour of musical reform for in 1879, a long rebuttal of these new ideas was published which attempted to defend the current musical practices:

The accusation of sacred concerts rather than a liturgical associate in an act of worship was becoming more and more inevitable as the liturgical relevance of the grand orchestral presentations every Sunday was being questioned in Italy. The Catholic Church in all ages has felt and recognised the benign influence of music

²⁰⁴ *The Advocate*, 19 May 1877, p. 7

²⁰⁵ *The Advocate*, 30 June 1877, p. 6

²⁰⁶ *The Advocate*, 17 August 1878, p. 9

²⁰⁷ *The Advocate*, 1 February 1879, p. 13; 15 February 1877, p. 14 & 1 March 1879, p. 10

on the hearts of her children. Her chief pontiffs, her bishops and her priests have in all times vied with one another in encouraging and cultivating a love of sacred melody. - She has never intended that her glorious harmonies should be mere vain sounds, fruitless in good works. - All the grandest efforts of musical genius, all the choicest masterpieces of the greatest composers - of Palestrina, of Bach, of Mendelssohn, of Mozart, of Handel and of Haydn - the Church makes her own. She gives them to her children as so many spiritual banquets, and through her children makes them all tend to the praise and the glory of Almighty God²⁰⁸.

It may thus be seen that within six years the debate on the style of appropriate sacred music was becoming a feature of articles in the church press. Proponents of the new style such as Fr Robinson and Bishop O'Reilly of Adelaide questioned the values involved in current practices. However many musicians and, as will be seen parishioners, also resisted the calls for reform. During the following two decades this debate was to be carried on, particularly in the pages of *The Advocate*, with the demand for a review of liturgical musical continually gaining in strength.

A call was made in the press by the visiting Bishop Elder of Natchez U.S.A., for the foundation of a Caecilian Society in Melbourne, 'established expressly for the correction of abuses in Church Music,' however, this passed without any action being taken²⁰⁹. Despite these calls, no Caecilian Society was formed in Melbourne. But Melbournians

²⁰⁸ *The Advocate*, 12 July 1879, p. 10

²⁰⁹ *The Advocate*, 21 May 1881, p. 7

were made aware of the Caecilian stance when the formal constitution of an American Caecilian Society was printed in *The Advocate* in 1899.²¹⁰

The secular press became involved in this discussion when *The Argus* (always a notoriously anti-Catholic paper) published a report in December 1884 detailing the Instruction, *Ordinatio quoad sacram musicam* from the Congregation of Sacred Rites to the Italian bishops criticizing some of the abuses in the Italian Church. A swift response in *The Advocate* rebuffed *The Argus* and informed the public that the circular was of concern in Italy only, thus having no impact upon the wider Church. The complete 1884 Instruction was then reproduced ‘as some of our choir masters may wish to conform with the instruction as nearly as circumstances will permit’²¹¹. The final assertion that ‘our usually well conducted Catholic choirs are unaffected by them’²¹² captured the essence of the response of most of the local church for decades to come. A second article concerning the Instruction of 1884 appeared two years later, and again it was claimed that the document had no reference to the local Church²¹³.

It certainly was the case that the subject of sacred liturgical music was drawn to the attention of the public with increasing regularity as the century drew to a close. An article appearing in 1890 praised the Ratisbon School of Ecclesiastical Music and the Irish

²¹⁰ *The Advocate*, 11 February 1899, p. 9

²¹¹ *The Advocate*, 27 December 1884, p. 12

²¹² *The Advocate*, 27 December 1884, p. 12

Society of St Cecilia²¹⁴. The lack of liturgical propriety of Australian Catholic music drew some sharp criticism in 1891 from the visiting Bishop Donnelly of Dublin:

It goes without saying that they have little or no conception of the liturgy... hence the effort is to make the services an attractive musical entertainment with little regard to the eternal fitness of things...

Apart from the liturgical observances - which were mostly overlooked by the choir - the performance was undoubtedly magnificent....

The choir of St Patrick's is competent to do any music, and as soon as their leaders get rid of the idea that music is admitted into the church as a 'musical entertainment' and not to be a handmaid of the sacred liturgy and a help to prayer, I am confident that... under the patronage of St Cecilia they will sing strains that will be worthy of God's holy temple²¹⁵.

By 1890 the publicly articulated questioning of current practices had gained continued strength. A comment by the editor of *The Advocate* in 1891 left no doubt as to the changing attitudes when he commented on the choir's 'offensive shrieks, discordant yells and almost meretricious tremulos'. He described being 'caught' in a church in New York during High Mass when 'the choir, through some miserable self-exploiter, occupied four minutes and a half in singing one word, *Amen*.'²¹⁶ In January 1893, the same paper

²¹³ *The Advocate*, 7 August 1886, p. 17

²¹⁴ *The Advocate*, 15 February 1890, p. 16

²¹⁵ *The Advocate*, 20 September 1890, p. 15

²¹⁶ *The Advocate*, 5 December 1891, p. 18

published a reprinted article from the *Catholic Examiner* entitled 'Our Unecclesiastical Church Music' which repeated the previous criticisms²¹⁷.

However, there were still attempts to defend the existing position, for in 1893 a local writer maintained that:

Some in their over-eagerness for reform would have us go back to the music of St Gregory the Great. But music was then in its infancy, and like other arts and sciences had to attain to maturity by experiment and discovery. Nearly a thousand years after St Gregory it made a vast stride under Palestrina, and Pope Marcellus applauded the genius of the maestro; and so will all Popes ever applaud true progress in every art and science. There are abuses in music, as in sculpture and painting and poetry; and it is abuse, not excellence, that should be condemned²¹⁸.

This article, with its nineteenth century confidence in the intrinsic value of 'progress', was virtually a final attempt to preserve the status quo. Subsequent articles, such as a published lecture by the influential Rev George Robinson in praise of Gregorian Chant²¹⁹ promoted the newer ideals. Robinson was a follower of the Caecilian Movement and when a curate at Melbourne's St Francis' Church reformed the Vesper Choir on Caecilian principles²²⁰.

²¹⁷ *The Advocate*, 14 January 1893, p. 15

²¹⁸ *The Advocate*, 18 February 1893, p. 17

²¹⁹ *The Advocate*, 28 October 1893, p. 16

In 1892 *The Advocate* published a report on a questionnaire by the Commission of Sacred Rites in Rome involving fifty leading church musicians²²¹ and predicted that an Encyclical on liturgical music could be expected in the near future. The following year it was announced that the replies to the questionnaire had been received and it was hoped that the resulting Encyclical would finally close all discussion on the matter of liturgical music²²². In 1894 a commission was appointed and, later that year it was predicted that the approaching Encyclical would decide that ‘the use of stringed instruments [which are] too vibrating, too nervous and too charged with profane passion, will be interdicted. Music of the embroidered character will be proscribed as too theatrical’²²³. This prediction was to be fulfilled that year when the latest regulations for sacred music from the Congregation of Sacred Rites to the Church in Italy were published in full in *The Advocate*²²⁴. This document, *De musica sacra*, (7 July 1894) was the strongest to date in its promotion of chant and the music of the Roman masters and it was followed two weeks later by an encyclical letter to the Italian bishops calling upon them to obey its instructions.²²⁵

With the publication of these regulations (*De musica sacra*), the pressure in Rome for the reform of liturgical music gained in strength, and interest in Melbourne grew correspondingly. The archbishop-elect of Adelaide, Dr O'Reilly, strongly condemned

²²⁰ *The Advocate*, 4 February 1899, p. 8

²²¹ *The Advocate*, 28 May 1892, p. 12

²²² *The Advocate*, 4 March 1893, p. 4

²²³ *The Advocate*, 24 February 1894, p. 18 & 31 March 1894, p. 10

²²⁴ *The Advocate*, 15 September 1894, p. 9 & 29 September 1894, p. 16

²²⁵ Hayburn, *Papal legislation on Sacred Music.*, p. 140

theatrical church music in an article published in both the *Australasian Catholic Record* and *The Advocate* in April 1895.²²⁶ He attacked the florid music of Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Haydn and Gounod and forcefully berated the ‘operatic music so often heard in our churches’. Another anonymous writer soon commented upon the length of the large orchestral masses by Haydn and stated that during a 90 minute Mass, 40 minutes were spent waiting for the choir to finish²²⁷.

During the final years of the century *The Advocate* published articles of a similar nature calling for the abolition of ‘inappropriate’ operatic music and the restoration of polyphony and chant. Such articles included a report that, following the Congregation of Sacred Rites, the Archbishop of Paris had banned women from all church choirs, except in convents²²⁸. The following week, it was stated that, ‘we understand that it is intended to soon make major changes to the character of music to be sung in St Patrick's Cathedral’²²⁹. More serious was a report from Cincinnati in 1899 of a list of 40 masses condemned by a committee of the clergy for omission, mutilation or senseless repetition of text.²³⁰ Reports such as this from overseas dioceses continued to excite much interest and helped to sustain discussions among local identities. There were articles on the ‘pros and cons’ of Gregorian chant published in *The Advocate* at the end of 1896²³¹.

²²⁶ *Australian Catholic Record* no.2, 27 April 1895, p. 15 & *The Advocate*, 27 April 1895, p. 15

²²⁷ *The Advocate*, 29 June 1895, p. 9

²²⁸ *The Advocate*, 25 July 1896, p. 11

²²⁹ *The Advocate*, 1 August 1896, p. 16

²³⁰ *The Advocate*, 4 February 1899, p. 8

²³¹ *The Advocate*, 5 December 1896, p. 16; 19 December 1896, p. 17 & 23 February 1897, p. 8

During the decade prior to 1903 Melbournians had certainly been exposed to a deal of information regarding possible reforms to liturgical music, but little of it had emanated from the papacy itself. Moreover the subject had generated a great deal of heated debate, the details of which could well have confused readers of *The Advocate* and have caused misunderstandings about the purpose and nature of the impending reforms. For example, a report from *The Tablet* (London) defended the Caecilian Movement as ‘not opposed to all that is not Gregorian, just florid music such as Haydn, Rossini, Kalliwoda, and Masses such as *Mozart's Twelfth Mass*’.²³² But, on the other hand readers were assured that music such as Beethoven's Mass in C, Schubert's Mass in B flat, Gounod's *Messe du Sacré Coeur* was quite acceptable²³³. This article must have caused some consternation as it was clearly at odds with the principles of the Caecilian Movement. For instance, the Beethoven Mass is as long and repetitious as many Haydn masses, and the Schubert's masses omit important sections of the *Credo*. In a similar vein reports from London stated that Dr Walsh, Archbishop of Dublin forbade Gounod's *Messe Solennelle* to be sung in his diocese (other Gounod masses were permitted however). While it was the prime favourite of the general public (both Catholic and Protestant) this mass was condemned as ‘being positively dangerous’, having a ‘considerable effect upon women of a hysterical temperament... leaving [the listener] in a condition not at all likely to be receptive of sober religious influence’. In the light of this condemnation it is interesting that the writer also contended that ‘in the minds of cultured musicians Beethoven's *Mass*

²³² *The Advocate*, 22 February 1899, p. 10

²³³ *The Advocate*, 22 February 1899, p. 10

in C is the finest Mass that ever was or ever will be composed' whereas the Gounod was dismissed as 'sacred and voluptuous'²³⁴.

At the 1900 First Australasian Catholic Congress held in Sydney, a paper by Archbishop O'Reilly of Adelaide caused some discussion for while supporting modern liturgical music, he also strongly advocated the restoration of chant. This was in contrast to his position in later years when he fully adopted the Caecilian position. This paper aroused the ire of a correspondent to *The Tribune*, C. Moore. Archbishop O'Reilly had stated that Gregorian Chant was regarded as the relic of a barbarian age by many organists, singers and lovers of sacred music. To this accusation Moore responded:

There is a strong tendency in Catholic Australia to make the churches, opera-houses, and it is doubly to be regretted that this tendency should have received encouragement in such an august assembly, from such a high authority. His Grace seems to take the part of those who profane the house of God by singing the holy words of the sacred liturgy of our Holy Church to secular tunes. It seems strange that the kind of opera music which has been condemned by all the great ecclesiastical authorities in Europe and also by all great authorities on church music, whose ears are quite if not more refined than those His Grace alludes to, should be the ones to tickle the fancy of certain Catholics here in Adelaide.²³⁵

Alongside the proliferation of conflicting information, reports in *The Advocate* during 1901 confirmed the trends outlined above by stating that Pope Leo XIII had publicly recommended plainchant and that Cardinal Cardin had appointed a Roman Commission

²³⁴ *The Advocate*, 10 February 1900, p. 6

²³⁵ *The Tribune*, 22 September 1900, p. 5

for Sacred Music²³⁶. There were also continued letters to the editor from clergy and interested members of the public calling for reform and an equal number rejecting the need for such action.

In the final months of Pope Leo XIII's reign agitation and pressure for direction and leadership in the area of sacred music reached a crescendo. In 1903 a constant stream of articles appeared in *The Advocate*, including one describing how Palestrina's music had averted a Papal prohibition on the use of music at mass in 1555²³⁷. There were also harsh criticisms of Haydn's masses and Rossini's *Stabat Mater*²³⁸. The death of Pope Leo that year was marked by a special Requiem Mass in Melbourne's St Patrick's Cathedral featuring the prominent use of harmonized Gregorian Chant²³⁹. Two months later it was predicted that a movement would soon start in Rome, with the new Pope's support, to popularize plainchant²⁴⁰. It was also reported that music in Paris was in a state of total disarray with plainchant competing with Haydn and Gounod for popularity and while there was no support for congregational involvement, there was great popular support for the most 'theatrical' organs and organists²⁴¹.

²³⁶ *The Advocate*, 3 August 1901, p. 10 & 10 August 1901, p. 9

²³⁷ *The Advocate*, 21 March 1903, p. 27

²³⁸ *The Advocate*, 4 April 1903, p. 9

²³⁹ *The Advocate*, 1 August 1903, p. 15

²⁴⁰ *The Advocate*, 17 October 1903, p. 13

²⁴¹ *The Advocate*, 24 October 1903, p. 11

Proclamation of change

Giuseppe Sarto was elected Pope Pius X on 4 August 1903 and the first official act of his pontificate was the publication of revolutionary new guidelines for the usage and practice of liturgical music throughout the Catholic world. In view of the importance of these reforms some understanding of the man who was so instrumental in promulgating them would be helpful. Sarto was elected for his spirituality rather than any progressive traits, and his pontificate was a period of conservatism and reactionary response to the problems of the modern world. Carlo Falconi encapsulated the qualities of Pius X as follows:

the character of his saintliness was typically medieval, being the fruit of suppression and annihilation rather than of renunciation and contemplation, of negative rather than of positive virtues... yet the mere fact that both sides existed suggests a certain rather disconcerting volatility, a lack of balance, moderation, serenity and unquestioning superiority, surprising in a canonized saint²⁴².

Roger Aubert described him as ‘a conservative reform Pope [who] instinctively mistrusted anything progressive’ and his pontificate ‘was a repudiation of the modern world’²⁴³. The theologian Hans Kung supports this by writing that he was:

²⁴² C Falconi, *The Popes in the Twentieth Century*, Muriel Grindrod trans. (London, 1967), p. 80

²⁴³ Collins, *Papal Power.*, p. 66

reactionary and inquisitorial [and] suppressed any reconciliation of Catholic teaching with modern science and knowledge. He led an anti-modern cleansing operation on a grand scale.²⁴⁴

This is in accord with Eamon Duffy who wrote:

deeply hostile to intellectualism of every kind, Pius X and the advisers he gathered around him detected in every attempt at the liberalisation of Catholic theology and social thought nothing but heresy and betrayal.²⁴⁵

Sarto's rejection of all aspects of the modern world may also be viewed as an encapsulation of Pius IX's *Syllabus of Errors*²⁴⁶, a document which challenged a wide range of modern advances including unions, democracy and elections. On the other hand Duffy also states that his pontificate was:

distinguished by... a personal approachability... this combined with his anti-intellectualism, his plump handsome face and warm open-hearted manner won an immense popular following.²⁴⁷

In respect of the *Motu proprio, Tra le sollecitudini* (1903) it is significant to note that:

Sarto, when he came to Rome, already had behind him an example of successful reform of church music. His own interest in the subject dates back to the days when he was choir-master in the seminary at Padua and his own early parishes²⁴⁸.

²⁴⁴ Kung, *The Catholic Church, a Short History*., p. 181

²⁴⁵ Duffy, *Saints and Sinners, a History of the Popes*., p. 249

²⁴⁶ J Cornwell, *Hitler's Pope; the Secret History of Pius XII* (London, 1999)., p. 11

²⁴⁷ Duffy, *Saints and Sinners, a History of the Popes*., p. 246

²⁴⁸ Falconi, *The Popes in the Twentieth Century*., p. 23



POPE PIUS X

Sarto had been influenced as a young man by the theologian and musician, Fr Pietro Jacuzzi²⁴⁹. His interest in musical reform continued as Bishop of Mantua and, from November 1894, as Cardinal-Patriarch of Venice. Five months after becoming Cardinal-Patriarch of Venice, Sarto issued a pastoral letter, dated 1 May 1895, to his Patriarchate putting his ideas on music into practice and demanding total obedience²⁵⁰. In this 1895 letter Sarto argued for the performance of Gregorian chant and classical polyphony as the music most appropriate to sacred liturgy. Orchestras were only permitted with special Episcopal permission and no female singer was ever to be employed. The singers were henceforth to be males of known piety. While the Church claimed to defend progress, music was not to be composed in a profane or theatrical style, however modern its idiom and regardless of the undoubted faith of the composer²⁵¹. The demands placed upon musicians by this document were even more stringent than those that were to appear in the later *Motu proprio*, and provide an interesting insight into the thoughts of a man who within nine years was to become Pope Pius X.

Pius X wrote more on the subject of liturgical music than all previous Popes²⁵². In accordance with his motto ‘To restore all things to Christ’, he immediately set about bringing the people closer to the liturgical action. His first major document, issued in 1903 was the *Motu proprio: Tra le sollecitudini* [hereinafter **TLS**] which was to have a profound influence on the way in which all Catholic musicians were to approach their

²⁴⁹ Hayburn, *Papal legislation on Sacred Music.*, pp. 195 & 219

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 218

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 215

task. It is not too strong to assert that this was the most important document on sacred music to be issued before the Second Vatican Council issued its decree in 1963.

In the formulation of his reforms, Pius X was strongly influenced by his musical mentor, the Jesuit Fr Angelo De Santi and by Cardinal Pietro Respighi, vicar-general of Rome and brother of the noted composer, Ottorino Respighi. Of the two, De Santi appears to have been the principal influence²⁵³. De Santi was educated in Innsbruck, where he came under the influence of the German Association of St Cecilia. In 1880 he established the Roman Confraternity of St Cecilia and, at the request of Leo XIII, edited a series of controversial articles in 1887 in *Civiltà cattolica* on reforms to Church music. With the accession of Pius as Pope, De Santi rose to a position of great influence, becoming the first Director of the Superior School of Sacred Music, which later became the Pontifical Institute of Sacred Music²⁵⁴. His stance on liturgical music assumed an exclusive use of Gregorian chant and sixteenth-century polyphony.

De Santi's influence became especially crucial when he was entrusted by Sarto to draft a response Pope Leo XIII's request in 1894 for suggestions regarding the reform of church music. Hayburn has shown that the text of the *Motu proprio* of 1903 was in remarkably close alignment with the 1894 document²⁵⁵. In doing so Hayburn corrected the misconceptions of earlier commentators who insisted that the *Motu proprio* was entirely the product of Pius X himself:

²⁵² Ibid., p. 195

²⁵³ Ibid., p. 220

²⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 204

Critics have said that the eventual decree on church music was all but inveigled from Pius X by some musical crank who, so the allegation continues, even wrote most of it, the Pope supposedly adding a bit here and there and signing his name. Such a charge is not borne out by the evidence²⁵⁶.

Tra le sollicitudini, 1903

Published as a Motu proprio, which placed it between an Apostolic Constitution and an Encyclical, *Tra le sollicitudini* (1903) had considerable weight and solemnity. The actual status of an apostolic letter issued as a Motu proprio is clarified by John Huels:

When the Pope wishes to make a new law... he promulgates it principally by means of the documents known as the ‘apostolic constitution’ or the ‘apostolic letter motu proprio’.... The apostolic letter motu proprio is so-called because the pope acts on his own initiative in creating new legislation in his own name rather than merely approving a decree or other document issued in the name of a curial congregation²⁵⁷.

Jan Michael Joncas writes that this document:

should be considered the foundational liturgical legislation concerning music for the Roman Rite until modified by Pius XII's authority and superseded by the reforms stemming from the Vatican Council. The importance of *Tra le*

²⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 204

²⁵⁶ Benedict Ehmann, 'Church Music' paper presented at *A symposium on the life and work of Pius X*, (Washington.DC, 1946)., p. 204

²⁵⁷ J Huels, *Liturgical Law; an Introduction* (Washington DC, 1987)., p. 9

sollecitudini can be seen in how frequently it is quoted in later papal, conciliar, curial and territorial bishops' conference texts²⁵⁸.

The scope of this document leaves no mistake as to the importance of its message:

We desire all choirmasters, singers and clerics, all superiors of seminaries, ecclesiastical institutions, and religious communities, all parish priests and rectors of churches, all canons of collegiate and cathedral churches, and, most especially, the Ordinaries of all Dioceses, zealously to support these wide reforms, which have been long desired and unanimously hoped for by all, in order that no injury be done to the authority of the Church, which has often proposed them and now insists on them once more.²⁵⁹

Although the pastoral letter of 1895 served as the principal source of the 1903 *motu proprio*, Pius X added to the new document an introduction which placed the reformed regulations into historical context and as part of the continuing tradition of the Church.

He also explained the need for reform in liturgical music:

We devote Our attention today to one of the commonest of abuses, one of the most difficult to uproot. This must be condemned, even where everything else deserves the highest praise, where there is beauty and grandeur of building, splendour and exactness of ceremonies, full attendance of the clergy, gravity and piety of the officiating ministers. We speak of abuses in singing and in sacred music. This may have resulted from the changeable and varied nature of the art itself, or from the successive alterations in taste and custom through the ages. It may also be due to the disastrous influence of secular and theatrical music on that

²⁵⁸ J M Joncas, *From Sacred Song to Ritual Music: Twentieth century Understandings of Roman Catholic Worship Music* (Collegeville MN, 1997), p. 2

²⁵⁹ TLS, para. 26

of the Church, or to the pleasure excited by the music itself - a pleasure not easily contained within its proper limits. Lastly, it may be the result of the many prejudices on this subject which so easily begin and so obstinately remain, even among persons of piety and authority. Still the fact remains: there certainly is a continual tendency to deviate from the right norm in sacred music, a norm established in admitting this art to the service of public worship, expressed very clearly in the ecclesiastical canons, in the decrees of general and provincial councils, and in the repeated prescriptions of the Sacred Roman Congregations and of the Supreme Pontiffs, Our predecessors.²⁶⁰

The introduction concludes with the severe injunction:

Therefore, in order that no one may hereafter plead in excuse that he does not clearly understand his duty, in order that all possible uncertainty concerning the interpretation of laws already made may be removed, We consider it expedient to point out briefly the principles that govern the sacred music of public worship, and to present in one general survey the chief laws of the Church against the more common abuses in this matter. Now, therefore, of our own initiative - *motu Proprio* - and with certain knowledge, We publish this Our present Instruction. We decree with the fullness of Our apostolic authority that the force of law be given to this Instruction as to a juridical code of sacred music, and in this Our own handwriting, We impose upon all a strict and exact observance of this law.²⁶¹

This document included remarks on the style of music that was to be performed...

...Gregorian Chant has always been considered the supreme example of sacred music. Hence with every reason we lay down the following rule: 'the more closely a Church composition approaches

²⁶⁰ TLS, para. 3

²⁶¹ TLS, para. 6

Gregorian Chant in movement, inspiration and feeling, the more holy and liturgical it becomes; and the more it deviates from this supreme model, the less worthy it is of the temple'.²⁶²

...Gregorian Chant must be fully restored to the functions of divine worship.²⁶³

...The qualities described above are also possessed in a very high degree by classical polyphony, especially by that of the Roman School which reached its greatest perfection in the sixteenth century under Pierluigi da Palestrina and subsequently continued to produce excellent musical and liturgical compositions.²⁶⁴

As for the role of women choristers and soloists he wrote...

It follows from the same principle that the singers in church have a real liturgical office and that women, therefore, being incapable of such an office, cannot be admitted to form a part of the choir. If soprano and alto voices are desired, let them be supplied by boys, according to the ancient custom of the Church.²⁶⁵

He also wrote with regard to the role of orchestras in the liturgy...

