**Shaping the living and the dead.**

The Annual Herbert Howells Lecture,

given at Westminster Abbey on 8th October 2016 by Dr Jonathan Clinch.

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**Biographical Note**

Dr Jonathan Clinch is an English organist and academic. A graduate of Keble College, Oxford and University College, Durham, Jonathan wrote his doctoral thesis on the music of Herbert Howells under the supervision of Professor Jeremy Dibble, having completed an MA degree in organ performance under Dame Gillian Weir. His completion of Howells’ Cello Concerto was premiered in 2015 to critical acclaim. He holds the posts of Research Associate at Cambridge University and Teaching Fellow at Birmingham University, living in-between in rural Oxfordshire.

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**Introduction - Music & Buildings**

Not too far away from here, in the House of Commons in October 1944, Winston Churchill made a speech in which he famously said that ‘We shape our buildings and afterwards our buildings shape us’. He’s right. They shape us emotionally, in our thoughts and in our behavior. They affect how we think and feel.

Westminster Abbey is one such building. It gives us a sense of awe and beauty, pleasing symmetry and stately grandeur. It is not all aesthetic though. It shapes lives and deaths. As an iconic building, it has status within the British imagination (if you consider there to be such a thing), which moderates our ongoing relationship with the past and future, and, uniquely here, with church, state and nation; it is part of the institutional life which outlives successive generations of human life. At ‘the heart of the nation’, this is a curated space, a sort of dynamic museum, which has a role in constructing, re-constructing and mediating our national history, and the Abbey’s ongoing liturgical life revolves round a peculiar, indeed a royal peculiar, mixing of the living and dead. The dead are never left in
peace here and are collected into aisles and corners, catalogued if you like, often by trade, putting musicians or, of course, poets etc., in their respective corners. Our buildings shape us and a unique aspect of this building are its occupants, one of whom we celebrate today. Thus Westminster captures Howells, as Howells captured Westminster: in his two sets of canticles for William McKie, the 1957 official ‘Westminster’ service and the 1955 B minor service, in the anthem ‘Behold, O God our defender’ for the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II in 1953 and in other pieces for the Abbey, such as King’s Herald, my transcription of which we will hear today.

‘We shape our buildings and afterwards our buildings shape us’ - but we could equally say ‘We shape our MUSIC, and afterwards, our MUSIC shapes us’ - so how does Herbert Howells’ music shape us? This ‘we’ is important because it acknowledges the collaborative and cumulative nature of musical composition in Howells, through the influences of Vaughan Williams, Stanford and several others, not all of whom are occupants of the North choir aisle in the Abbey. Westminster is the perfect place to ask this question, because the answer lies within another question: What do Westminster and Howells have in common? My answer, in short, would be that it concerns the status of the dead, or rather the dynamic between the living and the dead, and what they teach us. This building, this lecture, this composer, this music, is all about the creation and recreation of memory, our inheritance from the dead. An inheritance that is dynamic in that it is constantly changing and developing as successive generations discover it, challenge it and construct meaning from it.

**An Elegy**

In the context of the centenary of the First World War, the 1917 *Elegy for Solo Viola, String Quartet and String Orchestra* has enjoyed a number of performances, both live and through broadcasts. I'm writing a paper about its meaning, but in short, what is most striking about
the piece is the soloist. Howells commemorates Francis Warren, a viola player, his fellow student and friend at the Royal College of Music, by making him present within his own memorial.\textsuperscript{iv} Warren, or ‘Bunny’ as he was remembered in Howells’ orchestral suite ‘The B’s’, was killed-in-action at the Battle of the Somme and his body never recovered. But in the Elegy, for around 9 minutes, he stands in front of us again, the soloist at the heart of his own memorial, beginning alone with the melancholic melody which forms the basis of the whole piece. At the climax Howells quotes music from his own Psalm Prelude for organ (set 1, no. 1). The original prelude is marked *Lento, poco appenato* meaning suffering, pained or grieved. It is a meditation on Psalm 34, v. 6: ‘This poor man cried, and the Lord heard him, and saved him out of all his troubles’, very apt for Warren’s memorial and preempting the overwhelming optimism and beauty that characterizes the psalm setting in *Hymnus Paradisi*. Parry commemorated Warren in his Royal College of Music Director’s Address of September 1917: ‘he had to face the barbarities, and one of humanity’s tenderest possessions was ruthlessly destroyed’.\textsuperscript{v} The Elegy is not about death though, it purposefully avoids the violence of such ‘barbarities’, it is beautiful and tender, memorializing the very essence of the individual in form, style, mood and manner.

