

**“David’s Mystery and Mary’s History”:
The Alternative Canticles at Evensong (ii)
1660-1750**

Geoffrey Webber

John Barnard’s brilliant work in assembling and publishing a set of partbooks under the title *First Book of Selected Church Musick* in 1641 sadly resulted in little immediate success, let alone lead to a second book. The English Civil War broke out in 1642, and in 1645 the Book of Common Prayer was banned. However, Barnard’s anthology played an important part in the reestablishment of church music at the Restoration of the Monarchy in 1660. As Daniel Bamford has shown, the publication went “from something of a luxury in 1641 to almost a necessity twenty years later”.¹ With regard to the singing of the alternative canticles at Evensong (hereafter ACs), Barnard’s inclusion of the *Deus misereatur* (Psalm 67, hereafter Dm) by Nicholas Stogers specifically for singing as an alternative to the *Nunc dimittis* at Evensong probably helped raise awareness of the ACs during this period of revival.

As outlined in part (i) of this paper, it seems that before the Civil War cultivation of the Dm had indeed gained some traction as an alternative to the *Nunc dimittis*, at least in part due to the nature of its text which was seen as more appropriate in times of distress. There are some survivals from this earlier period which suggest that a few composers may have set both ACs, the *Cantate Domino* (Psalm 98, hereafter CD) as well as the Dm, but there is no evidence to suggest that the singing of the ACs was at all common.

During the Commonwealth, the replacement to the Book of Common Prayer, *A Directory for the Publique Worship of God* (London, 1644) simply refers to the need for a Minister to select various psalms and readings as part of the ‘Publique Reading of the holy Scriptures’. Following the Restoration of the Monarchy in 1660, the King brought together bishops and presbyterians to consider revisions to the Book of Common Prayer at the so-called Savoy Conference. The former desired little change, but the latter were allowed to make various suggestions, and one of their number, Richard Baxter, devised a new text, published in 1661, though this was ultimately rejected. His single order for public worship to be used either just in the morning or the evening as well “if time allow it”, suggested the use of any Psalm or the *Te Deum* after the first reading, and then for after the second reading “the 67. or 98. or some other Psalm, may bee sung or said, or the *Benedictus*, or *Magnificat*”.² After the presbyterians had been removed from the process of revision, it was left to leading traditionalists such as Bishops Matthew Wren and John Cosin to suggest any minor changes that would feature in the new edition of the Book of Common Prayer that was now sorely needed. The resulting Prayerbook of 1662 saw a few minor changes to Morning and Evening Prayer, some of which had been in discussion and even in practice before the Commonwealth. The infamous 1637 Prayerbook that Charles I tried to enforce in Scotland, for example, was the first to present the formula at the end of the *Preces*: ‘Praise ye the Lord...The Lord’s name be praised’. With regard to the ACs, two changes were made. First, to avoid duplication, it was made clear that the CD should not be sung as an AC on the 19th day of the month when it is the set psalm for the day in any case, and similarly for the Dm on the 12th day. Second, in the text of the Dm, the word ‘yea’ in verse 3 now appeared also in verse 5, so the texts became identical: ‘Let the people praise thee, O God: yea, let

¹ D. Bamford, ‘John Barnard’s *First Book of Selected Church Musick*: genesis, production and influence’ (PhD diss., University of York, 2009), p. 340.

² G. Segger, *Richard Baxter’s Reformed Liturgy: A Puritan Alternative to the Book of Common Prayer* (Surrey & Burlington, 2014), p. 228.

all the people praise thee'. This proved to be a blessing for many subsequent generations of composers who simply repeated the music they had composed for verse 3 when it came to verse 5.

Following the re-establishment of the Church of England as well as the monarchy in 1660, the Book of Common Prayer was now being read either with fresh or new eyes. Perhaps the ACs stood out as tempting options, notwithstanding the fact that their original introduction was to appeal more to a Calvinist perspective. The text of the Magnificat, with phrases such as "he hath put down the mighty from their seat", fits well with the joy at the overthrow of the previous regime, but the CD could be seen as offering an even more fitting response. The psalm is a paean of joy, based on the notion of victory set out in the first two verses:

O sing unto the Lord a new song:
for he hath done marvellous things.
With his own right hand, and with his holy arm:
hath he gotten himself the victory.

Later in this paper we will encounter the popularity of the ACs for occasions of national celebration, and it seems likely that this sentiment may have been influential in the decision made by **William Child**, or the clergy under whom he worked, to include the ACs in the earliest known canticles composed after 1660, Child in F.

The ACs restored by William Child

The long-lived organist and composer William Child, c.1605-1697, spent almost all his career at St George's Chapel, Windsor. Appointed Organist there in 1632, he was already well established as a composer before the Civil War broke out, and so at the Restoration was in a good position to resume his activities with enthusiasm. His so-called 'Sharp' Service (in D) had been a favourite of Charles I, and amongst his first efforts at the Restoration was his Service in F, which had as its accompanying anthem *The king shall rejoice*, "sung at the Coronation" in 1661. The Service has 7 movements, the Te Deum and Jubilate for Matins, the Commandments, Creed and Sanctus for Holy Communion, and two canticles for Evensong, not the Magnificat and Nunc dimittis, but only the CD and Dm. The service is the oldest setting of the ACs as a pair that survives complete. The movements are composed in Child's typically concise 'full' style, with almost no repetition of the text but often plenty of rhythmical variety between the voices. (For a full transcription of this and most of the settings discussed below, see the Appendix.) At the start of the CD we have a pronounced emphasis on the 'new' in 'new song':

The image shows a musical score for the beginning of the Canticum deo (CD) in F major. It consists of four staves, likely representing different vocal parts (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass). The lyrics are: "O sing un - to the Lord a new song: for he". The music is in a simple, homophonic style characteristic of Child's work. The first staff has a treble clef and a common time signature. The second staff has a treble clef and a common time signature. The third staff has a treble clef and a common time signature. The fourth staff has a bass clef and a common time signature. The lyrics are written below the notes, with hyphens under "un -" and "song:".

A simple syncopation is employed for 'joyful' and 'trumpets', and the sea's 'noise' is emphasised by using a chord of E \flat , though at no point is the essentially straightforward syllabic approach abandoned. The Dm continues in the same style, with the music for verse 3 repeated exactly for verse 5, notwithstanding the absence of the word 'yea' in verse 5 (the setting being composed before 1662).

Child's impressive overall contribution to the English service comprises seventeen different services, composed either before or after the Interregnum, but in addition to the Service in F, only one other setting contains the ACs, the Service in G, or 'Gamut' (with no F# in the key signature). Unlike the F major service, this contains both traditional canticles as well as the ACs. It survives in several different sources containing different movements, but put together comprises a total of thirteen movements, plus a Communion (Offertory) anthem *Charge them that are rich*. One of the Windsor sources indicates that the setting was "made for the Rt. Rev. Matthew [Wren], Ld. Bp. of Ely", so the deliberately comprehensive approach may have been at his request. Wren was an important figure in the Church of England, serving as Bishop of Ely both from 1638-1646 and then from 1660 till his death in 1667, but also holding several other significant appointments. Child probably came into contact with him at Windsor; before he became a bishop, Wren served as Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge from 1625-34 (where he oversaw the building of the new Chapel), and during this time he was also Dean of St George's Chapel, Windsor from 1628 till 1635 (where he was succeeded by his brother Christopher, father of Christopher the architect). However, although we do not know precisely when Wren made his request, parts of Child's service survive in sources dating from before the Civil War, including manuscripts that were used at Durham Cathedral, Peterhouse, Cambridge, Christ Church, Oxford and St George's Chapel, Windsor (the relevant Windsor manuscripts being now located at Pembroke College, Cambridge). These sources all contain only the Magnificat and Nunc dimittis. But post-Restoration sources, including manuscripts at St George's Chapel, Windsor, contain the ACs. In many of the Restoration sources the ACs are positioned last immediately following the Magnificat and Nunc dimittis (as in the partbook collections at Gloucester and York both dating from c.1675), but in others, including crucially the Windsor partbooks, they are placed rather later in the same books, suggesting that following Child's revival of the service in the early 1660s he then added the ACs at a slightly later date.

The plot thickens however, when one examines the music itself. The earlier Magnificat and Nunc dimittis are for four voices, but the ACs are for five. Furthermore, the ACs are labelled as being 'for verses' whereas the other earlier movements are in the standard 'full' service style. In fact, these verses are written for vocal ensembles in the 'full' style, without an independent organ part; in the CD they are set for SSAA(/T), with the chorus sections written in five parts for SSATB.³ However, the chorus texture changes at the Gloria: at this point, the previous SSATB chorus texture becomes SAATB. In the Dm, the verses remain for four upper voices, but the chorus sections throughout are for SAATB. To shed some light on this peculiar circumstance, consideration needs to be given to Child's setting of the Dm in a different liturgical context. As was noted in part (i) of this paper, the Dm was also a liturgical option in the marriage service, and as a proper psalm for Matins at Whitsun. Child composed a set of Preces with Psalm 67 that survives in the pre-Interregnum Windsor partbooks. The work does not survive complete, with the Cantoris Mean and Contratenor books both missing, but it is clear that the Psalm setting is in fact the same piece as that found as part of the AC set from after 1660.⁴ Child also chooses to deploy the Gloria of his Whitsun psalm for the conclusion of both the CD and the Dm, though with a fore-shortened conclusion in the CD. So it would seem that

³ The score in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (Mus. MS 117) uses a C4 clef for the lowest part in the verses, but there are no voice-part designations. The Windsor partbooks (MSS 1, 1a, 2, 2a, 3, 4) have different readings of the lowest two parts of the verse sections, for divided contratenor parts.

⁴ Pembroke College, Cambridge, MS Mus. 6.1-6. Three of the later Windsor partbooks (two of the same contratenor part and a bass part) also contain the Preces and Psalm 67 (MSS 1, 2 & 3).

when Child decided to add the ACs to his Gamut service, he recalled that he had already composed a setting of Psalm 67 and reused it in this new context; and when composing his new CD, he decided to link the two movements together by using the same Gloria, though for some reason he preferred to use an SSATB texture for the full sections of the CD itself.⁵

The alternation between four-part verses and five-part choruses, with no essential difference in musical style, is not unique to the Gamut ACs, as it also appears in the Service ‘For Four Means’ (actual tessitura: 2 means and 2 contratenors). Despite the changes in texture between the two canticles, the plain style of the music remains much the same across the two movements, being similar to that of the F major service. Child permits himself only one brief repetition of the text at the end of the Dm, where the text ‘God shall bless us’ is sung twice (bars 43-46), though this may have had something to do with Child’s decision to reuse the opening phrases of the Dm since the texts referring to God’s blessing are so similar. There is just one moment of real exuberance, when he reacts to the trumpets in verse 6 with overlapping stepwise crotchets enlivening held chords, after which he reverses to his more typical syllabic style, including a syncopated ‘joyful’ (as in the F major setting b. 36):

The image shows a musical score for a section of a service. It consists of five staves of vocal parts (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass, and Bass) and a Shawsms part. The lyrics are: "With trum - pets, with trum - pets al - so and" and "shawsms: O shew your-selves joy - ful be - fore the Lord the King." The music is in G major and 4/4 time. The vocal parts are written in a syllabic style, with the lyrics placed below the notes. The Shawsms part is written in a more melodic style, with the lyrics placed below the notes.

Child’s initiative in setting only the ACs for his F major service in 1660/61 may well have had a significant influence on younger composers in the Restoration period. Its straightforward syllabic style at least had the virtue of being relatively easy to perform, at a time when choirs were getting back on their feet, and it appears to have kick-started the tradition of singing the ACs which then flourished into the 18th century and beyond. The service was copied widely beyond Windsor, both in London and around the country to judge from these early surviving sources:

⁵ Whilst Christopher Batchelor notes that “There can be little doubt that the Cantate Domino and Deus Misereatur are of a post-Restoration date, and not part of the pre-Restoration conception”, he does not mention the musical connection to Child’s Preces and Psalm 67: Christopher Batchelor, ‘William Child: an Examination of the Liturgical Sources, and a Critical and Contextual Study of the Church Music’ (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1990), vol. 2, p. 552.

Source	Source-type / date	Origin
Cambridge, University Library: MS Add. 9701	Treble partbook c.1710?	Canterbury?
Durham Cathedral: MSS A4 & C12	Part & Organ books, c.1675	Durham
Gloucester Cathedral: SECM 97 & 98	Partbooks, c.1675	Gloucester
London, St Paul's Cathedral [unnumbered]	Partbooks, c.1670-90	London, St Paul's
Oxford, Bodleian Library: Tenbury 1442	Partbook, c.1685	Winchester?
Wimborne Minster: MS P 10-17	Partbooks, c.1670-85	Wimborne
Worcester Cathedral: MS A.3.1-6	Partbooks, before 1684	Worcester
York Minster: MSS M. 1/1-8	Partbooks, c.1675	York

Most of the post-Restoration sources of the Service in Gamut contain both the Magnificat and Nunc dimittis and the ACs, though a few have only the traditional set, including partbooks at Wimborne and Worcester. Child's Services in F and Gamut both appear on that rare survival at Durham Cathedral of a list of the complete music sung during a month there in June 1680.⁶ Although not all the settings of the canticles are known, the list contains one definite instance of the singing of the ACs and two other possibilities:

Thursday 10th:	Child in Gamut
Wednesday 16th:	Child in F
Monday 21st:	Stogers 'Short Service'

The Durham manuscripts do not contain the ACs in Child's Service in Gamut, so it seems unlikely that they were sung there. However, the manuscripts do include the Dm by Nicholas Stogers as well as his Nunc dimittis from the Short Service, so it seems possible that this may have been selected.

The ACs in service orders of the late 17th century

Looking elsewhere for evidence of the adoption of the ACs after 1660, little can be gleaned from Edward Lowe's *A short direction for the performance of cathedrall service published for the information of such persons, as are ignorant of it, and shall be call'd to officiate in cathedrall, or collegiate churches, where it hath formerly been in use*, published in 1661, which provides music for the canticles at Matins, mentioning both the principal ones and their alternatives. Lowe mentions the Magnificat and Nunc dimittis in passing in the preface, but the book does not contain a full account of the Evensong liturgy. The first edition of James Clifford's printed book of anthem texts (as used at St Paul's Cathedral, London) in 1663 also contains some significant advice for the performance of music in the liturgy, since traditions had been lost during the Interregnum (as noted in the title of Lowe's book).⁷ At the start of *The Divine Services and Anthems* under 'Brief Directions' he gives the order of Matins which includes mention of just one of the alternatives:

The first Service in the Morning.
After the Psalms a *Voluntary* upon
the Organ alone.
After the first Lesson is sung the
Te Deum, i. *We praise thee O God.*
After the second Lesson the *Bene-*
dictus, i. *Blessed be the Lord God of*
Israel; or the *Fubilate*, i. *O be joy-*
full in the Lord all ye lands.

⁶ Brian Crosby, 'A Service Sheet from June 1680', *The Musical Times*, Vol. 121, No. 1648 (June, 1980), pp. 399-401.