Although the proper music of the Church is purely vocal, the accompaniment of an organ is allowed. In some special cases, within due limits and with proper safeguards, other instruments may be used, but never without the special

²⁶² TLS, para. 9

²⁶³ TLS, para. 10

²⁶⁴ TLS, para. 11

²⁶⁵ TLS, para. 20.

permission of the Ordinary, according to the prescriptions of the *Cæremoniale Episcoporum*.^{266 267}

...The use of the piano is forbidden in church, as is also the use of drums, kettledrums, cymbals, bells and the like. Bands are strictly forbidden to play in church...²⁶⁸

The document states with regard to the education of priests and the formation of choir schools...

That the instructions be exactly carried out, the Bishops, if they have not already done so, should establish in their dioceses special commissions of persons truly expert in sacred music. To them is entrusted the duty of watching over the music performed in their churches as the Bishop sees fit.²⁶⁹

...In seminaries and ecclesiastical institutions the traditional Gregorian Chant recommended above must be cultivated with all diligence and love.²⁷⁰

...Care must be taken to restore the ancient *Scholæ Cantorum* at least in the principal churches. This has been done with good results in many places. Indeed it would not be difficult for zealous priests to establish such *Scholæ* even in small churches and country parishes.²⁷¹

This document caused strong reaction and opposition especially in Rome itself. The depth of feeling may be gauged by the letter written by Pius X two weeks later on 8

²⁶⁶ TLS, para. 22

²⁶⁷ This decree and the loophole regarding instruments was used throughout the twentieth century to permit the use of orchestras in the churches of Austria.

²⁶⁸ TLS, para. 23

²⁶⁹ TLS, para. 26

²⁷⁰ TLS, para. 27

December to Cardinal Respighi, his Cardinal Vicar for the Church in Rome. He wrote: 'And you, my lord Cardinal, will allow no exception, brook no delay. By putting the matter off the difficulty would not become less, it would become greater: since the thing has to be done, let it be done at once and firmly'²⁷². Duffy states that despite the critics of his actions, Pius X's many reforms were all clearly and explicitly designed to encourage greater participation in the liturgy²⁷³ (although it is difficult to understand how this would apply to people in the pews).

Consequently a letter of December 29, 1903 was sent to all the principal clergy in Rome from the Congregation of Sacred Rites reinforcing the new regulations and the need for compliance. The Congregation of Sacred Rites then issued a decree on January 8, 1904, formally imposing the *motu proprio* and revoking all earlier decrees²⁷⁴.

The tendency of Church authorities, already observable in a letter of 1824 from Cardinal Constantin Zurla, vicar-general of Rome, to denounce specific types and practices of music thus reached its climax in this *motu proprio*. From this first decree of his pontificate throughout the rest of his life, Pope Pius X was ceaseless in his promotion of the reformed regulations for sacred music and especially for the promotion of plainchant.²⁷⁵

²⁷¹ TLS, para. 29

²⁷² Hayburn, *Papal legislation on Sacred Music.*, p. 233

²⁷³ Duffy, *Saints and Sinners, a History of the Popes.*, p. 248

²⁷⁴ Hayburn, *Papal legislation on Sacred Music.*, p. 225

Among the principal outcomes of this document was the commissioning of new scholarly editions of Gregorian chant based upon the research and scholarship of the Abbey of St Peter at Solesmes in France. The Benedictine abbey at Solesmes was founded on 1833 on the site of an ancient establishment. Established by Dom Prosper Guéranger (1805-1875) he undertook the restoration of Roman liturgy and Gregorian chant going against all the customs of the time. He gave the chant an unsuspected freedom and suppleness which the previous incredibly corrupted Regensburg edition with its arbitrary bar lines and heavily accented style had lacked.²⁷⁶ It was once again the influence of De Santi that resulted in the choice of the Solesmes edition over the older, established Ratisbon (Regensburg) edition, which had been commenced in 1871. The new edition was commenced with the publication of a *Kyriale*, completed in 1905. It was completed decades later with considerable difficulty and scholastic controversy, but that aspect of liturgical music history is beyond the scope of this dissertation²⁷⁷.

A second early outcome of the reform was the establishment of the Pontifical Institute of Sacred Music in Rome so that the approved principles of Catholic music could be disseminated throughout the world²⁷⁸. The Institute was established in 1910 and placed under the directorship of Pius X's friend and advisor Father Angelo De Santi (Director, 1910-1922).

²⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 251

²⁷⁶ E Cardine, (1991) 'Solesmes' in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (S Sadie (ed)) London: Macmillan vol.17, p. 452

²⁷⁷ Ibid, p. 453

²⁷⁸ Hayburn, *Papal legislation on Sacred Music.*, p. 295

One important dominating figure to arise to prominence as a result of the motu proprio was the priest and composer Lorenzo Perosi (1872-1956). Perosi was universally regarded as the dominating composer to write in the style demanded by the 1903 regulations and his influence was spread widely throughout the Catholic world. He attended the conservatories of Rome and Milan and studied in Regensburg and then Solesmes under the influence of De Santi. He was appointed perpetual music director of the Sistine Chapel in 1898 and his oratorios and 33 masses achieved enormous acclaim being frequently performed in Melbourne. Perosi's music has fallen from favour but his gifts were undeniable displaying a freshness and a gentle spirituality. His oratorios are an eclectic mixture of plainsong, polyphony, Bach and Wagnerian harmony. From 1915 until his death his activities were curtailed by constantly recurring mental instability.²⁷⁹

Despite the Pope's best intentions, the reforms at the diocesan level throughout the Catholic world were very contentious and not easily achieved. Many choirs asserted their preference for the older style of orchestral liturgical music, finding the newly required music to be less than attractive. In some dioceses which sought to obey the ruling (often at considerable inconvenience and with artistic reservations), ill feeling was generated when others ignored it with apparent immunity. The following letter, sent from Bishop Keiley of Savannah, Georgia, to his clergy, may be cited as an example:

I deem it only my duty to send word to our Holy Father, Pope Pius X, that, despite the many difficulties in the way of carrying out in this Diocese the motu Proprio on the subject of Church music, a prompt obedience was everywhere manifested.

²⁷⁹ J Waterhouse, (1991) 'Perosi, Lorenzo' in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (S Sadie (ed)) London: Macmillan 1991 vol. 14, p. 539

I stated that the mere fact that the Holy Father had expressed his will in the matter was sufficient for us, though some little surprise had been manifested that the Bishop of this Diocese insisted on the observance of the instruction when other Dioceses seemed to pay no attention whatever to it; and a further cause of dissatisfaction existed in the persistent rumours that the Holy See did not desire the enforcement of the law and was disposed to grant exemption therefrom²⁸⁰.

This letter came to the attention of the Pope and brought a swift response from his private secretary who stated that the demands of the Holy See were to be obeyed completely and without question²⁸¹. This attitude was firmly reinforced when, in February 1912, a revised edition of the regulations for Sacred Music in Rome was issued by the Congregation of Sacred Rites.²⁸²

To conclude, it has been shown that the proud confidence of many of Melbourne's Catholics in the grand style of liturgical music that they had developed to a level of great excellence during the nineteenth century (as outlined in Chapter 2) was under severe threat by 1903. Developments in Europe and elsewhere during the 19th century brought about an increasing discomfort with the operatic, secular tendency of modern harmony, orchestration and vocal styles of commonly performed liturgical music. In addition, musicological investigations into traditional church chant and Renaissance polyphony led to the belief among a core of influential and vocal proponents that here lay the source of legitimate liturgical music and the inspiration of any newly-composed music. It was the conservative and reactionary Pope Pius X, and his advisors Fathers De Santi and Jacuzzi

²⁸⁰ Hayburn, *Papal legislation on Sacred Music.*, p. 317

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 317

who brought these matters to a head, and the encyclical motu proprio: *Tra le sollecitudini* issued in November 1903 reflected the above stated concerns and preferences with remarkable precision: women choristers were banned, orchestras were banned and soloists were banned. Liturgical music was required to take the form of chant or sixteenth-century polyphony (or pastiches of the same). Bishops were required to establish all-male choirs and appropriate choir schools. Most importantly, the changes were to be implemented as soon as possible. The only problem facing the local bishops was how were they to do it, and on this His Holiness was silent.

The discussion has also found that the church in Melbourne was not immune to developments prior to 1903 but that few changes in actual practice occurred. The Cathedral Choral Society comprising altar boys at St Patrick's Cathedral, formed in 1877 to develop appropriate liturgical music does not seem to have made significant impact. Although Caecilian-style music was introduced at St Francis' in 1899, this was at Vespers rather than the Eucharist. For Melbourne Catholics the impact of developments overseas prior to 1903 was experienced primarily by way of press reports and discussions. Few reports emanated directly from the papacy. Thus information was transmitted second or third-hand by way of reprints and, given that contradictions often occurred and that ensuing discussions could be quite convoluted, Melbournians received a somewhat confusing picture of what was happening and of the possible impact of these developments on their own ecclesiastical music. It is thus not surprising that the mandates of the *Tra le sollecitudini* (1903) were embraced, not with ready and well-

²⁸² Ibid., p. 241

informed compliance, but with confusion, disagreement and a great deal of denial. The following chapter takes up the troubled history of liturgico-musical reform in the Archdiocese of Melbourne.

Chapter 4

The long road to reform: 1904 to 1938

The liturgical musical reforms outlined in *Tra le sollecitudini* were seen in the previous chapter to have dramatic implications for worship in the church worldwide. In addition to formulating a strictly prescribed understanding of sacred music with Gregorian chant as the central focus and allowing for polyphony based on the style of Palestrina, the legislation was couched in dictatorial terms and called for strict obedience. In particular the ministerial role of choir in the liturgy was reviewed, with the result that the participation of women as choristers (and especially soloists) was deemed to be improper. as was the use of instruments other than the pipe organ, on account of their perceived secular associations. It should be noted that the motu proprio did make one exception: instruments were permitted where they were in the traditions of the people. This is generally seen as a concession to the Austro-Hungarian Empire where even the weight of the Church would not be sufficient to make the faithful forego the traditional Viennese mass.²⁸³ In order that such profound changes might be successfully implemented, Pius X called for the ‘musical formation of the clergy’ together with the establishment of choir schools and diocesan musical commissions. In a short time, approved chant editions were commissioned by the Abbey of St Pierre at Solesmes in France, but it was to be some years before these appeared. Renaissance polyphony could be augmented by repertoire of later periods provided that the narrow style prescriptions were maintained. The support of local bishops in implementing these far-reaching changes was demanded.

These regulations posed an enormous challenge to churches in all countries. But for many dioceses, including Melbourne, they spelled a cataclysmic change of musical stance. Unlike some European centres, the musical tradition which had developed in Melbourne over a period of less than 60 years did not feature chant to any extent; neither was the Palestrina style known or practised. Instead, as discussed in Chapter 2, a tradition based on the contemporary ‘high art’ style of orchestral mass was consciously cultivated as a celebration of the achievements of local Catholicism and its Irish roots. Its music involved the participation of female as well as male choristers and instrumental musicians and placed much emphasis on performance by solo singers. Moreover it was a tradition that was by and large greatly cherished. Thus the implementation of the *Tra le sollecitudini* decrees, which was required by Vatican authorities to take place as soon as possible, was a challenge of daunting proportions.

The purpose of this chapter is to critically examine the measures that were taken (or not taken) by the local church in order to promulgate and implement the reforms and to assess the effectiveness or otherwise of these strategies. The discussion is framed around the following questions:

- What strategies were put into place?
- What did they achieve?
- What level of understanding of the content of *Tra le sollecitudini* was demonstrated by Melbournians?
- How did the respective archbishops view liturgical music and its importance in the broader context of church life?

²⁸³ Personal communication, Rev E Rayson, May 1995

- What part was played by monastic orders?
- Who were the principal supporters/proponents of reform?
- What forces impeded the progress of reform?
- How much change in musical repertoire and performance practice actually occurred in city and suburban churches?

Of crucial importance in the process was the role of the archbishops whose task it was to oversee the progress of the changes. During the period under discussion Melbourne was served by two archbishops, Thomas Carr (1886-1917) and Daniel Mannix (1917-63) and the ensuing discussion will be framed around their respective reigns.

The Progress of Reform under Archbishop Thomas Carr, 1903 - 1917



Thomas Carr was born in Galway in 1839 and, like his successor Daniel Mannix, was educated for the priesthood at the Royal College of Maynooth, the elite Irish national seminary. He served as Bishop of Galway and Kilmacduagh before being sent to Australia as Archbishop of Melbourne in 1886.²⁸² Carr's most notable achievements were in the areas of administration and education. A highly educated priest in the great humanist tradition and with a deep interest in science, he is credited with the establishment of a comprehensive Catholic education system in Melbourne. With able leadership skills he guided his church through three decades, a period which saw times of

²⁸² Boland, *St Patrick's Cathedral, a Life*, p. 153

great prosperity as well as war and economic depression. Interest in and advocacy of church music does not figure in Tom Boland's biographical study of Archbishop Carr, and no evidence of his direct involvement of the 1903 reforms has been found. However he was evidently a supporter of congregational singing as his imprimatur appears in the *St Patrick's Vesperal*, a slender collection of Latin and English hymn texts published in 1896 and intended for congregational use at Vespers, held in the diocesan archives.

While Dr Carr did not make his views on liturgical music known, it is possible to gain some insight into his attitude to Vatican interference from other controversies during his tenure as Archbishop. In 1907 Pope Pius X published the encyclical *Pascendi Dominici Gregis* which condemned as heretical the movement known as 'modernism'. This movement sought to reconcile the theories of liberty and modernity, as born in the Enlightenment, with traditional Church teaching. The papacy saw this as endangering its authority and instructed bishops to root out modernists from universities and seminaries, ban modernist books, restrict congresses of priests, implement an oath against modernism to all priests and to file a report with the Vatican every three years detailing what action had been taken.²⁸⁴ This decree remained in force until reversed by the Second Vatican Council. Carr was, of course, forced to require the oath from all his priests and signed an effusive letter to Pius X thanking him for the spiritual profit he had gained from the encyclical and praising him for his 'deep wisdom and profound knowledge' as displayed in the 'luminous and soul-searching Encyclical'. Carr assured him that 'the blighting touch of Modernism has never affected a single one within our shores'. Notwithstanding

²⁸⁴ B Costar and P Strangio, "B A Santamaria; a True Believer?" in *History Australia* vol 1, 2 (2004) p. 275

this response Archbishop Carr, an eager amateur scientist deeply interested in modern education, studiously ignored all the papal demands.²⁸⁵

The Second Australasian Catholic Congress, 1904

At the onset of the new century, there was a trend for large-scale Catholic conferences to be held in many parts of the world. At such gatherings the Church could spread its message throughout a wide cross-section of the community and could discuss the latest in spiritual, artistic and scientific thought. The conferences also served as powerful displays of the Catholic presence in the broader community. The first of these was held in Sydney in September 1900. Boland writes that in keeping with his personality, Cardinal Moran made it an occasion of pomp and grandeur achieved at not inconsiderable expense²⁸⁶. Unfortunately the breadth of subjects covered in the 70 papers presented meant that nothing was tackled in great depth. In September 1909 another similar congress was held in Sydney.

In 1904 the Second Australasian Catholic Congress was held at Melbourne's Cathedral Hall (now Central Hall in Brunswick Street, Fitzroy) from 24 October to 31 October, providing a major forum for discussion of the implications of *Tra le sollecitudini*. It is interesting to note that the liturgy to mark the opening of the congress featured choir, orchestra and soloists performing Haydn's *Nelson Mass* (hardly in keeping with the *motu proprio*). Taking care to avoid the problems that had bedeviled the 1900 Sydney congress, Archbishop Carr ensured that social life was much more subdued and serious

²⁸⁵ T P Boland, *Thomas Carr, Archbishop of Melbourne* (Brisbane, 1997), p. 270

input greater, the main emphasis being on a well-structured and varied programme of lectures of intellectual depth and current interest. Seventy-five papers were grouped by Carr, assisted by the congress secretary Dr A. L. Kenny, under eleven broad headings including education, history and missions, charitable organisations, sacred art and scientific and medical issues. This arrangement, which was informed by advice sought by Carr from the Irish College in Rome concerning the organisation of similar congresses in Germany and Italy, provided cohesion through reflection on similar topics from a variety of papers. Expert speakers, both male and female, and from both clergy and laity were invited from Europe, New Zealand and Australia. Given Carr's interests, there were substantial sections dealing with advances in science and medicine. The inclusion of papers dealing with feminism and the role of women in the church is quite remarkable given the status of women at the time.²⁸⁷

Of the impressive array of 75 papers, five considered the role of music in the liturgy in respect of the content of *Tra le sollecitudini*, taking into account the document itself, its historical context, obligations of obedience, problems of implementation and recommended strategies at the local level. Not surprisingly, the programme did not include papers critical of the new regulations.

A basic elucidation of the new regulations for liturgical music was provided (in absentia) by the paper by Rev Monsignor Antonio Rella (Director of the Sistine Choir in Rome).²⁸⁸

²⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 351

²⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 353

²⁸⁸ Honorary title frequently bestowed upon a member of the papal court

Entitled 'A Brief Commentary on the "Motu Proprio" of Pius X'²⁸⁹, this exposition represented the official voice of the Vatican. In addition to an explanation of *Tra le sollecitudini* paragraph by paragraph, the text upheld the integrity of the papal document by comparing the vision of Pius X most favourably with that of Pope St Gregory the Great, the revered 6th-century Pope, to whom is attributed the codification of plainchant. Rella also called for international obedience and unity under Rome in the implementation of the decrees and advised that examples of correct performance of chant could be heard in recordings made by the Sistine Choir – an interesting use of the most modern technology. He concluded with a triumphant quote from Dante: “We are of that Rome of which Christ is Citizen”. There was no discussion following this paper.

Given the central importance of chant in the scenario outlined in *Tra le sollecitudini*, it is not surprising that a complete paper was devoted to this topic. Presented by the Very Rev P. Sexton of Dublin, and entitled 'The Chant of Ratisbon and Solesmes' this paper focussed on chant as an inestimable treasure of the church's historic heritage. It included a discussion of the influence of the Irish monks of the 9th and 10th centuries on the formation of Gregorian chant and traced the influence of Palestrina, Anerio and Soriano on the revision of chant from which the contemporary Ratisbon edition was derived. Sexton discussed the mistakes inherent in this edition and attempted to justify the influence of Palestrina on this flawed edition. Most importantly, he commended the recent scholarship and editorial work of the monks at Solesmes, noting the support this

²⁸⁹ *Proceedings of the Second Australasian Catholic Congress, 1905, pp. 478-483*

had received from Pius X and flagging the forthcoming availability of their publications.²⁹⁰

The theme of obedience to the Pope was taken up by the influential Archbishop of Adelaide (Dr John O'Reilly) in the paper 'The Pope on Church Music'. Following his appointment in 1895, the 'naturally musical' Archbishop²⁹¹ became an avid supporter of musical reform and his views were broadcast not only in this presentation but in many published articles in *The Advocate* spanning the years from the early 1890s until his death in 1915. During his congress presentation he defended *Tra le sollecitudini* vigorously, placing particular emphasis on the duty of obedience by the entire Church. Although conceding the Palestrina style to be more difficult than that with which local Catholics were familiar, O'Reilly challenged that 'difficulties, however, are made for overcoming, and, with patience and perseverance, many Masses of Palestrina and of his school may be sung in our larger churches'²⁹². On a more practical level he argued for better education in Latin for liturgical musicians, for more rigorous training of choirs and for the musical education of the young. O'Reilly's rousing presentation concluded with a dramatic call for obedience to papal authority:

I hear the outcry. My notions are extravagant. I bow to the accusation. In my defense I plead only that of my liege lord, the Supreme Pontiff, I am the humble feudatory, and that I am simply pointing out the measures which, as I can

²⁹⁰ *Proceedings of the Second Australasian Catholic Congress*, 1905, pp. 494-503

²⁹¹ H Harrison, *Laudate Dominum; Music at Adelaide's Catholic Cathedral 1945-1995* (Adelaide, 1997), p. 33

²⁹² *Proceedings of the Second Australasian Catholic Congress*, 1905, p. 473

understand his words, those who owe allegiance to him must take, if they are prepared to obey his will²⁹³.

It is worth pointing to this prediction of an ‘outcry’ of protest as a prescient vision of the strong opposition that was to occur. The paper drew criticism from Senator Mulcahy over the Archbishop’s definition of music and it, in turn, was answered by Mr T. Comber (choirmaster of St Andrew’s, Brunswick), who criticised the operatic style of singing and stated that all choirmasters should be Catholic. However, he had reservations about the availability of obtaining enough boys to provide the upper parts. Another speaker suggested that the Catholic Young Men’s Society should be trained in chant. This point was further elaborated by Mr J Kelly of Sydney who thought that children should be trained young, although he expressed reservations about the expense involved, stating that the choir of St Andrew’s Anglican Cathedral in Sydney cost £1000 per year. He also thought that the priest should not be kept waiting while an ‘artiste strained after high notes’. Dr Kenny, secretary of the Congress, spoke glowingly of hearing vast congregations in Germany singing chant and thought it strange that mixed congregations of near-savages in New Caledonia could sing chant without accompaniment or conductor while our congregations could not do the same. Archbishop O’Reilly thanked the speakers for their remarks and stated that his experience with choirs had not been pleasant, but if savages could sing plainchant then civilized people could do the same. He then reiterated the Pope’s desire to banish all operatic music from churches. Finally Cardinal Moran stated his pleasure in the paper, but cautioned that the Pope was speaking

²⁹³ *Proceedings of the Second Australasian Catholic Congress, 1905, p. 475*

to Europe, not missionary countries like Australia. He also encouraged the elimination of the abuse of ecclesiastical chant and the singing of congregational music in churches.²⁹⁴

The very pressing issue of problems involved in the local acceptance and implementation of *Tra le sollecitudini*, particularly in respect of education both of choirs and the general public, was tackled in a paper presented (also in absentia) by Ignaz von Gottfried of Christchurch (New Zealand). Entitled 'On the probable causes why Plain Song is held in disfavour'²⁹⁵, this paper commenced with a scholarly history of chant in Christian liturgy. The writer advanced the interesting theory that the development of the five-line stave and the consequent emphasis upon chant melody sacrificed the rhythmic and verbal subtlety upon which chant depends, leaving it with a 'dirge-like character'. This, he claimed, was the reason for the public apathy towards chant and the difficulties associated with its performance²⁹⁶.

Another spirited defense of the new regulations from a more local perspective was offered by William Parkinson, a leading member of the laity. Parkinson had been trained in England and had sung with various secular choral societies. He was an avid promoter of the reform of liturgical music and a notable vocal teacher²⁹⁷. His paper, 'Church Music', criticised those local churches which persisted in presenting inappropriate orchestral masses such as Mozart's *XII Mass*, Weber's *Mass in G* or Haydn's *Nelson*

²⁹⁴ *Proceedings of the Second Australasian Catholic Congress*, 1905, p.477

²⁹⁵ *Proceedings of the Second Australasian Catholic Congress*, 1905, pp. 507-511

²⁹⁶ *Proceedings of the Second Australasian Catholic Congress*, 1905, pp. 510

²⁹⁷ *Proceedings of the Second Australasian Catholic Congress*, 1905, pp. 504-506; Personal communication, Parkinson family archives, London, April 1997.

Mass even during Advent or Lent. While Parkinson did not mention any specific church by name it must have been well known that that he had been a soloist at St Francis' Church, Melbourne. He did not criticise works such as the *Mass no.1* by Giorza or Rossi's *Tantum Ergo* it was just that they had no place in church. He also included suggestions for the formation of mixed-sex choir schools based upon the English model with which he had experience in Lancashire.

In reviewing the presentations it is interesting to note that all predicted opposition to the reforms. All emphasised the need for obedience, the need to overcome difficulties and the reasons for probable resistance . One may well ask whether they could see that the Vatican was setting an impossible task or whether they were just “voices crying in the wilderness’.

Of the list of 25 resolutions formally adopted by the congress at its closing session, none concerned liturgical music. It was obviously regarded as of less importance than issues such as the Irish problems, the persecution of the Church in France, the massacre of German priests in New Britain, the establishment of St Vincent de Paul Societies, temperance, the work of women and the advancement of science.²⁹⁸ Perhaps the absence of any motion concerning music suggests that there was little support for the reforms and it was felt wiser to just leave the situation alone.