This ‘presence’ of Warren within the early ‘secular’ Elegy is a very important moment for Howells. At the heart of his later masterpieces - *Hymnus Paradisi, Stabat Mater, Missa Sabrinensis* and *An English Mass* - is the commemoration of the dead. But this also points to a very important conceptual overlap here concerning spirituality. *Hymnus* is undoubtedly about Michael, his Requiem. But what of the others? It is hard not to hear Michael’s spiritual presence throughout the *Stabat Mater*, with its text about a parent grieving for their child. And, of course, the Mass is the commemoration of the Passion, through the body and blood. Possibly the most personal moment comes in the middle of the Creed in *An English Mass* with a single voice, sometimes a boy chorister, singing ‘I look for the resurrection of the
dead’. In the context of Michael, this ‘presence’ is hard to avoid. Howells wrote that there was not a day when he did not think of Michael, he was a constant presence. Howells’ relationship with the dead was therefore a deeply spiritual one which centered on the shared experience of parental grief, which he found in the rituals of the Anglican church.

At the heart of Evensong are two canticles about a boy child: in the first, the Magnificat, a parent speaks before the arrival and the second, the Nunc Dimittis, Simeon, an onlooker, speaks after. It is no wonder that Howells had such an affinity to this service - such rituals of commemoration were of personal significance. He did have a deep spiritual relationship and a need to communicate it; it just was not with Christ. However, it was often expressed through Christ in his church music and, as we have seen in the Elegy, there is overlap between Howells’ ‘secular’ and ‘sacred’ music.

**The Cello Concerto**

We know that the Cello Concerto formed part of the mourning ritual, as suggested by his daughter Ursula, and that he returned to it around the anniversary of Michael’s death (as an aside, perhaps it says something about the psychology of the living that we commemorate Howells around the date of his birth, rather than his death). The concertante nature of the genre is crucial here; at its heart is the soloist’s role as agent of memorialization. This process of memory, created and recreated in performance, allows the speaker to be amongst us, just as Simeon will sing directly amongst us at the start of the Nunc Dimittis of Collegium Regale this afternoon.

The composer’s voice is articulated, very directly, through the soloist. We concentrate on the individual, but the soloist is a proxy. In the Elegy it was for Warren, as I said, a haunting of his own memorial. In the Cello Concerto, it is the grieving father, communicating through music which is deeply troubled, restless and, in the first movement in particular, highly
rhapsodic. The middle movement takes us to the heart of the nightmare, the bass ostinato pattern gives us this strong sense of time ticking by, a manifestation of life’s inherent inevitability, over which Howells combines melody of beauty and harmony of distress and pain. The memory of Michael is beautiful; his absence is devastating. And that is perhaps why, when reworking the start of the first movement in the 1970’s, Howells contemplated the idea of a double concerto: Howells - the cello soloist, and Howells minor - the new viola soloist. As Howells said in a lecture, it was the cello that came closest to the human voice, and it is through that cello that he speaks to us.