⁷ James Clifford, *The divine services and anthems usually sung in His Majesties chappell, and in all cathedrals and collegiate choires in England and Ireland* (London, 1663, 2nd edn 1664).

For Evensong he only mentions the Magnificat & Nunc dimittis:

At Evening Service.

After the Psalms a *Voluntary*
done by the Organ.

After the first Lesson, is sung the
Magnificat, i. My soul doth magnify
the Lord.

After the second Lesson, the *Nunc*
dimittis, i. Lord now letteth thou thy
servant depart in peace, &c.

However, in the expanded 1664 edition of Clifford's publication, although at Evensong the Magnificat is presented without an alternative, the Nunc dimittis is followed by the option of the Dm.⁸

After the second Lesson, the
Nunc dimittis, Luc. 2. 29.

Lord now letteth thou thy ser-
vant depart in peace, according
to thy word. For mine eyes have
seen thy salvation, which thou hast
prepared before the face of all peo-
ple. To be a light to lighten the
Gentiles, and to be the glory of thy
people Israel. Glozy

Glozy be to the Father, and to the
Son, and to the Holy Ghost: As it
was in the beginning, is now, and
ever shall be, world without end.
Amen.

Or, *Deus misericatur.*

Pfal. 67.

God be mercifull unto us, and
bles us, and shew us the light
of his countenance, and be mercifull
unto us. That thy way may be

This would seem to fall in line with what appeared to be the case before the Civil War, that the Dm was more commonly used than the CD. However, Clifford does mention both the CD and Dm when introducing the chants sung at St Paul's "where more solemn composures [i.e. original compositions] are not used", so he was certainly familiar with the use of both ACs, and the absence of the CD in his description of Evensong may perhaps have been an oversight.

The other principal sources of information concerning liturgical practice at this time are the occasional printed service orders for special occasions. Earlier in the century a form of service connected to an outbreak of plague contained the Dm instead of the Nunc dimittis, as described in part (i) of this paper. Several of the surviving orders after the Restoration that specify the canticles to be used concern days of 'general fast' to pray for military success, such as this one:

A Form of common prayer to be used on Wednesday the 5th of April, being the day of the general fast appointed by His Majesty's proclamation of imploring God's blessing on His Majesty's naval forces.
(1665)

This order, pertaining to the Second Anglo-Dutch War that began on 4th March 1665, also contains the Magnificat and the Dm, a pattern found in several other similar orders, e.g. *A Form of common prayer for God's blessing upon His Majesty, and his dominions and for the averting of God's judgements...*, issued in 1678. However, the CD does appear in a few orders when celebration is required, as in this one that appeared following the suppression of the Monmouth Rebellion at the Battle of Sedgemoor in July 1685:

A form of prayer and thanksgiving to Almighty God for His Majesty's late victories over the rebels to be observed in all churches and chapels throughout the kingdom... (1685)

⁸ The 1663 volume has no page numbers; see pp. 9-10 of the 1664 edition.

Both the ACs appear in this order, with the Magnificat and Nunc dimittis being excluded:

The Order for Evening Prayer.

- ¶ The Hymn, *Not unto us, O Lord, &c.*, appointed at Morning Prayer in stead of *Veni exultemus*, shall now also be used before the Psalms.
- ¶ Proper Psalms. CXVIII. CXLIV.
The first, 2 Sam. xxii.
Cantate Domino. Pf. xcviij.
- ¶ Proper Lessons. }
The second, 2 S. Per. II.
Deus misereatur. Pf. lxxvii.
- ¶ In stead of the Collect for the Day, shall the Thanksgiving, *For peace and deliverance from our enemies*, be used, as in the Morning Prayer.
- ¶ Immediately before the Prayer of St. *Chrysostom* shall these Collects be used, *viz.* The Thanksgiving, *For restoring publick peace at home*, (as in Morning Prayer.)

Two orders celebrating naval victories reveal a highly irregular solution, with the Magnificat being sung after the first lesson and then the CD after the 2nd:

A Form of common prayer with thanksgiving for the late victory by His Majesties Naval Forces appointed to be used in and about London, on Tuesday the twentieth of June, and through all England on Tuesday the fourth of July. (1665)

A form of common prayer, with thanksgiving, for the late victory by His Majesties naval forces: appointed to be used in and about London, on Tuesday the 14th of August; and through all England, on Thursday the 23d of August. (1666)

These probably celebrated the victories of the Battle of Lowestoft (13th June 1665) and the St James's Day Battle (4th/5th August 1666). In the 1665 order the CD can be seen here positioned between the 2nd lesson and the Creed:

A Form of Prayer

the spirit. Despise not prophesings. Forbe all things: hold fast that which is good. Abstain from all appearance of evil. And the very God of peace sanctifie you wholly: and I pray God your whole spirit and soul and body be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. Faithful is he that calleth you, who also will do it. Brethren, pray for us. Greet all the brethren with an holy kiss. I charge you by the Lord, that this epistle be read unto all the holy brethren. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you. Amen.

Cantate Domino. Pfal. xcviij.

O Sing unto the Lord a new song: for he hath done marvellous things.

With his own right hand; and with his holy arm: hath he gotten himself the victory.

The Lord declared his salvation: his righteousness hath he openly shewed in the sight of the heathen.

He hath remembered his mercy and truth toward the house of Israel: and all the ends of the world have seen the salvation of our God.

Shew your selves joyful unto the Lord, all ye lands: sing, rejoyce and give thanks.

Praise the Lord upon the harp: sing to the harp with a psalm of thanksgiving.

With trumpets also and shawms: O shew your selves joyful before the Lord the King.

Let the sea make a noise, and all that therein is: the ground with, and they that dwell therein.

Let

with Thanksgiving.

Let the floods clap their hands; and let the hills be joyful together before the Lord: for he is come to judge the earth.

With righteousness shall he judge the world: and the people with equity.

Glory be to the Father, &c.
As it was in the beginning, &c.

¶ Then shall be said the Creed by the Minister, and the people standing.

I Believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth: and in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord: who was conceived by the holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate; was crucified, dead and buried: he descended into hell; the third day he rose again from the dead; he ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty; from thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead. I believe in the holy Ghost, the holy Catholick Church, the Communion of Saints, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting. Amen.

¶ And after that, these Prayers following, devoutly kneeling, the Minister first pronouncing with a loud voice,

The Lord be with you.

Answer.

And with thy spirit.

Minister.

Let us pray.

Lord have mercy upon us.

Christ

The logic is clear, since using both the Magnificat and the CD maximises the mood of victory and triumph.

In 1688, proposals were formulated for a revision to the Book of Common Prayer that would encourage dissenters to return to the Church of England. The proposed 'Liturgy of Comprehension' contained new proposals for the canticles at Matins and Evensong, with the latter containing three possible items after the first lesson and just one after the second:

After the First Lesson:

Psalm 8 (O Lord our Governor)

Magnificat

Cantate Domino (Psalm 98)

After the Second Lesson:

Psalm 134 (Behold now, praise the Lord)

However, the liturgy was not adopted as politics overtook events, and the plan was abandoned following the Glorious Revolution that ushered in the reign of William & Mary.⁹

Settings of the ACs up to the accession of Queen Anne

As occurred before the Civil War, settings of the individual Psalms 67 and 98 continued to be composed without being intended for use as ACs. Matthew Locke's *God be merciful*, for example, in Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum Mus. MS 117, is a complete setting for men's voices which ends with 'Amen' after the final verse, and William Child's *O sing unto the Lord* in the Windsor collection contains only the first four verses of Psalm 98 with Hallelujahs at the end. But following Child's pioneering Services in F and Gamut, settings of the ACs survive from the following composers up to around the accession of Queen Anne in 1702 (in alphabetical order by composer):

Henry Aldrich	Service in A
John Blow:	Service in G (later version)
	Service in A
	Service in E minor
Thomas Bullis:	Service in G
Richard Goodson:	Service in F
Henry Hall:	Service in A
	Service in B ♭
James Hawkins:	Service in A
	Service in D (chanting)
Henry Purcell	Service in B ♭

Compared with the number of settings of the Magnificat and Nunc dimittis that survive from the period this is a small number. It is clear that the ACs did not come to be used very often, though contributions from Blow and Purcell show the continued interest in them in royal circles, and provincial cathedrals certainly made use of these settings and others. The Durham May list shows that the ACs were sometimes used routinely, and not only for moments of national rejoicing or mourning. The earliest surviving provincial settings of the ACs appear to be those by Henry Aldrich and Richard Goodson in Oxford, Henry Hall at Exeter and John Bullis & James Hawkins at Ely.

⁹ See John Taylor, *The Revised Liturgy of 1689: Being the Book of Common Prayer (1855)*. The traditional night-office Psalm 134 eventually appeared again as an AC in the 1980 Alternative Service Book.

It seems likely that the first composer to have responded in kind to Child's setting of the ACs was **John Blow** who provided three settings, in A, E minor and G, outdoing Child's two.¹⁰ Both Watkins Shaw and Ian Spink demonstrate that most of this music was composed in the 1670s (perhaps early in the decade), with the ACs in G added during a revision of the service in the 1680s.¹¹ Blow was appointed Organist at Westminster Abbey in 1668 and then became Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal in 1674. His E minor setting is notable in that, like Child's Service in F, it contains only the ACs and not the Magnificat and Nunc dimittis. Although it is not clear exactly how much of Child's service music would have been known to the young Blow, the Service in F is found in a organbook now in the Fitzwilliam Music, Cambridge, Mus. MS 116, mostly copied by Blow, and Child also held an appointment as one of the organists of the Chapel Royal in addition to his Windsor duties so was well known in royal circles.¹² Blow's interest both in the ACs and the use of canons are two features that clearly follow on from Child's service music.¹³ The opening of the CD of his Service in A is very close to the start of Child's Service in F, as shown here:

Child in F:

Musical score for Child's Service in F, showing four staves of music with lyrics: "O sing un-to the Lord a new song: for he". The score is in F major, 4/4 time, and features a simple, homophonic setting.

Blow in A:

Musical score for Blow's Service in A, showing four staves of music with lyrics: "O sing un-to the Lord a new song: for he". The score is in A major, 4/4 time, and features a more complex, polyphonic setting with overlapping voices.

Similarly, the opening of Blow's Dm seems to echo Child's Service in F, with similar rhythmical patterns and a shared melodic shape in the top voice at the end of the verse:

Child in F:

Musical score for Child's Service in F, showing four staves of music with lyrics: "God be mer-ci-ful un-to us, and bless us: and shew us the light of his coun-ty". The score is in F major, 4/4 time, and features a simple, homophonic setting.

Musical score for Blow's Service in Dm, showing four staves of music with lyrics: "nance, and be mer-ci-ful un-to us:". The score is in D minor, 4/4 time, and features a more complex, polyphonic setting with overlapping voices.

¹⁰ Editions of the A and E minor settings are available online via the CPDL platform; bar numbers mentioned below refer to the editions by James Gibb, made from Greene/Boyce's *Cathedral Music* volumes of 1760/73.

¹¹ Watkins Shaw, *The Services of John Blow* (CMS/RSCM, 1988), available online on the Church Music Society website, www.church-music.org.uk. Ian Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music 1660-1714* (Oxford, 1995), p. 129. (All subsequent references to Spink refer to this publication.)

¹² Watkins Shaw, 'The autographs of John Blow, 1649-1708' (*Music Review*, May 1964, vol. 25, no. 2, pp. 86-87).

¹³ For canons, see Child's 'Sharp' Service in D and Blow's Service in G.

Blow in A:

God be mer - ci - ful un - to us, and bless us: and shew us the light of his coun - te - nance, and be
 God be mer - ci - ful un - to us, and bless us: and shew us the light of his coun - te - nance, and be
 God be mer - ci - ful un - to us, and bless us: and shew us the light of his coun - te - nance, and be
 God be mer - ci - ful un - to us, and bless us: and shew us the light of his coun - te - nance, and be

mer - ci - ful un - to us.
 mer - ci - ful un - to us.
 mer - ci - ful un - to us.
 mer - ci - ful un - to us.

Furthermore, the A major service is in duple time throughout, like both of Child's settings. All this suggests that the A major service was probably the earliest of Blow's three settings. It is of course not surprising to see a young composer learning his craft in emulation of his seniors, and similar instances in Blow's case occur in relation to the music of Gibbons: for the text "and ever shall be" in the Gloria of his CD in A (from b. 87), Blow uses the syncopated figure found at the same words in the Gloria of the Nunc dimittis in the Second Service by Orlando Gibbons, though here developed homophonically and by alternating sides rather than polyphonically as in Gibbons's work.¹⁴

However, all three of Blow's sets of ACs are verse services, whereas Child's F major service is full throughout. (Child's Service in Gamut does have verses, though as discussed above, these are all ensemble verses for the same four voices.) Blow consistently employs what became standard voicing in Restoration church music, an upper trio of SSA and a lower grouping of ATB, together with groupings of SST and AATB. With regard to musical style, Blow generally allows himself more flights of fancy than Child, not forgetting the latter's one break-out moment for the trumpets in his CD in Gamut. Two notably lively interpretations of the text may be observed in the Service in A: the word 'sing' is sung on five successive minims across the parts (bars 38-9), and at 'clap your hands' Blow raises the temperature by inserting rests between two 'claps' (b. 60). Blow also allows the music to expand through more textual repetitions, creating a generally more satisfying musical result than found in Child's concise settings.

Watkins Shaw has commented that "it would be kind to suppose that Blow's Service in E minor was quite early", though adds that "in the Evening Canticles [i.e. the ACs] the composer's invention quickens...".¹⁵ Spink suggests that the considerable use of triple time in the E minor service may possibly be "in deference to the King's taste", since the King was fond of the 'step tripla' he enjoyed in

¹⁴ The motif also appears in the Gloria of Blow's Jubilate in G. In Blow's Service in F he famously copies wholesale the conclusion of the Nunc dimittis of Gibbons's Short Service.

¹⁵ Watkins Shaw, *The Services of John Blow*, p. 6. Shaw goes on to observe that "settings of Psalms 98 and 67 in service form are of no practical value today", which may partly explain why he says so little about them.

France during the Civil War.¹⁶ As in the Service in A, Blow focuses on the SSA and ATB trio groupings (he uses these exclusively in the Dm), and another new feature appears in the final verses of both psalms where Blow repeats the text by employing echos for the final phrase. At this same point, Blow's approach to setting these final verses shows another significant feature, found in both the A and E minor services. In the CD of the Service in E minor, although the minor mode is present throughout due to the home key, Blow uses the more solemn Phrygian mode at the start of the final verse, 'With righteousness shall he judge the world: and the people with equity'. This creates an effective change of mood in relation to the joyfulness of most of the preceding CD text and the subsequent grandeur of the Gloria (a contrast that often also occurs in the equivalent place in settings of the Magnificat).

The image displays a musical score for the final verse of the Service in A. It features four vocal parts (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and Organ accompaniment. The music is in 3/4 time with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are: "With right-eous - ness shall he judge the world: and the peo - ple, the peo - ple with e - qui - ty, with right-eous - ness shall he judge the world: and the peo - ple, the peo - ple with e - qui - ty, and the ty." The score includes first and second endings for the final phrase, marked with "1st p" and "2nd".