²⁹⁸ *Proceedings of the Second Australasian Catholic Congress, 1905, pp.651*

Public education through the press

Notwithstanding the importance of the 1904 congress in providing direct communication concerning *Tra le sollecitudini* to the Catholic community, *The Advocate* continued to provide coverage on the matter of musical reform. Following the numerous articles which had been published for a period of almost two decades, as discussed in Chapter 3, *Tra le sollecitudini* was met with full editorial support. The first mention was in a news item of November 1903²⁹⁹ stating that the new pope had issued a letter on sacred music and Gregorian chant which was already "exciting much interest". Subsequent articles noted that the document had been warmly received in important centres such as London³⁰⁰ and Dublin.³⁰¹ The leader of the reform movement in Australia, Archbishop O'Reilly of Adelaide, also published a long article in defense of the motu proprio in *The Advocate*.³⁰²

The press also served as an agent for education with occasional articles designed to assist liturgical musicians. These included a number of articles on Gregorian chant published in *The Advocate* in 1904³⁰³, including a circular letter from Archbishop O'Reilly to the churches of his archdiocese advocating and advising on the use of Gregorian chant. Other articles that year featured reports on the promotion of chant from London and Dublin and an article on the first use of the gramophone to demonstrate the true interpretation of

²⁹⁹ *The Advocate*, 28 November 1903, p. 5

³⁰⁰ *The Advocate*, 15 October 1904, p. 11

³⁰¹ *The Advocate*, 20 August 1904, p. 16

³⁰² *The Advocate*, 10 September 1904, p. 17 & 17 September 1904, p. 18

³⁰³ For example, *The Advocate*, 17 September 1904, pp. 15-16

chant.³⁰⁴ These articles were of minimal practical assistance, but they did all serve to increase awareness of the use of chant in the liturgy.

Between 1903 and 1908 a good deal of controversy was provoked by frequent articles and letters addressed to the editors of *The Advocate*. It was apparent that there was considerable lack of understanding about the actual meaning of the motu proprio and a belief that it did not apply to the local Church. An article published in 1908 contained a lengthy feature reprinted from the *Bombay Catholic Examiner* critical of the role of women in choirs and restating the papal command that they had no place in the liturgical music of the Church.³⁰⁵ An inflammatory and anonymous letter to the editor complained of opera arias being sung in Italian in Melbourne's churches. The writer stated that the papal edict was being ignored because of public apathy, claiming that the reason for this lack of urgency was that Melbourne's Catholic choirs were being 'conducted by Jews, Atheists, Freemasons and Protestants'.³⁰⁶ Subsequent letters agreed with this argument. It was felt by those supportive of reform that the choir of St Ignatius Church, Richmond conducted by Thomas Lamble with a repertoire of plainchant was an example of a 'true' Catholic choir:

Compare it with the Gregorian music rendered at the Cathedral or at St Ignatius Church where a magnificent choir of fifty men and boys sing the Mass music, and you will not be long in appreciating the fact. It has long been apparent to observers that the last Mass on Sunday does not attract the number of worshippers

³⁰⁴ *The Advocate*, 10 September p. 17; 15 October, p. 11 & 8 October p. 26

³⁰⁵ *The Advocate*, 11 July 1908, p. 42

³⁰⁶ *The Advocate*, 26 September 1908, p. 16

which earlier Masses do, and the character of the music is undoubtedly one of the causes. The sooner priests and people start a reform, the sooner its good effect will be apparent among the people.³⁰⁷

However, very few churches followed this example.

In October 1908 the indefatigable Archbishop O'Reilly of Adelaide issued a circular letter to his churches reiterating his call for reform to church music³⁰⁸ and in April 1909 he published another similar letter in *The Advocate*. This new tirade was in response to the failure of the reform message to achieve any widespread acceptance. It concluded: 'The Supreme Pontiff has given his orders and these orders must be - they will be - obeyed'³⁰⁹. Over the ensuing decade *The Advocate* continued to promote the issue of music reform with occasional articles. These included an address by the Archbishop of Boston in 1910 on the 'Influence of Pope St Gregory the Great on Church Music'. In 1911 the paper reported on new gramophone recordings of Palestrina and other approved composers by the Sistine Chapel Choir. Three articles appeared in 1912 including an article by Godwin Bulger on 'Catholics and Music', an instruction to the choirs of Rome and its suburbs from Cardinal Respighi (Cardinal Vicar of Rome) on the lines of Pius X's motu proprio and finally another article in praise of Gregorian Chant.³¹⁰ There were no more articles of note until 1920 when Herr Steinmetz, Director of Music at the cathedral

³⁰⁷ *The Advocate*, 10 October 1908, p. 10

³⁰⁸ *The Advocate*, 17 October 1908, p. 33

³⁰⁹ *The Advocate*, 10 April, 1909, p. 21

³¹⁰ *The Advocate*, 27 January 1912, p. 47; 27 April 1912, p. 28 & 29 June 1912, p. 12

published his views on 'Church Choirs and Church Music' which will be discussed below.³¹¹

There had been no official statement on liturgical music in the Archdiocese of Melbourne during the tenure of Archbishop Carr, and further, it is not known if Caecilian ideals made any significant imprint on Melbourne's clergy during their training. At this time all Australian clergy were trained at St Patrick's College (Manly, NSW) which had been founded by Cardinal Moran in 1885. Moran took a close paternal pride in his college and it is not unlikely that his imperious personal views in favour of orchestral masses had some influence on the syllabus. Although the cardinal maintained a strong preference for these masses, which is reflected by the collection of music held in the college archives and known performances of such works at St Mary's Cathedral³¹², the clergy in training at St Patrick's College were educated in plainsong, even before 1903. One of their texts was *A manual of Sacred Chants and Ceremonies* published in 1895 especially for their use³¹³. This manual comprises plainchant throughout, with Latin texts. The title-page states:

A manual of Sacred Chants and Ceremonies
containing psalms, hymns, chants for Vespers and the Litanies, and Prayers for
the Forty Hours Adoration together with an exposition of Gregorian Chant and
the Ceremonies of Vespers, Benediction, High Mass and the
Forty Hours Adoration.
by Monsignor Verdon D.D., President of St Patrick's College, Manly.
Sydney, Finn Brothers and Company, 1895.

³¹¹ *The Advocate*, 7 February 1920, p. 14

³¹² Sighted at St Patrick's College, Manly, January 1996

³¹³ Music collection examined, Manly, January 1996

Music in the city churches (1903-17)

St Patrick's Cathedral

It has been seen that between 1898 and 1901 the director of St Patrick's Cathedral Choir, Herr Steinmetz had introduced many of the reform measures that were to be demanded in the 1903 motu proprio including the introduction of a male-only choir and chanted Propers. On Palm Sunday 1900 he performed for the first time the oratorio *The Resurrection of Lazarus* by Lorenzo Perosi which, Boland suggests, appears to have been a favourite work of Archbishop Carr.³¹⁴ In 1901 the proclamation of the new Commonwealth was celebrated with Gounod's *Messe Solennelle* concluding with its *Salvem fac rempublicam* (God save the Commonwealth), a new Jubilate and the ever-popular *Hallelujah* by Handel.³¹⁵ Following his resignation, he was replaced by two directors, Herr Otto Linden (for morning services) and Mr F. Brady (for the evening or Vesper choir). According to Boland, Herr Linden's preference was for orchestral repertoire but Mr Brady was eager to embrace the new Caecilian way of performing liturgical music³¹⁶. Boland also states that Linden, who had conducted Haydn's *Nelson Mass* for the opening of the Second Australasian Catholic Congress in 1904 was soon pressured by Fr Robinson into performing Gregorian chant and Palestrina, but he was definitely not in favour of the new style and quickly reverted to Haydn³¹⁷. He resigned in frustration in 1907.

³¹⁴ Boland, *St Patrick's Cathedral, a Life.*, p. 125

³¹⁵ Ibid.

³¹⁶ Ibid., p. 125

Linden's successor was Frederick Beard, who came with impeccable credentials as a musician, teacher and conductor. With a brief to direct the choir in accord with the directives of Pius X, he instituted reforms slowly, decreasing the frequency of the more florid masses but retaining female choristers until boys could be trained and brought up to standard.³¹⁸ His first action was to drop the very 'florid' masses which had been espoused by Linden. Boland (1997) states that this was typical of Archbishop Carr who sought to be seen to be as obedient to Rome as he could be, but who was supremely sensitive to the feelings of his choir and congregation. At Christmas 1907 Beard's programme at the cathedral was greeted with approval in *The Advocate*:

The special music was rendered in the true spirit of the Church that we have now become accustomed to under Professor Beard's direction and musicianly skill. The selection of music was delightfully refined, melodious and edifying, the result of the Professor's twenty-six years of continuous service in the interest of church music.

Vincent Novello's arrangement of the old hymn 'Adeste Fidelis' (sic) served as an introduction. As the Archbishop and clergy entered the sanctuary the Introit according to the Ratisbon edition of the Gregorian Chant was intoned after which the Kyrie of Paladilhe's beautiful mass was sung... Two numbers from 'The Christmas Oratorio' of Saint-Saens were rendered for the first time in Australia – a vocal trio 'Tecum Principium' at the Graduale and a Pastorale for the orchestra at the Offertory... At the conclusion Gounod's 'Marche Solennelle' was impressively rendered by an orchestra of strings, composed of the best performers in Melbourne, two harps and organ.³¹⁹

³¹⁷ Ibid., p. 126

³¹⁸ Ibid., p. 126

For Christmas 1908, Beard's wish to conform to the 1903 decree was surely minimal for while he did change the orchestration to strings and organ, he nevertheless conducted Gounod's sumptuous *Messe Solennelle*.³²⁰ While it is difficult to be certain, it seems that during his directorship the main choir at the cathedral consisted of mixed voices, although a choir of men and boys was used at Vespers³²¹. This choir would occasionally sing chant with the main morning choir as well.

Beard died of malaria in Colombo in 1911 while en route to Europe³²² and his place was taken by Herr Steinmetz, who maintained a mixed-voice choir³²³. In 1910 the Christmas celebrations at the cathedral included Gounod's *Messe Solennelle de Paques* accompanied by strings, harp and organ, a *March Religioso* by Gounod, the *Pastoral Symphony* from Handel's *Messiah* and the favourite standby *Adeste fideles* arranged by Vincent Novello³²⁴. Over the next 25 years Christmas music at the Cathedral remained basically unchanged. In 1915 it comprised *Messe Solennelle de la Pentecôte* by Emile Paladilhe with orchestra, the trio *Tecum Principium* from the cantata *Nöel* by Saint-Saens, Novello's arrangement of *Adeste fideles* and a boys' choir singing the Gregorian Proper of the Mass³²⁵. The growing inclusion of music by contemporary composers such as Perosi and Guilmant, and the local Frederick Beard, is noteworthy and evidence of some compliance with Vatican directives, but some compositions by Saint-Saens,

³¹⁹ *Advoc.*, 4 January 1908, p. 20

³²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 126

³²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 126

³²² Personal communication, Dr G. Cox, August 2004

³²³ Boland, *St Patrick's Cathedral, a Life.*, p. 126

³²⁴ *The Advocate*, 31 December 1910, p. 23

³²⁵ *The Advocate*, 1 January 1916, p. 18

Paladilhe and Gounod were more questionable. The changes in directors and the inability to settle on either a mixed-voice or male choir resulted in some strange programming, as for example at Christmas 1922. On this occasion the boys sang the Gregorian Proper while the mixed choir sang Smith's Mass in D, Perosi's arrangement of *Adeste fideles* and the Credo from Gounod's Mass of the Sacred Heart: a rather uneasy compromise³²⁶. While Perosi and Guilmant were perfectly acceptable, the Paladilhe was scored for a large orchestra and was theatrical in style. Emile Paladilhe (1844-1926) was a French composer whose music was popular in Melbourne and was widely available through the close friendship of John Lewis Coad (organist at St Francis) with the composer's son.

St Francis Church

Meanwhile, at St Francis there was a clash of musical preferences between the Choir Director, Thomas Lamble (1894-1908) who was eager to implement the new regime of Vatican-approved music, and the parish priest, Archpriest William Quilter³²⁷. Lamble introduced the appropriate Gregorian Propers apparently against the wishes of Quilter and records indicate that at Easter 1908 the full chanted Proper was sung. Eileen O'Brien, a choir member at that time, recalls that the choir thought them to be 'neither beautiful or satisfying'³²⁸. Lamble wrote in 1908:

There has been so much exaggeration of the restrictions imposed by Pius X's *Motu Proprio* on Church music that it is worthwhile to reproduce this statement of a competent musician Mr R. R., Terry. 'The *Motu Proprio* does not restrain the

³²⁶ Boland, *St Patrick's Cathedral, a Life.*, p. 127

³²⁷ An Archpriest is simply an honorary title

³²⁸ Rankin, *The History of Music at St Francis' Church 1839-1979.*, p. 48

individuality of modern composers in any way. They are free now as ever they were to bring to bear on their Church music all the resources which the modern idiom and modern technique provide them. All that is required is that their music shall be in harmony with the mind of the Church, that the gravity, sobriety and restraint demanded in the House of God shall not be violated, that the liturgy shall be interpreted and not obscured; and that liturgical laws and regulations shall be respected'. That Gregorian music must be used to the exclusion of other styles is something that has been read into the Pope's declaration on Sacred Music; the *Motu Proprio* does not say so, although, of course, Plainchant is the ideal music for Catholic Churches³²⁹.

In April of that year *The Tribune*³³⁰ praised the distinction of the music at St Francis and complimented Lamble on the musical excellence of 'the rigid adherence to the singing of the proper offertories throughout the year'.³³¹ Nevertheless, on 30 May that year Thomas Lamble was dismissed by the parish priest William Quilter.³³² The music at St Francis was to be kept in accord with the feelings and attitudes of most of the parishioners. These attitudes were captured two years later in October 1910 by Dean Phelan in a sermon preached at the mass to celebrate the opening of the rebuilt organ, when the choir sang Gounod's *Messe Solennelle de Ste Cécile*

:

These sublime compositions which entwine themselves around the words of the Mass are butchered when taken away from their proper setting. They were written

³²⁹ *The Tribune*, 29 February 1908, p. 2

³³⁰ *The Tribune* was a Melbourne Catholic weekly founded in 1900

³³¹ *The Tribune*, 25 April 1908, p. 8

³³² Byrne, *Echoes of Home, Music at St Francis 1845-1995.*, p. 101

for the Holy Sacrifice; they were composed by men full of faith and piety, saturated with the idea of the supernatural³³³.

Quilter appointed Achille Rebottaro, an opera singer, to assume control of the choir in June 1908 and he remained in that position until he was dismissed on 5 May 1932. Quilter died in 1926, but the traditional musical arrangements remained unchanged during the tenure of his successors, Rev William Collins (1926-1928) and Rev Edward Fennessy (1928-1929)³³⁴. While controversy and conflict raged around the question of appropriate music in the Catholic Church, during the thirty-one years of Fr Quilter's administration of St Francis, the official demands for musical change were largely disregarded.

Music in churches beyond the city

The amount of surviving information about music in Catholic suburban churches is not great, however it is possible to gauge some idea of the trends taking place. It must be stated however, that from the early 20th century music lists were not published as frequently as in earlier years.

When Thomas Lamble was dismissed from St Francis in 1908 he assumed a much more congenial position as Director of Music at the great Jesuit church of St Ignatius in Richmond. Here he was apparently able to perform music in accord with the decree of Pius X with the full support of the clergy. Melbourne's other Jesuit church, the

³³³ *The Advocate*, 8 October 1908, p. 16

Immaculate Conception in Hawthorn also appeared to be supportive of the reforms, but the lack of archival evidence makes further comment difficult.

Another notable church where the musical reforms were taken very seriously was Our Lady of Victories (originally St John Berchman's) in Camberwell³³⁵. In particular, the effort of the priest Rev George Robinson (who was also responsible for the building of this rather theatrical basilica-style church) was an enormous factor. Previously Robinson was active at Melbourne's St Francis Church (1889-1896) and later at St Patrick's Cathedral, Carlton, South Melbourne and Geelong. The music at this church adhered strictly to the precepts of *Tra le sollecitudini* with a strong emphasis on plainsong. Unfortunately however, the implementation of the reformed style of music at Our Lady of Victories lost impetus when Fr Robinson died suddenly in 1918, and Sheehan notes that the death in middle age of this dynamic man robbed the supporters of the reformed agenda of their strongest advocate³³⁶. Also, Achille Rebottaro, a strong proponent of the older style of liturgical music, became Director of Music there after he was dismissed from St Francis. It is also of interest to note that the very large organ in Our Lady of Victories was installed in 1920, eighteen months after the death of Fr Robinson.

³³⁴ Byrne, *Echoes of Home, Music at St Francis 1845-1995.*, p. 206

³³⁵ M Sheehan, *Victories in Camberwell; a History of Catholics in Camberwell* (Melbourne, nd)., p. 39

³³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 116



REV GEORGE ROBINSON
ACHILLE REBOTTARO

By contrast, however, St Mary's, East St Kilda celebrated the 'Forty Hours', a popular liturgical form of piety in 1905 with Achille Rebottaro (who in 1908 was to move to St Francis) conducting Haydn's *Nelson Mass* and Gounod's *Ave verum*³³⁷. This was in keeping with parish tradition; five years earlier the 'Forty Hours' was commenced with Gounod's *Messe Solennelle "St Cecilia"* and Hoban's *Ave Maria*³³⁸. Rebottaro's prominence may have accounted for these press reports, for following his departure the music of this parish was mentioned only very rarely. The performance of repertoire similar to that noted at St Mary's, East St Kilda occurred at other suburban churches. For example, at Christmas 1915 St Peter and Paul's Church, South Melbourne featured Gounod's *Messe Solennelle "St Cecilia"*, at Sacred Heart, West St Kilda, the choir sang Mozart's *Coronation Mass*, at St James' Church, Gardenvale, the music was Haydn's *Nelson Mass* and at St Alipius' Church, Oakleigh, (later Sacred Heart) the choir sang Farmer's *Mass*³³⁹. Some form of orchestral accompaniment was indicated for all of these performances. This kind of repertoire certainly indicates a lack of respect for the demands of *Tra le sollecitudini*, and the evidence suggests that this was typical of music programming throughout the year.

In summing up the progress of reform in liturgical music during the reign of Archbishop Carr, it should firstly be underlined that the Archbishop himself at no stage made an official pronouncement on the matter, nor did he take any direct action to facilitate the process. This was in contrast to Adelaide where O'Reilly had set up a commission of

³³⁷ *The Advocate*, 16 December 1905, p. 16

³³⁸ *The Advocate*, 15 December 1900, p. 12

³³⁹ *The Advocate*, 1 January 1916, p. 18

sacred music in 1908.³⁴⁰ Yet he did nothing to impede the efforts of those who were anxious for reform measures to be developed. Of all the proponents of reform John O'Reilly stands out in the realm of oratory and penmanship. At a more practical level, the Jesuit Society and individuals such as Thomas Lamble, Steinmetz and Frederick Beard were responsible for changed practices, even if some were short-lived.

In the city the service of Vespers was the first to change, and the introduction of Gregorian Propers was an early measure to be adopted at the cathedral. In Carr's time, however, there is little evidence of approved polyphonic settings of the Eucharist being performed even in St Patrick's Cathedral. Beyond the city evidence of compliance with *Tra le sollecitudini* regulations was negligible.

³⁴⁰ Harrison, *Laudate Dominum; Music at Adelaide's Catholic Cathedral 1945-1995.*, p. 35

The Progress of Reform under Archbishop Daniel Mannix 1917-28



Although of similar ethnic background and training to his predecessor, Archbishop Daniel Mannix, who arrived in Melbourne in 1913 as Coadjutor to Carr, was endowed with a rather different style, interests and abilities. Whereas Carr's greatest achievements had been in the field of education, Mannix's influence was most keenly felt in the political arena. In particular he became a figure-head in the anti-conscription controversy during World War I, the battle for Irish liberty from 1916 onwards and the political battle involving the Catholic Social Studies Movement, the Australian Labor Party and communist influence during the late 1940s and 1950s. In the political arena Mannix displayed remarkable charisma while fighting for values which he believed would build a strong, independent and Catholic Australia. While this involvement meant that he did not

endear himself to the Vatican, it made him a colourful and controversial figure in his own diocese where he was worshipped by some and hated by others.³⁴¹

Born in 1864 in Charleville, County Cork, Mannix was typical of the great tradition of prelates who were exported from Ireland in the 19th century. A man of immense intellectual brilliance he was president of the Royal Seminary of Maynooth from 1903 to 1912. Appointed coadjutor to the ailing Archbishop Carr in 1913, he succeeded him in 1917 and remained Archbishop until his death in 1963.³⁴²

It is possible to get a sense of Mannix's independence of spirit in matters concerning the Holy See and to shed some light on his attitudes. Walter Ebsworth, in his biography of Mannix writes:

The few letters that remain in the Dublin archives reveal a thorough knowledge of Canon Law, but a glimmer of disdain comes peeping through. In Australia, he largely ignored it. There was no diocesan Curia, never a concursus for parishes ..., never a visitation of parishes, and for years Melbourne had no vicar-general, although he delegated full powers to the Administrator of the Cathedral. The only time he appointed Monsignori was before the International Eucharistic Congress in Sydney [1928] when he was told he could not have a Congress function in Melbourne unless he was attended by Monsignori, and accordingly, he wrote to his six Diocesan Counselors conferring the title upon them, a privileged action jealously guarded by Rome³⁴³.

³⁴¹ M. Fraser "Mannix, Daniel Patrick" in *The Oxford Companion to Australian History* (ed G Davison, J Hirst, S Macintyre) Melbourne: Oxford 1998, p. 409

³⁴² Ibid., p. 409

³⁴³ W Ebsworth, *Archbishop Mannix* (np, 1977), p. 64

Patrick O'Farrell gives another perspective:

At Maynooth, Mannix revealed that intense interest in practical social questions which was characteristic of his life. As first secretary of the Maynooth Union of priests Mannix was responsible for swinging the emphasis of clerical discussions away from theoretical, 'academic' questions towards the political, semi-political and economic questions of the day³⁴⁴.

The Irish/Australian hierarchy has been a long and constant source of friction to the Vatican authorities in Rome. This was evident in the 1920s in the reports of the Apostolic Nuncio, and is still the case up to the present day.³⁴⁵ The Australian Church has always been seen by the Vatican as too independent and too democratic. Mannix would most likely have thought that it was a good thing, for he had a distinctive administrative style and encouraged delegation of authority. According to Boland, Mannix is reputed to have informed his coadjutor Justin Simonds (later Archbishop) that:

He liked to govern the Archdiocese with what he called 'a light rein'. Mannix tried to 'educate' his coadjutor at one of the welcoming functions by remarking, pointedly, that he found giving people their head, as with horses, to be 'the way to get the best from my priests' and therefore 'to interfere as little as possible in their work and their plans'. His confidence, he said, had been amply justified³⁴⁶.

Mannix's attitudes reveal a distancing from the authority of the Holy See, seen in major areas such as politics and authority as well as minor ones such a liturgical music. The

³⁴⁴ O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and community, an Australian history.*, p. 302

³⁴⁵ See the 1998 *Statement of Conclusion* prepared by the Vatican for the Synod of Oceania.

³⁴⁶ M Gilchrist, *Daniel Mannix, Priest and Patriot* (Melbourne, 1982)., p. 180

coolness between Mannix and the dictates of Rome appears to have been mutual for Michael Gilchrist reports on the anger of leading local Catholic identities when the junior Norman Gilroy (Archbishop of Sydney) was made a cardinal in preference to the more senior Mannix³⁴⁷.

As with Carr's reign, Mannix's reign was not distinguished by interest in or great attention to matters concerning sacred music. As Rev Ernest Rayson stated: 'I always find it amusing that Daniel Mannix is commemorated by an organ in St Patrick's Cathedral, when as far as music was concerned, he did not have any particular interest.'³⁴⁸ But despite an apparent disinterest in the reforms as promulgated in 1903 and a failure to act proactively concerning implementation, Dr Mannix, when forced to take action and was willing to wield his authority in the enactment of the Vatican measures.

Education and Opinion in the Press

In respect of education the press had limited offerings during the first decade of Mannix's reign. However mention should be made of a booklet which, over the years appeared to gain some circulation among interested Australian Catholics. Entitled *Wisely, an appeal to Australian Catholics* written by "Gregorius" and published in 1925 in Sydney³⁴⁹, this booklet comprised an impassioned plea for the introduction of plainchant along with practical information on the training of choirs to sing chant. No similar publication

³⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 186

³⁴⁸ Personal communication, Rev E. Rayson, September 1993 and November 1004

³⁴⁹ 'Gregorius', *Sing ye wisely*, (Sydney, 1925)

appeared from Melbourne sources at this time, but it may well have been used in this archdiocese.