As T S Eliot writes in the *Four Quartets* when dealing with death, time and memory:

And what the dead had no speech for, when living,
They can tell you, being dead: the communication
Of the dead is tongued with fire beyond the language of the living.
Here, the intersection of the timeless moment
Is England and nowhere. Never and always.⁶

Of course that intangible, timeless England is the very essence of Westminster Abbey in the cultural imagination as we walk amongst the dead, from Newton to Darwin, Handel to Hardy, with countless Kings and Queens too. The Abbey is not just Howells’ final resting place, it was also important in his life and today we walk in the footsteps of a regular visitor to the organ loft in his later years, an act of pilgrimage made somehow all the more ‘real’ because his ashes are interred here. Howells is a presence within the Abbey.

Next to him in the North choir aisle are the ashes of Ralph Vaughan Williams and in this context I think it’s important to recognize the *Fantasia on a theme of Thomas Tallis*, the single greatest influence on Howells’ music, is a composite work of history.⁷ Like the Abbey, it is a curated musical space. The Fantasia deconstructs Tallis, taking elements and reconstructing them, building something that shapes us through collaboration. It is no coincidence that Howells’ Elegy and Vaughan Williams’ Fantasia share not only a world of modal harmony, but the same concertante forces of the concerto grosso. Tallis is the
of Vaughan Williams’ piece, a piece which honors and memorializes a fellow musician, just like the Elegy.

The Westminster Service

On 28th February 1957, Howells wrote to the Organist and Master of the Choristers at Westminster, William McKie:

If I knew exactly what you yourself liked most (in idiom) or the building itself most cared for, I'd have known just what to write. You need not be afraid to turn it down if it seems the sort of thing you don't like. Then I'll have another go.

Howells was speaking of the Westminster Service, but what does the building itself most care for? Here, it seems, we shape our buildings, and they shape our music.

The Westminster Service has one of the most arresting openings in Anglican music. It is an opening of simultaneous doubt and mystery. This is not the confident statement of a Stanford in C, for example, with its opening blaze of C major, affirmed by the subsequent choir entry - My soul does magnify the Lord!

Alternating between triads of D minor and F sharp minor - highly dissonant chords which don’t relate to each other - the opening of the Westminster service creates an atmosphere of darkness and fear. It is unsettling and challenging - which key are we in?

It seems to capture a very modern take on the nature of faith - it is ambiguous, confusing, anxious, nervous - but with the capacity to overwhelm in the moment and produce something profoundly beautiful. My soul (and my music) doth magnify the lord... but it is a struggle - and that is part of its importance, it is human and modern in its honesty - a struggling setting, for a struggling century of war and trauma. As I have outlined above it is a very personal struggle too and this bitonal, D minor / F sharp minor, struggle goes on throughout the Magnificat and into the Gloria: think of the devastating D minor climax on ‘world’ without end in the Gloria.
Likewise, you could look at the opening of the *Chichester Service* (written in the midst of the Cuban missile crisis), to see two voices not singing from the same hymn sheet, like a distortion of the Coll. Reg. opening. It’s a setting that is introverted and angular, avoiding resolution throughout, unless you count the final cadence when major and minor thirds fight it out. The same ‘Westminster’ minor third shifts appear (as in the F sharp minor to A minor shift on ‘As he promised’ and in the Nunc Dimittis at ‘and to be the Glory’). The Chichester Gloria contains the sort of setting of ‘world without end’ that suggests that the end of the world is not only going to happen, but most worryingly, that such destruction is imminent. And so on, in the *York Service*, the Gloria of the *Coventry Mass*, the *West Riding Festival Te Deum*, etc. etc.

These are challenging services: yes, they are hard to sing, but that’s not the point I’m making. The music undermines all certainty in the text, but instead gives it unparalleled power and drama, but it is not an easy-listen, as the choir effectively *confront* the listener.

In the Westminster service, the final cadence is so dissonant, with the piling up of imitative entries, that the final major chord brings relief rather than transcendence, almost as if he could not stand it anymore. And thus, just as the music throughout a Britten opera tells us exactly how each character is feeling and relates to each other, Howells’ music projects his own personal theology - one which he certainly did not feel comfortable sharing with people in words, but which comes out in his music.