Blow achieves a similar effect in the Dm at the start of the final verse 'God shall bless us: and all the ends of the world shall fear him', using a Phrygian cadence transposed onto B. In the A major service the same basic effect is achieved, though differently. Here, in both movements Blow uses the fuller lower-voice grouping of AATB with expressive, chromatic harmony, including diminished-4th leaps. There is a slight hint of this approach in Child's settings, with an expressive shift from a chord of B b to D major at 'God shall bless us' in the Dm of the F major service (b. 97), and some similar chromatic colouring at 'With righteousness shall he judge the world' in the CD of the Gamut service (from b. 59), but Blow greatly expands this approach in his settings, and the feature becomes a standard trope in many later settings continuing in the first instance with Purcell. Here is the final verse from the CD of the A major setting:

¹⁶ Spink, p. 130. Several other composers took up the 'tripla' manner in their services around this time, notably Michael Wise at Salisbury (Service in E b) and Daniel Roseingrave at Winchester (Service in F).

A1
With right - eous - ness shall he judge, shall he judge the world: and the peo - ple with e - qui -

A2
With right - eous - ness shall he judge, the world: and the peo - ple with e - qui - ty, with right - eous -

T
With right - eous - ness shall he judge the world: and the peo - ple with e - qui - ty, with

B
With right - eous - ness shall he judge the world: and the peo - ple, the peo - ple with e - qui - ty, with

Org.

ty, and the peo - ple with e - qui - ty, with e - qui - ty, the peo - ple with e - qui - ty.

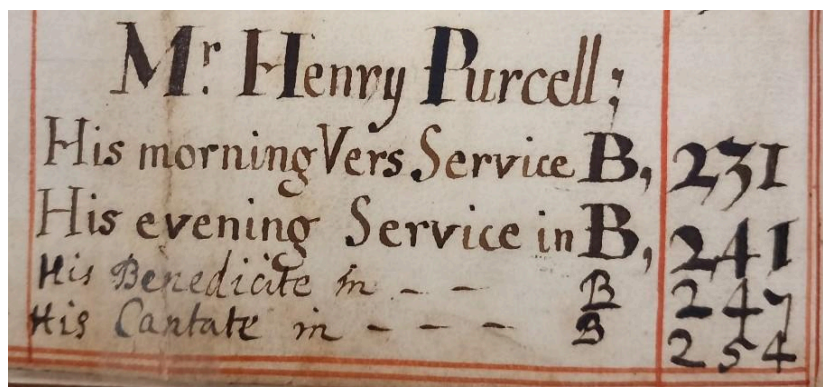
ness shall he judge the world: and the peo - ple with e - qui - ty, the peo - ple with e - qui - ty.

right - eous - ness shall he judge the world: and the peo - ple, and the peo - ple with e - qui - ty, with e - qui - ty.

right - eous - ness shall he judge the world: and the peo - ple with e - qui - ty, the peo - ple with e - qui - ty.

right - eous - ness shall he judge the world: and the peo - ple with e - qui - ty, the peo - ple with e - qui - ty.

Before we consider the ACs Blow added to his Service in G, we should move chronologically to the setting made by his younger contemporary in royal employment, **Henry Purcell**, as part of his Service in B \flat . Purcell seems to have composed his very comprehensive set of service music, including a rare setting of the Benedicite (avoided by Blow), in two stages (as already encountered in Child's Service in Gamut): Westminster Abbey partbooks show that the Magnificat & Nunc dimittis belong to an earlier stage of copying than the ACs, and the term 'second' is attached to some movements in the earliest surviving full compilation of the Service in Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum Mus. MS 117, compiled at St George's Chapel, Windsor.¹⁷ This can be seen in graphic form in the compilation of the Index, dated 1683, shown below:¹⁸



¹⁷ For full source details and history see *The Works of Henry Purcell*, vol. 23, *Services*, ed. Margaret Laurie & Bruce Wood (London, 2013).

¹⁸ Reproduced with permission from The Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge.

The Benedicite and Cantate (and Deus) were added in the manuscript a few pages later than the bulk of the service (following after the Sanctus and Gloria of Blow's Service in G) and the index was thus amended. However, the collective evidence from various sources suggests that the ACs were composed very soon after the main set, perhaps as early as 1680.¹⁹

There can be little doubt that Purcell knew Blow's service settings from the 1670s when he set about composing his Service in B \flat , perhaps directly under Blow's tutelage. Margaret Laurie and Bruce Wood, in their analysis of Purcell's Service in B \flat , compare the work to Blow's similarly comprehensive Service in G, noting both similarities and differences. However, when Purcell came to set the ACs, the relevant models by Blow were found in the Services in A and E minor, as Blow's ACs in G were yet to be composed (see below). Purcell's Magnificat and Nunc dimittis in B \flat are predominantly in duple time, but for the ACs he adopts more triple time. The rhythm and style at the start of his CD are very close to Blow's E minor setting (notwithstanding the difference of key), but with the position of the hemiola swapped, Purcell preferring to use it to give emphasis to 'new', and opting for a 'marvellous' false relation:

Blow in E minor

Purcell in B flat

The image displays two musical scores side-by-side. The top score is for Blow's AC in E minor, featuring four staves (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) in 3/8 time. The lyrics are: "O sing un - to the Lord a new song: for he hath done mar - vel-lous things. With his". The bottom score is for Purcell's AC in B flat, also in 3/8 time, with four staves. The lyrics are: "O sing tun - to the Lord a new song: for he hath done mar - vel-lous things. With his". Both scores use a hemiola pattern to emphasize the word 'new'.

Purcell employs similar verse textures to Blow, using SSA and ATB along with the four-part AATB grouping; he also significantly adjusts the mood for the final verses of both canticles as Blow had done, using the AATB grouping as in Blow's Service in A. The younger composer seems eager to take on the older in making the most of certain phrases: compare, for example, the two tricks used by Blow in the CD of his Service in A for 'sing' and 'clap' as noted above, with the equivalent places in

¹⁹ Margaret Laurie & Bruce Wood, *op. cit.*, conclude that it seems "quite probable that the *Second Service* [i.e. including the ACs] were written as early as 1680, and the *First Service* possibly somewhat earlier." (p. x). See also Robert Shay & Robert Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts: The Principal Musical Sources* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 211.

Purcell's CD in B \flat (bars 38, 58).²⁰ But Purcell has a few tricks of his own, such as the circular motion used for the 'round world' in the CD (b. 52), which Blow depicted with descending leaps of 6ths and 7ths. With regard to Purcell's use of canon in this service, Ian Spink has observed as follows:

Child in his 'Sharp Service' and Blow in his G major Service had made considerable use of canon in similar contexts, and it may have been friendly rivalry that persuaded Purcell to turn his service into a kind of 'art of canon'.²¹

Of the total of ten canons across Purcell's Service in B \flat , the CD boasts a canon 3 in 1 by inversion and the Dm a canon 4 in 1, also by inversion, a fitting climax to his service overall, and more technically ambitious than any of Blow's efforts. Since the liturgical demands of the canticles were to proceed without much repetition or undue fuss, this sideshow of artifice must have presented much satisfaction, at least to the musicians, during the daily round of services.

Blow appears to have worked at various different stages on his Service in G. The standard movements date from the early to mid 1670s, and at some point he composed a second version of his Magnificat & Nunc dimittis, opening with the same music but then proceeding to compose a verse rather than full service. He also reworked some movements originally in duple time into triple time, presumably responding to changing tastes, a process that Spink dates to around 1682, since they appear in Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Mus. MS 117, compiled 1683-4.²² The ACs (CD, Dm and a Benedictus for Matins) were then probably composed at a later point, since they were not included in Mus. MS 117 and show a development in notational style, surviving in an undated autograph MS at Christ Church, Oxford, MS 780. Here is the opening of the CD (original time-signature 3i):

O sing un - to the Lord a new song: for he hath done mar - vel - lous things. With his own_ right
O sing un - to the Lord a new song: for he hath done mar - vel - lous things. With his own_ right
O sing un - to the Lord a new song: for he hath done mar - vel - lous things. With his
O sing un - to the Lord a new song: for he hath done mar - vel - lous things.

hand, his own_ right hand and with_ his ho - ly arm: hath he got - ten him - self the vic - to - ry.
hand_ and with_ his ho - ly, ho - ly arm: hath he got - ten him - self, him - self the vic - to - ry.
own_ right hand and with_ his ho - ly, ho - ly arm: hath he got - ten him - self the vic - to - ry.
With his own_ right hand and with his ho - ly arm: hath he got - ten him - self, him - self the vic - to - ry.

Just as Blow's Magnificat & Nunc dimittis in G in its verse service incarnation opens with a clear link to his earlier setting, the opening of his CD in G refers back to the opening of his earlier setting of the

²⁰ Bar numbers refer to the edition by Laurie & Wood, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-98. (An edition by James Gibb based on Boyce's *Cathedral Music* is available on the online CPDL platform.)

²¹ Spink, p. 153.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 130.

same text in triple time, in the Service in E Minor (see above). The same basic rhythmic pattern is adopted but we now encounter 6/4 notation (given as 3i) rather than the usual 3/2. Blow adopts the same standard scorings for the verses as in his earlier settings, though a four-part grouping of SSAB is used for the 'with trumpets' verse which features a false relation for the shawms:

Again we see expressive writing for the final verses of each canticle, with a double 9-7 suspension and Phrygian cadence in the CD and another harmonically rich AATB section in the Dm (like the A major service):

With regard to Blow's use of canon in his ACs in G, he employs a brief 4 in 1 canon for the first half of the CD doxology (doubtless winking at Purcell...), and although there is a hint of the same technique at the start of the Dm doxology the writing is essentially free. Laurie and Wood have compared Blow's use of canons across his Service in G in detail with those in Purcell's Service in B flat, noting how Purcell appears to have out-performed his teacher at almost every turn, but to Blow's credit one might observe the innovative efforts he made specifically in his ACs (including the Benedictus) to develop the style of service writing with a new approach to tempo and time signatures. Purcell's 4 in 1 inversion canon could scarcely be surpassed, so Blow's focus naturally turned to other matters.²³ As seen above, the CD opens in triple time in crotchets (original time signature 3i), but the work also contains triple time passages where the movement is in minims (C with dot, over 3i); similarly, some sections in duple time are written in crotchets, others in minims (though both with the time-signature C-stroke). In both cases the different notations occur at one point consecutively, implying a change in

²³ Laurie & Wood write that "Interestingly there are no canons in the movements which Blow added later; it is conceivable that he felt outclassed by his pupil's achievements in the *Service in B flat major*." (*op. cit.*, p. xi, note 10). However, they do refer to the partial canon in the doxology of Blow's CD (though describing it as a canon 4 in 2). In comparing the canons in the two services (also p. xi) they seem to assume that Blow's ACs were composed *before* Purcell completed his service, which seems unlikely given their suggested dating of Purcell's work: when referring to Purcell's final Dm doxology they write "at which point Blow had eschewed any learned device".

tempo since the change of signature would not have otherwise been necessary.²⁴ Writing on theory from the period suggests that in the case of the triple-time shift, moving from crotchets to minims implies a slowing of the principal note value, whereas in duple time, moving from crotchets to minims implies a speeding up of the main note value.²⁵

Blow's ACs in G contain an early example of what is quite common in later settings, that odd fragments of text are apparently forgotten or mis-remembered: in the first half of verse 2 of the Dm the words italicised here are missing: 'that thy way may be known *upon earth*.' Whilst such slips are also occasionally found across the service repertoire in general, it could be that the less common usage of the ACs and the repetitive nature of the texts of both psalms made the ACs particularly vulnerable to this type of error, from which even clerics like Henry Aldrich of Christ Church, Oxford, were not immune.

Watkins Shaw admires the early Magnificat and Nunc dimittis in the G major service but writes off the later ACs as "unimportant", noting that copies don't survive from the Chapel Royal or Westminster Abbey.²⁶ They clearly did not gain as much popularity as those in his Services in A and E minor, and perhaps the complexity of their notation hindered their adoption elsewhere. But they can contain much fine music and offer further evidence towards an appreciation of John Blow as perhaps the single most significant innovator in church music at this time.

Concerning the three services by Blow in A, E minor and G (the early movements thereof), out of a total 10 surviving services by Blow as a whole, Ian Spink remarks says that they "may be regarded as the representative masterpieces of their type and time; and together with two or three services by Child, and later Purcell's in B ♭, they provided the staple 'modern' fare of most cathedrals for the rest of the century, and for much of the next."²⁷ Most of these services contain ACs either exclusively or in addition to the Magnificat and Nunc dimittis. Blow's Services in A and in E minor, as well as Purcell's in B ♭ (including the ACs) were published in the collection assembled by Maurice Greene and William Boyce in the *Cathedral Music* volumes of 1760-73, and this publication may have helped perpetuate the tradition of singing the ACs at Evensong in the later eighteenth century.

We have already noted that outside the London royal circle of musicians, the earliest settings of the ACs appear to be those found in Oxford, Exeter and Ely, though others may yet be discovered. Regarding Oxford, Spink has suggested that the setting by Aldrich dates "from a few years before 1684",²⁸ whilst that by the elder Richard Goodson is probably from around the turn of the century (see below). Thomas Bullis (junior) was a lay-clerk at Ely Cathedral from 1677 till his death in 1712 who spent brief periods in charge of the music there.

The earliest setting in this group is probably the Service in A by **Henry Hall** which can be dated to 1674-8, since it only survives at Exeter Cathedral where he served as Organist during these years. This setting is in duple time throughout, immediately calling to mind Child's two settings and Blow's Service in A. A connection is supported by the fact that Hall had been a chorister at the Chapel Royal until about 1672 where he remained for a time after his voice broke, gaining instruction from John Blow who took over as Master of the Choristers in 1674, the year Hall moved briefly to Wells before arriving in Exeter as Organist.²⁹ Although the divisions of the text into full and verse sections in Hall's

²⁴ For the duple shift, see the CD bars 55-56, and for the triple shift, see the Dm bars 22-3.

²⁵ See Chapter 2 of R. Herissone, *Music Theory in Seventeenth-Century England* (OUP, 2000).

²⁶ Shaw, *The Services of John Blow*, p. 9 (and see also note 15 above). The only other early source appears to be an organ score at St John's College, Cambridge, copied in the first half of the eighteenth century, K.51.

²⁷ See Spink, p. 131.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 318.

²⁹ See Spink, pp. 255 & 267. Hall wrote a dedicatory poem to Blow in Blow's *Amphion Anglicus* (1700).

CD are the same as Blow's Service in A, the verses themselves are for different voice parts with Hall favouring the lower voices. But the general styles of the two settings are very close, and occasionally Hall seems unable to escape Blow's model, as is evident perhaps most clearly at the setting of 'sing, rejoice and give thanks' in the CD:

Blow in A

Hall in A

Other similarities include the harmonic shaping of the final cadence of the two Glorias, the use of the chord of C# Major for 'shawms', and rests following 'clap' in the CD. However, although Hall shifts to A minor for the final more reflective text of the CD 'With righteousness...', the verse is much less impressive than Blow's four-part setting which opens in B minor. Hall's setting has many awkward moments (even in the opening 4 bars), though he later composed a considerably more ambitious and successful setting in B \flat after he moved to Hereford Cathedral, considered below.