Sharply divided opinions published in the press on the matter of musical reform, and confused interpretations of *Tra le sollecitudini* (as noted earlier) continued to prevail. For example, an article by Herr F. V. Steinmetz, Director of Music at St Patrick's Cathedral, was published in 1920, specifying the need for sacred decorum in liturgical music. Steinmetz praised the new musical regulations while mentioning his own unsuccessful attempt to introduce plainsong to the cathedral in 1898. He asked, 'who can imagine when hearing some of Haydn's *Kyries* warbled, that one is supposed to listen to a cry for mercy and not a selection from grand opera'.³⁵⁰ As if to prove the lack of understanding still evident even among specialists, Steinmetz then suggested more appropriate music such as the masses of Rousseau, Paladilhe, Saint-Saens and Guilment and many of the masses by Gounod, 'headed by the evergreen and often much-suffering St Cecilia Mass.'³⁵¹ He suggested that the St Patrick's Cathedral Choir should perform a repertoire of more suitable items such as the seven masses by Gounod, including the large *Messe Solennelle* and *Mess de Paques*, as well as masses by Camille Saint-Saens, Emile Paladilhe, Felix Guilment and Gregorian Chant. At the same time however, he disclosed his appreciation of the music of composers such as Mozart and Haydn, stating that they had been declared inappropriate by the highest authority. Steinmetz was well known in Melbourne for his reformist views. As noted above he introduced the principles of Caecilianism at St Patrick's Cathedral as soon as he assumed control of the choir in 1896

³⁵⁰ *The Advocate*, 7 February 1920, p. 14

for his first period of directorship. These measures, to which reference is made in his article, pre-dated *Tra le sollecitudini* by almost seven years. What is particularly interesting about the article is the evidence it provides that the reforms were not being adequately observed in 1920, even in St Patrick's Cathedral. Also interesting is Steinmetz's understanding of the suitability or otherwise of major works in terms of *Tra le sollecitudini*.

An item which caused a spate of impassioned argument in the pages of *The Advocate* was the large commissioned article by Edward C. Mulvany published in 1924. Mulvany was a highly qualified public servant in the Department of Agriculture and was mentioned in *The Advocate* as having a 'brilliant scholastic career'. He praised the post- *Tra le sollecitudini* style of repertoire as performed at the Jesuit church of the Immaculate Conception in Hawthorn, commending it as a good attempt to emulate the work of London's Dr Terry at Westminster Cathedral. Noting the repertoire of the rest of Melbourne's Catholic churches with their reliance upon a handful of masses by Gounod, Haydn and Beethoven, he continued:

There are two separate and two distinct types of Church music, and, indeed, of music generally. The first and greater aims at the true expression of emotion, whether already written or not. If it is already down in words, the composer gives it a further expression through the musical medium. Thus we come to have Handel's *Messiah*, Beethoven's *Missa Solemnis* and the Sistine compositions from Palestrina onwards. The second type is instanced in a composer "adapting" previously written (and possibly quite inappropriate) tunes to the words and

emotions concerned. This false art results in Rossini's *Stabat Mater* and Haydn's *Imperial [Nelson] Mass*. Against the second class of music is the Motu Proprio directed. The first class is artistic because prayerful, and prayerful because artistic. The second is neither the one nor the other. The mistaken impression is abroad that Pius X was opposed to four-part singing and was a protagonist of the Gregorian school. Doubtless he preferred the latter, but as long as a genius sincerely sets out clearly to express the words of the Gloria, Credo, etc., he will remain well within the liturgical bounds. There will, of course, be a predominant emotion, and a Requiem will not be leveled with a Mass for Easter Day³⁵².

Mulvany's logic is difficult to follow and some of his facts not without question. But this passage reveals two important points: firstly that the perception of *Tra le sollecitudini* as a total return to plainsong was still very much the case in Melbourne in 1924, and secondly, that the problems of comprehension (even by reputable musicians) with respect to acceptable service settings and motets in the reform era was ongoing. Later in the article he gave a pertinent example of questionable understanding by claiming the Mozart's masses fall into the first (permitted) category of music³⁵³.

The correspondence in response to Mulvany's article was overwhelming, continuing for four months³⁵⁴. On putting a stop to the debate, the editor permitted a final letter which was sent from Scotland by the author "B flat" of Glasgow³⁵⁵. The writer not only implored a wider and more catholic approach to music, but more importantly, showed the

³⁵² *The Advocate*, 17 January 1924, p. 19

³⁵³ See also Mulvaney 'Early and modern church music' in *The Advocate*, 12 August 1926, p. 30

³⁵⁴ *The Advocate*, 10 January 1924, p. 21; 24 January 1924, p. 13; 31 January 1924, p. 12; 21 February 1924, p. 34; 13 March 1924, p. 12; 27 March 1924, p. 9; 3 April 1924, p. 9; 10 April 1924, pp. 12 and 13; 17 April 1924, pp. 7 and 20; 24 April 1924, p. 11; 1 May 1924, pp. 8 and 15 May 1924, p. 7 & 22 May 1924, p. 13

failure of the Vatican authorities to adequately explain the reasons behind *Tra le sollecitudini*. The correspondent also emphasized at considerable length the problem of a basic lack of rapport between liturgical reformers and ordinary musicians and music lovers. His opinions may be regarded as a microcosm of the entire anti-reform movement:

Not the least interesting items in recent issues of *The Advocate* to hand are a series of articles dealing with Church music. As I take a deep and practical interest in all that pertains to "Musica Sacra", and as some of the articles in question are rather narrowly conceived, I hope you will allow me to make some reply in defence of the glorious heritage bequeathed to the Church by composers of all ages and all nations.

It is a pity that discussions on Church music usually create a storm and very often produce bitterness and rancour, thereby withdrawing us from the true aim and purpose of such discussions - namely, the betterment of Church music in a broad and Catholic spirit.

It is also a fact that certain self-styled Church music "reformers" take the opportunity of such discussions to vent their spleen on certain composers and their compositions quite regardless of circumstances. Now, attacks of this kind are far too sweeping (sometimes they are unfair as well). There are good pieces to be found even amongst the works of the most despised composers.

Some over-zealous reformers would sweep away all 18th-century composers - Mozart, Haydn, Beethoven, Hummel, etc.- and take away sentiment. Avoiding excessive sentiment, the true reformer must be broad-minded and judge compositions by their intrinsic merits. There is no reason why Church music should be dull or less interesting than other forms of compositions. Few of our Church music reformers look upon the subject as it really is, but regard it through some fantastic prism presented by their own prejudice, which invests it with false colour....

³⁵⁵ *The Advocate*, 22 May 1924, p. 13

Does "I.M.J.F." [the author of the earlier articles on Church music reform in *The Advocate*] really and sincerely hold the opinion that from the Gregorian era and Palestrina's time no worthy Church music has been produced until the establishment of the German and Italian Caecilian Reform Schools, as represented by Witt and Perosi etc?³⁵⁶

The last polemical article concerning the reform of liturgical music was written by Claire Brennan in 1929. It is representative of hard-line Caecilianism:

With the exception of Wagner, Wolf and Franz, the most important of the nineteenth century composers devoted themselves to instrumental music, and the production of Church music was unfortunately left in the hands of men of inferior talent. The opera invaded the church and the lowest ebb of the century was touched in the so-called sacred music of Rossini, whose musical style was as debased as his religious sentiment was false. The whole tone of these compositions approaches perilously close to blasphemy when they are performed in Church. Schumann has aptly summed up this style as 'canary bird music and tunes out of the waste paper basket'. Gounod is a little above Rossini, but his Masses are not much more than a series of opera tunes masquerading under religious disguise. Yet our choirs reserve his commonplace *Messe Solenne* (sic) for very special occasions and imagine that with it they have risen to great heights.³⁵⁷

On the other hand, Brennan acknowledges the liturgical suitability of certain works:

The only composer of the last century who possessed any real religious sentiment was Cesar Franck, who wrote one Mass of great beauty and true feeling. Coming down to our own times, the most important Church composer is the Italian priest,

³⁵⁶ *The Advocate*, 22 May 1924, p. 13

³⁵⁷ *The Advocate*, 21 February 1929, p. 9

Lorenzo Perosi, who applies all the resources of modern technique to the proper expression of the liturgical text, while England is represented by a very fine Mass of the eminent composer Vaughan Williams.³⁵⁸

Given the disparity of views expressed in the press, it cannot be concluded that this agency was achieving any degree of success in changing public opinion. However other developments to be discussed allowed for the problems of musical reform to be tackled from different angles, one of these being a very timely visit by the Sistine Choir.

The visit of the Sistine Choir, 1922

Interest in liturgical music was undoubtedly increased in 1922, when Melbourne, Sydney and Adelaide received a visit from the Sistine Chapel Choir under its acting director Monsignor Antonio Rella whose paper on the 1903 regulations had been read at the 1904 Congress . (Lorenzo Perosi, the director, was too ill to make the journey.) Consisting of 65 male voices, the choir gave its first performance in the Melbourne Town Hall on Saturday 15 April³⁵⁹. The first concert consisted of chant and motets by Palestrina, Victoria, Viadana and the contemporary Perosi. Although these are the items reviewed, the paper of three weeks earlier announced that the choir would also sing Allegri's *Miserere* and Palestrina's *Missa Papae Marcelli*. It also stated, rather surprisingly, that the choir and soloists would also perform solos, duets and choruses from *Gotterdammerung* (Wagner), *Parsifal* (Wagner), *La Boheme* (Puccini), *Tosca* (Puccini), *Carmen* (Bizet), *Faust* (Gounod), *Le Roi d'Ys* (Lalo), *Il Trovatore* (Verdi), *Manon*

³⁵⁸ *The Advocate*, 21 February 1929, p. 9

³⁵⁹ *The Advocate*, 20 April 1922, p. 11

(Massenet), *La Forza del Destino* (Verdi), *Aïda* (Verdi), *La Gioconda* (Ponchielli) and *Otello* (Verdi)³⁶⁰. The effect of these performances was to rouse much admiration and discussion of the reform of liturgical music. Both leading daily papers *The Age* and *The Argus* also gave the choir glowing reviews.³⁶¹ In an article in *The Tribune*, Monsignor Rella deplored the state of local church music and attacked the continued presence of women in Catholic choirs despite the explicit instructions of the Pope 19 years earlier. He grudgingly stated, "if it cannot be helped, women may then be suffered to continue until a different arrangement can be made"³⁶².

Musical Formation of Clergy: Corpus Christi Seminary, Werribee

In 1917 the Apostolic Delegate, Cardinal Cerretti, was replaced by Cardinal Cattaneo who, according to Gilchrist thought 'of the Irish as a secondary race - and he - the Delegate - believed that the bishops should more actively foster an Australian clergy'³⁶³. Accordingly, Cattaneo questioned the suitability of a national seminary at Manly (built upon Irish traditions) with the authorities in Rome. In 1922 the Vatican decided to promote provincial and diocesan seminaries rather than Cardinal Moran's national seminary at St Patrick's College³⁶⁴ and Archbishop Mannix purchased a large property at Werribee in 1923, establishing the local Corpus Christi Seminary. Unlike St Patrick's College with its Irish staff and Roman discipline, Corpus Christi was conducted by Jesuits recruited from Ireland, England, America and Australia. Archbishop Mannix gave

³⁶⁰ *The Advocate*, 30 March 1922, p. 5

³⁶¹ *The Age*, 17 April 1922, p. 9 and 18 April 1922, p. 7.
The Argus, 17 April 1922, p. 10 and 24 April 1922, p. 9

³⁶² *The Advocate*, 6 July 1922, p. 3

³⁶³ O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and community, an Australian history.*, p. 363

them a free hand for he believed that the clergy needed ‘not only a deep spirituality, but a sound academic training combined with the encouragement of intellectual initiative’³⁶⁵. This was in keeping with the strong Jesuit tradition of scholarship. O’Farrell encapsulates the difference in style between the seminaries at Manly and Werribee thus:

Again in distinction from Manly the Werribee staff did not remain isolated in their seminary, but took an active role in the general Catholic community in a way that gave them contact with lay people and experience with individual and social problems, experience which, when applied in the education of priests, gave the Werribee training an immediacy and outward-going vigour lacking at Manly... The Werribee atmosphere was still authoritarian and rigid, and spiritual formation and the mastery of dogma were pursued before intellectual values. Yet the spirit of the seminary was excellent, friendship and co-operation pervaded staff-student relations, and obedience was expected rather than compelled³⁶⁶.

During the early years liturgical music training at Corpus Christi included both plainchant and polyphony, but within the context of broad Western musical traditions. The Rector, Rev George O’Neil, was an accomplished pianist who presented recitals of 19th-century music on Saturday afternoons. This remained the practice until 1928 when Rev Henry Johnston was appointed Professor at the seminary, becoming Rector in 1932 and remaining in this position until 1948. Johnston lifted the standard considerably and even compiled his own hymn-book for the use of the students. (Unfortunately a copy has not been located.) Under his direction there was an increased awareness of the role of liturgical music and classes in plainchant were held every Saturday evening between 5

³⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 323

³⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 365

and 6 pm. He also continued the custom of Saturday concerts, bringing musicians from Melbourne to perform for the seminarians³⁶⁷

An accomplished and highly skilled liturgist, Johnston introduced the seminarians to the singing of High Mass. This was an important step in the development of the local liturgy, for until then the music was usually provided by the choir without any singing by the celebrant. Johnston soon became involved in a broad programme of public education including, in 1931 and 1932, summer schools in Gregorian Chant for the benefit of religious and secular music teachers³⁶⁸. He also published a series of articles entitled "Simple Lessons in Gregorian Chant" in *The Advocate*³⁶⁹.

Association of Catholic Choirmasters (1924)

It was not only the clergy who required training in the music required by the Vatican to be sung in churches. The needs of choirmasters were even greater. Thus a Catholic Choirmasters' Association was formed, its first meeting held at Cathedral Hall on 8 May 1924. Twenty parishes were represented and an ambitious programme of discussions, lectures and demonstration liturgies was advertised³⁷⁰. At the second meeting Achille Rebottaro, director of St Francis' Choir, was elected president - an unusual choice given his fondness for grand orchestral masses. Despite the plans, the association collapsed within two years through lack of interest and the demonstration liturgies never took place.

³⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 365

³⁶⁷ Personal communication, Rev Paul Ryan, May 1997

³⁶⁸ *The Advocate*, 2 January 1931, p. 13 & 12 December 1931, p. 22

³⁶⁹ *The Advocate*, 7 May to 20 August 1931

Tom Dennett, son of T. A. Dennett (vice-president of the Association) told David Rankin that the Association 'didn't last long because too many people were not interested in reform... it was too difficult to push'³⁷¹.

Music in the City Churches

It was doubtlessly presumed that the best means of communication was by practical example. St Patrick's Cathedral had a special role to play in this regard, and during the 1920s endeavored to find a compromise between the demands of the Vatican while remaining faithful to popular taste in maintaining a balance of the two styles. Generally speaking Sunday morning mass was celebrated with the usual music and an orchestra on major festivals, while an evening male choir sang Vespers with the new style of music, including plainchant. On occasions the male choir also joined the mixed choir at the morning mass, providing appropriate plainsong³⁷². Mr A. E. Bindley (Director 1923 to 1933) introduced masses by Klein, Hummel and Zulueta with motets by Perosi and, according to Boland, the music displayed a noticeable French influence. The choir from the nearby Christian Brothers College, Victoria Parade, was brought in to sing chanted Propers on special occasions.³⁷³

At St Francis Church Rebotaro was proceeded in the same manner as before with the full support of the clergy as the *Australian Musical News* reported in 1922:

³⁷⁰ *The Advocate*, 22 May 1924, p. 13

³⁷¹ Rankin, *The History of Music at St Francis' Church 1839-1979.*, p. 65

³⁷² Boland, *St Patrick's Cathedral, a Life.*, p. 126

The authorities at St Francis have always taken great pride in the music of the church, and perhaps this accounts for the long list of eminent names which have been attached to the church as organists, choirmasters and soloists. Amongst the best known of the organists and choirmasters have been Zerbini, Giamona (sic), Benno Scherek, W.R.Furlong, T.J.Lamble and Antonio (sic) Rebottaro. The most distinguished singer in St Francis' history is, of course, Dame Nellie Melba, who as a young girl sang with the choir... The organ, which is one of the oldest in Melbourne, was remodelled eight years ago by Fincham at the cost of £500... Miss Anderson is the organist and Signore (sic) Rebottaro the very popular and capable choirmaster.³⁷⁴

This article concludes with the following telling statement, 'Following the tradition of St Francis', the Masses of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven are given regularly in their entirety, Gregorian music not being favoured'. This attitude is borne out by a letter from a tourist visiting Melbourne in *The Advocate* in January 1928 which stated 'We found the music at Sunday's Mass was beautiful and worth going to hear. There may be better choirs in Melbourne – I have no doubt there are – but we enjoyed best of all the music and services at St Francis', Lonsdale Street.'³⁷⁵

Through out this decade the repertoire of masses performed at St Francis remained unchanged and firmly fixed upon the great masses of Haydn and the ubiquitous *Messe Solennelle* of Gounod, with occasional forays into Mozart, Weber and Paladilhe. The popularity of this repertoire is borne out by a statement by Kitty Prendergast, a choir member, as reported by Rankin:

³⁷³ Boland, *St Patrick's Cathedral, a Life.*, p. 127

³⁷⁴ *Australian Musical News*, 1 September 1922, p. 71

Under Signor Rebottaro, the reputation of the choir progressed rapidly. The young men from the Opera Companies would go there often and sing in the chorus and anyone who had a voice was placed by their teacher in a Catholic choir – whether they were Catholic or not. It was everyone's ambition to sing at St Francis where the soloists were paid.³⁷⁶

Vespers at St Francis at this during these years usually consisted of plainsong. In the final years of Archpriest Quilter (circa 1927) the singing of Vespers was discontinued and replaced by the recitation of the Rosary.

Music in Churches beyond the City

During the tenure of Archbishop Mannix reports of music performed in suburban churches occur very rarely in the press. However an article by "Diatonic" published in 1919 gives a general impression:

The musical construction of our Masses as we know them dates back to about the year 1565... but unfortunately many composers have woven portions of their work in too ornate a form and so marred much of our noble Mass music. In recent years the florid compositions were called into question and censured, but the indicated return to the Gregorian System and the total abolition of the well-known Masses was not relished, at all events as far as we in Australia are concerned, for few of our choirs have adopted these venerated old-fashioned chants. Modern ears are tuned to more varied and cheerful tone settings, and the Gregorian, in itself, fails to interest our choirs, and will not hold them together.³⁷⁷

³⁷⁵ *The Advocate*, 19 January, 1928, p. 17

³⁷⁶ Rankin, *The History of Music at St Francis' Church 1839-1979.*, p. 54

³⁷⁷ *The Tribune*, 23 October 1919, p. 6

In 1920 the only parish church mentioned in respect of liturgical music was St Joseph's Church, South Yarra (an Augustinian parish) where the music consisted of Haydn's very large Harmonie Mass with orchestra together with Ave verum by Gounod, And the glory of the Lord by Handel and the ever popular Adeste fideles.³⁷⁸ However the Mass of St Mary Magdalene by Eris O'Brien³⁷⁹ performed at St Margaret Mary's Church, North Brunswick was in the officially approved style. Certainly signs of change were evident at St Joseph's (Collingwood) at Christmas 1925 when the choir sang the Mass of Our Lady of Good Counsel by Victor Hammerell, Quem vidistis pastores by Harma, Gounod's Nazareth and Adeste fideles³⁸⁰.

Thus it appears that while some parish choirs were beginning to attempt the musical challenges of the reformed choral style, they drew the line at the austerity of Gregorian chant.

³⁷⁸ *The Advocate*, 30 December 1920, p. 12

³⁷⁹ A Mass of St Mary Magdalene was composed by Eris O'Brien in Caecilian style

³⁸⁰ *The Advocate*, 31 December 1925, p. 22

As has been shown, in the first decade of Dr Mannix's administration the situation was virtually unchanged from the Carr years. However, it should not be thought that the Archbishop was totally unresponsive of the wishes of the Holy See. An interesting indication is found in the papers of Archbishop Robert Spence of Adelaide who attended the first meeting of Australian Archbishops at Dr Mannix's residence, Raheen, in Kew during the 1920s³⁸¹. According to Helen Harrison, Archbishop Spence wrote...

It was agreed that it would be impossible to carry out, here in Australia, the instruction of the late Pontiff, Pope Pius X, in his letter of 22nd November, 1903. There was really no moral danger in mixed choirs, but the custom of allowing non-Catholics to be conductors, or members of the choir should be discouraged³⁸².

³⁸¹ Harrison states that this occurred about 1915, but at that time Mannix was not archbishop and the Church had not purchased Raheen as the Episcopal residence.

³⁸² Harrison, *Laudate Dominum; Music at Adelaide's Catholic Cathedral 1945-1995.*, p. 34

The Progress of Reform under Mannix, 1928-38

Pius XI: *Divini cultis sanctitatem*, 1928

Resistance to the 1903 legislation, as detailed above, was not confined to the Melbourne archdiocese. Church authorities in many parts of Europe and the Americas were faced with opposition on the part of members of the local hierarchy and the wider faithful. It has been seen that the theoretical model on which it was based was frequently found to be inadequate, and its narrow requirements to be contrary to the wishes and tastes of the Catholic population.

Realising that further action was required, Pope Pius XI (1922 to 1939) issued the Apostolic Constitution³⁸³, *Divini cultis sanctitatem*,³⁸⁴ on 20 December 1928, in an attempt to clarify and reinforce the reform of liturgical music. As an Apostolic Constitution, it was of the greatest possible weight, more important, indeed, than the 1903 document. Widespread resistance to *Tra le sollecitudini* (1903) was directly acknowledged in *Divini cultis sanctitatem*:

It is, however to be deplored that these most wise laws in some places have not been fully observed, and therefore their intended results have not obtained. We know that some have declared that these laws, though so solemnly promulgated, were not binding upon their obedience. Others obeyed them at first, but have since come gradually to give countenance to a type of music which should be altogether banned from our churches. In some cases, especially when the memory

³⁸³ An Apostolic Constitution is an extremely forceful level of document, of even greater seriousness than a *motu proprio*.

of some famous musician was being celebrated the opportunity has been taken of performing in church certain works which, however excellent, should never have been performed there, since they were entirely out of keeping with the sacredness of the place and of the liturgy.³⁸⁵

Divini cultis sanctitatem fully supported the teachings of the preceding document, but attempted to emphasize the positive benefits of the introduction of a correct musical style rather than to simply condemn past inappropriate traditions. Its tone was more conciliatory and less dogmatic when compared with *Tra le sollecitudini* and the document gave a spirited encouragement to all people to take up the pursuit of excellence in liturgical music:

We are well aware that the fulfillment of these injunctions will entail great trouble and labor. But do we not all know how many artistic works our forefathers, undaunted by difficulties, have handed down to posterity, imbued as they were, with pious zeal and with the spirit of the liturgy... Let the difficulties of this sacred task, far from deterring, rather stimulate and encourage the Bishops of the Church, who, by their universal and unfailing obedience to Our behests, will render to the Sovereign Bishop a service most worthy of their episcopal office.³⁸⁶

Among the particulars outlined in the document were demands for seminarians to be taught music, chant and singing from the earliest years, even elementary school if possible³⁸⁷ and the need for daily lectures and practice in all seminaries and houses of

³⁸⁴ Hereinafter DCS

³⁸⁵ DCS, para. 6

³⁸⁶ DCS, para. 21

³⁸⁷ DCS, para. 10

study.³⁸⁸ Moreover, choir schools for boys were to be established, not only in the great cathedrals and basilicas, but even in small parish churches.³⁸⁹

Regarding instruments the document stated:

We hereby declare that singing with orchestral accompaniment is not regarded by the Church as a more perfect form of music or as more suitable for sacred purposes. Voices, rather than instruments, ought to be heard in the church: the voices of the clergy, the choir and the congregation. Nor should it be deemed that the Church, in preferring the human voice to any musical instrument, is obstructing the progress of music; for no instrument, however perfect, however excellent, can surpass the human voice in expressing human thought, especially when it is used by the mind to offer up prayer and praise to Almighty God.³⁹⁰

However not all instruments were banned. The pipe organ was permitted in churches so long as the usual injunctions with regard to dignity and appropriateness were followed. In this context there is also some interesting criticism of the methods used by some contemporary organ builders. Although no details are given, one may conjecture that this may have been a criticism of the popularity of the theatre organ or ‘unit orchestra’ which was then at the peak of its popularity.

The traditionally appropriate instrument of the Church is the organ, which, by reason of its extraordinary grandeur and majesty, has been considered a worthy adjunct to the liturgy, whether for accompanying the chant or, when the choir is silent, for playing harmonious music at the prescribed times. But here too must be

³⁸⁸ DCS, para. 11

³⁸⁹ DCS, para. 15

avoided that mixture of the profane with the sacred which, through the fault partly of organ-builders and partly of certain performers who are partial to the singularities of modern music, may result eventually in diverting this magnificent instrument from the purpose for which it was intended.³⁹¹

This document thus reinforced the firm demands for obedience imposed upon liturgical musicians and did not alter or modify any of the teaching of *Tra le sollecitudini*.