**Vaughan Williams and the Sinfonia antartica**

As the Elegy could be seen as a response to Vaughan Williams’ Fantasia, you can hear the influence of the seventh symphony - the *Sinfonia antartica* of 1953 - in the 1957 *Westminster Service*. Vaughan Williams created a unique sound world for his film score to ‘Scott of the Antarctic’, a box-office hit of 1949. He then used the score as a basic for the symphony. The
music not only creates a sense of drama around Scott’s ill-fated expedition to reach the south pole, but it conjures up a whole landscape of cold, isolation and fear. We know that Howells attended the private run-throughs of pieces when Vaughan Williams would present works in progress (in two piano form) to an invited audience, indeed he was the first person, along with Gerald Finzi, to hear the Fifth Symphony, and his article on the Pastoral Symphony (no.3) and his broadcast on the fourth (provocatively entitled ‘A Challenge to Goodwill’) marked him out as an authority. Indeed, Howells’ Pastoral Rhapsody, later reworked into ‘Paradise Rondel’, could be seen as a direct tribute to Vaughan Williams’ Pastoral, in the same manner that Howells’ organ Partita (with its Sarabande for Vaughan Williams’ birthday on 12th October) has close structural links to Vaughan Williams’ Fourth Symphony. The list, which includes ‘Master Tallis’s Testament’, goes on…

The first movement, the Prelude, of Vaughan Williams’ Sinfonia Antartica has a quote from Shelley’s Prometheus Unbound at the start which vividly sets the scene:

To suffer woes which hope thinks infinite,
To forgive wrongs darker than death or night,
To defy power which seems omnipotent, ...
Neither to change, nor falter, nor repent:
This ... is to be
Good, great and joyous, beautiful and free,
This is alone Life, Joy, Empire and Victory.

Musically, it moves between seemingly unrelated triads a third apart; the same device as the Westminster service opening. The music is unsettling and mysterious, and engenders fear of what is to come. Of course, this technique and the sound world it creates is therefore highly unusual for a statement of faith such as the Magnificat, a million miles away from the confidence and stability of a Stanford in C, or any other key for that matter.

Canticle settings are very often ‘in X’, thus composers are immortalized on cathedral music lists: Grey in F minor, Steggall in B flat, Clinch in D etc. It is notable that Howells was only ‘in G’ for a short time in 1918 with his first Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis, the manuscript of
which lies in Westminster Abbey library. We might contrast this with another setting that people often describe as ‘modern’ or ‘challenging’ (to the listener that is), Michael Tippett’s 1962 *St John’s Service* - a highly dissonant setting which inhabits a quite different sound world to anything Howells wrote, but which, through its energy and harmonic consistency gives a much more optimistic outlook, indeed the pealing bells of the Gloria’s opening are truly joyful and, as Andrew Carwood has highlighted, ‘the setting underlines the revolutionary nature of the text (he ‘hath exalted the humble and meek … and the rich he hath sent empty away’).’

‘*Coll. Reg.*’

*Collegium Regale*, as we will hear this afternoon, is quite different: it is a setting with ritual at its heart. The Magnificat opens like an accompanied plainchant psalm with its fixed reciting note and occasional inflection. It points to the very ritual of which it is part. We are taken back to a much earlier age. This ritual of tradition is at the start of the Nunc Dimittis too, with its mirroring solo, followed by full choir response. The sounds of the English choral tradition define it, as much as it, in turn, has come to define the tradition, synonymous with Evensong. For many, Howells’ is the definitive sound of twentieth century Anglican music. Returning to the Magnificat, it is far from the confident statement pieces of the previous age, epitomized by Stanford. Again, two chords alternating at the start (g: i/iv), but they are in the same mode and the iconic minor third (used for: My soul doth magnify the Lord / And his mercy is on them / He rememb’ring his mercy) is transformed in the Gloria (on ‘Glory’) as the figure is inverted, triumphantly in the relative major. The introduction of the Nunc Dimittis serves to take us back to G minor and the rising minor third figure is important again (Tenor solo: in peace / for mine eyes / which thou hast prepared etc.), but the repetition of the Gloria setting provides the reassuring, and now predictable, outcome. The legacy of the nineteenth
century was to condition us into expecting minor-key pieces to end in the transcendence that the major represents: quite a different theology altogether to the later services. Memorialization, the processing of memorializing, was often about beauty for Howells, as we see in the Elegy and in *Hymnus*. Howells’ memory of Michael centers on the beautiful boy. But as we see in ‘A Sequence for St Michael’ and the *Stabat Mater*, Howells’ music also expressed the pain of absence. In thinking about beauty, Howells, like Parry, was drawn to the poetry of Robert Bridges. Examples include ‘All my hope on God is founded’ (with its line ‘Beauty springeth out of naught’), ‘My eyes for beauty pine’, ‘I love all beauteous things’ and today’s anthem of love and commemoration: ‘Thee will I love’.