Blow's A major setting may also have been one influence on the A major setting composed by the theologian and musician **Henry Aldrich** of Christ Church, Oxford, though the similarities are not as close as with Hall's setting. Blow's early services as a whole were well known in Christ Church due mainly to Edward Lowe who was Organist there from c.1640 until his death in 1682. Since shortly after the Restoration, Lowe had held an additional appointment as one of the organists of the Chapel Royal, alongside William Child and Christopher Gibbons. Copies made by Lowe of Blow's Service in E minor survive at Christ Church in Mus. 554 and Mus. 22, and his copy of the Service in A major (including the ACs) is in Mus. 526. Aldrich himself made a copy of Blow's Service in E minor, also in Mus. 526. The London-Oxford traffic was two-way, since the earliest source of Aldrich's Service in A is a partbook in Westminster Abbey, where the composer is described as 'Mr', placing it before 1682 when he acquired his doctorate.³⁰ His ACs in A seem structurally to be a blend of Blow's A major setting entirely in duple time and the E minor setting which is predominantly in triple time. Aldrich contrives to deliver all the full sections in duple time and all the verse sections in triple time in both

³⁰ Shay & Thompson. *op. cit.*, p. 185.

canticles, using only the standard ATB verse combination. As in Hall's setting in A, there are no echos, canons or substantial contrasts of mood to be found in Aldrich's plain but effective setting, which was perhaps thus intended more for general than festive use.³¹ The Service in A is one of three by him that survive in an autograph score at Christ Church (Mus. 19), and the A major ACs are notable for their duple-time sections being written in crotchets within a cut-C time signature, and for using a beaming policy by beat, not conforming to the position of syllables, resulting in a strangely modern-looking score.³² The work was widely copied around the country and probably owed its success to being extremely competently written, and for some pleasant turns of phrase in the verses and the concise and vigorous style in the full sections, as illustrated here (from the CD):

The image displays a musical score for a service in A major, featuring four staves of music. The lyrics are: "Shew your-selves joy - ful un - to the Lord, un - to the Lord all ye lands: sing, re - joice and give thanks." The notation includes treble and bass clefs, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a time signature of cut-C. The music is characterized by its use of crotchets in duple-time sections and a beaming policy that does not conform to the position of syllables.

The setting by the younger **Thomas Bullis** (1657-1712) amongst the Ely Cathedral manuscripts (now in the Cambridge University Library) survives only in the form of an organ score and tenor & bass parts.³³ Bullis served as interim organist at Ely between the tenures of Ferrbasco and Hawkins in 1682-3, and his Service in G probably dates from this period or later. A slightly later date is perhaps suggested by his use of crotchets as the main note values in both triple and duple time sections, perhaps indicating a knowledge of Blow's ACs in G. The surviving music is sadly very weak, with an almost total lack of tonal variety.

Moving towards the end of the seventeenth century, the next settings of ACs to survive would appear to be another setting from Ely, this time by the long-lived and prolific composer James Hawkins, who served as Organist from 1682 until his death in 1729, and the later setting by Henry Hall in Hereford. The Service in A by **James Hawkins** seems to have begun life during his time at Worcester Cathedral before 1682, as a Magnificat and Nunc dimittis survive there. But as with Child in Gamut and Blow in G, the ACs seem to have been added at a later date, in this case after Hawkins's arrival at Ely in c.1683. Hawkins's A major service provides another example of the increasing use of triple time during this period, and the Ely autograph score-book MS 7 even contains two settings of the Jubilate Deo, one entirely in duple and the other predominantly in triple time, thus resulting in a liturgical duplication that also occurs in Blow's G major service, as noted above. All the canticles in both the Worcester and Ely sources are closely related by having very similar settings of the Gloria

³¹ Aldrich makes two textual errors in verse 4 of the Dm, where he uses 'people' instead of 'folk' and 'upon all earth' rather than just 'upon earth'.

³² Tudway's copy in his Harley anthology (BL Harley MS 7340) contains the more typical doubled note values in the duple sections, using minims rather than crotchets as the main beat. When the service eventually appeared in print in Arnold's 1790 volume to Boyce's *Cathedral Music*, the duple sections are in crotchets but with separate stems for the syllables, and the triple sections are now in 3-4 (along with several changes made to the music itself).

³³ The organ score is MS 3 (i.e. EDC 10/7/3), the parts are in MSS 25 and 26, and a bass part also survives at Peterborough Cathedral (Ms. E). The typed catalogue in the University Library at Cambridge also lists a setting of the ACs in G minor by the older Thomas Bullis, but this service contains a Magnificat & Nunc dimittis only.

Patri, so similar in fact that even Hawkins seems to have got confused, since he started copying out one Gloria at the end of the CD but then crossed it out and began again with another. At the end of the Dm he saves space by noting that the Gloria here should be taken from the Jubilate Deo, but he doesn't say which one (page 466 or 481?). In the transcription given in the Appendix I have used the Gloria attached to the probably later, triple-time Jubilate, since the Dm itself also contains much triple time.³⁴

In terms of musical style Hawkins's ACs are close to those by Blow and Aldrich, suggesting that Hawkins may not have delayed long when moving to Ely before expanding his Worcester service. As an example of Hawkins's generally fluent and expressive writing, here is the opening of the Dm with its effective placing of the G natural and subsequent suspensions:

The image shows a musical score for the opening of the Dm. It consists of two systems of four staves each. The top staff of each system is a vocal line with lyrics underneath. The bottom staff of each system is a bass line. The key signature is G major (one sharp) and the time signature is common time (C). The lyrics are: "God be mer - ci - ful un - to us, and bless us: and shew us the light of his coun - te - nance, and be mer - ci - ful un - to us." The music features a prominent G natural in the bass line, followed by several suspensions.

A satisfying contrast is provided by Hawkins's decision to place several of the verse sections in the minor, and his lively interpretation of 'clap their hands' (see bars 68-9) is created by both rests and syncopation. The setting has one rather extreme case of missing text: the Dm completely lacks its final verse, and ends at 'shall give us his blessing'. This is evident both from the autograph score, and in the copy made by Thomas Tudway for his compendium of English church music for Lord Harley. Although more surprising than the typical confusion or omission of odd words already observed, the apparent error is scarcely theologically disastrous given the overlap of sentiments between the last two verses of the psalm.

Hawkins also composed a second set of ACs, probably towards the end of the century, but no later than 1702 since some of the music was incorporated into a setting by William Norris of Lincoln, who died in that year. This setting (in D) is a 'chanting service', a technique apparently devised by Hawkins himself, in which verses alternate between being sung to a simple chant by the chorus, and

³⁴ Tudway's score in his anthology (British Library, Harley MS 7341) only confuses the issue further, since although he uses the Gloria from the duple-time Jubilate he places it at the end of the CD, not the Dm, and at the end of the Dm he uses the Gloria from after the CD in Hawkins's copy.

being freely composed for soloists.³⁵ Spink suggests that this may have been developed to save time in the service, but also notes that in this particular setting the extended verses “can hardly have hurried the service along”.³⁶ Perhaps the technique was partly developed to allow more extended musical development within some sections, balanced by the shorter chanted verses, in which case the overall length of the canticle might stay roughly the same. In any case, this piece, like his extended Magnificat and Nunc dimittis with string accompaniment, is a testament to the composer’s musical imagination, and is considerably more ambitious than the Magnificat and Nunc dimittis that he also composed in this format. The CD has four ‘original’ verses in four parts and two that are duets, with a total of four verses being sung to the chant. By contrast, the Dm has just only two sections of chant, the opening verse and then the Gloria, and the composed verses include two solo movements. Solos and duets are not part of the standard repertoire in verse services and call to mind similar sessions in the extended orchestral St Cecilia morning canticles, the Te Deum and Jubilate, by Blow, Turner and Purcell.³⁷ The overall structure of the ACs is shown here with the chanting shown in red:

CANTATE DOMINO

<i>Text verses</i>	<i>Scoring</i>	<i>Time</i>	<i>Main key</i>
1-2	Full (chant)	Duple	D major
3	Verse SATB	Triple	D major
4	Verse SATB	Duple (slow)	D minor
5	Full (chant)	Duple	D major
6	Verse AB	Duple	D major
7	Verse ST	Triple	D major
8	Full (chant)	Duple	D major
9	Verse SATB	Duple	D major to A major; A minor to C major
10	Verse SATB	Triple	C major to D minor
Gloria Patri	Full (chant)	Duple	D major (2 statements of chant)

DEUS MISEREATUR

1	Full (chant)	Duple	D major
2	Verse SATB	Duple	D major
3	Verse SATB	Triple	D major
4	Solo A or T	Duple	D major
5	Verse SATB	Triple	D major (repeat of v. 3)
6	Solo T	Duple	D minor
7	Verse SATB	Triple	D major
Gloria Patri	Full (chant)	Duple	D major (2 statements of chant)

The first verse of chanting in the CD is written out in full, and then just cues are given for the others:

O sing un - to the Lord a new song: for he hath done mar - vel - lous things.

O sing un - to the Lord a new song: for he hath done mar - vel - lous things.

O sing un - to the Lord a new song: for he hath done mar - vel - lous things.

O sing un - to the Lord a new song: for he hath done mar - vel - lous things.

³⁵ For a full examination of the tradition of chanting services, including discussion of Hawkins in D, see Ruth Wilson, *Anglican Chant and Chanting in England, Scotland and America 1660-1820* (OUP, 1996), chapter 4, p. 103.

³⁶ Spink, p. 247.

³⁷ Compare, for example, the duet ‘With trumpets’ in the CD of the Hawkins service with ‘The Father of an infinite majesty’ in Purcell’s 1694 Te Deum & Jubilate in D.

Hawkins uses the same approach to writing duple time as Aldrich, with crochet beats and beaming often by beat. Of the two solos in the Dm the most elaborate writing appears in the first one, for contratenor or perhaps tenor (the clef is C3), both in terms of the quasi-recitative style and the wide range, from d to g', going lower than the second solo (in C4 clef) which covers from e to f'. The first solo opens thus:

The 'chanting service' by Hawkins appears to have had some success elsewhere in the east of England: a contratenor part of the Service in D survives at Norwich Cathedral, and William Norris of Lincoln Cathedral composed a new chant to sit alongside the Hawkins verses, as found in partbooks at Lincoln and Peterborough Cathedral.³⁸ We will note later that Hawkins's successor at Ely, Thomas Kempton, also maintained the format with another set of ACs.

In terms of musical creativity, Hawkins at Ely had something of a rival at Hereford in the person of **Henry Hall**. Hall's A major service, composed at Exeter, was straightforward and unambitious, but he went to town with his B \flat setting, composed at Hereford sometime between 1688 and its appearance in the Worcester partbooks dated January 1706. Like his earlier setting, the later one also shares characteristics with the ACs composed by his teacher John Blow. In terms of its length and variety the B \flat setting recalls Blow's final set, the G major setting. Specific similarities include a call-and-response format for verses 3 & 5 in the Dm, an extended foray into flats for the final verse of the CD (as found in the final verse of Blow's Dm), and a concluding gesture at the end of the CD in which a perfect cadence is immediately followed by an extra, plagal cadence, a pattern also found in the Magnificat & Nunc dimittis of his Service in F.³⁹ Hall demonstrates his powers of invention at the very start of the CD with writing that is highly elaborate, surpassing in this sense any other setting from the period. He moves almost immediately into verse style, a shift that all the other settings of the time reserve for verse 3, but still employing the chorus to emphasise 'a new song'. After 11 bars of diatonic writing he then introduces a D \flat in the treble part giving diminished seventh and diminished fourth chords for 'marvellous things':

³⁸ For full details see Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

³⁹ I am grateful to Geraint Bowen for sharing his transcription from the Hereford Cathedral manuscripts.

S1 Full Verse

— a new — song, sing un - to the Lord, O sing, O sing un - to the Lord a new — song, sing —
 new — song, a new — song, sing —
 new song, a new song, sing —

Full

a new — song: for he hath done mar - vel-lous things.
 — un - to the Lord a new — song: for he hath done mar - vel-lous things. With his
 — un - to the Lord a new — song: for he hath done mar - vel-lous things.
 — sing — a new song: for he hath done mar - vel-lous things.

Having broken convention at the start of the CD, he proceeds to do the same in the Dm by beginning not with the full choir as was normal, but with a verse for ATB, introduced by two chords on the organ.

Verse

God be mer - ci - ful un - to us, and bless — us,
 God be mer - ci - ful un - to us, and bless — us,
 (Org.) God be mer - ci - ful un - to us, and bless — us,

At the end of the verse the chorus enters to reinforce the invitatory 'be merciful' phrase with two expressive 9th dissonances:

Full

be mer - ci - ful, be mer - ci - ful un - to us:
 be mer - ci - ful, be mer - ci - ful un - to us:
 be mer - ci - ful, be mer - ci - ful un - to us:
 be mer - ci - ful, be mer - ci - ful un - to us:

Hall has two other surprises in store: first for the call-and-response pattern for verses 3 and 5 his ‘call’ is set as a verse for 3 treble voices before the full choir enters with ‘yea...’ (b. 27); second, the Dm Gloria begins with a chorus-and-verse alternation that recalls the opening of the CD.⁴⁰ Hall’s B ♭ ACs are thus highly original, even though they contain some odd twists and turns that might not be considered successful.

Richard Goodson (senior) was Organist at New College, Oxford, from 1682, and then at Christ Church from 1692 till his death in 1718. His Service in F, comprising just the ACs, survives in an autograph score at Christ Church. It’s a concise and attractive setting mostly in triple time, notable for including verse writing at the start of both canticles, being similar in this respect to Hall’s ACs in B ♭. Both ACs begin with verse writing for two trebles and a lower voice, and Goodson opens the Dm with a semitone clash between the two trebles in the first bar:

S1
God be mer - ci - ful un - to us, and bless us: and

S2
God be mer - ci - ful un - to us, and bless us: and

God be mer - ci - ful un - to us, and bless us: and

Goodson maintains verse writing for all of verses 1 and 2 of the Dm text, thus setting up the logical sequence that sees the chorus first enter in verse 3 for ‘Let the people praise thee...’. Indeed, the chorus is only employed in the Dm for verse 3 and its repeat as verse 5, and the Gloria. The CD has more full writing including some effective combinations of harmonic and contrapuntal ideas in verses 8 and 9. Verse 9 is shown here, with the word “all” added to the text before “the earth”:

Let the floods clap their hands, and let the hills be joy - ful to - ge - ther be -

Let the floods clap their hands, and let the hills be joy - ful to - ge - ther be -

Let the floods clap their hands, and let the hills be joy - ful to - ge - ther be -

Let the floods clap their hands, and let the hills be joy - ful to - ge - ther be -

fore the Lord: for he com - eth to judge, to judge all the earth.

fore the Lord: for he com - eth to judge, to judge all the earth.

fore the Lord: for he com - eth to judge, to judge all the earth.

fore the Lord: for he com - eth to judge, to judge all the earth.