Education and opinion in the Press

From its foundation in 1869 until 1920 *The Advocate* was an independent Catholic periodical, but in 1920 it was bought by the Archdiocese and thus became the official voice of the Melbourne Catholic Church. While this did not greatly affect the content at first, it was in the 1930s when Archbishop Mannix began to turn his mind to the problem of liturgical music that a change of editorial policy became evident. It is noteworthy that during the 1930s no articles giving the alternative point-of-view to the need for musical reform were published³⁹². The focus was clearly on literature supportive of reform. Another trend was for performances of music in various churches to decrease until by 1940 the cathedral was virtually the sole church reported. Even performances by St Francis Choir virtually disappeared from *The Advocate* during this decade.

During the 1930s the presence of the Jesuit Rev Henry Johnston became evident in *The Advocate* when he fulfilled the role assumed earlier by Archbishop O'Reilly and Rev

³⁹⁰ DCS, para. 16

³⁹¹ DCS, para. 17

³⁹² an exception was an article in 1944

George Robinson. Apart from his prominent position at the Corpus Christi Seminary in Werribee, Johnston was a highly visible and popular figure in public education on a variety of topics including music, philosophy and theology over a period of almost four decades. Articles promoting better education of the public on liturgical music appeared in February 1929 with a full report of a lecture given by Johnston at the Perth Educational Conference. A week later an article reported on the popularity of Gregorian chant in Italy.³⁹³ In addition to this he published a series of articles on ‘Simple Lessons in Gregorian Chant’³⁹⁴. Throughout the 1930s such articles and served to assist the members of religious orders, the public and church musicians in the correct way of approaching chant. In addition to the above-mentioned *The Advocate* published four different articles on chant and the proper way to teach it 1932³⁹⁵. In January 1931, *The Advocate* advertised a Summer School in Gregorian Chant for “the benefit of religious and secular music teachers”, and in the following December Johnston advertised a similar school at Mandeville Hall (Loreto) in Toorak.

The National Eucharistic Congress, 1934

Thirty years after Melbourne hosted the Australasian Catholic Congress in 1904, the city was the venue for the Second National Eucharistic Congress from December 2 to December 9, 1934, the first National Eucharistic Congress having taken place in Sydney in 1928³⁹⁶. The role of these congresses was to study and promote the role of the Eucharistic in the life of society. With the theme of ‘The Eucharist and Catholic Action’,

³⁹³ *The Advocate*. 21 February 1929, P. 14 and 28 February 1929, P. 33

³⁹⁴ *The Advocate*. 2 January 1931, p.13; 10 December 1931, p. 22 and 7 May to 20 August 1931

³⁹⁵ *The Advocate*. 16 June 1932, p. 11; 21 July 1932, p. 11; July 28 1932, p. 5; 27 October 1932, p. 18 and 3 November 1932, p. 18

the congress was a display of Catholic culture and achievement with a special focus on the Eucharist, and was arranged to celebrate the centenary of the foundation of the city. While formal papers were presented at the congress, for example on ‘The Eucharistic League and the Laity’ or ‘Catholic Action in the Australian Bush’, none had any bearing on the role or practice of liturgical music³⁹⁷. The music performed, however, provided an interesting insight into what was considered appropriate for a festival of this magnificence. A public display of unparalleled Catholic pomp and grandeur, the Congress concluded with a vast procession in which the Eucharist was carried through the streets of Melbourne. The procession concluded with a public celebration of Benediction on the balcony of Mount St Evins Hospital (now demolished and the site of St Vincent’s and Mercy Private Hospital).

Held at the intersection of Victoria Parade and Gisborne Street, East Melbourne, the liturgy was attended by half a million people.

This monumental event, attended by the papal delegate Cardinal MacRory, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland, did much to focus the mind of Archbishop Mannix, who determined that the music performed at the congress would be ‘appropriate’. It also reminded him that something should be done about the long-delayed task of reforming liturgical music in Melbourne.³⁹⁸ The congress music was under the direction of Dr Gerhard von Keussler, brought to Melbourne from Germany for the occasion and supported by Mr A. Melichar (Director of Music, St Patrick’s Cathedral), Mr Thomas

³⁹⁶ O’Farrell, 1992, p. 366

³⁹⁷ Murphy, J (ed.). *National Eucharistic Congress, 1934*. P. 8

Dennett (Director of Music, St Francis Church) and Rev Henry Johnston (Corpus Christi Seminary). On his appointment, von Keussler was reported in *The Advocate* as saying that during the congress he would like to perform *Missa Papæ Marcelli* (Palestrina) and *Missa Solemnis in D* (Beethoven) as the principal examples of liturgical music. However this did not take place and, with one exception, the music presented during the congress week was an ideal demonstration of liturgical music in the spirit of the 1903 Motu proprio. The congress was thus a perfect vehicle to demonstrate what could be achieved under the new regulations. Rather than providing a glimpse of the state of liturgical music in Melbourne at the time, the congress music showed what it could become.³⁹⁹

Not all the music performed at the congress conformed with Vatican requirements however. The exceptional work was Robert Schumann's *Mass in C major*, a strange choice of a mediocre, highly Romantic work with full orchestra. It was totally inconsistent with the dictates of the 1903 motu proprio and out of line with the style of the other music performed: Palestrina's *Missa Papæ Marcelli*, Gregorian *Masses nos. I, IX, X* (with *Credo I, III or V*) and an unnamed Mass by Pettorelli. The motets performed at the congress were all in keeping with the new regulations and consisted of *Panis angelicus* by Stehle, *Tu es Petrus* by Palestrina, *O sacrum convivium* by Victoria, *Te Deum* by Perosi, *Te es sacerdos* by Handel [sic], *Jesu dulcis memoria* by Kothe, *Ave Maria* by Witt, *O salutaris* by Elgar, *Tantum ergo* by Widor and *Verbum caro* by Lassus. A considerable amount of Gregorian Chant featured in the liturgies .

³⁹⁸ Boland, *St Patrick's Cathedral, a Life.*, p. 127

1934 EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS

Part of the procession

1934 EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS

The crowd at Benediction

The following year von Keussler was invited to assume control of St Patrick's Cathedral Choir replacing Alfons Melichar.

Archbishop Mannix intervenes

While evidence shows that there were no official statements on liturgical music from Dr Mannix until 1937, he was aware of the need to implement the reforms and began to make his presence felt behind the scenes from at least the early 1930s. Undoubtedly, his views were influential in shaping the music programme of the 1934 Eucharistic Congress (as discussed above), and throughout the decade from 1928 his influence on the practice of liturgical music was much more direct than had been the case in the past. In 1930, under the influence of Rev Henry Johnston, he selected the brilliant young son of a musical family from Geelong for the task of eventually taking over control of music in the archdiocese. Percy Jones had matriculated at fourteen and was sent at the age of sixteen to Propaganda College in Rome to be trained for the priesthood. Following brief studies at All Hallow's College (Dublin) and the monastery of St Pierre at Solesmes, he took his Doctorate in Sacred Music at the Pontifical Music Institute in late 1939. Returning to Melbourne on Christmas day 1939.⁴⁰⁰ Dr Jones was to preside over liturgical music, and play an influential role in secular music and ecumenism in Melbourne for the next forty years.

⁴⁰⁰ D Cave, *Percy Jones: Priest, Musician, Teacher* (Melbourne, 1988), p.8ff

In 1932 Mannix approved the formation a new Catholic Choirmaster's Association and although the Cathedral did not belong to it, the Association was active for three years⁴⁰¹. It was at this time that the use of orchestras was discontinued although there was no official announcement to this effect. In 1936 Mannix acted again by forming a Diocesan Commission for Sacred Music to ensure the correct implementation of the decrees of the Motu proprio of Pius X.⁴⁰² It was upon the recommendation of this commission that Mannix made his first major pronouncement towards the implementation of the 1903 document. In an article on 'Christian Education and the Liturgy' in *The Advocate* of September 1937,⁴⁰³ he announced that he had approved certain recommendations, including the banning of female choristers, to ensure that liturgical singing would be more in accordance with the style outlined in the Papal documents. Six months later the Administrator of St Patrick's Cathedral (Monsignor Lonergan) announced that female solos were henceforth forbidden.

The Right Reverend Monsignor Lonergan wishes to advise that in accordance with a previous direction by His Grace, the singing of solos by women at any function in the church is forbidden.⁴⁰⁴

It may be argued that his methods were rather heavy-handed but the relationship between the Church and the female sex has never been entirely felicitous. As Ute Ranke-Heinemann wrote 'the celibatarians contempt for women is surpassed only by their

⁴⁰¹ Boland, *St Patrick's Cathedral, a Life.*, p. 127

⁴⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 127

⁴⁰³ *The Advocate*, 3 September 1937, p. 3

⁴⁰⁴ *The Advocate*, 3 March 1938, p. 18

esteem'⁴⁰⁵. The attitude of the clergy at the turn of the nineteenth century when the *Motu proprio* was written was neatly epitomized by Pope John XXIII who wrote in 1897:

With women of whatever station in life, even if they are related to me or are holy women. I will be particularly cautious, avoiding [the original Italian says 'fleeing like the devil'] their familiarity, company or conversation, especially if they are young. Nor will I ever fix my eyes on their face, mindful of what the Holy Spirit teaches us: 'Do not look intently at a virgin lest you stumble'.⁴⁰⁶

Rankin attributes the action by Dr Mannix to the publicity surrounding an article in a rabidly anti-Catholic journal *The Rock* entitled "Women in Priests' Beds". While this was true with regard to the St Francis Choir women staying at the Blessed Sacrament Fathers' holiday house in Mornington, it should be noted that the clergy were not there at the time.⁴⁰⁷ Despite this it is more likely that the pressure from the Vatican was becoming too strong to resist and Dr Mannix simply bowed to an inevitable change and took appropriate action to secure the best results for all concerned.

Music in the city churches in the 1930s

St Patrick's Cathedral

Shortly after the National Eucharistic Congress, von Keussler was invited to assume control of St Patrick's Cathedral Choir, replacing Alfons Melichar. On taking up the appointment in September 1934, he issued a memorandum to all the members of the

⁴⁰⁵ U.Ranke-Heinemann, *Eunuchs for heaven: the Catholic Church and Sexuality*, J.Brownjohn, trans., reprint of 1988 ed. (London, 1990), p. 105

⁴⁰⁶ John XXIII, 1980, p. 7

⁴⁰⁷ Rankin, *The History of Music at St Francis' Church 1839-1979.*, p. 73

choir outlining the decrees of the 1903 document and stated his intention of putting them into practice as soon as was practical. He listed the chief polyphonic motets and masses held in the cathedral choir library, stating that the library also held copies of Handel's *Psalm 109 'Dixit Dominus'* and Beethoven's *Mass in C*, both of which, he claimed incorrectly, were quite permissible under the regulations. He also praised Liszt's oratorio *Christus* and stated that he intended to perform some movements either *a cappella*, with organ or with orchestra. From this one may presume that even he did not fully understand the import of the regulations. Finally he advised that the voices of the 40 choir boys were too weak to sustain unaccompanied singing so that, until further notice, the ladies of the choir would be retained.⁴⁰⁸ It is thus interesting to note that von Keussler, despite his enthusiasm for the new regulations, was more of a pragmatist than a zealot. For some years following his appointment the male-voice choir appears to have been operating together with the traditional mixed-voice choir conducted by Contessa Filippini.⁴⁰⁹

St Francis Church

It is natural that Melbourne's Archbishop Mannix was among the attendees of the First National Eucharistic Congress held in Sydney in 1928. The experience inspired in him the vision for a centre for Eucharistic devotion, which he sought to establish on his return to Melbourne amid the commerce and business of the city. In so doing, he invited the French order of the Congregation of the Blessed Sacrament to assume control of the

⁴⁰⁸ Memorandum from Dr von Keussler to the members of St Patrick's Cathedral Choir, 21 September 1934

⁴⁰⁹ Personal communication, Rev E. Rayson, May 1996 and Marius Tonti-Filippini, April 1997

historic St Francis Church in 1929, and challenged them to make it the home of thriving Eucharistic devotion⁴¹⁰.

The first alteration instituted by the new community was the restoration of the discontinued chanted Vespers⁴¹¹. Rankin states that this practice was eventually replaced by chants in English taken from the Feast of Corpus Christi which became very popular⁴¹². This was in keeping with the new rules.

Another early indication of change was an announcement of a drive to increase the size of the choir (still a mixed-voice ensemble) in preparation for the erection of a larger church⁴¹³ and, in particular, the introduction of a new repertoire of music from overseas. The notice says of Rebottaro, the Director of Music.

With the desire of making greater progress and to mark the great work of the Blessed Sacrament Fathers, he is very anxious to increase the number of singing members and to bring the choir to fuller proportions before making a start on new musical works which are on their way from France, America and England, which will soon be put into rehearsal.⁴¹⁴

On September 20th the choir sang a special concert which featured works by Cesar Franck and the cantata by Camille Saint-Saens *Coeli Enarrant*. This choice possibly

⁴¹⁰ Rankin, *The History of Music at St Francis' Church 1839-1979.*, p. 70 and Byrne, *Echoes of Home*, p. 121

⁴¹¹ Baker, *The Choir of St Francis'*, p. 23

⁴¹² Rankin, *The History of Music at St Francis' Church 1839-1979.*, p. 113

⁴¹³ the new church was never built

reflected a conciliatory gesture towards the Blessed Sacrament Fathers, with their French origins. .

The issue of the mixed-voice choir took longer to resolve. With their quasi-monastic traditions the priests of the Blessed Sacrament Order had problems with a mixed-voice choir, no matter how highly regarded. As Edmund Campion wrote in 1987 regarding St Francis Church, 'some members of the Community objected to having women in their choir and there were clerics in the archdiocese who pressed for a full implementation of the Vatican rules which barred women choristers'.⁴¹⁵

In 1931 the priests approached Thomas Dennett, a strong supporter of the ideals of the *motu proprio* with an offer of directorship of the choir. Charles Dennett, Thomas Dennett's son, told David Rankin that this placed his father in a very difficult position for his father was a close associate of Rebottaro through the short-lived Catholic Choirmasters Association.⁴¹⁶ The final decision to replace Rebottaro and appoint a new Director of Music was made at the beginning of 1932 and was reported by a terse note in the press:

Signor Rebottaro, operatic baritone and conductor, who for many years has been musical director of St Francis Choir, has been appointed conductor of Our Lady of Victories' Choir, Camberwell. Mr Thomas Dennett has been appointed to conductorship of the choir at St Francis'. He is a leading Catholic conductor and

⁴¹⁴ ibid

⁴¹⁵ Campion, 1987, p. 106

⁴¹⁶ Rankin, *The History of Music at St Francis' Church 1839-1979.*, p. 70, reporting communication from Charles Dennett.

the high standard of music at this historic church should be maintained under his direction.⁴¹⁷

With the replacement of Achille Rebottaro by the English-trained Thomas Dennett the future for musical reform at St Francis was now guaranteed. It may be suggested that, although the actual dismissal of Rebottaro took over two years to accomplish, it cannot have been a surprise. Dennett's first action at St Francis was the instigation of the singing of the Proper of the Mass for every Sunday of the year in Gregorian chant. In 1933 the choir performed a mass by Giovanni da Palestrina for the first time when they sang *Missa Aeterna Christi munera* at a concert⁴¹⁸ and on October 22 the following year it was sung liturgically for the first time.⁴¹⁹ With the arrival of Dennett the orchestra was no longer required although it is not known exactly when it was disbanded. According to *The Advocate* the last listed orchestral mass was Haydn's *Nelson Mass* at Christmas 1930, although St Patrick's Cathedral was listed as performing Gounod's *Messe Solennelle* "St Cecilia" with an orchestra as late as Easter 1931 and also 1932.⁴²⁰

The repertoire at St Francis was undergoing fundamental changes by this time, with an entire new library of masses for choir and organ imported from overseas.

Before the advent of the Blessed Sacrament Fathers, High Mass had been celebrated only twice a year - at Christmas and Easter; a *Missa Cantata* being sung on the first Sunday of every month and a Low Mass on other Sundays. Now,

⁴¹⁷ *The Tribune*, 5 May 1932, p. 4

⁴¹⁸ *The Advocate*, 1 June 1933, p. 18

⁴¹⁹ *The Advocate*, 1 November 1934, p. 12

⁴²⁰ *The Advocate*, 9 April 1931, p. 15 & 31 March 1932, p. 18

however, High Mass was celebrated every Sunday and this meant that the whole of the Ordinary of the Mass was sung every Sunday, as well as the Proper of the day and a Motet... The repertoire was enlarged by Masses from Cesar Franck, Widor, Dubois, Guilmant, Ravanello, Perosi, Stehle, Kitson, and once more the Beethoven and Mozart Masses in C. As an example of the amount of work being put in by the choir: Dubois' *St Remy Mass* was rehearsed for the first time on June 11, 1936, and sung in public for the first time on August 9th, of the same year, after nine rehearsals at which at least half of the time was taken up by the weekly High Mass rehearsal.⁴²¹

An examination of the music in the choir archives suggests that the new masses included the following: *Messe de la Deliverance*, *Messe solennelle Saint-Remi* and *Messe Pontificale* by Theodore Dubois, *Messe à la mémoire de Jeanne d'Arc* and other masses by Charles Gounod, *Missa Eucharistica*, *Missa Beata Caroli*, *Missa Pontificalis* and *Missa 'St Ambrose'* by Lorenzo Perosi, together with masses by Ravanello, Widor, Moreno and Guilmant⁴²². All of these masses except for the Gounod were products of the early 20th century. Some settings, such as Moreno, Ravanello and Perosi were written as a response to the new papal regulations. Other, such as those by Dubois, Guilmant and Widor, were influenced by the great French organ tradition and, although they reflect the correct spirit, it may be questioned if they were in strict conformity to the new regulations.

However, the major question still facing the reformers at St Francis' was one that was both difficult and delicate – what were they going to do about women in the choir? David

⁴²¹ Baker, *The Choir of St Francis'*, p. 26

⁴²² *Ibid.*, p. 26

Rankin reports that Mr Forestall, a member of St Francis Choir from 1936 to 1950, recalled a document from the archdiocese concerning the expulsion of women being read to the choir at this time⁴²³. There is a body of evidence indicating that the news was received with considerable heartache. Nine years after the event, Albert Baker wrote:

In 1936, His Grace the Archbishop felt that the time had arrived to put into practice the Motu Proprio of Pius X, and he appointed a Diocesan Committee of Sacred Music to draw up a list of suitable music. The conductor of St Francis Choir was one of the two lay members of this committee. In September 1937, His Grace prohibited the singing of solos in church by women. Later on the Fathers thought that the time had come to bring the choir of St Francis into line with the church in other parts of the world, and to install a male choir. After considering the provision of a boys' and men's choir, it was decided that as the church had no parochial school, it was not possible to obtain boys, and a men's choir was decided upon.⁴²⁴

According to Rankin (1979)⁴²⁵ the women were given a handsome farewell at a gala dinner at the Windsor Hotel. Baker stated that:

... the mixed choir sang for the last time on October 17th 1937, and was entertained to dinner on the following evening at the Windsor Hotel, when gifts were presented to the lady members of the choir. This was a very sad occasion and the ladies felt the break very keenly.⁴²⁶

⁴²³ Rankin, 1979, p. 73

⁴²⁴ Baker. *The choir at St Francis'*, p. 26.

⁴²⁵ Rankin, *The History of Music at St Francis' Church 1839-1979.*, p. 73

⁴²⁶ Baker, "The Choir of St Francis'." Rankin, *The History of Music at St Francis' Church 1839-1979.*, p. 27

In considering this story should be stated that a choir member of the time, Margaret Flynn, said that she could definitely assert that there was no dinner at the Windsor Hotel.

All that happened was that Fr Beaulieu⁴²⁷ came into the rehearsal and told us that they were dispensing with our services, he thanked us and presented each of us with a pair of rosary beads – they were pink and I still have them. I was eighteen at the time, and had recently joined the choir with my sister so we were not too upset.⁴²⁸

Unfortunately the Windsor Hotel can provide no information on this matter. While the evidence does tend to support the holding of a final banquet, there can be no doubting the ill-feeling and hurt that was generated by this action even sixty years later. The transition was summarised in the 1939 Annual Report of the Director of Music, Mr T. A. Dennett.

The last attendance of the mixed choir was on October 17th, 1937, when the Cesar Franck Mass was performed. The personnel of the choir was – Sopranos 14, Altos 6, Tenors 7 and Basses 7: Total 34. The male choir began on the following Sunday, singing the *De Angeles* Mass with Messrs. Weichard and Donovan as cantors. The choir consisted of 8 Tenors and 8 Basses and the two Brothers – total – 18. The *Cum Jubilo* Mass was sung for the first time on November 7th, 1937. The choir was excellent. Messrs. Albert Baker and Crotty attended on November 25th. On December 5th, the choir performed at the annual Eucharistic Festival at Sunbury, and all went well. The Christmas work was Muller's St Benedict Mass, Stehle's Credo and the Gloria from *De Angelis*, which concluded a very eventful year.⁴²⁹

427 Fr Beaulieu was pastor to the choir

428 Personal communication, April 1994

429 Baker, "The Choir of St Francis!", p. 30

At the time it was disbanded, the mixed choir consisted of about forty members, all fluent sight-readers with the soprano line including two winners of the prestigious 'Sun Aria': Pauline Gallagher (winner 1925) and Maisie Ramsay (winner 1926).⁴³⁰

The press reports from this time provide very little information about what was happening in suburban and country churches at this time. However, it may be confidently stated that all the plans for the reform of liturgical music in the light of the papal documents of 1903 and 1928 would have been thrown into disarray with the outbreak of the Second World war the following year, and the subsequent problems of obtaining men to sustain choirs.

Thus it can be seen that following the Apostolic Constitution of 1928, the reform of liturgical music in the Archdiocese was inevitable. The fact that it took another ten years to implement is evidence of the fact that the local authorities felt it implicit to proceed with some delicacy. The growing pressure from above could not be resisted any longer and the dismantling of dear-loved past traditions was unavoidable. Early in the decade all mention of orchestras simply disappears following the reports in *The Advocate* of Christmas 1931 and 1932 when the choir of the Cathedral performed Gounod's *Messe Solennelle*. A repertoire featuring 16th-polyphony was not the immediate result but the choirs quickly embraced the approved modern composers such as Lorenzo Perosi, Pietro Yon, Ernesto Ravenello, Licinio Refice and Theodore Dubois supplemented by plainchant. It was only with the expulsion of all the female choristers that choirs were

430 Ibid. p. 23; Mackenzie, *Singers of Australia from Melba to Sutherland*. p. 283

forced to embrace polyphony. Thus, thirty-five years after Pope Pius X issued his great reforming decree, the implementation of his orders were finally enacted in Melbourne.

In summing up the progress of reform in liturgical music during the reigns of Archbishop Carr and Mannix, it should be noted that Carr at no stage made an official pronouncement on the matter. He did not set in place systems that would facilitate the reform measures. Choir schools were not established at the cathedral or elsewhere, practical education for church musicians was not provided, no link with the new Pontifical School of Sacred Music was made, and the education of the public regarding the new requirements was minimal, including only a few press articles and a morning of discussion at the 1904 congress. This was in contrast to Adelaide where O'Reilly had set up a commission of sacred music in 1908.⁴³¹ The Vatican itself was not without blame in this matter. Beyond issuing the decree it had not provided authorized chant books or detailed guidance on approved music. As if acting in a vacuum, the Vatican had issued orders with little consideration for the feasibility of the project. While Dr Carr displayed no overt support for the change and did little more than pay occasional lip-service to the reform, he did not appear to actively oppose reform and, as a result, some gradual introduction of the new music did take place. The role of Archbishop Mannix was seen to be similar to that of Carr until the papal document of 1928 and events such as the Eucharistic Congress in 1934 pressured him into action. When he did become involved it was with the full weight of authority. It was seen for example that the Blessed Sacrament Fathers were given a specific mandate to set up a model centre of Eucharistic devotion.