**Thee will I love**

Its title page is marked: ‘For the solemn requiem on 9th November 1970, commemorating the massacre of the monks of the Abbey of Medehamstede - now Peterborough Cathedral - in A.D. 870’. Again, as with the Elegy and *Hymnus*, Howells rejects the violence of the death by choosing Bridges’ text of love, but the setting evokes the later Howells of the *Westminster Service*.

It has a similar unstable start where the first two bars creep around chromatically, but then we get a big C major chord, along with Howells’ characteristic use of the acoustic scale (C major with B flats and F sharps for added spice). The marking ‘*Con ricchezza*’- with richness - suggests that he revels in such ambiguity. There is an assertive unison opening promising: ‘Thee will I love my God and King’, bursting into counterpoint on the word ‘sing’, ‘Thee will I sing, my strength and tow’r. For evermore thee will I trust, [then back in unison] O God most just of truth and pow’r’.
The vocal line throughout is made up of lots of the falling appoggiatura gestures, which gives it this constant longing, yearning quality. A consistent trait which Howells inherited from Parry from as early as the first Psalm Prelude.

‘O God most just of truth and pow’r’; at the end of that line of text, on ‘pow’r’, Howells shifts into Renaissance dance mode and a powerful Sarabande begins with repeated E major triads. The choir sing in unison: ‘Who all things hast in order placed’ - we have moved from promises (‘Thee will I love’) to the nature of belief. Again, after a unison phrase he moves to counterpoint for the next phrase - ‘Yea, for thy pleasure hast created; And on thy throne unseen, unknown’, and it is this sense of the unseen and unknown which Howells’ roving harmony captures.

Then we get another glimpse of certainty with a monument C major chord from the organ, the choir bursting in on the word ‘Reignest’. The organ is on the offbeat, in fact 90 % of the energy in Howells’ music is created by his use of offbeats, but that is a subject for another time. What is unusual here is that the following words, ‘alone in glory seated’, are much quieter and fade as if Howells did not quite have the conviction of faith to sustain it.

The following organ link passage takes the opening motif (it is made up of two appoggiatura gestures). The resolution isn’t to C this time, it is to A minor, introducing perhaps the most beautiful passage that we’ll hear today - an unaccompanied, tender, modal setting of, ‘Set in my heart thy love I find’ - ‘My wand’ring mind to thee thou leadest’. Is it Michael’s presence that makes this such a convincing moment? We will never know.

This music builds - ‘My trembling hope, my strong desire’ - and has the same inherent sexual tension which we find in the anthem ‘Like as the hart’ - here with similar, blues inspired, F major/minor 7th.
'With heavenly fire thou kindly feedest' - note that the harmony of 'heavenly fire' is a minor third away from the more earthly sentiment of 'strong desire' - an act of considerable psychological 'distancing'.