⁴⁰ Two of these unusual features, the opening of the Dm with a verse texture and the alternation of full and verse at the start of the Gloria, can also be seen in the Nunc dimittis of his Service in F. The transcription of Hall’s ACs in B ♭ in the Appendix is from Tudway’s collection where he indicates that the Dm Gloria is the same as that after the CD. Spink (p. 268) uses this as proof that the two ACs are a genuine pair, but this is clear in any case from the other survivals of the work at Hereford, Gloucester and Worcester. The Dm Gloria still awaits reconstruction from these sources.

Theological interpretations of the ACs in the early-eighteenth century

As we move into the eighteenth century, consideration may be given to some publications on the nature of the Book of Common Prayer that appeared around this time. In his book *A paraphrase with annotations upon the Book of common prayer...* (1708), Thomas Bennet introduces the CD thus:

Now tho' this psalm has a plain Reference to that Salvation or Deliverance, which God wrought for the Jewish Church and Nation; yet we may very well apply it to ourselves, who being God's adopted Children, are a spiritual Israel, and have been by Christ saved and delivered from our Spiritual Enemies, and have all imaginable reason to bless God for the same, and to call upon the whole Creation to join with us in Thanksgiving.⁴¹

Besides explaining with additional remarks that the victory in verse 2 is indeed "over our enemies", and that a shawm is kind of musical instrument, he notes in reference to the final two verses of the psalm that God's judgement is to be appreciated not as the wrathful vengeance of the Old Testament but through the coming of the Messiah as one issued with "mildness", and "great kindness and compassion". This remark may help explain the choice made by some composers such as cleric Henry Aldrich to maintain a positive and cheerful air in these verses, contrasting with the more grave mood adopted by some other composers.

Bennet then introduces the Dm thus:

And it is very properly us'd after the second Lesson, which is always taken out of the New Testament; because therein we may conveniently express our Desires of the farther Propagation of the Gospel. This Psalm is also a Prayer to God, and therefore it must not be barely repeated, but address'd to our Maker in the most solemn manner.⁴²

This call for solemnity is most evident in musical settings at the outset, the initial call for mercy. Bennet then focuses on the element of propagation, of converting the heathen. In verse 3 'Let the people praise thee, O God: yea let all the people praise thee', the "all" is interpreted as referring not just to the present congregation, but to "those that are not as yet acquainted with thee". This view sits comfortably with the final two verses of the psalm which state that 'all the ends of the earth shall fear him'.

Appearing two years after Bennet's volume, William Nicholls issued his *A comment on the Book of common-prayer...* in 1710. Nicholls sees both ACs as being about the propagation of the gospel, and offers the following re-wording of both canticles to expound his desired interpretation of them in the section headed 'Evening Prayer'. (The expectation that "Heathen Countries" should embrace Anglican Christianity is of course inevitably linked to the global territorial ambitions of the nation at this time.)

Paraphrase of the Cantate Domino by William Nicholls:

⁴¹ Thomas Bennet, *A paraphrase with annotations upon the Book of common prayer, Wherein The Text is explain'd, Objections are answer'd, and Advice is humbly offer'd, both to the Clergy and the Lavery, for promoting true Devotion in the Use of it* (London, 1708), pp. 79-80.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 83.

This Psalm is thought to be a Prophetical Exultation, for the spreading of the Gospel.

I. O sing unto the Lord a new and extraordinary Song, for he hath done for the sake of his Church, things full of Amazement and Astonishment.

II. He, not by any mortal Hand, but by his own omnipotent Arm, has gain'd a Victory; and that not only over our Temporal, but over our Spiritual Enemies.

III. He hath manifested his Salvation, universally extended, by the coming of the Messias: He has manifested his Righteousness, in destroying the Kingdom of Darkness, to all the Heathen World.

IV. He hath remembred the Promise of the Messias, made to the ancient Patriarchs of the Jews; and all the Heathen Nations have seen (that is, in the Prophetick Phrase, shall see) that Salvation or Blessing which they shall receive from *Abraham's Seed*; *Gen. xii. 3.*

V. Therefore, O all ye Heathen Countries, since you are to partake of this inestimable Blessing, do you, as a Mark of your Thankfulness to so gracious a God, joyn with us Jews in our Praises to the Lord.

VI. Do you Praise the Lord together with us, upon the most tuneful Instrument; the Harp, and join to this a vocal Musick, singing sacred Songs, in Thankfulness to God, for so great a Blessing.

VII. Let there be added to the sacred Confort, the most melodious Wind-Musick in use among us, Trumpets and Pipes; to raise our Joy to the greatest height, when we appear in the Presence of the great *Jehovah*, who is King of Heaven and Earth.

VIII. Let the Waves of the Sea join their Murmurs, to make up the Harmony: Let all the whole Orb of the Earth, and all the Inhabitants of it, come in for their parts in the universal Chorus.

IX. Let the dashing of the Waters in the Rivers imitate the clapping of Hands, in this general Dance and rejoicing of Nature: Let the Hills, by a pleasant Verdure, seem to smile and sing; since the Great God himself makes his appearance upon Earth, to govern Men by his Laws.

X. He shall then govern Mankind, not by the imperfect Dictates of Nature's dim Light, nor by Ceremonial Precepts; but by New and Divine Laws, full of Equity and Goodness.

Paraphrase of the Deus misereatur by William Nicholls:

This Psalm, tho' it bears the Name of David in the Greek and Latin Version, was probably written after the Captivity by Esdras, or some other inspired Person, and is a Prophecy of the propagation of the Gospel.

I. We pray that God with his Mercy and Kindness would continually bless and protect our Nation; that he would not look upon us, as formerly in his Anger, as it were out of a Cloud; but that he would view us with a serene and pleasant Countenance, and as it were with the Sun-shine of his Favour.

II. That thy true Religion may be propagated all over the World, and that every Nation may receive the glad Tidings of their Salvation:

III. Let not the Praise and Worship of thee, the true God, be confined only to *Judea*? but let the Inhabitants of every Nation come in with us to adore thee.

IV. Nay the Heathen Nations have for their part the greatest reason to exult and triumph, and to praise the Goodness of God; for he is coming to govern them by righteous and good Laws, who were before under the Government of Satan, and had nothing to guide them, but some few Laws or Tendencies of Nature, or some Precepts of an old Tradition, which are now almost obliterated.

V. Let therefore all the Heathen Nations, to whom thou art reaching out so great a Benefit, sing to thy Praise. Let every Infidel People testify their Joy and Gratitude in Thanksgivings to thee.

VI. Nay, we seem to see the happy time of the Messias's Reign: The Earth *hath brought forth her Increase* (as the Hebrew reads it); fruitful Seasons, and prosperous Years attend that glorious time: And God who is our peculiar God, shall distinguish us by a particular Mark of his Favour, some time or other under this great and holy Government.

VII. God shall favour us with most signal Blessings: And all the Nations of the World shall worship him by the Exercise of the true Religion.

For Nicholls the CD is thus not just a new song, but a “new *and extraordinary* song”, and like Bennet he looks forward to the time when all the nations of the world will come to exercise the “true Religion”. His characterisation of God’s judgement in the final verses of the CD is also similar to that of Bennet, talking of “equity and goodness”. In his re-casting of the Dm we can see the sense in which the psalm was understood as referring directly to “our Nation”. This corresponds to the evidence already encountered which shows that the psalm was used as a canticle on days of national mourning or danger.

One of the most extended published examinations of the texts of the canticles appeared in 1714 in the *Practical Discourses on all the parts and offices of the liturgy of the Church of England* by Matthew Hole. Having introduced the CD in relation to the Magnificat as follows...⁴³

THIS Psalm of *David* is the second Hymn after the first Lesson of Evening-Prayer; the Sense and Design whereof is much the same with the foregoing *Magnificat* of the Blessed Virgin; which was in a great measure taken from it, as may be seen, ver. 4, 5. It contains,

...he then carefully considers each verse in turn. With the regard to the relevance of the psalm for public worship he notes its relevance to specific instances of personal or corporate victory:

First, Of the Call or Exhortation to Joy and Rejoicing in God; O sing unto the Lord a new Song. This seems to be a Summons of holy *David, the Sweet-finger of Israel*, to praise God upon some new and fresh occasion; that is, either upon some private Deliverance of his own from the Cruelty of *Saul* and the *Philistines*, or upon some more public Deliverance of the Church from the Rage and Malice of its Enemies: And both signify this to us, that upon every new Mercy and Deliverance we ought to renew our Praises and Thanksgivings.

Having said that, he then continues to explain that many see the text more in terms of a more general spiritual understanding of the victory won through the coming of Christ as saviour. Hole underlines the suitability of the CD for justifying the use of instruments in church, perhaps most obviously in the case of the installation of a new organ – a connection we will encounter in due course:

⁴³ Vol. 1, p. 416 ff.

But, 2dly, by the Lute and Harp, and other Instruments of Musick; for so the next words are: *Praise the Lord upon the Harp, sing to the Harp with a Psalm of Thanksgiving, with Trumpets also and Shavens*; or, as the new Translation renders it, *With the Sound of the Cornet make a joyful noise before the Lord the King.* And elsewhere, *Praise him with the stringed Instruments and Organs*, Plal. 150. 4. Where we have a sufficient Warrant, if not a Command, for instrumental Musick in the Worship of God; and may not only justify the Use of Organs, but shew the Usefulness of them, to elevate the Mind, and excite our Devotion.

With regard to the final verses of the CD, Hole focuses more on the fundamental nature of the last judgement rather than on the 'mildness' and 'equity' shewn by God. He notes that there...

is a time coming, when we shall all be summon'd to appear before him, and be call'd to an account how far we have promoted the Honour or Dishonour of our Creator; at which time we shall be rewarded or punish'd accordingly, and receive every Man according to his Works; they who by their Lives and Actions have advanc'd his Glory, shall then receive a Crown of Glory that fadeth not away; but they who have liv'd and acted to his dishonour, shall be cloth'd with endless Shame and Confusion of Face.

This may have been uppermost in the minds of the composers who produced the more solemn, *minore* settings of verse 10, such as John Blow and later William Croft. One problem faced by composers with the text at this point is that the subject of the God's judgement begins halfway through verse 9, before being developed in verse 10:

9. Let the floods clap their hands, and let the hills be joyful together before the Lord: for he is come to judge the earth.

10. With righteousness shall he judge the world: and the people with equity.

Many composers ignored the shift of subject at the end of verse 9, but Henry Purcell's setting in B ♭ shows a particularly sensitive interpretation of the text here, allowing space for both aspects to be represented appropriately across the two verses: verse 9 begins in B ♭ major (b. 111), then shifts to G minor at the conclusion of the verse, and then verse 10 opens in E ♭ major. He thus appears to flag up the severity of the nature of judgement before reflecting God's 'righteousness' and 'equity' in exercising that judgement.

Regarding the Dm, Hole's comments have little to add to or contest the writings of Benett and Nicholls, observing the psalm's three-fold exploration of prayer, praise and propagation.

A slightly different indication of the use of the CD, relating it to the first reading, appears in the influential and much reprinted study by Charles Wheatly: *The Church of England man's companion; or a rational illustration of the harmony, excellency, and usefulness of the Book of Common Prayer*, which first appeared in 1710. Wheatly noted that "when the first lesson treats of some great and temporal deliverance granted to the peculiar people of God, we have the ninety-eight psalm for

variety, ...”⁴⁴ This specifically liturgical reasoning connected to the lectionary may perhaps have brought about performances of the ACs that did not relate to national events. Wheatley’s text was produced almost word for word in the 1735 publication *A correct and familiar exposition on the Common-Prayer-Book of the Church of England, extracted from the most celebrated authors...* by an anonymous cleric. This book also mentions the authority of the minister in choosing to include the main or alternative choices: “There are two of them wisely provided by our church after each lesson, for variety; but only one is intended to be used at a time in the daily service, at the discretion of the minister.”⁴⁵

The ACs of Lamb and Richardson ‘with trumpets’

The next significant development we encounter in the way composers set the ACs can be found in two settings that date from the early eighteenth century, one by Benjamin Lamb of Eton & Windsor and the other by Vaughan Richardson of Winchester Cathedral. These are both extended, elaborate settings, mostly in triple time, which give solo writing to the organ: Lamb makes appropriate use of the trumpet stop for the verse ‘With trumpets also and shawms’, and Richardson provides several solo organ interludes.

Benjamin Lamb was a chorister at St George’s Chapel, Windsor who went on to hold posts both at the Chapel and at nearby Eton College, which for much of this period shared the same singing men; services were sung at St George’s in the mornings and then Evensong was sung at Eton. A copy of his set of ACs in E minor survives in the fourth organ book in the Eton College collection with shelf mark MS 299, in which an anthem is dated 1706.⁴⁶ Lamb became Organist at Eton in 1705 so his ACs appear to date from fairly soon after his appointment.



Lamb’s set follows late 17th-century convention in having verses predominantly for two contrasted trios, SST and ATB, though the CD contains one duet section and one alto solo, and it is this solo section that the organ trumpet or cornet stop is employed. Lamb’s texture and style in this section evokes the opening of the Jubilate in D from Purcell’s *St Cecilia* setting which has an alto solo and solo trumpet. Lamb’s music is different in that the organ is given two obbligato lines, and he also appears to evoke drums with the insistent 5-1 motif in the bass line:

Verse

A

With trum - pets al - so and shawms:

Org.

Trumpets or Cornet

6 5 6 7

⁴⁴ p. 144 in the 1802 edition.

⁴⁵ p. 137.

⁴⁶ Spink, pp. 387-8.

The use of trumpet solos on the organ was common amongst anthems around this time (see, for example, *Praise the Lord, O my soul* by Jeremiah Clarke who died in 1707), now that most new or rebuilt large organs were suitably equipped. In 1701 Eton College had installed a new organ by ‘Father’ Bernard Smith, the handsome case of which survives today at Hawkesyard Priory in Staffordshire, shown above (excluding the extra pipes to the left).⁴⁷

Lamb did not just content himself with the obvious opportunity provided by the text of the CD (see from bar 88), and decided to add a similar passage in the Dm. For the text ‘O let the nations rejoice and be glad’ he adorns his ATB verse this time with 3-part trumpet writing:

To contrast with all this jubilation Lamb follows the tradition of Blow and others in providing a sombre idiom for the final verses of both movements, using the diminished 4th interval for ‘and the people with equity’ in the CD and chromatic movement for ‘and all the ends of the world’ in the Dm, both sections being marked ‘Very slow’. Some welcome counterpoint at the end of the Gloria adds to the success of this setting as a whole.⁴⁸

The scale and exuberant content of Lamb’s setting may mean it was composed for a special, festive occasion, and we know that to have been the case for the setting in C by **Vaughan Richardson** which was composed in 1713 to celebrate the Peace of Utrecht (according to the copy made by Tudway in his compendium of church music for Lord Harley), and which was perhaps performed in a special service such as those described above in the printed orders to celebrate military victories. Richardson served as Organist at Winchester Cathedral from 1692 till his death in 1729. His setting

⁴⁷ Flickr photo by Lawrence OP, creative commons licence CC BY-NC-ND 2.0 DEED.