⁴³¹ Harrison, *Laudate Dominum; Music at Adelaide's Catholic Cathedral 1945-1995.*, p. 35

The foregoing discussion has identified a small, but nevertheless active body of advocates of musical reform in Melbourne. Coming from different backgrounds, they exerted influence in a variety of ways. Possibly the most vocal was John O'Reilly, Archbishop of Adelaide, who used the printed word and opportunities to speak at forums such as the Second Australasian Catholic Congress to promote *Tra le sollecitudini* and to remind Catholics of their obligations of obedience with the utmost of vigour. O'Reilly's influence was short-lived, however, on account of his death in 1914 and even in his own archdiocese the reform of sacred liturgical music was not successful⁴³². There was certainly no evidence that reform protagonists such as O'Reilly and Parkinson were representative of the wider local church

During the period under consideration the Jesuit community exerted some influence, and it has been shown that the music programme that they established at St Ignatius Richmond was regarded by some as exemplary. Similar achievements were seen to occur at Our Lady of Victories, Camberwell. But even here the extent of the reform effort was largely due to the vision of Fr Robinson and, after his death in 1918 the situation was compromised. Other persons of influence included Thomas Lamble, under whose directorship the music of St Francis' was modified in accordance with reform principles for a short time, and the cathedral musicians von Steinmetz and Frederick Beard both of whom displayed a compromised understanding of the import of the new regulations. As a result of the work of such individuals and some religious orders, music reflecting the

⁴³² Ibid., p. 37

reforms was performed to varying degrees at a few city and suburban churches, but even this change was not lasting. In the city the service of Vespers was the first to change, and the introduction of Gregorian Propers was an early measure to be adopted at the cathedral. In Carr's time, however, there is little evidence of approved polyphonic settings of the Eucharist being performed even in St Patrick's Cathedral and the situation remained largely unchanged during the reign of Mannix (although change was increasingly apparent during the 1930s).

With the exception of a small handful of churches, the degree of conformity to the *Tra le sollecitudini* regulations appears to have been negligible, if not non-existent. A variety of factors have been seen to contribute to this situation. Chief among these was the popular love for the grand orchestral liturgies. For most of the time there was a noticeable lack of leadership from the archbishops who, like their people may well have viewed the grandiose musical celebrations as a reflection of the achievements of the Irish population. The admiration of the wider population ensured that the local Church was loath to forego these celebrations.

One particular cause of the poor rate of progress was the widespread disparity in interpretations of *Tra le sollecitudini*. It was seen that Thomas Lamble's advocacy of the reform measures included the important observation of the popular assumption that the decree prohibited all music other than plainsong in the liturgy. Other commentators agreed that plainsong, on account of its 'dirge-like' character was highly unpopular. Certainly, what has been revealed of the actual repertoire performed in Melbourne

between 1903 and the early 1930s, suggests that knowledge of the available suitable choral works was very slender. It has also been seen that there was confusion about choral music and its appropriateness in respect of the legislation. Some saw Mozart's masses as suitable, others not. The definition of 'theatrical' or 'profane' was evidently difficult to pin down.

Perhaps the most serious impediment to reform was the power of public taste. For almost the entire period of European settlement in Melbourne, Catholics had rejoiced in a rich musical tradition comparable to that of major European centres, in line with contemporary tastes and of a high standard of performance. This tradition was important to their religious life and therefore held with the highest esteem and affection. It was not something to be discarded easily.

Therefore a heavy hand was required to ensure that conformity was achieved, not only in the city churches but beyond. Mannix also re-established the Choirmasters Association and, more importantly, instituted the Commission of Sacred Music. This important agency still exists although under a different name, and over several decades has provided invaluable service, education and leadership in the realm of liturgical music. At the end of the study period one thing was lacking: strong personal leadership in liturgical music. That was rectified in 1939 with the return of Dr Percy Jones. Armed with several years of intensive training and boundless energy and enthusiasm, he was to become the most powerful instrument of reform between 1939 and 1960. However his exceptional achievements in this area lie beyond the scope of this thesis.



PANORAMA OF THE FINAL BENEDICTION.

Felice Poni

PHOTOGRAPH OF HALF A MILLION PEOPLE
GATHERING FOR THE FINAL BENEDICTION AT THE CONCLUSION OF
THE 1934 EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS

188A

Conclusion

The foregoing study has found that the reforms initiated by the *moto proprio* of 1903 (reinforced by the apostolic constitution of 1928) were grounded in a particular perception of the meaning of 'sacred' in liturgical music. In order to be 'sacred' music needed to be primarily vocal (although discreet accompaniment provided a pipe organ was permissible), confined to that sung by males (given the ministerial function of the choir) and of specified styles, of which plainchant and 16th-century polyphony were considered to be central. Because the purpose of music was seen to lie in the service of the liturgy as a means of engendering praise, piety and an appreciation of the solemnity of the ceremonial, it was perceived that to be in any way entertaining, ostentatious and with associations with the secular world was to be 'profane', and therefore unworthy of a place in the church. A vast repertoire of liturgical music composed from the 17th century onwards was thus of the 'profane' category. Not only was it tainted with operatic, courtly and symphonic styles but it also involved instruments, that belonged more properly in the secular world, and female singers, who were deemed to be unworthy of a ministerial role in the liturgy.

For the Catholics of Melbourne, who had over the few decades of the life of their church developed a musical tradition couched in the very music that was now deemed to be 'profane', the requirements of *Tra le sollecitudini* were nothing short of cataclysmic. Moreover the changes were to affect an aspect of religious experience that was dear to many hearts. It has been seen that the liturgical music performed in Melbourne (not only

in the principal city churches but in suburban and country parishes) from the middle decades of the 19th century was firmly planted in the 'high art' tradition: major liturgical works by composers such as Mozart, Haydn, Beethoven, Schubert and Gounod were performed frequently, often by large choirs conducted by distinguished musicians, orchestras and eminent soloists such as Nellie Melba, Charles Santley, Anna Bishop and Amy Castles. Moreover the church was able to capitalise on its links with local and visiting opera companies as a source of proficient performers. Contemporary observers saw the best of this music as equal to that of European cathedrals. The music performed in 19th-century Catholic churches in Melbourne drew great crowds: it was an opportunity for people to hear major works, many of them recently composed. The aesthetic that the music as sung by the choir spoke for the people (who were mere listeners) was readily embraced. A great deal of pride in musical achievements was held by 19th-century Catholics in Melbourne. Compared with the life that many had left behind in Ireland, the sophistication and opulence of the liturgical music in their new land was a source of immense satisfaction and enjoyment. With respect to the 1903 reforms, perhaps the most salient point that can be made about the musical tradition which flourished in 'marvellous Melbourne' of the 19th century was the fact that it did not feature plainchant, 16th-century or other music of the Caecilian style.

This study has found that the news of the papal reforms in liturgical music was conveyed to Melbournians between the 1890s and 1928 and that it engendered a great deal of denial. Perceptions that the reforms applied only to the European Church and that they could not possibly refer to a place so far away as Melbourne were not uncommon (as *The*

Advocate published ‘this does not apply to our well-behaved choirs’). Apart from a small number of individuals who were appreciative of the need for reform, most viewed the prospect of services permeated with chant as unattractive (‘dirge-like’ was a common description) and choral music without female voices to be dull. There was also a huge amount of confusion and misunderstanding as to what the legislation actually required. A common understanding was that a total return to plainchant was demanded. With respect to choral music and its status as ‘sacred’ or ‘profane’ confusion was especially problematic. Even cathedral musicians such as Steinmetz were confused in their perceptions of appropriate and inappropriate music. This is not surprising, given the very general terms in which the 1903 document was couched and the neglect of the Vatican authorities to supply lists of approved music. It is true that the church press provided a valuable opportunity for discussion of the issues, but it was seen that such discussion served to increase confusion rather than to provide clarification.

Notwithstanding the strength of the 19th-century tradition of Catholic liturgical music in Melbourne, a number of individuals and groups were extremely supportive of the reforms. In the case of persons such as Archbishop O’Reilly, Fr Robinson and Thomas Lambie, any influence exerted was short-lived. O’Reilly proved to be an outspoken advocate of their reforms from the promulgation of the motu proprio and provided a stirring call to obedience and action at the 1904 Australasian Congress. No evidence that his paper had any direct effect on liturgical music practice in Melbourne was found. However even in his home city of Adelaide the reform measures that O’Reilly endeavoured to put in place stagnated at his death in 1915. The efforts of Fr Robinson,

were certainly productive, especially at Our Lady of Victories, Camberwell from 1901 when he introduced chant and appropriate repertoire, but after his death in 1918 the music quickly reverted to what the parishioners evidently regarded as traditional. Similarly the musician Thomas Lamble made brave efforts to comply with the reforms at St Francis against the wishes of the priest between 1894 and 1908, but such diligence was rewarded only by dismissal and the subsequent appointment of a conductor who would oblige with the 'old' music. It could be argued that the efforts of musicians such as Steinmetz, Frederick Beard and von Keussler, with their more pragmatic stance, was more successful. At St Patrick's Cathedral all three maintained elements of the old and the new, whether for practical or aesthetic reasons. In this way, changes was effected gradually and in a more sustained way than elsewhere. Among the church communities, the Jesuit Society set a good example by introducing reform music at their churches, especially St Ignatius, Richmond and the Church of the Immaculate Conception, Hawthorn. The music performed at these churches was regarded by some as an excellent example. However no other religious order showed such inclinations.

The role of the two archbishops, Thomas Carr and Daniel Mannix, in implementing the reform measures was found to be surprisingly minimal. Neither was especially interested in liturgical music or its reform. It is possible that they relished the sound of orchestral masses with stunning solos as one of the trappings of Episcopal ceremonial. Neither archbishop made official statements or recommendations (in the case of Mannix, during the first 15 years of his reign), and they did little to set in place systems that would aid the implementation. Nevertheless it must be acknowledged that they did not actively resist

reform, despite their typical Irish antipathy to papal intervention, and it was noted that Mannix agreed with other Australian archbishops that the reforms were too difficult to implement in this country. Carr allowed an important opportunity for discussion of *Tra le sollecitudini* and its implications for Australians and New Zealanders at the Australasian Congress of 1904. Interestingly one of the recurring themes throughout the presentations was the degree of difficulty associated with the reform process.

One measure that was presumably instigated or at least approved by Mannix was the establishment of the Choirmasters' Association in 1924. Although the association commenced with ambitious plans, it lasted only three years due to lack of interest. It has been shown that a typical 'hands off' approach was maintained by Mannix in all areas of his administration and this included the realm of liturgical music. Such intervention as he did take was principally to prepare for the training of Percy Jones as the future leader of liturgical music in the Archdiocese (despite his very young age).

In addition Mannix was inspired by the First Eucharistic Congress held in Sydney to invite the Blessed Sacrament Fathers to take over control of St Francis' Church. It was this arrangement, more than any other factor, that spelled the death knoll for the so-called 'profane' style music as it had been performed at that church for many decades and which ensured that the reforms would be firmly set in place. Another factor to stimulate Mannix into action with respect to liturgical music was the occurrence of the Second Eucharistic Congress held in Melbourne in 1934. At this very public event he ensured that the music (with one exception) should be in strict conformity to contemporary

requirements. Mannix also revived the Choirmasters' Association in 1936 and established for the first time a Commission of Sacred Music so that educational and administrative issues could be properly addressed. Undoubtedly his most decisive measure was his announcement in *The Advocate* in September 1937 that churches in Melbourne were henceforth required to follow the directions of the papal documents in their choice and performance of liturgical music and that female choristers were forbidden.

Despite the enormity of the change required by the 1903 legislation and the many problems surrounding its acceptance and implementation in Melbourne, it has been seen that some progress was made, however limited. Even before 1903 priests received some training in plainchant during their training at St Patrick's Seminary in Manly. This was intensified following the establishment of the Corpus Christi seminary at Werribee. These institutions were no doubt influenced by the theories and publications of the Caecilian Movement in Europe. Similarly, the early efforts of Steinmetz to introduce chant at St Patrick's Cathedral during the 1890s reflected a knowledge of trends overseas. After 1903, evidence of conformity in liturgical music throughout Melbourne was found to be sporadic and minimal during the reign of Archbishop Carr. Apart from the use of chant at Vespers at the cathedral and at St Francis' during Robinson's time from 1888 and at the Jesuit Church of St Ignatius in Richmond, there is no evidence that the changes were accepted and put into place. This is not surprising, given the dearth of acquaintance with chant and other new repertoire, the lack of resources and the lack of informed leadership. Most importantly, however, the fondness for the old established repertoire that had brought such reflected glory to the Irish Catholic community of Melbourne

mitigated very strongly against acceptance of the new, especially when it was found to be alien and unattractive.

Let us return to the three hypotheses of this study. It has been demonstrated that the strength of the 19th-century musical tradition of the Melbourne Catholic church (enhanced as it was as much by Irish gratification as by the wealth brought about by the gold rushes) did much to impede the acceptance of a reformed regime of liturgical music which focussed largely on chant and male-voice polyphony without orchestras. The second hypothesis concerned the historic independence of the Australian church from Vatican authority. It was seen that the involvement of both archbishops in the matter of musical reform reflected this independence until Mannix was forced capitulate during the 1930s. Thirdly, the hypothesis that geographical isolation accounted for the lack of contact with centres such as Regensburg where change was promoted during the 19th century. There was also isolation from the European centres of historical musicology and the rediscovery of the treasures of 16th-century polyphony. Distance from the decision makers may also have exacerbated the fact that misunderstandings regarding the content of the 1903 legislation were made and that they remained uncorrected for a long period of time. It is surprising to find the high level of ignorance of the wide-ranging extent of the Vatican reforms. Isolation was undoubtedly a factor here also. It is ironic then, that fifty years after the battle between 'profane' and 'sacred' was fought and finally won with such great effort by the reformers, that further Church reforms have meant that the sounds of orchestras, soloists, and 'profane' masses should once again enhance the liturgy in the great churches of Melbourne.

It is not enough to defend music on the basis of a composer's intentions; probably more bad music has been created in the name of sincerity than in any other cause...

Church music stands at a disadvantage. Not only must it fulfill the requirements of music, qua music, it must also be successful in its function a tool of worship... it is forced to forgo many of the techniques, styles and devices that are granted to secular music without any question because their presence in religious music is viewed as contaminating factor... although a style that is readily acceptable to one generation may be anathema to another.

(Elwyn Wienandt, New York, 1980, p. 23)

Dear Lord! Now it is finished , this poor little mass.

Is it that I have composed a Holy Mass or would it be better to say a holy mess?
You know full well that I was born to compose comic opera. A little art, a little heart, that is all.

May you look kindly upon it, and grant me Paradise.

(Gioacchino Rossini, Passy, 1863)

Appendix 1

Pius X

Motu Proprio *Tra le sollecitudine*

November 22, 1903

1. There is one pastoral care paramount not only for this Holy See – to which we have unworthily been raised by Divine Providence – but also for individual churches: maintaining and promoting the beauty of the house of God. Here the august mysteries of religion are celebrated, here the faithful gather to receive the grace of the sacraments, to assist at the Holy Sacrifice of the altar, to adore the most Blessed Sacrament and to be united at the Church's common prayer in her public and solemn liturgy.

2. There, there must be nothing in this sacred building that might be a reasonable cause for disgust or scandal, above all, nothing directly offensive to the decorum and holiness of the sacred rights and thus unworthy of the house of prayer and the majesty of God.

3. We do not here propose to treat individually each of the abuses that may occur. Rather, we devote our attention today to one of the most common abuses, one most difficult to uproot. This must be condemned, even where everything else deserves the highest praise, where there is beauty and grandeur of building, splendour and exactness of ceremonies, full attendance of the clergy, gravity and piety of the officiating ministers. We speak of the abuse in singing and in sacred music. This may have resulted from the changeable and varied nature of the art itself, or from the successive alterations in taste and custom through the ages. It may also be due to the disastrous influence of secular and theatrical music on that of the Church, or to the pleasure excited by the music itself – a pleasure not easily contained within its proper limits. Lastly, it may be the result of the many prejudices on

this subject which so easily begin and so obstinately remain, even among persons of piety and authority. Still the fact remains: there certainly is a continual tendency to deviate from the right norm of sacred music, a norm established in admitting this art to the service of public worship, expressed very clearly in the ecclesiastical canons, in the decrees of general and provincial councils, and in the repeated prescriptions of the Sacred Roman Congregations and of the Supreme Pontiffs, our predecessors.

4. Which deep satisfaction We recognise the great good that has already been done in recent years, not only this Our own City, but also in many dioceses of Our country, and especially in certain other countries. There illustrious men, zealous for the liturgy, acting with the approval of the Holy See and under the direction of their bishops, have founded flourishing societies and thus, in nearly all their churches and chapels, have restored to sacred music that full honour which is its due. But this great gain is still far from being universal. Reflecting on Our own experience and considering that many complaints that have been addressed to Us from all parts of the world during the short time since it pleased God to raise Our humble person to the supreme dignity of the Roman Pontificate, We believe it is Our first duty to raise Our voice without delay in reproof and condemning, in the functions of public worship and ecclesiastical prayer, everything that does not agree with the norm We have indicated above.

5. Being moved with the most ardent desire to see the true Christian spirit flourish again in every way among all the faithful, the first thing to which We must turn our attention is the holiness and dignity of the temple. There Our people assemble for the purpose of acquiring the Christian spirit from its first and indispensable source, namely active participation in the most sacred mysteries and in the public and solemn prayer of the Church. It is vain to hope for such copious blessings from Heaven if our worship of the Most High, rather than ascending with an odour of sweetness, again puts into our Lord's

hands the scourges with which the unworthy profaners were once driven out of the temple by the Divine Redeemer.

6. Therefore, in order that no one may hereafter please in excuse that he does not clearly understand his duty, in order that all possible uncertainty concerning the interpretation of laws already made may be removed. We consider it expedient to point out briefly the principles that govern the sacred music of public worship, and to present in a general survey the chief laws of the Church against the more common abuses in this matter. Now, therefore, of Our own initiative – *Motu proprio* – and with certain knowledge. We publish this Our present *Instruction*. We decree with the fullness of Our apostolic authority that the force of law be given to this *Instruction* as to a *juridical code of sacred music*, and in this Our own handwriting. We impose upon all a strict observance of this law.

General Principles

7. Sacred music, because it is an integral part of the liturgy (a), participates in the same general purpose of this solemn liturgy, that is: the glory of God and the sanctification and edification of the faithful. It enhances the beauty and splendour of the ceremonies of the Church. Since its chief function is to clothe with suitable melody the liturgical text presented for the understanding of the faithful, its own proper end is to make the text more meaningful for them. Through this means they can more easily be moved to devotion and better disposed to receive the fruits of grace coming from the celebration of the holy mysteries.
8. Sacred music must, therefore, possess in the highest degree the qualities which characterize the liturgy. In particular it must possess holiness and beauty of form from those two qualities a third will spontaneously arise universality.

Sacred music must be holy, and therefore exclude everything that is secular, both in itself and in its rendition.

It must be true art. In no other way can it affect the minds of the hearers in the manner which the Church intends in admitting into her liturgy the art of sound.

It must also be universal in this sense, that, although individual countries may admit into their ecclesiastical compositions proper forms native to each, still these forms must remain so subordinate to the general character of sacred music that no hearer of another nation might be disturbed thereby.

Kinds of Sacred Music

9. These qualities are found most perfectly in Gregorian Chant, which is the proper chant for the Roman Church – the only chant inherited from the ancient Fathers. Jealously guarding it these many centuries in her liturgical books, the Church directly proposes it to the faithful as her own music and prescribes it exclusively for some parts of her liturgy. Happily, recent studies have restored this chant to its purity and integrity.

For these reasons Gregorian Chant has always been considered the supreme model of sacred music. Hence with every reason we lay down the following rule: “the more closely a Church composition approaches Gregorian Chant in movement, inspiration, and feeling, the more holy and liturgical it becomes; and when or it deviates from this supreme model, the less worthy it is of the temple.

10. This traditional Gregorian Chant must be fully restored to the functions of divine worship. It must be accepted with certainty that the sacred liturgy loses nothing of its solemnity when the chant alone is used.

Gregorian Chant must be restored to the people so that they may again take a more active part in the sacred liturgy, as was the case in ancient times.

11. The qualities described above are also possessed in a very high degree by classical polyphony, especially by that of the Roman School, which received its greatest perfection in the sixteenth century under Pierluigi da Palestrina, and subsequently continued to produce excellent musical and liturgical compositions. Classical polyphony accords very well with Gregorian Chant, that supreme model of all sacred music. Together with the chant, it deserves to be used in the more solemn functions of the Church, such as those of the Papal chapel. This music, too, should be restored especially in the greater basilicas, in cathedrals, and in the churches of seminaries and ecclesiastical institutions, where the means necessary for its performance are usually not lacking.
12. The Church has always recognised and encouraged all progress in the arts. Throughout the ages she has always admitted to her public worship whatever genius has discovered of the good and the beautiful, provide it be in keeping with liturgical law. Consequently, modern music is also admitted into the Church, for it too furnishes compositions of such excellence, sobriety, an dignity, that they are no way unworthy of the liturgical functions.
13. Of modern music, that least suited to accompany divine worship is the theatrical style, so much in vogue during the last century, for instance, in Italy. This style is by nature most unlike Gregorian Chant and classical polyphony, and therefore least compatible with the fundamental laws of sacred music. The intrinsic structure, the rhythm, and the so-called conventionalism of this style do not fulfil the requirements of true liturgical music.

14. Latin is the language of the Roman Church. Therefore, any vernacular singing during solemn liturgical functions is forbidden. This holds even more especially for the proper and common parts of the Mass and the Office.
15. Since the texts to be sung and the order in which they are to be sung are already determined for every liturgical service, it is not lawful to change this order, or to substitute texts selected at will, or to omit anything, either entirely or even in part, unless the rubrics allow some verses of the text to be taken by the organ while these verses are at the same time recited by the choir. It is allowed, according to the custom of the Roman Church, to sing a motet in honour of the Blessed Sacrament after the *Benedictus* in a Solemn Mass. A short motet with words approved by the Church also may be added after the prescribed Offertory of the Mass has been sung.
16. The liturgical text must be sung exactly as it is given in the books, without changing or transposing the words without undue repetition, without distorting the syllables, and is always to be sung in a manner intelligible to the faithful.

External form of Sacred Compositions

17. Each part of the Mass and the Office must keep, even in its music, that form and character which it has from ecclesiastical tradition and which is so well expressed in Gregorian Chant. Therefore, an Introit, a Gradual, an Antiphon, a Psalm, a Hymn, a *Gloria in excelsis*, etc., will be composed each in its proper way.
18. Let these special rules to be observed:
 - a. The *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, *Credo*, etc., of the Mass must preserve in the music the unity of composition proper to their text. They may not be made up of

separate pieces, each forming a complete musical composition that could be taken out and replaced by another.

- b. At Vespers the *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* must ordinarily be followed. This requires Gregorian Chant for the psalms, but allows figured music for the verses of the *Gloria Patri* and the hymn.

Nevertheless, on great feasts Gregorian Chant may alternate with the so-called *faux bourdons* or with verses likewise suitably composed.

Individual psalms may, at times, be sung entirely in figured music, provided the proper form of psalmody is preserved. This form is retained as long as the singers really appear to be chanting the verses alternately, either with new motifs or with motifs taken from Gregorian Chant or modelled on it. Psalms sung in the manner so called *di concerto* are forever excluded and forbidden.

- c. The hymns of the Church must also keep their traditional form. It is not lawful, for instance, to compose a *Tantum Ergo* so that the first stanza presents a *romanza* or a *adagio*, and then the *Genitori* an *allegro*.

- d. The antiphons at Vespers should ordinarily be sung in their own Gregorian melody. If for any special reason they are sung to other music, they must never have either the form of a concert melody or the length of a motet or a cantata.

Singers

19. Some melodies are proper to the celebrant and to the sacred ministers at the altar; these must be sung in Gregorian Chant without any organ

accompaniment. The rest of the liturgical chant belongs properly to the choir of clerics; for this reason, singers in church, even if they are laymen, really take the place of the ecclesiastical choir. Hence their music, at least for the greater part, must retain the character of choral music. Solos are not entirely excluded, but they must never so predominate in the liturgical service as to absorb the greater part of the liturgical text; rather they must be used merely for emphasis or melodic accentuation, and must be an integral part of the choral composition.

20. It follows from the same principle that the singers in church have a real liturgical office and that women, therefore, being incapable of such an office, cannot be admitted to form a part of the choir. If soprano and alto voices are desired, let them be supplied by boys, according to the ancient custom of the Church.

21. Finally, only men of known piety and integrity of life may be allowed to be members of the choir; men, who by their reverence and devotion during the service, show themselves worthy of the sacred duty they perform. It is also fitting that singers, while in choir, wear cassock and surplice; and if the choir be too much exposed to the gaze of people, the singers should be hidden behind a grille.

Organ and Instruments

22. Although the proper music of the Church is purely vocal, the accompaniment of an organ is allowed. In some special cases, within due limits and with proper safe-guards, other instruments may be used, but never without the special permission of the Ordinary, according to the prescriptions of the *Caeremoniale Episcoporum*.

23. Since the singing must always have a chief place, the organ and other instruments should merely sustain, never suppress it.

It is not lawful to introduce the singing with long preludes, or to interrupt it with intermezzos.