It continues: ‘Lo, all things fair thy path prepare, Thy Beauty to my spirit calleth, Thine to remain in joy or pain, And count it gain, whate'er befalleth'. Here Bridges’ text touches upon the commemorative, in the context of Howells’ commission, this is the massacre of the monks: 'Thine to remain in joy or pain' - a 'beautiful' act of martyrdom, of 'greater love', which gives Peterborough its special status. Again we touch upon the status of the dead and their capacity for continued influence in the world of the living. It is their deaths which grant meaning in the present. Notably the tension here is resolved by the organ; it is beyond the capacity of the living voices.

A held simple G major chord restores that peace to us. ‘O more and more thy love extend, My life befriend with heavenly pleasure’ - it builds to a solo organ moment which starts the imitative entries for ‘This pray’r I make for Jesu’s sake’. This is conventional enough, but the final page, by contrast, is much quieter and uses much longer note values - 'That thou me take in thy possession'. The final held chord on ‘possession’ has two added dissonant pitches which give it a richness of sound: C, E, A and B. Again the organ provides the resolution, to a ‘pure’ C major triad.

If God is anywhere in Howells’ setting, it is in the final page: God the Father, who takes away the pain of the world - a fatherly capacity denied to Howells himself. He can only capture the emotions of memory: beauty and love. And it is the emotional memory which his music evokes. Of course, this is not our memory, it is his, but it is a situation of pain and struggle with which we empathize as dying beings.

As the choir make the same promise today: ‘Thee will I love’, the same petition ‘Set in my heart thy love I find’... 'That thou me take in thy possession’, we are speaking as the same
corporate body of the church, which Peterborough, along with Westminster Abbey not only represent in stone but house under their roof: the living and the dead. Our buildings shape us, and the ritual captured in this anthem mediates this. The music shapes us and thus our sense of the building and what it means to us now. And conversely the building, of course, shapes the music.

The similarity with the ending of ‘Like as the hart’ is important; the earlier anthem asks, ‘when shall I come to appear before the presence of god?’ It is not an anthem that ends in closure, it ends with a beautiful, exquisite, questioning moment. A questioning moment which is echoed here: ‘This pray’r I make for Jesu’s sake, That thou me take in thy possession’ - hopefully. Poignantly, Howells donated his fee for the anthem, some 25 guineas, to the Sir Malcolm Sargent Cancer Fund for Children.

Again, it is the presence of longing and doubt which characterizes Howells’ greatest music. It is the nature of Howells’ expression of this which draws people to this music. In technical terms, it is the rich modal sonorities, the idiosyncratic use of dissonance: of added pitches in chords, of suspensions, of false relations and accidentals which take us by surprise and those hundreds of appoggiaturas. As I said earlier, ‘We shape our MUSIC, and afterwards, our MUSIC shapes us’ and it is in and through our response to such moments of doubt and pain that Howells’ music shapes us and it is important to acknowledge his power to do this.

*Dangerous Music*

Annual gatherings are important too. In Westminster Abbey they give us a sense of occasion and Howells’ music matches this, with its sense of drama and beauty. But today is also about remembering and reassessing, and thus as much about the future as the past. And what of Howells’ future?
His music is profoundly about the human condition: it helps us to understand living. So why do we not hear the settings for Chichester, Salisbury, Worcester, York etc.? Perhaps this is because they present a significant challenge in their critical nature. They acknowledge and confront the true nature of faith, a gift which Howells was not given. Thus they represent danger. To draw on contemporary terminology, perhaps evensong would require a trigger warning: ‘This service may challenge you. It may undermine your faith and cause you to struggle. A safe space is provided in the antechapel with coffee and cake’.