⁴⁸ Spink quotes this conclusion on p. 391, though the caption mistakenly says ‘Nunc dimittis’.

contains several passages for organ including a similar trumpet-inspired section for ‘With trumpets’, though as Spink has noted, it seems that the organ in Winchester at the time (by Renatus Harris) did not contain a trumpet stop, though it had a five-rank cornet and a three-rank sesquialtera. This is in line with the autograph score of the ACs, now in the library of Magdalene College, Cambridge, which simply says ‘Loud organ’ at this point. However, Tudway’s copy calls for the trumpet stop, as does the surviving organ part at Canterbury (MS 55). The style of the section is very close to Lamb’s setting, and both seem to owe something to Purcell’s *St Cecilia Te Deum* and *Jubilate in D* which had been printed in score in 1697. The addition of several short organ interludes is one reason for the extended length of the work, but in fact several vocal sections are repeated during the course of the two movements. Richardson may have wished to emphasise the festive nature of the canticle for the particular celebration in mind, and it is notable that some of the repeats have been removed in other sources where more regular use may have been envisaged. Verse 3 of the CD is in two sections, both of which are repeated, the score noting “Vers for two boys each strain playd twice”.⁴⁹ The introductory symphony and first part of the duet are shown here:

Vers for two boys

The musical score is set in 3/8 time and consists of several systems. The first system shows two vocal staves (treble and bass clefs) with the lyrics 'The Lord de - clar - ed,'. The organ part is marked 'Loud (Great) organ' and 'Soft organ'. The second system continues the vocal parts with lyrics 'clar - ed, de - clar - ed, de - clar - ed, de - clar - ed his sal - va - tion:'. The organ part includes a section marked '6 6 #' and another marked '6 6 #'. The third system shows the vocal parts repeating the phrase 'de - clar - ed, de - clar - ed, de - clar - ed, de - clar - ed his sal - va - tion:'. The organ part continues with a section marked '# # # #'.

Like Lamb, Richardson employs a wide variety of verse groupings including a bass solo and the above duet, but Richardson surpasses Lamb with a verse in the Dm which breaks out into 6 parts, SSATBB. The style of the music is generally ‘lighter’ than that found in the settings that date from around 1700, which a reduction in counterpoint and greater emphasis on melody (Spink describes the work as “lively and tuneful”), though Richardson maintains a link with the past by employing canon between the treble and bass parts for the first half of the Gloria. The second half of the Gloria, however, is notably thin in texture, so when the flowing crotchets arrive as in many earlier settings of the Gloria for ‘world without end’ the music breaks into simple 2-part writing:

⁴⁹ This is found in the short score copy that accompanies the full score copy in the Magdalene College manuscript.

The image displays a musical score for a hymn, consisting of five staves. The lyrics are in Latin and are written below the first four staves. The fifth staff is a basso continuo line. The music is in G major (one sharp) and common time. The lyrics are: "e - ver shall be: world with-out end, A - men, world with-out end, A - men,". The first staff is a vocal line for a soprano or alto. The second staff is a vocal line for an alto or tenor. The third staff is a vocal line for a tenor or bass. The fourth staff is a basso continuo line. The fifth staff is a basso continuo line. The lyrics are: "e - ver shall be: world with-out end, A - men, world with-out end, A - men,".

Whereas Lamb’s ACs do not appear to have been widely circulated (though a copy survives at Durham Cathedral), Richardson’s were notably popular, with copies found at Canterbury, Exeter, Hereford, Magdalen College, Oxford, Peterborough, St Paul’s Cathedral, London, and Wimborne Minster. There is also a copy of unknown origin in the Henry Watson Music Library in Manchester, where the work is headed “A Thanksgiving Evening Service” (MS BRm340Rm15). Also significant is the composer’s own remark in his autograph score at Magdalene College, Cambridge, at the start of the CD: “This may be sung for the Anthem”. Thus we see the continuation of the flexibility we first encountered in John Barnard’s 1641 collection where the interchangeability of ACs and anthems was made clear, helping to keep such works in the more general repertoire of a choir.

Introducing the ‘serviceable’ Charles King

Whilst Lamb and Richardson explored the potential for producing lengthy and engaging settings of the ACs, a different approach can be seen in the final work to be considered here dating from the reign of Queen Anne, the Service in B \flat by **Charles King**, one of three services he composed containing the ACs, matching Blow’s total. Here we find a concise and unfussy setting, probably intended for routine liturgical use. The evening canticles comprise only the ACs, and the style and technique remains the same throughout all the movements of the service. King was a chorister at St Paul’s Cathedral under Jeremiah Clarke; he rose through the ranks to succeed him as Master of the Choristers in 1707. He composed his first service in 1706 (the Service in F) and the Service in B \flat appears to be the earliest from his time in charge, dated 1708 in the autograph score now in the Royal Academy of Music.⁵⁰ Later eighteenth-century judgement on King’s compositional prowess was not particularly high. John Hawkins in his *General History...* (1776) noted that “his compositions are uniformly restrained within the bounds of mediocrity...they leave the mind as they found it.”⁵¹ King’s output includes at least 7 services, and Maurice Greene described him as “a very serviceable man”, thus seemingly recognising both their limited scope but also their usefulness. This latter aspect is evident from the inclusion of several of his services, including the Service in B \flat , in Samuel Arnold’s continuation of William Boyce’s printed collection *Cathedral Music*, published in 1790. King’s service is straightforward and unambitious, but it is very competently composed, with some attractive turns of phrase. He takes particular care with the allocation of the two sides of the choir, both in the full

⁵⁰ Spink writes (p. 302) that after the F major service, the B minor service “probably came next (c.1713)”, but this ignores the date in the autograph MS of the B \flat service (MS 99).

⁵¹ Volume 5, p. 102.

section 'Let the sea make a noise' where two tenor and two treble parts are briefly introduced, and in the verse sections, as in the 'trumpets' verse which exploits the now familiar 3/2 idiom:

At the conclusion of the Dm he breaks into a 5-part verse texture, where the thirds in the treble parts and a series of contrapuntal entries with suspensions provide a welcome contrast to the preceding material (see Appendix, p. 124).

Performing frequency of the ACs 1660-1714

It would be difficult to estimate the precise extent to which the ACs were performed in place of the regular Evensong canticles in the period from Charles II to Queen Anne, but it is clear that their use in Evensong was at least well established in this period, contrasting with the more sketchy pattern observed before the Civil War. Thomas Tudway's compendium of church music prepared for Lord Harley between 1715 and 1720 consists of six volumes in chronological order, and the presence of the ACs amongst the Evening Service music can be gauged in the following table:

<i>MS vol./no.</i>	<i>Period covered</i>	<i>No. of Services</i>	<i>M & N</i>	<i>CD & Dm</i>	<i>Setting</i>
1/7337	Up to 1660	12	12	0	
2/7338	From 1660	9	8	1	Child in F
3/7339	From 1660 cont.	2	2	0	
4/7340	Up to 1702	4	1	4	Purcell in B ♭ Blow in A Aldrich in A Hall in B ♭
5/7341	1702-1714	8	6	2	Hawkins in A Lamb in E minor
6/7342	1702-1714	6	4	2	Richardson in C King in B ♭

Another way to estimate the popularity of the ACs is to consider the collections at individual institutions to see how many of the known settings of the period were copied into them. For example, from all the settings of the ACs considered above 1660-1714, the following were sung at Worcester Cathedral (in rough chronological order):

Child in F
Blow in A
Blow in E minor
Aldrich in A
Purcell in B ♭
Hall in B ♭
King in B ♭

The image on the next page below shows an index by key dated January 1705/6 from the bass partbook MS A3.5 at Worcester which shows most of these settings. (The later setting by Thomas Deane in C has been added to the list, and King's setting survives elsewhere in the collection.)⁵²

At Canterbury Cathedral we find the following ACs:

Child in F
Blow in E minor
Blow in A
Aldrich in A
King in B ♭
Richardson in C

At St George's Chapel, Windsor:

Child in F
Child in Gamut
Blow in A
Blow in E minor
Aldrich in A
Lamb in E minor
King in B ♭
Richardson in C

Although the number of Magnificat and Nunc dimittis settings that survive at these places is much higher, these ACs could be said to constitute a substantial minority, showing that the performance of the ACs was now a widespread, if limited activity, with the added possibility that they may have also been performed as anthems rather than as canticles.

⁵² Image reproduced by kind permission of the Chapter of Worcester Cathedral.

January
1706.

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The ACs in eighteenth-century parish churches

Stepping aside briefly from the major musical institutions, evidence that the ACs were now part of regular church practice more widely can be found in various 18th-century prints designed for parish use. These were generally collections of psalmody, continuing the earlier tradition of printed books of metrical psalms by Sternhold & Hopkins and others. As with these earlier psalters, the books often contained other miscellaneous liturgical items including the canticles. Two of the most reprinted collections were those by John Chetham and James Green. The first edition of James Green's *A Book of Psalm Tunes*, published with his brother John, appeared in 1713, though this is now lost; the eleventh edition appeared in 1751. Whilst the early editions only contain chanting material for the Magnificat and Nunc dimittis, the CD (only) appears by the time of the 9th edition in 1738. On the title page it is listed with the canticles though in the volume it is positioned amongst the psalms, but by the 11th edition in 1751 it is placed after the Magnificat in the volume itself. Chetham's *Book of Psalmody* was first published in Sheffield in 1718 and also went through many editions. Like the Green volume, it includes the CD but not the Dm. Here is the chant given to the cantic in the 5th edition of 1736:



The image shows two pages of a musical score for 'CANTATE DOMINO.' The left page is titled 'CANTATE DOMINO.' and features a four-staff musical setting. The lyrics are 'O sing un-to the Lord a new song: For he hath done'. The right page continues the melody with the lyrics 'mar-vellous things.' and includes four 'A-men.' endings, each on a separate staff.

However, other similar collections featured both ACs, including John Bellamy's *A System of Divine Musick. Containing tunes to all the metres in the new version of psalms; with chants for Venite exultemus Domino, Te Deum laudamus, Jubilate Deo, Benedictus, Magnificat, Cantate Domino, Nunc dimittis, and a set tune for Deus misereatur*, published in Leeds in 1745. Bellamy's 'Chanting Tunes' include one that is suitable for both the Magnificat or CD, the start of which is shown here:



The image shows the beginning of a musical setting for 'Magnificat, or to Cantate Domino.' The title is 'Magnificat, or to Cantate Domino.' The lyrics are 'My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit hath rejoiced in'. The notation is a four-staff setting.

However, his Dm is not a chanting tune at all, but a through-composed piece:

Deus Misereatur.

Treble, Tenor & Bass.

God be mer-ci-ful un-to us, and blefs us, and shew us the
 light of his coun-tenance, and be mer-ci-ful un-to us,
 that thy way may be known upon earth thy faving health a-
 mong all na-tions, thy fa-ving, &c.
 thy faving health a-mong all na-tions, a-mong all na-tions,
 known upon earth, thy fav-ing health, &c.
 that thy way may be known upon earth,
 that thy way may be known upon earth,
 that thy way may be known upon earth,

thy fa-ving health a-mong all na-tions.
 -mong all na-tions, thy fa-ving, &c.
 thy faving health a-mong all na-tions, a-mong all na-tions,
 known upon earth, thy fav-ing health, &c.

For ease of reading, there is a basic transcription below that leaves the notes as they appear above; sorting out printing errors from poor writing would be quite a task.

S God be mer - ci - ful un - to us, and bless us, and shew us the light of his coun - te - nance, and be mer - ci - ful un - to us.

T God be mer - ci - ful un - to us, and bless us, and shew us the light of his coun - te - nance, and be mer - ci - ful un - to us.

B God be mer - ci - ful un - to us, and bless us, and shew us the light of his coun - te - nance, and be mer - ci - ful un - to us.

S thy sav - ing health a - mong all na - tions.

A that thy way may be known up - on earth, thy sav - ing health a - mong all na - tions, thy sav - ing health a - mong all na - tions.

T that thy way may be known up - on earth, thy sav - ing health a - mong all na - tions, a - mong all na - tions.

B that thy way may be known up - on earth, thy sav - ing health a - mong all na - tions.

Settings of the ACs in the early Hanoverian era

Entering the Hanoverian era after the death of Queen Anne in 1714, at least around a dozen settings of the AC would appear to date from around this point up to about 1750, listed here in rough chronological order:

<i>AC setting</i>	<i>Date</i> ⁵³	<i>Place</i>	<i>Notes</i>
John Bishop in D	before 1720	Winchester	
William Croft in E ♭	1719?	Chapel Royal	
[-] White in C	early 18th-C.	Lichfield	incomplete
Charles King in B minor	1720	St Paul's Cathedral	
Thomas Kempton in E minor	1728	Ely	
Thomas Deane in A/B ♭ /C	before 1731	Warwick	
Alexander Gerard in C	before 1738	St Asaph	incomplete; Mag. & Dm
Thomas Kelway	after 1720	Chichester	incomplete; CD only
Charles King in A	1739	St Paul's Cathedral	
Ralph Roseingrave in C	before 1747	Dublin	
Ralph Roseingrave in F	before 1747	Dublin	
William Hayes in E ♭	before 1749	Oxford	

Arguably the finest of these settings is the Service in E ♭ by **William Croft**, who had been the most significant composer in royal circles during Queen Anne's reign, serving at both the Chapel Royal and Westminster Abbey. The setting opens with a self-quotation of his famous hymn tune 'St Anne':

O sing un - to the Lord a new song for he hath done mar - ve - lous things with his

O sing un - to the Lord a new song for he hath done mar - ve - lous things

O sing un - to the Lord a new song for he hath done mar - ve - lous things

O sing un - to the Lord a new song for he hath done mar - ve - lous things

The tune was probably named as a tribute to the monarch whom Croft served for many years. In 1700 Croft's first professional appointment was as Organist of St Anne's Church, Soho, which had been dedicated to St Anne at a time when the Bishop who consecrated the church in 1686 was private tutor to the young Princess Anne before she became Queen in 1702.⁵⁴ The autograph score of Croft's Service is dated March 19th 1719, but it is possible that the work may have been actually composed some years earlier during Queen Anne's reign given the use of his tune, which had first been published in 1708.⁵⁵ The musical style of the setting is notably retrospective in nature, sharing some clear resemblances to the Service in A by his teacher as a chorister at the Chapel Royal, John

⁵³ These tentative or precise dates are based on whatever evidence is available for each item. The first date of a given range often refers to when a composer took up a post at a particular place. 'Before' refers to either a known date of copying, or the death of a composer, or his departure from the relevant post.

⁵⁴ The tune's significance was not lost on G. F. Handel following his arrival on the London musical scene in 1710. He was immediately involved with music at the Royal Court, and following major commissions Queen Anne granted him a generous life pension. Some four years after the Queen's death, Handel paid tribute seemingly both to the late Queen and the most senior English musician of the time, by using Croft's melody to open his Chandos Anthem *O praise the Lord with one consent*, composed in 1717-8.