The sound of the organ in accompanying the chant, in preludes, interludes, and so on, must not only be governed by the character of the instrument, but must also share in all the qualities of sacred music which we have enumerated above.

24. Use of the piano is forbidden in the church as is the use of drums, kettledrums, cymbals, bells and the like.

Bands are strictly forbidden to play in church; only for some special reason, and with the consent of the Ordinary, may a limited number of wind instruments be admitted. The composition and the actual playing should be in a style dignified and entirely in keeping with that of the organ.

25. In processions outside the church, the Ordinary may give permission for a band, provided that it does not play profane music. It is desired for such occasions that the band merely accompany some spiritual hymn sung either in Latin or in the vernacular by the choir or by the religious societies that take part in the procession.

Length of Sacred Music

26. It is not lawful to make the priest at the altar wait longer than the liturgical ceremonies warrant for the sake of either the singing or the instrumental music. According to ecclesiastical prescriptions, the Sanctus of the Mass must be completed before the elevation; therefore the celebrant should have

consideration for the singers. According to Gregorian tradition, the Gloria and the Credo ought to be relatively short.

27. A general norm, to place the sacred ceremonies of the liturgy in a secondary role as a servant of the music is a very grave abuse that is to be wholly condemned. Rather, the music is simply a part of the liturgy.

Principal Means

28. That these instructions be carried out exactly out, the Bishops, if they have not already done so, should establish in their dioceses special commissions of persons truly expert in sacred music. To them is entrusted the duty of watching over the music performed in their churches as the Bishop sees fit. The commissions should see to it that the music is not merely good in itself, but that it is also suited to the ability of the singers and is always well sung.

29. In seminaries and ecclesiastical institutions the traditional Gregorian Chant recommended above must be cultivated with all diligence and love. This is required by the Council of Trent. Superiors should wholeheartedly promote the chant and encourage their subjects in the singing of it. Wherever possible among clerics, let a *Schola Cantorum* be established for sacred polyphony and good liturgical music.

30. In the usual studies of liturgy, moral theology, and canon law given to students of theology, let not those points that more directly touch the principles and laws of sacred music be omitted. Means should be sought to complete this teaching with some special instruction on the aesthetics of sacred art, lest clerics leave the seminary deficient in these ideas so full ecclesiastical culture form.

31. Care must be taken to restore the ancient *Scholae Cantorum* at least in the principle churches. This has been done with very good results in many places. Indeed, it would not be difficult for zealous priests to establish such *Scholae* even in smaller churches and in country parishes. Here would be a very easy means of gathering, about themselves both children and adults, to the priest's profit and to the edification of the people.

32. Where they are already established, all higher schools of Church music should be sustained and increased in every way. As far as possible new ones should be founded. It is most important that the Church should herself provide instruction for her own choirmasters, organists, and singers, so that she may inspire them with true principles of sacred art.

33. Lastly, We desire that all choirmasters, singers, and clerics, all superiors of seminaries, ecclesiastical institution, and religious communities, all parish priests and rectors of churches, all canons of collegiate and cathedral churches, and most especially, the Ordinaries of all dioceses, zealously support these wise reforms – so long desired and so unanimously hoped for – lest the very authority of the Church fall under contempt. For it is the Church which has repeatedly proposed those reforms and which now again promotes them.

Appendix 2

Pius XI

Apostolic Constitution *Divini cultis*

December 20, 1928

1. Since the Church has received from Christ her Founder the office of safeguarding the sanctity of divine worship, it is certainly incumbent upon her, while leaving intact the substance of the Sacrifice and the sacraments, to prescribe ceremonies, rites, formulae, prayers and chant for the proper regulation of that august public ministry, whose special name is “Liturgy”, as being the eminently sacred action.
2. For the liturgy is indeed a sacred thing, since by it we are raised to God and united to Him, thereby professing our faith and our deep obligation to Him for the benefits we have received and the help of which we stand in constant need. There is thus a close connection between dogma and the sacred liturgy, and between Christian worship and the sanctification of the faithful(a). Hence Pope Celestine I saw the standard of faith expressed in the sacred formulae of the liturgy. “The rule of our faith’ he says, “is indicated by the law of our worship. When those who are set over the Christian people fulfil the function committed to them, they plead the cause of the human race in the sight of God’s clemency, and pray and supplicate in conjunction with the whole Church”.
3. These public prayers, called at first “the work of God” and later “the divine office” or the daily “debt” which man owes to God, used to be offered both day and night in the presence of a great concourse of the

faithful. From the earliest times the simple chants which graced the sacred prayers and the liturgy gave a wonderful impulse to the piety of the people. History tells us how the ancient basilicas, where bishop, clergy and people alternately sang the divine praises, the liturgical chant played no small part in converting many barbarians to Christianity and civilization. It was in the churches that heretics came to understand more fully the meaning of the communion of saints, thus the Emperor Valens, an Arian, being present at Mass celebrated by St. Basil, was overcome by an extraordinary seizure and fainted. At Milan, St. Ambrose was accused by heretics of attracting the crowds by means of liturgical chants. It was due to these that St. Augustine made up his mind to become a Christian. It was in the churches, finally, where practically the whole city formed a great joint choir, that the workers, builders, artists, sculptors and writers gained from the liturgy that deep knowledge of theology which is now so apparent in the monuments of the Middle Ages.

4. No wonder, then, that the Roman Pontiffs have been so solicitous to safeguard and protect the liturgy. They have used the same care in making laws and regulation of liturgy, in preserving it from adulteration, as they have in giving accurate expression to the dogmas of the faith. This is the reason why the Fathers made both spoken and written commentary upon the liturgy or “the law of worship” for this reason the Council of Trent ordained that the liturgy should be expounded and explained to the faithful.

5. In our times too, the chief object of Pope Pius X, the *Motu Proprio* which he issued twenty-five years ago, making certain prescriptions concerning Gregorian Chant and sacred music, was to arouse and foster a Christian spirit in the faithful, by wisely excluding all that might ill befit the sacredness and majesty of our churches. The faithful come to church in order to derive piety from its chief source, by taking an active part in the

venerated mysteries and the public solemn prayers of the Church. It is of the utmost importance, therefore, that anything that is used to adorn the liturgy should be controlled by the Church, so that the arts may take their proper place as most noble ministers in sacred worship. Far from resulting in a loss to art, such an arrangement will certainly make for the greater splendour and dignity of the arts that are used in the Church. This has been especially true of sacred music. Wherever the regulations on this subject have been carefully observed, a new life has been given to this delightful art, and the spirit of religion has prospered; the faithful have gained a deeper understanding of the sacred liturgy, and have taken part with greater zest in the ceremonies of the Mass, in the singing of the psalms and the public prayers. Of this We Ourselves have happy experience when, in the first year of Our Pontificate, we celebrated solemn High Mass in the Vatican Basilica to the noble accompaniment of a choir of clerics of all nationalities signing in Gregorian Chant.

6. It is, however, to be deplored that these most wise laws in some public places have not been fully observed, and therefore their intended results not obtained. We know that some have declared that these laws, though so solemnly promulgated were not binding upon their obedience. Others obeyed them at first, but have since come gradually to give countenance to a type of music which should be altogether banned from our churches. In some cases, especially when the memory of some famous musician was being celebrated, the opportunity has been taken of performing in church certain works which, however excellent, should never have been performed there, since they were entirely out of keeping with the sacredness of the place and of the liturgy.
7. In order to urge the clergy and faithful to a amore scrupulous observance of these laws and directions which are to be carefully obeyed by the whole Church. We think it oppotune to set down here something of the fruits of

Our experience during the last twenty-five years. This We do the more willingly because in this year We celebrate not only the memory of the reform of sacred music to which We have referred, but also the centenary of the monk Guido of Arezzo. Nine hundred years ago Guido, at the bidding of the Pope, came to Rome and produced his wonderful invention, whereby the ancient and traditional liturgical chants might be more easily published, circulated and preserved intact for posterity – to the great benefit and glory of the Church and of art.

8. It was in the Lateran Palace that Gregory the Great, having made his famous collection of the traditional treasures of plainsong, editing them with the additions of his own had wisely founded his great *Schola* in order to perpetuate the true interpretation of the liturgical chant. It was in the same building that the monk Guido gave a demonstration of his marvellous invention before the Roman clergy and the Roman Pontiff himself. The Pope, by his full approbation and high praise of it, was responsible for the gradual spread of the new system throughout the world, and thus for the great advantages that accrued therefrom to musical art in general.
9. We wish, then, to make certain recommendations to the Bishops and Ordinaries, whose duty it is, since they are the custodians of the liturgy, to promote ecclesiastical art. We are thus acceding to the request which, as a result of any musical congresses and especially that recently held at Rome, have been made to Us by not a few Bishops and learned masters in the musical art. To this We accord due need of praise; and We ordain that the following directions, as hereunder set forth, with the practical methods indicated, be put into effect.
10. All those who aspire to the priesthood, whether in Seminaries or in religious houses, from their earliest years are to be taught Gregorian Chant

and sacred music. At that age they are able more easily to learn to sing, and to modify, if not entirely to overcome, any defects in their voices, which in later years would be quite incurable. Instruction in music and singing must be begun in the elementary, and continued in the higher classes. In this way, those who are about to receive sacred orders, having become gradually experienced in chant, will be able during their theological course quite easily to undertake the higher and “aesthetic” study of plainsong and sacred music, of polyphony and of the organ, concerning which the clergy certainly ought to have a thorough knowledge.

11. In seminaries, and in other houses of study for the formation of the clergy both secular and regular there should be a frequent and almost daily lecture or practice – however short – in Gregorian Chant and sacred music. If this is carried out in the spirit of the liturgy, the students will find it a relief rather than a burden to their minds, after the study of the more exacting subject. Thus a more complete education of both branches of the clergy in liturgical music will result in the restoration to its former dignity and splendour of the choral Office, a most important part of divine worship; moreover, the *scholae* and choirs will be invested again in their ancient glory.

12. Those who are responsible for, and engaged in divine worship in basilica and cathedrals, in collegiate and conventual churches of religious, should use all their endeavours to see that the choral Office is carried out duly – i.e. in accordance with the prescriptions of the Church. And this, not only as regards the receipt of reciting the divine Office “worthily, attentively and devoutly,” but also as regards the chant. In singing the psalms attention should be paid to the right tone, with its appropriate mediation and termination, and a suitable pause at the asterisk; so that every verse of the psalm and every strophe of the hymns may be sung by all in perfect

time together. If this were rightly observed, then all who worthily sing the psalms would signify their unity of intention in worshipping God and, as one side of the choir sings in answer to the other, would seem to emulate the everlasting praise of the Seraphim who cried one to the other “Holy, Holy, Holy.”

13. Lest anyone in future should invent easy excuses for exempting himself from obedience to the laws of the Church, let every chapter and religious community deal with these matters at meetings held for the purpose; and just as formerly there used to be a “Cantor” or director of the choir, so in future let one be chosen from each chapter or choir of religious, whose duty it will be to see that the rules of the liturgy and of choral chant are observed and, both individually and generally, to correct the faults of the choir. In this connection it should be observed that, according to the ancient discipline of the Church and the constitutions of chapters still in force, all those at least who are bound to office in choir, are obliged to be familiar with Gregorian Chant. And the Gregorian Chant which is to be used in every church, of whatever order, is the text which, revised according to the ancient manuscripts, has been authentically published by the Church from the Vatican Press.

14. We wish to recommend, to those whom it may concern, the formation of choirs. These in the course of time came to replace the ancient *scholae* and were established in the basilicas and greater churches especially for the singing of polyphonic music. Sacred polyphony, We may here remark, is rightly held second only to Gregorian Chant. We are desirous, therefore, that such choirs as they flourished from the fourteenth to sixteenth century, should now also be created new and prosper, especially in churches where the scale on which the liturgy is carried out demand a greater number and a more careful selection of singers.

15. Choir-schools for boys should be established not only for the greater churches and cathedrals, but also for smaller parish churches. The boys should be taught by the choirmaster to sing properly, so that, in accordance with the ancient custom of the Church, they may sing in the choir with the men, especially as in polyphonic music the highest part, the *cantus*, ought to be sung by boys. Choir-boys, especially in the sixteenth century, have given us masters of polyphony: first and foremost among them, the great Palestrina.

16. As We have learned that in some places an attempt is being made to reintroduce a type of music which is not entirely in keeping with the performance of the sacred Office, particularly owing to the excessive use made of musical instruments. We hereby declare that singing with orchestra accompaniment is not regarded by the Church as a more perfect form of music or more suitable for sacred purposes. Voices, rather than instruments, ought to be heard in the church: the voices of the clergy, the choir and the congregation (a). Nor should it be deemed that the Church, in preferring the human voice to any musical instrument, is obstructing the progress of music; for no instrument, however perfect, however excellent, can surpass the human voice in expressing human thought, especially when it is used by the mind to offer up prayer and praise to Almighty God.

17. The traditionally appropriate musical instrument of the Church is the organ, which, by reason of its extraordinary grandeur and majesty, has been considered a worthy adjunct to the liturgy, whether for accompanying the chant or, when the choir is silent, for playing harmonious music at the prescribed times. But here too must be avoided that mixture of the profane with the sacred which, though the fault partly of organ-builders and partly of certain performers who are partial to the singularities of modern music, may result eventually in diverting this magnificent instrument from the purpose of which it is intended. We

wish, within the limits prescribed by the liturgy, to encourage the development of all that concerns the organ; but We cannot but lament the fact that, as the case of certain types of music which the Church has rightly forbidden in part, so now attempts are being made to introduce a profane spirit into the Church by modern forms of music; which forms, if they began to enter in, the Church would likewise be bound to condemn. Let our churches resound with organ-music that gives expression to the majesty of the edifice and breathes the sacredness of the religious rites; in this way will the art both of those who build organs and of those who play them flourish afresh, and render effective service to the sacred liturgy.

18. In order that the faithful may more actively participate in divine worship, let them be made once more to sing the Gregorian Chant, so far as it belong to them to take part in it. It is important that when the faithful assist in the sacred ceremonies, or when pious sodalities take part with the clergy in a procession, they should not be merely detached and silent spectators, but, filled with a deep sense of the beauty of the liturgy, they should sing alternately with the clergy or the choir, as it is prescribed. If this is done, then it will no longer happen that the people either make no answer at all to the public prayers – whether in the language of the liturgy or in the vernacular – or at best utter the responses in a low and subdued murmur.

19. Let the clergy, both secular and regular, under the lead of their Bishops and Ordinaries devote their energies either directly, or through other trained teachers, to instructing the people in the liturgy and in music, as being matters closely associated with Christian doctrine. This will be best effected by teaching liturgical chant in schools, pious confraternities and similar associations. Religious communities of men or women should devote particular attention to the achievement of this purpose in the various educational institutions committed to their care. Moreover, We

are confident that this object will be greatly furthered by those societies which, under the control of ecclesiastical authority, are striving to reform sacred music according to the laws of the Church.

20. To achieve all that We hope for in this matter numerous trained teachers will be required. And in this connection We accord due praise to all the Schools and Institutes throughout the Catholic world which by giving careful instruction in these subjects are forming good and suitable teachers. But We have a special word of commendation for the “Pontifical Higher School of Sacred Music”, founded in Rome in the year 1910. This School, which was greatly encouraged by Pope Benedict XV and was by him endowed with new privileges, is most particularly favoured by Us; for We regard it as a precious heritage left to us by two Sovereign Pontiffs, and We therefore wish to recommend it in a special way to all the Bishops.

21. We are well aware that the fulfilment of these injunctions will entail great trouble and labour. But do we not all know how many artistic works our forefathers, undaunted by difficulties, have handed down to posterity, imbued as they were with pious zeal and with the spirit of the liturgy? Nor is this to be wondered at; for anything that is the fruit of the interior life of the Church surpasses even the most perfect works of this world. Let the difficulties of this sacred task, far from deterring, rather stimulate and encourage the Bishops of the Church, who, by their universal and unflinching obedience to Our behests, will render to the Sovereign Bishop a service most worthy of their Episcopal office.

(Conclusion.)

Appendix 3

Archbishops of Melbourne 1847 to 1938

Source: Boland, 1997

Most Rev James Alipius Goold OSA, DD.

(1812 to 1886)

Born 4 November 1812 in Cork, Ireland.

**Consecrated Bishop of Melbourne, 6 August 1848;
enthroned October 1848 at St Francis Cathedral, Melbourne.**

Appointed Archbishop and Metropolitan, March 1874.

Died 11 June 1886

Most Rev Thomas Joseph Carr DD.

(1839 to 1917)

Born 10 May 1839 at Moylough, County Galway, Ireland.

**Consecrated Bishop of Galway and Kilmacduagh and
Apostolic Administrator of Kilfenora, 26 August 1883.**

Appointed Archbishop of Melbourne, 29 September 1886;

Enthroned, 11 June 1887.

Died 6 May 1917

Most Rev Daniel Mannix DD, LLD.

(1864 to 1963)

Born 4 March 1864 at Charleville (Rathluire), County Cork, Ireland.

**Consecrated Titular Archbishop of Pharsalus and
Coadjutor Archbishop of Melbourne, 6 October 1912;**

succeeded as Archbishop of Melbourne, 6 May 1917.

Died 6 November 1963

Appendix 4

Deans of St Francis Cathedral & St Patrick's Cathedral 1858 to 1942

Source: Boland, 1997

Dr John Fitzpatrick (1858 to 1879)

Died 21 January 1890

Dean Thomas Donaghy (September 1879 to December 1891)

Died 8 December 1891

Dean Maurice McKenna (December 1891 to February 1900)

Transferred to Geelong.

Died 19 November 1924

Dean Patrick Phelan (February 1900 to February 1913)

Consecrated Bishop of Sale, 2 March 1913.

Died 5 January 1925

Dean John McCarthy (February 1913 to March 1917)

Consecrated Bishop of Sandhurst , 7 June 1917.

Died 18 August 1950

Father John Barry (March 1917 to March 1924)

Consecrated Bishop of Goulburn, 29 June 1924.

Died 22 March 1938

Monsignor John Lonergan (March 1924 to January 1938)

Appointed Bishop of Port Augusta, 6 January 1938.

Died 13 July 1938 before receiving Episcopal Consecration.

Very Rev Patrick Francis Lyons (August 1938 to March 1944)

Consecrated Bishop of Christchurch, 2 July 1944.

Auxiliary of Cardinal Gilroy of Sydney, 1950, and Bishop of Sale 16 June 1957.

Died 13 August 1967

Appendix 5

Directors of Music of St Patrick's Cathedral to 1942

Source: Boland, 1997

1873	W. R. Furlong
1875	Father O'Malley
1876 to 1880	P. Shanahan (first permanent conductor)
1880 to 1884	Alfred Plumpton
1884 to 1896	William Furlong
1896 to 1901	Felix von Steinmetz
1901 to 1907	Otto Linden (morning choir) and F Brady (evening or Vesper choir)
1907 to 1911	Frederick Beard
1911 to 1922	Felix von Steinmetz
1922 to 1933	A. E. Bindley
1933 to 1934	A. Melichar
1934	Dr Gerhard von Keussler
1934 to 1939	A. Melichar
1939 to 1941	Dr Georg Gruber (of Vienna Mozart Boys' Choir)
1941	A. W. Martin
1942 to 1973	Rev Dr Percy Jones

Appendix 6

Administrators and Superiors of St Francis Church 1839 to 1940

Sources: Lemieux, 1941; Tough 1979; Rayson 1995; Byrne 1995

Administrators (Parish Priests)

1839 (May) to 1848 (Nov)	Rev Patrick Bonaventure Geoghegan O.S.F.
1848 (Nov) to 1849 (Aug)	Rev John Fitzpatrick
1849 (Aug) to 1850 (Sep)	Rev Patrick Bonaventure Geoghegan O.S.F.
1850 (Sep) to 1857 (Mar)	Rev John Fitzpatrick
1857 (Mar) to 1859 (Jun)	Rev Dr John Barry
1859 (Jul) to 1862 (May)	Rev James Moore
1862 (May) to 1866 (Sep)	Rev Simon Riordan
1866 (Oct) to 1872 (Jan)	Rev G. V. Barry
1872 (Jan) to 1887 (Dec)	Rev Peter Paul O'Meara
1888 (Jan) to 1891 (Apr)	Rev John Heffernan
1891 (Jul) to 1894 (Apr)	Rev Patrick Walshe
1894 (Apr) to 1895 (Oct)	Rev Thomas Lynch
1895 (Oct) to 1926 (Apr)	Rev William Quilter
1926 (Sept) to 1928(Dec)	Rev William Collins
1928 (Dec) to 1929 (Oct)	Rev Edward Fennessy

Superiors

1929 (Nov) to 1935 (Nov)	Rev Henri Lachance S.S.S.
1935 (Nov) to 1940 (Nov)	Rev Omer Herbert S.S.S.

Appendix 7

Directors of Music of St Francis Church 1844 to 1942

Sources: Baker, c.1945; *The Advocate*; Rankin 1979; Byrne 1995

1844 to 1845	William Clarke
1845 to 1850	Mr Hemy
1851 to 1852	George O. Rutter
1853 to 1858	John Russell
1859	E. King
1864	James Plunkett
1865 to 1866	Mr Compton
1867	Professor Hughes
1868 to 1869	R. G. Pringle
1870 to 1871	Charles Edward Horsley
1871	Julius Seide
1872 to 1884	William Furlong
1885 to 1888	Alfred Plumpton
1889 to 1894	Richard Donovan
1894	Benno Scherek
1894 to 1907	Thomas Lambie
1908 to 1931	Achille Rebottaro
1932 to 1945	Thomas A. Dennett

Appendix 8

Examples of Christmas music performed in the two city churches and others from 1870 to 1940

Sources: *The Advocate*; Baker, c.1945; Byrne, 1997

- 1870** **St Francis:** Mozart, Twelfth Mass; Faith of our Fathers (hymn)
St Peter (Daylesford): Weber Mass no.1 in (choir of 5 and harmonium)
- 1875** **St Francis:** Mozart, Twelfth Mass; Novello, Adeste fideles; Handel, Hallelujah;
Handel, For unto us a child is born
St Mary of the Angels (Geelong): Giorza, Missa solemnis; Novello, Adeste
fideles; Handel, Hallelujah. At Vespers that evening Handel, Comfort ye my
people
- 1880** **St Patrick's:** Mozart, Twelfth Mass; Handel, Hallelujah; Handel, Glory to God;
Zingarelli, Laudate dominum; Novello, Adeste fideles
St Francis: Haydn, Nelson Mass (with orchestra); Novello, Adeste fideles;
Handel, Comfort ye my people; Handel, And the glory of the Lord
St Mary of the Angels (Geelong): mass not recorded; Handel, Hallelujah;
Novello, Adeste fideles
- 1885** **St Patrick's:** Gounod, St Cecilia Mass
St Mary of the Angels (Geelong): Haydn, Nelson Mass
- 1890** **St Patrick's:** Mozart, Twelfth Mass
St Francis: Haydn, Missa in tempore belli; Novello, Adeste fideles; Handel
Hallelujah. (The choir numbered 80 voices) At Vespers that evening Haydn, O
salutaris
- 1895**
St Patrick's: Haydn: Nelson Mass; Novello, Adeste fideles
St Francis: Schubert, Mass in E flat; Novello, Adeste fideles; Handel Hallelujah
- 1900**
St Patrick's: Midnight Mass for New Year by special permission of Pope Leo
XIII. Guilmant: Third Solemn Mass; Perosi, Verbum caro factum; Novello,
Adeste fideles; Handel, Hallelujah
St Francis: Mozart, Twelfth Mass; Novello, Adeste fideles
St Mary (East St Kilda): Gounod, St Cecilia Mass
St James (North Richmond):Choir of St Ignatius: Haydn, Nelson Mass;
Mercadente, Ave verum
It was noted that Gounod's St Cecilia Mass was sung in 13 Melbourne churches
to welcome the new century.