In the secular world, Howells continues to flourish, as shown primarily by further recordings. The inclusion of my completion of the Cello Concerto at this year’s Cheltenham Festival, played in Howells’ spiritual home of Gloucester Cathedral by the outstanding players of his alma mater was a particular thrill. Today we will hear my transcription of King’s Herald, an orchestral score written for the Coronation of King George VI in 1937, an event, coincidentally for which the Abbey's magnificent five-manual Harrison and Harrison organ was installed. King’s Herald started off life in 1933 within the brass band suite ‘Pageantry’, although Howells, like many other composers who were asked for championship test pieces, did not score the work himself. King’s Herald was reworked in orchestral form and the differences demonstrate how far Howells developed as a composer in the 1930’s. He rewrote the opening and closing sections, as well as reclothing the remain material with far more adventurous harmonic apparel. The form is a fanfare/march hybrid, the opening fanfare material giving way to a central march which builds to the fanfare’s return.

History goes on and we will hear Philip Moore’s responses, a composer who knew Howells when he was a student at the RCM and had a lifetime friendship. We will also hear how the Abbey’s work of commissioning new music continues today in the introit by Roxanna Panufnik, ‘O Hearken’ (2015).
I started the liner notes for Paul Spicer’s recent Howells disc with Birmingham Conservatoire Chamber Choir on SOMM, by stating that for Herbert Howells, the past lived on in a very special way. To quote Howells himself: ‘The Past is clear, the Present confused...the Great Composer is he who can master the Present through the wisdom of the Past’.\textsuperscript{xiii}

What is perhaps most remarkable now is that it is through cultural objects of memory, through Howells’ music and buildings like the Abbey itself, that we are able to come to terms with the ‘pastness’ of the present and future. To quote T S Eliot again:

\begin{quote}
Time present and time past  
Are both perhaps present in time future,
And time future contained in time past.\textsuperscript{xiv}
\end{quote}

In a final Churchillian paraphrase: Howells shaped our music, and afterwards, Howells’ music continues to shape us. He changed, and changes, how we hear the nature of people and place by developing a sensibility and aesthetic that have become instantly recognizable, highly evocative in the imagination and challenging to us.

We should not be afraid of that challenge, because as T S Eliot wrote later in the \textit{Four Quartets}:

\begin{quote}
This is the use of memory:  
For liberation - not less of love but expanding  
Of love beyond desire, and so liberation  
From the future as well as the past.\textsuperscript{xv}
\end{quote}

The power of Howells (and T S Eliot) is therefore to shape us to live in the beautiful timeless moment, liberated from past and future.

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\textsuperscript{1} I would like to thank those who read a draft of this paper and helped to clarify a number of important points: Byron Adams, Paul Andrews, Philip Cooke, John Hall, Edward Moore, John Rutter and Paul Spicer.

\textsuperscript{ii} The author may be contacted at drjdclinch ‘at’ gmail.com

\textsuperscript{iii} ‘HC Deb 28 October 1943’ vol. 393 cc403-73, online at http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1943/oct/28/house-of-commons-rebuilding

\textsuperscript{iv} Warren took up the viola after entering the Royal College of Music on a violin scholarship and Howells’ own programme note for the Elegy refers to Warren as a violist.
\[\text{Royal College of Music Archive, September 1917.}\]
\[\text{vii Howells attended the first performance in Gloucester Cathedral in 1910 whilst he was an articed pupil of Herbert Brewer. It had a profound effect on him and he recalled the performance in interviews throughout his life.}\]
\[\text{ix Largamente, bars 105-7.}\]
\[\text{x Notes for Hyperion CDA67643.}\]
\[\text{xi Novello 1970.}\]
\[\text{xii The first public performance of the Cello Concerto (as completed by Jonathan Clinch) was given in July 2016 at Gloucester Cathedral as part of The Cheltenham Festival. The soloist Guy Johnston was accompanied by The Royal College of Music Philharmonic under the conductor Martin André. A recording with the Royal Scottish National Orchestra and Alice Neary is available on Dutton Epoch (CDLX 7317).}\]
\[\text{xiii SOMM Recordings, SOMMCD 0140.}\]
\[\text{xiv Eliot, Ibid., Four Quartets, Burnt Norton, I. p.171.}\]
\[\text{xv Eliot, Ibid., Four Quartets, Little Gidding, III. p.195.}\]