⁵⁵ *A supplement to the new version of Psalms by Dr Brady and Mr Tate...* (London 1708).

Blow. These include the rhythm of the opening phrase, onto which Croft's hymn tune is grafted, and the musical material found at 'He hath remembered his mercy and truth' (from bar 25) and 'Shew yourselves joyful' (b. 35), together with a marked shift to the minor for 'With righteousness shall he judge the world' at the end of the CD (b. 102) and 'God shall bless us' at the end of the Dm (b. 74).⁵⁶ For the Glorias though, Croft's music is notably different and more extended in nature. The first one ends with a fugal Amen, and the second opens with an unusual textual variation, asserting the subjunctive instruction 'Glory be...' thrice: 'Glory be to the Father, Glory be to the Son, Glory be to the Holy Ghost'.⁵⁷

The image shows a musical score for a Gloria. It consists of four staves of music, each with a different vocal part. The lyrics are: "Glo - ry be to the Fa - ther: Glo - ry be to the Son, Glo - ry be to the Ho - ly Ghost; as it". The music is in a minor key (B-flat major) and common time. The first staff is the Soprano part, the second is the Alto part, the third is the Tenor part, and the fourth is the Bass part. The lyrics are written below each staff.

One might expect Croft also to have been influenced by Purcell's B \flat setting, and the opening of the verse 'Let the floods clap their hands' (b. 78) may be an indication of this. Croft's setting has many fine moments, notably the final verse of the CD (b. 102); whilst Blow's setting has four lower solo voices, AATB, Croft uses six parts, building through staggered entries of the voices: first ATB, then SSAB, and finally SSATBB.

John Bishop was appointed Organist of Winchester College in 1695 after Jeremiah Clarke's departure, and for his final years, from 1729 until his death in 1733, he was also Organist and Master of the Choristers at the Cathedral. His Service in D was widely sung throughout the 18th century and beyond; copies survive at many locations from Exeter to Durham. Two of the morning canticles were included by Thomas Tudway in the 1718 volume of his anthology, and one of the earliest datable sources of the complete service, copied for Gloucester Cathedral, has a partbook which indicates that the work was copied before 1720.⁵⁸ Ian Spink points to "plenty of textural variety in the verses" but notes that the "imitative full sections are somewhat pedestrian".⁵⁹ The popularity of the work may be in part due to its relative simplicity and conciseness with routine performance in mind, coupled with a sound compositional technique. The full sections in the ACs are mostly homophonic rather than imitative, and the first verse section only appears at verse 5. Rather than adopting a contrast of style for the final verse of the CD 'With righteousness', he writes perhaps the shortest of all surviving settings of this as two simple full phrases in D major (b. 89). The trumpet writing in the CD (b. 57) is given a drum-like vocal accompaniment, and the subsequent shift to E major provides considerable harmonic contrast. G major is carefully reserved for the last verse of the Dm (b. 77). Perhaps the most effective moment is the start of the Dm, simple yet expressive:

⁵⁶ The opening rhythm of Blow's CD in A, itself probably related to Child in F as already noted, is also used by Charles King at the start of his Service in B \flat from 1708.

⁵⁷ The first published edition of the work in 1840 removes them, resulting twice in a clumsy 'and'.

⁵⁸ MS 109, a Contratenor partbook, has a "paid to this date" of 1720 later in the volume after the Bishop Service.

⁵⁹ Spink, p. 369.

Slow

God be mer-ci-ful un-to us and bless us: and shew us the light of his coun-te-nance,
 God be mer-ci-ful un-to us and bless us: and shew us the light of his coun-te-nance, and be
 God be mer-ci-ful un-to us and bless us: and shew us the light of his coun-te-nance, and be mer-ci-ful, be
 God be mer-ci-ful un-to us and bless us: and shew us the light of his coun-te-nance, and be mer-ci-ful, be

and be mer-ci-ful, be mer-ci-ful un-to us.
 mer-ci-ful, be mer-ci-ful un-to us.
 mer-ci-ful, and be mer-ci-ful un-to us.
 mer-ci-ful, and be mer-ci-ful un-to us.

The most unexpected moment occurs at the end of the Gloria with descending runs in quavers, as shown below, though these were sometimes removed in later copies.

[end.] A - - - men, A - - - men.
 end, A - - - men, A - - - men.
 [end.] A - - - men, A - - - men, A - men.
 end, A - - - men, A - - - men, A - men.

[Service music that stayed in regular use at institutions for many decades and even centuries often saw minor changes made by later organists, generally in connection with changing tastes in cadential patterns, and Bishop's final flourish eventually proved too bizarre at Windsor. Partbooks copied at St George's Chapel there in the early 19th century show the Bishop cadence unaltered, but at some point after the arrival of George Elvey in 1835 the cadence was removed and replaced by two plain choral Amens, including the now standard dominant-7th cadence. The change was also adopted elsewhere, as can be seen in the partbooks of New College, Oxford (now in the Bodleian Library) and in a mid-19th-century score from the collection of St Michael's College, Tenbury (also in the Bodleian Library, MS Tenbury 844).]

The second set of ACs by **Charles King** for St Paul's Cathedral dates from 1720 and is in B minor. Beginning with the same rhythmic pattern that opened Child in F, Blow in A, Croft in E \flat and King's

own B \flat setting, the most notable new feature of this setting is King's effort to expand his compositional approach with sequences and varied repetitions. His B \flat setting totalled 214 bars, but the B minor pair amounts to 392 bars. His success is patchy, with some phrases outstaying their welcome, or other problems appearing such as weak textual accentuation, as at the very start of the CD, even if the music of the sequence itself is pleasant enough:

O sing un - to the Lord a new song: for he hath done mar - vel - lous things, done mar - vel - lous things, he hath done mar - vel - lous things.

mar - vel - lous things, he hath done mar - vel - lous things.

things, done mar - vel - lous things, he hath done mar - vel - lous things.

mar - vel - lous things, he hath done mar - vel - lous things.

More successful passages include the 5-part final verse of the Dm with 9-7 suspensions (b. 98), and the repeated verse 'Let the people praise thee' with its dramatic entry of the full basses with an octave leap, and rhythmical virtue being made of avoiding parallel 5ths in the alto part:

Verse

Let the people praise thee, O God: yea let all the people praise thee, the people

Let the people praise thee, O God: yea let all the people praise thee, the people

Let the people praise thee, O God: yea let all the people praise thee, let all the people

6 6 6 6

Full

praise thee. yea let all the people praise thee, the people praise thee.
 praise thee, yea let all the people praise thee, yea let all the people praise thee.
 8 praise thee. yea let all the people praise thee, yea let all the people praise thee.
 yea let all the people praise thee, yea, let all, let all the people praise thee.
 6 6

The next setting with precise dating is that in E minor by **Thomas Kempton**, composed in 1728 as noted in the copy made by William Cole in 1775 now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Kempton followed James Hawkins as Organist at Ely Cathedral, but his abilities as a composer were sadly not as impressive as his predecessor's. The forced counterpoint makes for some very clumsy clashes, and the more straightforward passages are mostly dull. However, of interest is his decision to adopt non-standard verse textures, using solo passages (for treble, for bass) and the more 'standard' baroque trio texture of SSB rather than SSA. In the first solo section, 'Praise the Lord upon the harp', the treble solo is followed by a brief organ symphony (bass-line only):

Treble solo

Praise, praise the Lord upon the harp, praise, praise

Org.

The work has one notable curiosity born of literalism: the organ score of the setting that survives from Ely Cathedral (Cambridge, University Library, EDC 10/7/9) contains optional 'Hallelujah' verse sections for 3 voices to be sung after the Bass soloist sings the first half of verses 3 and 5, 'Let the people praise thee, O God'. The first instance is shown here:

B solo

Let the people praise thee, praise thee, O God.

Org.

Verse SSA (S2 missing)

Hal - le - lu - jah, hal - le - lu - jah, hal - le - lu - ia, hal - le - lu - jah.

We have a rough dating for the setting by **Thomas Deane** thanks to a note added to a copy in Lichfield Cathedral by the organist there John Alcock, who wrote that 'This Composer took his Doctor's Degree, after he had made this Service', which tells us it was composed in or probably shortly before 1731.⁶⁰ Little is known about Deane (and confusingly there were other organists around the same time with the same name), but the composer of this setting appears to have been the person who served as Organist at St Mary's Warwick 1719-44, and St Michael's Coventry (later the Cathedral) 1733-49, since the manuscripts often label him 'Dr Deane'. Unusually, the work appears in copies at three different pitches, in A, B \flat and C, but the Dublin scorebook No. 18 states: "NB originally in the key of C" (p. 127). The work was popular, being copied at St John's College, Cambridge (c.1742) and several cathedrals (including Durham, Gloucester, Lichfield and Worcester as well as Dublin), and the morning part of the service only was published over a hundred years later by Edward Rimbault in his collection *Cathedral Music* of 1847.

The setting has plenty to commend it, with harmonic contrast created by passages in the tonic and relative minors, not just reserved for the final verses of each canticle. The first Gloria has a surprise: the full sections in the CD have a single treble part, but an extra fugal entry occurs in the form of a new treble part beginning on its highest note (g", f" or e" depending on the transposition, b. 150). Although the Gloria is the same both times, Deane adds an 'Amen' coda in the Dm which luxuriates in two 6-4-2 chords over a tonic pedal:

The image shows a musical score for a Gloria section. It includes five staves: S1 (Soprano), S2 (Soprano), A (Alto), T (Tenor), and B/Org. (Bass/Organ). The lyrics are: "be: world with - out end, world with - out end, A - men, A - - -". The organ part features a coda with two 6-4-2 chords over a tonic pedal.

One of the fragmentary settings of the ACs that survives from this period, by **Alexander Gerard**, survives in a lone contratenor partbook in Cambridge University Library (MS Add. 9798). It is

⁶⁰ Lichfield, Cathedral Library, Ms. Mus. 23.

interesting for two particular reasons: first, it hails from St Asaph's Cathedral in Wales, where Gerard was Organist 1694-1738, and second, it appears to be a rare example of the combination of canticles that we have already encountered in some earlier service orders: the Magnificat followed by the Dm. The partbook contains 16 service settings, two of which contain the standard AC combinations, Child in F and Blow in A, and there is a normal 'Full' service by Gerard as well as a 'Verse' service [in C] which has the Magnificat and Dm (pp. 41-3).

A service order from later in the century, in 1795, shows that this combination remained in use throughout the period, and like the earlier instances, relates to times of great need: the *Order of Morning and Evening Prayer to be used on Wednesday the 25th of Feb. 1795...being the day appointed for a general fast* (in relation to the ongoing threat of war with revolutionary France) contains the following:

¶ *First Lesson, Jonah III.*
 My Soul doth magnify the Lord, &c. *St. Luke I. 46.*
 ¶ *Second Lesson, St. James IV. to Ver. II.*
 God be merciful unto us, &c. *Psalms LXXII.*

Another surviving fragment betrays a setting of the ACs by **Thomas Kelway**, brother of the more well-known harpsichordist Joseph Kelway. Thomas was apprentice organist at Chichester Cathedral in 1720 and then Organist from 1733 till his death in 1749. He wrote several services but only one contained the ACs, the Service in F, of which only a treble part of the CD survives.⁶¹

The last of the three settings of the ACs by **Charles King** of St Paul's Cathedral is found in the later of his two Services in A, dated 1739. His third effort maintains a higher level of invention and technique than the previous two (though some parallel fifths are still evident), and is notably different again in texture and style. There are no verse sections for reduced voice parts, and instead King creates variety by alternating between the two sides either full or as SATB verses. King makes his intentions clear by using upper case letters for full sections (e.g. 'DEC. '), and lower case for verses (e.g. 'Can'). The style of music itself does not change significantly between the writing for the full or verse sections. Although there are no symphonies in the organ part, the writing is more independent than in the other settings. The use of sequential writing noted in the B minor setting also appears in parts of the A major service, such as this pleasing double-suspension sequence in the CD (though suffering from the same issue of accentuation mentioned above):

⁶¹ John Bumpus suggests in *The Organists and Composers of S. Paul's Cathedral* (1891), p. 246, that the F major service survives at Chichester, but the *RISM* listing of the collection only indicates the services in B minor, A minor and A major. The treble part survives in the British Library, MS Eg. 3767.

Some further harmonic colour can be seen in the appearance of diminished sevenths in the Dm. In the 'slow' minor verse 'Then shall the earth bring forth her increase' the music comes to a pause on a diminished then dominant seventh chord (with clashing trill in the treble part):

The image shows a musical score for two verses, 'Verse Can.' and 'Verse Dec.', in 3/2 time. The score is arranged for five parts: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and two keyboard parts (likely Organ and Continuo). The lyrics are: 'shall give us his bless - ing, shall give us his bless - ing.' The music features a mix of whole, half, and quarter notes, with some trills and fermatas. The key signature has one sharp (F#), and the mode is minor. The 'Verse Dec.' section shows a trill in the treble part, as mentioned in the text.

The counterpoint reaches its climax in the Gloria of the Dm which is in strict suspension-led counterpoint following the Corellian model, where one resolution provides the next dissonance. Arnold's *Cathedral Music* printed anthology of 1790 contains music from both of King's Services in A, but unfortunately the ACs of 1739 were not included, so they did not become widely known.

[King's several Service settings have been commented on by many writers on English church music, mostly unfavourably. One of the most informative accounts of the man and his music in general is that found in *The Organists & Composers of S. Paul's Cathedral* by John Bumpus (London, 1891), who refers to the opinions of several earlier musicians including William Boyce and Samuel (not Sebastian) Wesley (see p. 81 ff.). He also quotes John Hawkins from his *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (1776) who notes that "Some, who were intimate with him, say he was not devoid of genius, but averse to study...". This tallies with the technical infelicities noted above in his settings of the ACs. Bumpus himself is more favourable, pointing to King's melodic gifts and careful use of antiphony. King's Service in F, written when he was only 19, became one of the most widely performed service settings of the 18th and 19th centuries, and perhaps its very popularity led to a sense of exhaustion with its style. Wesley noted in 1830 that "The harmless and hackneyed chords of King are in constant request at the cathedrals all over England". Bumpus responds to the popularity of the services by saying that "This is an incontestable proof of merit and silences all criticism." Watkins Shaw and H. Diack Johnstone writing in *The New Grove Dictionary* determine that his service settings as a whole "are not so much bad as merely commonplace; widely performed, they set a pattern of dull competence hardly broken until the time of T. A. Walmisley and S. S. Wesley over a century later." Even if the generality of this criticism is fair, the ACs of the 1739 Service deserve a better reputation.]