1905 **St Patrick's:** Gounod, St Cecilia Mass, Novello, Adeste fideles
St Francis: Messe de Pacques
St Mary (East St Kilda): Haydn, Nelson Mass; Gounod, Ave verum

1910

St Patrick's: Gounod, Messe Solennelle de Pacques; Gounod, Marche religioso; Handel, Pastorale symphony from 'Messiah'; Novello, Adeste fideles. Vespers at evening: Elgar, Ave verum; Schubert, Tantum ergo (sic)
St Francis: Haydn, Harmoniemesse; Novello, Adeste fideles; Handel, Hallelujah. One week before Christmaas the choir performed the oratorio 'Rebekah' by Barnby

1915

St Patrick's: Paladilhe, Messe de la Pentecote ("this work rivals Gounod's evergreen St Cecilia Mass"); Saint-Saens, Tecum principium (from 'Noel'); Novello, Adeste fideles, Gregorian Proper
St Francis: Haydn, Harmoniemesse; Beethoven, Ave Maria (sic); Gounod, Nazareth; Handel, Hallelujah
St James (Gardenvale): Haydn, Nelson Mass (orchestra); Novello, Adeste fideles; Handel, Hallelujah; "orchestral music of the masters at the Offertory"
Sts Peter and Paul (South Melbourne): Gounod, St Cecilia Mass
Sacred Heart (St Kilda West): Haydn, Nelson Mass; Novello, Adeste fideles; Handel, Hallelujah
St Alipius (Oakleigh): Farmer, Mass; Gounod Nazareth; Novello, Adeste fideles; Handel, Hallelujah

1920

St Patrick's: Gounod, St Cecilia Mass; Gounod, Hymn to St Cecilia; Saint-Saens: Tecum principium; Gounod, Nazareth; Novello, Adeste fideles; Handel: Hallelujah
St Francis: Gounod: St Cecilia Mass (with orchestra); Gounod, Nazareth; Novello, Adeste fideles; Handel, Hallelujah
St Joseph (South Yarra): Haydn: Nelson Mass (with orchestra); Novello: Adeste fideles; Gounod, Ave verum; Handel, And the glory of the Lord; Handel, Hallelujah

1925

St Patrick's: Klein, Missa in Nativitate Domini; Gregorian Proper unaccompanied; motets, A solis ortis & Hodie Christus natus
St Francis: Haydn, Harmoniemesse; Novello, Adeste fideles; Handel, Hallelujah; Gounod, Nazareth
St Margaret Mary (North Brunswick): Mass of St Margaret Mary
St Joseph (Collingwood): Hammerell: Mass of Our Lady of Good Counsel; Novello, Adeste fideles; Gounod, Nazareth; Harma, Quam vidisti pastores

1930

St Patrick's: Guilmant, Messe Solennelle

Our Lady of Mt Carmel (Middle Park): Mozart, Coronation Mass; Novello, Adeste fideles; Handel, Hallelujah

St Ambrose (Brunswick): Beethoven, Mass in C (with orchestra) mass broadcast for the first time on ABC radio, 3AR

St Michael (North Melbourne): Paladilhe, Messe de la Pentecote; Proper arr Tozer; van Reyschoot, Nato nobis salvatore; Novello, Adeste fideles; Saint-Saens, Tecum principium. At Benediction that evening the choir sang Beard, O salutaris; Gounod, Nazareth

1935

St Patrick's: Pettoelli, Missa Ave maris stella; Novello, Adeste fideles; Gregorian Proper; Witt, Ecce sacerdos magnus

St Ambrose (Brunswick): Haydn, Harmoniemesse

1940

St Patrick's: Palestrina, Missa secunda; Gregorian Proper; Gruber, Ecce sacerdos magnus; Asola, Omnes de Saba venient; Gallus, Resonant in laudibus

Appendix 9

Repertoire of music at St Francis' Church

From 1845 when the choir was founded
to 1937 when the mixed choir was disbanded

Source: Baker, c.1945; *The Advocate*; Rankin 1979; Byrne 1995

Australian composers, temporary or permanent residents, are noted

a) Settings of the Ordinary of the Mass

Barri, Odoardo	Mass in C major
Beethoven, Ludwig van	Messe in C
Consalini, Carlo	Missa solemnis
Dubois, Theodore	Messe de la Delivrance
Dubois, Theodore	Messe Pontificale
Dubois, Theodore	Messe solonnelle 'Saint-Remi'
Farmer, Henry	Mass in B flat
Franck, Cesar	Messe pour 3 voix
Giorza, Paolo	Messe solennelle (no.1) Australian
Giorza, Paolo	Messe solennelle (no.3) Australian
Gounod, Charles	Messe à la mémoire de Jeanne d'Arc
Gounod, Charles	Messe aux Orphéonistes
Gounod, Charles	Messe du Sacré-Coeur de Jésus
Gounod, Charles	Messe solennelle de Pâques
Gounod, Charles	Messe solennelle de Ste Cécile
Guilmant, Alexandre	Messe (unspecified)
Haydn, Franz Josef	Harmoniemesse
Haydn, Franz Josef	Heiligmesse
Haydn, Franz Josef	Missa in angustiis (Nelson)
Haydn, Franz Josef	Missa in tempore belli
Haydn, Franz Josef	Missa Sancti Joannis de Deo (Little Organ)
Haydn, Franz Josef	St Nicholas Mass
Haydn, Franz Josef	Schöpfungsmesse
Haydn, Franz Josef	Theresienmesse
Hummell, Johann Nepomuk	Messe in E flat
Kitson, C. H.	Mass in D
Marzo, Eduardo	Solemn Mass
Mercadente, Saverio	Missa in B flat
Mercadente, Saverio	Missa in E flat
Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus	Krönungsmesse (Coronation)

Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus	Requiem	
Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus (attrib)	Twelfth Mass	
Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da	Missa Aeterni Christi munera	
Perosi, Lorenzo	Missa Beata Caroli	
Perosi, Lorenzo	Missa Benedicamus domino	
Perosi, Lorenzo	Missa Eucharistic	
Perosi, Lorenzo	Missa Pontificalis	
Perosi, Lorenzo	Missa 'St Ambrose'	
plainsong	Missa Terribilis	
Plumpton, Alfred	Mass in G major	Australian
Ravanello, Ernesto	Missa Festiva	
Ravanello, Ernesto	Missa Sancti Pietro Arseolo	
Refice, Licinio	Missa in honorem Assumptionis B.M.V.	
Rossini, Gioacchino	Petite Messe Solonnelle	
Rutter, George	Mass in D major	Australian
Stehle, Edwardus	Missa Salve regina	
Turner, Austin	Grand Mass in D major	Australian
Weber, Carl Maria von	Missa solemnis in E flat (nr.1)	
Weber, Carl Maria von	Messe nr.2 in G	
Widor, Charles-Marie	Messe	
Yon, Pietro	Missa de angelis	

b) Motets (anthems and choruses)

Abt, Franz	Ave Maria	
Bach, J.S.	O filii et filiae (sic)	
Bauer, Joseph	Ave Maria	
Beethoven, Ludwig van	Hallelujah to the Father	
Beethoven, Ludwig van	O salutaris (sic)	
Bordese, Louis	O salutaris	
Campra, Andre	Sub tuum presidium	
Campana, Fabio	Salve regina	
Capocci, Gaetano	Laudate dominum	
Caron, Leon	Ave Maria	Australian
Cherubini, Luigi	O salutaris	
Chiappani,	Tantum ergo	
Cooper, Paston	Ave Maria	
Costa, Michael	I will extoll Thee, O Lord	
Croft, William (arr. Portalupi)	Salve regina	
De Pietro,	Bone pastor	
de Serena, Labat	Regina coeli	
Donizetti, Gaetano	Tantum ergo	
Doré, Leon	O salutaris	
Duval, Francois	Regina coeli	
Ett, Kaspar	Haec dies	
Generali, Pietro	Salve regina	

Giorza, Paolo	O salutaris	Australian
Giorza, Paolo	Regina coeli	Australian
Giorza, Paolo	Salve Maria	Australian
Gladstone,	Averte faciem	
Gordon, Joseph	Ave Maria	Australian
Gounod, Charles	Ave Maria	
Gounod, Charles	Ave verum corpus	
Gounod, Charles	Nazareth	
Gregorian	Pange lingua	
Guerca, Alforno	Ave Maria	
Gugliemi, Pietro	Gratias agimus	
Guyneme,	O salutaris	
Hammorel,	Terra tremuit	
Handel, Georg F.	And the glory of the Lord	
Handel, Georg F.	Fix him in his everlasting seat (Samson)	
Handel, Georg F.	For unto us a child is born	
Handel, Georg F.	Hallelujah	
Handel, Georg F.	I know that my redeemer liveth	
Handel, Georg F.	Oh thou that tellest good tidings to Zion	
Hargitt,	O salutaris hostia	
Hazon, Roberto	Salve regina	Australian
Haydn, Franz Joseph	Achieved is the glorious work	
Haydn, Franz Joseph	The heavens are telling	
Haydn, Michael (?)	O salutaris	
Hermann, Louis	Ave Maria	Australian?
Hermann, Louis	O salutaris	Australian?
Horsley, Charles Edward	Ave verum corpus	Australian
Hummell, Johann Nepomuk	Alma virgo	
Jommelli, Nicolo	Confirma hoc deus	
Lanzi, Francesco	Bone Jesi fili Dei	
Lanzi, Francesco	O salutaris	
Lefebure-Wely, Louis	O salutaris	
Linden, Otto	Tu es Petrus	Australian
Manners	O come let us adore	
Mariani, Angelo	Alma redemptoris mater	
Mendelssohn, Felix	Hear my prayer	
Mendelssohn, Felix	If with all your hearts	
Mercadente, Saverio	Ave verum corpus	
Mercadente, Saverio	Cum esset desporata Mater	
Mercadente, Saverio	O salutaris	
Millard	Ave verum	
Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus	Within this holy temple (The Magic Flute).	
Natalucci	Salve regina	
Nesbitt	Ave Maria	
Neukomm, Sigismund	Veni sancte spiritus	
Novello, Vincent (arr.)	Adeste fideles	

Novello, Vincent	Asperges me Domini	
Owen	Ave Maria	
Pergolesi, Giovanni	Sanctum et terribile	
Raff, Joachim	Cavatina	
Rossi, Carlo	Tantum ergo	
Rossini, Gioacchino	Cujus animam (Stabat Mater)	
Rossini, Gioacchino	Inflammatum (Stabat Mater)	
Rossini, Gioacchino	O salutaris	
Rossini, Gioacchino	Pro peccatis (Stabat Mater)	
Rossini, Gioacchino	Quis est homo (Stabat Mater)	
Rossini, Gioacchino	Sancta mater istud agas (Stabat Mater)	
Saint-Saens, Camille	O salutaris	
Schubert, Franz	O salutaris	
Seymour	Victimae pascali	
Stehle, Edwardus	Ecce sacerdos	
Stehle, Edwardus	Tantum ergo	
Stradella, Alessandro	Pieta, Signor	
Wand	Salve regina	
Webbe, Samuel	Magnificat	
Weber, Carl Maria von	In me gratia omnis viae	
Zangli	Haec dies	
Zelman, Alberto	Ave Maria	Australian
Zelman, Alberto	O salutaris	Australian
Zelman, Alberto	Quam dilectu tabernacula	Australian
Zelman, Alberto	Te Deum	Australian
Zingarelli, Nicola	Laudate pueri	

c) Cantatas

Barnby, Joseph	Rebekah	
Geibel, Adam	Light out of Darkness	
Gounod, Charles	Nazareth	
Gounod, Charles	Tobias	
Herold, Ferdinand	Zampa (opera, concert performance)	
Mercadente, Saverio	Seven Last Words	
Rossini, Gioacchino	Stabat Mater	
Rossini, Gioacchino	Moses in Egypt (opera, concert performance)	
Spohr, Louis	Cantata "God Thou art Great" op.68	
Sullivan, Arthur	The Prodigal Son	
Tracy, Charles	Litania	Australian

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Manuscript sources

Baker, A. (Attrib.) (c.1945). *The choir at St Francis'*. Private collection.

Falkinger, R. (1992). *St Francis' Church, Melbourne. Conservation study*. Private collection.

Mackle, F. (n.d.). *A history of St Francis' Church and of its priests*. Private collection.

Noskowski, L. de (n.d.). *Lists of operas performed in Melbourne 1853-1899*. Sydney: Archives of The Australian Opera.

Sheehan, M. (1988). *Report on St Francis' Church for Historic Buildings Council*. Historic Buildings Council.

Tarleton, A. (1993). *St Mary's Cathedral Choir: some important facts*. Archives of St Mary's Cathedral, Sydney.

Von Keussler, G. (1934). *Circular letter to the members of the choirs at St Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne*. Private collection.

Watmuff, J. G. *Diary 1860-1880*, Private Collection.

Theses

- deJong, U. (1983). *William Wilkinson Wardell: his life and work 1823-1899*. (Ph.D. thesis). Melbourne: Department of Visual Arts, Monash University.
- De Luca, J. (2003). *A vision found and lost: the promotion and evolving interpretation of the movement for liturgical musical reform within the Sydney Catholic Church during the twentieth century*. (Ph.D. thesis). Sydney: School of Music and Music Education, University of New South Wales.
- Radic, M.T. (1977). *Some Historical Aspects of Musical Associations in Melbourne 1888-1915* (Ph.D. thesis) Melbourne: Faculty of Music, University of Melbourne

Printed sources

- Bebbington, W. (ed.) (1997). *The Oxford Companion to Australian Music*. Melbourne: Oxford
- Blainey, G. (1975). *The Tyranny of Distance, How Distance shaped Australia's History*. Melbourne: Macmillan
- Boland, T. (1997). *St Patrick's Cathedral, a Life*. Melbourne: Polding Press
- Boland, T. (1997). *Thomas Carr, Archbishop of Melbourne*. Brisbane: University of Queensland Press
- Burton, K. (1952). *The Great Mantle, the Life of Guiseppe Melchior Sarto, Pope Pius X*. Dublin: Clonmore and Reynolds.
- Byrne, J. (1997). *Echoes of Home, Music at St Francis' 1845 – 1995*. Melbourne: St Francis Choir.
- Campion, E. (1987). *Australian Catholics*. Melbourne: Viking.
- Campion, E. (1982). *Rockchoppers, growing up Catholic in Australia*. Melbourne, Penguin

- Cannon, M. (1991). *Old Melbourne Town: Before the Gold Rush*. Main Ridge (Victoria): Loch Haven
- Cannon, M. (1993). *Melbourne After the Gold Rush*. Main Ridge (Victoria): Loch Haven
- Cave, D. (1988). *Percy Jones, Priest, Musician, Teacher*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press
- Chamberlin, F. (1989). *Glory to God: St Patrick's Cathedral Choir 1939 to 1989*. Melbourne: St Patrick's Cathedral.
- Cheslock, L. (ed) (1961). *H.L.Mencken on Music*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf
- Clark, M. (1986). *A Short History of Australia* (revised edition). Melbourne: Penguin Books
- Colles, H.C.(ed) (1935) *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 3rd ed. New York: Macmillan
- Collins, P (1997), *Papal Power*. Melbourne: Harper & Collins
- Cornwell, J. (1999), *Hitler's Pope; the Secret History of Pius XII*. London: Viking
- Crighton, J. et al. (1979). *English Catholic Worship, Liturgical Renewal in England since 1900*. London: Geoffrey Chapman
- Crighton, J. 'The Office in the West, the Roman rite from the Sixteenth Century' in Jones, C. Wainwright, G and Yarnold, E (eds). (1980). *The Study of Liturgy*. London: SPCK
- Dahlhaus, C. (1989). *Nineteenth-century music*. (J. Bradford Robinson, Trans.) Berkeley CA: University of California Press. (Original work published 1980)
- Davis, R. (1997). *Anna Bishop, the Adventures of an Intrepid Prima Donna*. Sydney: Currency Press

- Davison G, Hirst J, Macintyre S (eds) (1998). *The Oxford Companion to Australian History*. Melbourne: Oxford
- Day, T. (1990). *Why Catholics can't sing, the culture of Catholicism and the triumph of bad taste*. New York: Crossroads
- Day, T. (1993). *Where have you gone, Michelangelo?: The Loss of Soul in Catholic Culture*. New York: Crossroads.
- Dening, G. (1978). *Xavier, a Centenary Portrait*. Melbourne: Old Xaverians Association
- Duffy, E. (1997). *Saints and Sinners, a History of the Popes*. np, Yale University Press.
- Dunstan, D (1996). *Victorian Icon, The Royal Exhibition Building Melbourne*. Melbourne: Victoria Scholarly Publishing
- .
- Ebsworth, W. (1977). *Archbishop Mannix*. np: H.H.Stephenson
- Ehmann, B. (1946) 'Church Music' in *A Symposium on the Life and Work of Pius X*. Washington: Confraternity of Christian Doctrine
- Falconi, C. (1967), *The Popes in the Twentieth Century* (trans. Muriel Grindrod). London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson
- Fellerer, K. (1980) 'Cecilian Movement' in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (S Sadie (ed.)). (vol. 4, pp. 47-48). London: Macmillan.
- Finn, E. (c 1892). "A History of the Catholic Church in Australia" in J G Shea, *The Catholic Educator*. (pp. xiii-li). Melbourne: Samiel McCardel.
- Fitzpatrick, D. (1995). *Oceans of Consolation, Personal Accounts of Irish Migration to Australia*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.
- Forbes, F. (1924). *Life of Pius X*. London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne
- Forristal, D. (1976). *The Christian Heritage*. Dublin: Veritas Publications

- "Garryowen" (Edmund Finn). (1888). *The Chronicles of early Melbourne 1835 to 1852*. Melbourne: Fergusson and Mitchell.
- Gatens, W. (1986). *Victorian Cathedral Music in Theory and Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gelineau, J. (1978). "Music and Singing in the Liturgy" in C Jones, G Wainwright and E Yarnold (Eds.), *The Study of liturgy*. (pp. 440-544). London: SPCK.
- Gilchrist, M. (1982). *Daniel Mannix, Priest and Patriot*. Melbourne: Dove Communications
- Glover, B. (1991). *St Francis' Church, Melbourne, Australia*. Melbourne: Scancolor
- Gome, D. (1995) in 'Australian Colonial Hymnody, an Annotated Checklist' in *Continuo* vol. 24
- "Gregorius". (1925). *Sing ye wisely, an Appeal to Australian Catholics*. Sydney: Pellegrini & Co.
- Grimes, R. (1996). *How shall we Sing in a Foreign Land? Music of Irish Catholic Immigrants in the Antebellum United States*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press
- Gyger, A. (1990). *Opera for the Antipodes*. Sydney: Currency Pellinor.
- Gyger, A. (1999). *Civilising the Colonies, Pioneering Opera in Australia*. Sydney: Pellinor
- Harcourt, R. (2001). *Southern Invasion, Northern Conquest, the Story of the Founding of Melbourne*. Melbourne: Golden Point
- Harrison, H. (1997). *Laudate dominum, music at Adelaide's Catholic Cathedral, 1845 –1995*. Adelaide: Catholic Archdiocese of Adelaide

- Hayburn, R. (1979). *Papal Legislation on Sacred Music*. Collegeville MN: Liturgical Press.
- Hetherington, J. (1967). *Melba*. Melbourne: F. W. Cheshire.
- Honey, E. (1985). *The Art of Violet Sommerset*. Balgowlah: Ennis Honey.
- Huels, J. (1987). *Liturgical Law: an Introduction*. Washington DC: The Pastoral Press
- Hughes, C. David, (2005) "Sacred Music, a Hundred Years Later; Some thoughts on the Centenary of the *motu proprio* of Pius X" in *The American Organist* vol 39 (1)
- Ignatius, M. Sister. (1954). *The Wheel of Time, a Brief Survey of the Ninety-six years' Work of the Sisters of Mercy in Victoria, 1857-1953*. Melbourne: Sisters of Mercy
- John XXIII, Pope, (1980). *The Journey of a Soul*. (D.White, Trans.). London: Geoffrey Chapman.
- Joncas, J. (1997). *From Sacred Song to Ritual Music, Twentieth-century Understandings of Roman Catholic Worship Music*. Collegeville MN: Liturgical Press
- Jones, C. Wainwright, G and Yarnold, E (eds). (1980). *The Study of Liturgy*. London: SPCK.
- Keneally, T. (1998). *The Great Shame, the Story of the Irish in the Old World and the New*. Sydney: Random House
- Klauser, T. (1979). *A Short History of Western liturgy*. (John Halliburton, Trans.). Oxford: Oxford University Press. (Original work published 1965)
- Küng, H. (2001). *The Catholic Church, a Short History*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson
- Lemieux, H. (1941). *St Francis 1841-1941*. Melbourne: Fathers of the Blessed Sacrament.

- Lenti, V (1990) 'The Hymn Tradition of the Roman Catholic Church - a Brief Historical Inquiry' in *The American Organist*, vol. 42(2), p. 56
- Love, H. (1981). *The Golden Age of Australian Opera*. Sydney: Currency Press.
- Mackenzie, B. & F. (1967). *Singers of Australia from Melba to Sutherland*. Melbourne: Lansdowne Press.
- Mackle, F. (c.1926). *The Footprints of our Catholic Pioneers*. Melbourne: Advocate Press.
- Marr, D. (1999). *The High Price of Heaven*, Sydney: Allen &Unwin
- Matthews, E.N. (1969). *Colonial Organs and Organ Builders*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.
- McGillion, C. (2003). *A Long Way from Rome; Why the Australian Catholic Church is in Crisis*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin
- Moran, P. (nd) *History of the Catholic Church in Australasia*. Sydney: Oceanic Publishing Co.
- Murphy, J.M. (Ed.). (1936). *The National Eucharistic Congress: Melbourne, Australia. December 2nd-9th, 1934*. Melbourne: Advocate Press.
- O'Farrell, P. (1992). *The Catholic Church and Community: an Australian History*. Sydney: New South Wales University Press.
- O'Farrell, P. (2000) *The Irish in Australia, 1788 to the Present* (third edition), Sydney: University of New South Wales Press.
- O'Kane, F. (1976). *A Path is Set, the Catholic Church in the Port Phillip District and Victoria 1839-1862*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.

- Pawley, B. & M. (1981). *Rome and Canterbury through Four Centuries*. London: Mowbrays.
- Phillips, C.H. and Hutchins, A. (1979). *The Singing Church*. London: Mowbrays.
- Priestley, S. (1984). *Making their mark*. (The Victorians series). McMahons Point (NSW): Fairfax, Syme and Weldon
- Proceedings of the First Australasian Catholic Congress held at St Mary's Cathedral, Sydney, 10th September 1900*. (1900). Sydney: St Mary's Cathedral
- Proceedings of the Second Australasian Catholic Congress held in the Cathedral Hall, Melbourne, October 24th to 31st October 1904*. (1905). Melbourne: St Patrick's Cathedral
- Proceedings of the Third Australasian Catholic Congress held at St Mary's Cathedral, Sydney, 26th September – 3rd October 1909*. (1910). Sydney: William Brooks & Co
- Radic, M.T. (1986). *Melba, the Voice of Australia*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Ranke-Heinemann, U. (1990). *Eunuchs for heaven: the Catholic Church and Sexuality*. (J. Brownjohn, Trans.). London: Andre Deutsch. (Original work published 1988)
- Rankin, D. (1979). *The History of Music at St Francis' Church, 1839/1979*. Melbourne: Society of Jesus in Australia.
- Robbins Landon, H.C. and Wyn Jones, D. (1988). *Haydn: his Life and Music*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Routley, E. (1950). *The Church and Music, an Enquiry into the History, the Nature, and the Scope of Christian Judgement on Music*. London: Gerald Duckworth & Co
- Routley, E. (1957) *The Music of Christian Hymnody*. London: Independent Press

- Sadie, S. (ed.) (1991). *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. London: Macmillan.
- Santamaria, B.A. (1984). *Daniel Mannix. A Biography*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press
- Scharnagl, A. (1991). 'Regensburg' in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (S Sadie (ed.)). (vol..15, p. 674). London, Macmillan.
- Shea, J. G. (c 1892) *The Catholic Educator*, Melbourne: Samuel McCardel
- Sheehan, M. (nd). *Victories in Camberwell, a history of Catholics in Camberwell*. Melbourne: Pakenham Gazette.
- Solesmes, Benedictine Monks of (Eds). (1962). *Papal teachings: The Liturgy* (Daughters of St Paul, Trans.). New York: St Paul Editions.
- Some of the Fruits of Fifty Years* (1897). Melbourne: A.H.Massina and Company.
- Steiner, R. (1980), 'Vespers' in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (S Sadie (ed.)). (vol. 19. pp. 685) London: Macmillan
- Tough, J. (n.d.). *A Short History of St Francis' Church 1839-1979*. Melbourne: Blessed Sacrament Fathers.
- Wechsberg, J (1968). *Sounds of Vienna*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson.
- Wibberley, B. (1934). *Music and Religion\; a Historical and Philosophical Survey*. London: Epworth Press
- Wienandt, E. A. (1980). *Choral music of the Church*. New York: Da Capo.
- Wynd, I. (1972) *St Mary of the Angels*, Geelong: Geelong Histoical Society

Periodicals

The Advocate	Catholic Diocesan Historical Commission; State library of Victoria
The Australian Musical News	State Library of Victoria
The Melbourne Herald	State Library of Victoria
The Melbourne Morning Herald	State Library of Victoria
My Note Book	State Library of Victoria (part only)
The Port Phillip Herald	State Library of Victoria
The Tribune	Catholic Diocesan Historical Commission; State Library of Victoria (part only)