Ralph Roseingrave grew up in Dublin since his father, the organist Daniel Roseingrave, had moved there in 1698. Ralph eventually succeeded him as Organist of Christ Church Cathedral in 1727, and died in 1747. Two settings of the ACs survive by him that were sung at Christ Church, from his Service in C and Service in F. They both survive in one of the surviving Christ Church scorebooks which dates from c.1795, but by this date the music had probably been given some embellishment both in terms of ornamentation and the frequent addition of extra parts for a few notes only, usually contratenor or tenor, added to enrich the sound of the full sections. The main evidence for this is that other settings which also survive in the Christ Church scorebooks from this period, such as Bishop in D and Deane in C, have the same type of accretions when compared to earlier, more reliable sources from elsewhere. The culprit appears to have been the bass lay clerk and copyist John Matthews, whose changes were pointedly criticised by the later Organist of Christ Church, Robert Prescott Stewart (1825-94), who added comments and attempted corrections in pencil to the scorebooks. Referring to the Matthews copy of music by the 18th-century composer George Walsh, he wrote:

This clever service (which only exists in ms in this Cathedral) has been meddled with by the horrible old vandal John Matthews, whose cooking has been struck out by my pencil as far as possible. Any good musician can readily trace the tinkering of this besotted old copyist, and the restoration of the true text as written by Geo Walsh would be a *good & worthy work*. Extra parts, silly shakes, graceless graces are here to be found in wild profusion.⁶²

Roseingrave's two settings are rather similar in style and technique: both feature full, sides and verse textures, and show a preference for triple time – the CD of the Service in F even remains in triple time until the very last verse. The starts of the two CDs are shown below, in a suggested reconstruction of their original form without added embellishment (see the Appendix for complete transcriptions of the Dublin scorebook versions):

Service in C

O sing un-to the Lord a new song: for he hath done, he hath done mar-vel-lous things. With his

O sing un-to the Lord a new song: for he hath done, he hath done mar-vel-lous things. With his

O sing un-to the Lord a new song: for he hath done, he hath done mar-vel-lous things. With his

O sing un-to the Lord a new song: for he hath done, he hath done mar-vel-lous things. With his

Service in F

O sing un-to the Lord a new song: for he hath done mar-vel-lous things. With his own right

O sing un-to the Lord a new song: for he hath done mar-vel-lous things. With his own right

O sing un-to the Lord a new song: for he hath done mar-vel-lous things. With his own right

O sing un-to the Lord a new song: for he hath done mar-vel-lous things. With his own right

The settings are also similar in that they both look back to former models, even with reference to pre-1700 settings, both in their generally conservative musical idiom and in the presence of particular features. Both settings have ATB verses that conclude with repeated phrases in echo; the Gloria of the CD in the C major set is headed “NB A Canon Two in One between the Treble & Bass” (though it quickly dissolves after the first phrase), and the change from triple to duple time for the final ‘Amen’ at the close of his Service in F recalls his father Daniel’s mostly triple-time Magnificat & Nunc dimittis in F dating from the 1680s.⁶³ Two features of the same setting bring to mind Croft’s ACs in E ♭ from

⁶² See Barra Boydell, *A History of Music at Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin* (Woodbridge, 2004), p. 134. See also the account of Matthews on p. 129. The only other known source of Roseingrave’s ACs is a single bass partbook at Durham that contains both settings, copied in the 1770s by Matthews who had moved from Durham to Dublin, but the bass part is unlikely to have been much altered in any case. The transcriptions in the Appendix are from the Christ Church scorebook 17 (including the unusually detailed organ part); Bishop in D is also in the same book, and Deane in C is in scorebook 18.

⁶³ See *D. Roseingrave, Magnificat & Nunc dimittis in F*, ed. G. Webber (CMS/OUP, 2025).

1719: the sonorous 6-part verse for 'With righteousness shall he judge the world' in the CD, and the ensuing Gloria which begins with the thrice-stated 'Glory be...' pattern. No manuscript choir books at Christ Church survive from the first half of the century to show the service repertory sung at that time, though there is evidence to suggest that Croft's printed collection of anthems *Musica Sacra* was purchased by the Cathedral in 1724.⁶⁴

The modest service output of the two leading English musical figures around the middle of the century, Maurice Greene and William Boyce, does not include settings of the ACs, with much of their efforts pointed more towards the preservation of earlier service settings through their printed anthology (as noted above), but a setting does survive by one significant figure at this time, **William Hayes**, Professor of Music at Oxford from 1741. The history of his service in E ♭ gives an interesting snap-shot into the conservatism of the tradition of service writing, since it has connections backwards to two specific composers, Henry Hall and William Hine. Hayes had been a chorister at Gloucester under William Hine, who at some point had composed a Jubilate Deo in E ♭ to complement the Te Deum in the same key by Henry Hall of Hereford.⁶⁵ The Hall and Hine matutinal combination then became much copied and even made it into Arnold's *Cathedral Music* in 1790. At least two composers were inspired to extend the combination, William Hayes in Oxford and William Raylton at Canterbury. Both composers provided communion items and an evening service, but whereas Raylton composed a Magnificat and Nunc dimittis, Hayes produced his ACs. An early Oxford source that contains Hayes's setting, an organ score copied by William Walond around the middle of the century (Christ Church, Mus. 42) shows the pleasantly alliterative 'Hall, Hine and Hayes' combination:

pp. 1-16	Te Deum	Mr Hen[ry] Hall
pp. 17-30	Jubilate Deo	Mr Hine
pp. 31-91	Sanctus, Commandments, Creed, CD & Dm	Dr Hayes

Another Christ Church copy by Walond in score, Mus. 1232, describes the composer as 'Mr Hayes' which implies that the work was composed before 1749 when Hayes took the D. Mus. degree. In a similar vein, Hayes also composed some music in relation to the Service in E ♭ by William Croft. When Croft composed his Jubilate Deo, he appears to have omitted the verse 'O go your way into his gates'.⁶⁶ Hayes decided to provide music for the missing verse, as found in copies such as that made by William Walond that survives in Mus. 40 at Christ Church where the verse is headed "by Dr Hayes", suggesting that it was done after 1649.

The musical style of Hayes's ACs is broadly conservative, as we expect from the repertoire in general, but which is particularly apposite in relation to Hayes himself, given his part in the public controversy between himself and Charles Avison about the relative merits of English and continental music in the 1750s and his staunch defence of traditional styles (Handel in particular). However, there are a few 'lighter' textural moments in the setting by Hayes such as the flowing 6ths over a pedal in the Gloria for 'and ever shall be', and the descending arpeggios for 'Praise the Lord upon the harp' shown here (without *segunte* organ part):

⁶⁴ Boydell, *op. cit.* p. 125.

⁶⁵ As Spink observes (p. 268), Hall's E ♭ service does in fact contain a Jubilate in a source at Hereford. At Gloucester the Te Deum is found with Hine's complementary Jubilate, but in one bass partbook, CM 021 (current RISM numbering EECM 99) the Te Deum is followed by a Jubilate by William Child. Perhaps Hine had only acquired the Te Deum from Hereford, first tried out combining it with the E ♭ setting by Child (also copied elsewhere into the Gloucester books) but then decided to provide his own solution.

⁶⁶ The case of an absent verse has already been noted in the Dm of the Service in A by James Hawkins.

Verse a 6

Moderately brisk

S1 Praise the Lord up - on the harp, praise the Lord up - on the

S2 Praise the Lord up - on the harp, up - on the harp, praise the Lord up - on the

A Praise the Lord up - on the harp, up - on the harp,

T1 Praise the Lord up - on the harp, up - on the harp, praise the Lord up - on the

T2 Praise the Lord up - on the harp, up - on the harp,

B Praise the Lord up - on the harp,

These brief passages are not sufficient to claim any serious cultivation of the contemporary *galant* style, even though this has been noted with respect to some parts of Hayes's output, but there is a sense of change in the air.⁶⁷ The more dominant conservative nature of the piece as a whole is evident at the outset, where the opening gesture of 2 semibreves for 'O sing' recalls the popular earlier setting by John Bishop in D, and in some of the ATB verses which are very close to equivalent passages by Purcell, Blow and Croft. The splendid final verse of the Dm in five parts is entirely traditional in concept and style, with a diminished seventh at the close:

Verse

Moderately slow

S God shall bless us, God shall bless us: and all the ends of the

A God shall bless us, God shall bless us: and all the ends of the

T God shall bless us, God shall bless us: and all the ends of the

B/Org. God shall bless us, God shall bless us: and all the ends of the

world shall fear him, and all the ends of the world, and all the ends of the world shall fear him.

world shall fear him, and all the ends of the world, and all the ends of the world shall fear him.

world shall fear him, and all the ends of the world, and all the ends of the world shall fear him.

world shall fear him, and all the ends of the world shall fear him.

⁶⁷ Peter Ward Jones and Simon Heighes writing on Hayes in *The New Grove...* note that whilst his general musical style owed much to Handel, some of his instrumental writing shows "a clear awareness of *galant* idioms", so he was not entirely closed to the exploration of such idioms.

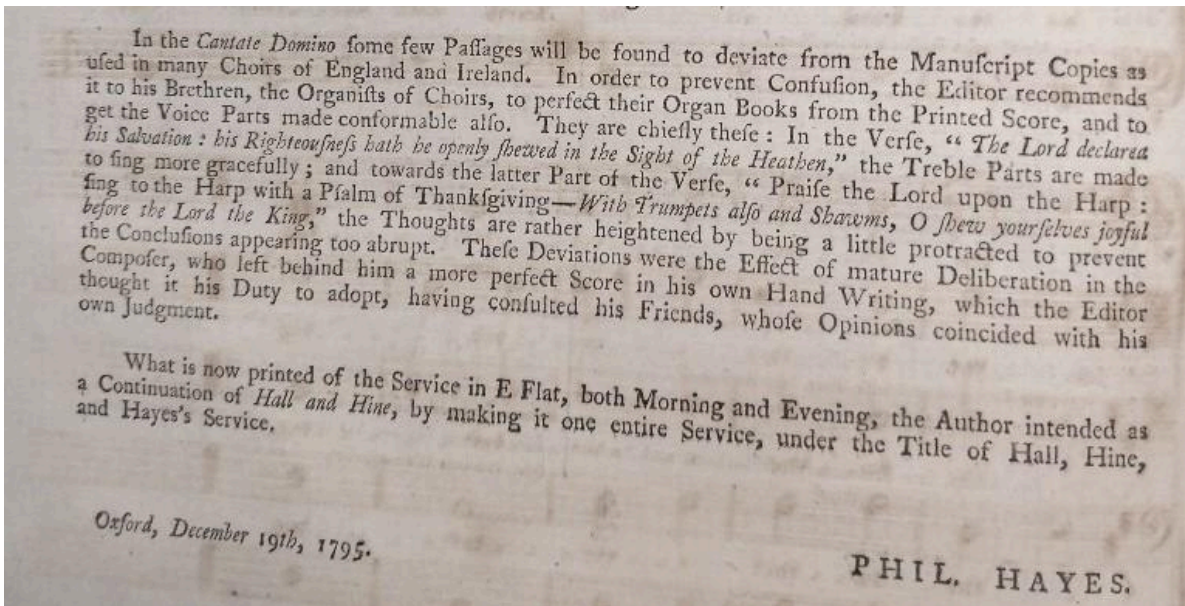
Hayes's deployment of duple and triple time requires comment in two respects. First, the abrupt change implied by the standard sesquialtera proportion is put to particularly good effect in the repeated verse in the Deus. The statement 'Let the people praise thee, O God' is set both times in triple time, and the answer 'yea let all the people praise thee' is in duple, with the change occurring for the entry of 'yea', giving it appropriate emphasis. Here is verse 5:

The image shows a musical score for a church service, divided into two sections: 'Verse' and 'Full'. The 'Verse' section is in 3/8 time, and the 'Full' section is in 2/4 time. The score is written for four parts: Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor (T), and Bass (B), with an Organ part at the bottom. The lyrics are: 'earth. Let the peo - ple praise thee, O God: yea _____ let all the peo - ple praise thee.' The organ part provides a simple accompaniment, with a change in rhythm from 3/8 to 2/4 at the start of the 'Full' section.

Second, two of the changes from triple into duple occur in the middle of a phrase (bars 65-6 and 90-91 in the CD). The overall context and style makes it very unlikely that any direct beat equivalence is implied, so that making the standard sesquialtera proportion work requires either using the usual instant change on the barline, which may seem to distort the phrase somewhat, or the taking up of the new metre at the midpoint in the final bar of triple time, or perhaps by slowing down at the end of this bar into the duple metre. Here's the first instance:

The image shows a musical score for a church service, divided into two sections: 'Verse' and 'Full'. The 'Verse' section is in 3/8 time, and the 'Full' section is in 2/4 time. The score is written for four parts: Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor (T), and Bass (B), with an Organ part at the bottom. The lyrics are: 'house _____ of Is - ra - el: and all the ends of the world, all the ends of the'. The organ part provides a simple accompaniment, with a change in rhythm from 3/8 to 2/4 at the start of the 'Full' section.

The work throughout shows the composer's great sensitivity to the words (see for example his subtle handling of repeated 'be merciful' phrases at the start of the Dm), and is technically excellent. It thoroughly deserved its place as one of the most widely sung settings of the late-eighteenth century, quickly spreading from Oxford to other places, including Canterbury, Durham, Exeter, Gloucester, Lichfield, Lincoln, St Paul's Cathedral, Wimborne Minster, St George's Chapel, Windsor & Worcester. It received another boost in 1795 by appearing in the printed edition of his church music edited by his son Philip: William Hayes, *Cathedral Music in Score*. Philip Hayes's edition carries an informative note explaining some changes made by his father to the original version of the work, as well as confirming the Hall-Hine-Hayes connection:



The changes can readily be assessed by comparing this edition to the earliest surviving sources of the work such as those made for Christ Church, Oxford soon after the work's composition. The less ornate version of the verse section and the "abrupt" end of the 'With trumpets' full section are given here as found in the organ score Mus. 1232 for comparison with a transcription of the 1795 edition available in the Appendix (see bars 40-45 and 130-143).⁶⁸

Earlier version of CD v. 3 as found in the Ch Ch organ score



Earlier version of the end of CD v. 7 as found in the Ch Ch organ score, as if from bar 130 in the 1795 edition



The final observation to be made about Hayes in E ♭ is that we have information concerning a specific instance of its performance in 1784. A report in the *Gentleman's Magazine* notes that the Hine, Hall & Hayes Service in E ♭ was performed at the installation of the new Samuel Green organ in Canterbury Cathedral on 8th July, 1784, led by his son Philip.⁶⁹ The ACs were thus finding a home not merely as suitable material for national military victories (especially the CD) or times of disaster (when the Dm was deemed suitable) but for more local and artistic occasions, several examples of which appear from the later 18th century onwards.

⁶⁸ The score copy at Christ Church, Mus. 42, also has the shorter full section but has the modified SST trio, suggesting that this is a slightly later copy than Mus. 1232 and that the alterations date from different times.
⁶⁹ See 'Canterbury Cathedral' by Dotted Crotchet, *The Musical Times*, Vol. 47, No. 760 (Jun. 1, 1906), p. 373. A more unusual instance of its performance dates from 1821: the *Quarterly Musical Review* reported that an observer had witnessed the performance of the setting "entirely without accompaniment" in the Lady Chapel at Winchester Cathedral during restoration work in the quire, as reported by John Bumpus in his *A History of English Cathedral Music, 1549-1889* (1908), p. 443.