

“David’s Mystery and Mary’s History”: The Alternative Canticles at Evensong (iii) 1750-1837

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Introduction

Part three of this survey covers what appears to have been the highpoint in the cultivation of the Alternative Canticles (ACs) at Evensong, from around the middle of the 18th century to the early Victorian era. From the first half of the 18th century the number of currently identified settings is around 15, but in the second half we find almost double that number, around 28. Given the suitability of the Cantate Domino (CD) in particular for celebrating moments of national victory, as described in part ii of this paper, this may perhaps be partly explained as a direct liturgical reflection of the great expansion of the British Empire at this time, but this is unlikely to have been the sole factor involved. This part of the survey also encompasses the first published survey of canticle use around the country, detailing the particular service settings that were used at several different institutions, which appeared in 1824. The following working list covers the second half of the 18th century in roughly chronological order:

<i>AC setting</i>	<i>Date¹</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Notes</i>
William Walond in Eb	c.1750-60?	Oxford	incomplete
Richard Shenton in D	1750	Oxford/Hereford	
Thomas Kempton in Bb	before 1762	Ely	
George Coombes in A	1744-65	Wimborne Minster	
George Coombes in D	1744-65	Wimborne Minster	incomplete
Thomas Ebdon in C	1765	Durham	
Robert Hudson in Eb	1765?	St Paul's Cathedral	incomplete
Edward Higgins in D	1765-9	Dublin	
Thomas Dupuis in Eb	1753-66	London	
Philip Hayes in F	1769/70	Oxford	
John Alcock in Bb	1771	Lichfield	
James Kent in C	before 1776	Winchester	
John Stephens in Eb	before 1780	Salisbury	
David Wood in D	before 1774	Ely	incomplete
Worth Marshall in C	c.1780?	Ely	incomplete
Peter Fussell in A	1774-77	Winchester	
Robert Shenton in Eb	1777?	Dublin	
Robert Shenton in E	?	Dublin	
Benjamin Thomas in G	1776?	Gloucester	
William Jackson in F	1777/rev.	Exeter	
William Jackson in E	c.1778/ rev. 99	Exeter	
William Jackson in A	?	Exeter	incomplete
Thomas Dupuis in F	after 1779?	Chapel Royal?	
John Marsh in G	1783-87?	Canterbury?	incomplete
Thomas Pitt in Bb	1793-1806	Worcester	
Joseph Pring in F	1790-1800	Bangor	
Henry Cook in Bb	?	Wells	
Gilbert Heathcote in Bb	?	Wells/Winchester	incomplete

¹ 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.

The widely used printed collection that appeared in this period was that begun by Maurice Greene, continued by William Boyce and then finished by Samuel Arnold under the title *Cathedral Music*, echoing Barnard's 1641 collection. The three volumes published in 1760-2, generally known under Boyce's name, are a largely retrospective collection containing much material reproduced from Barnard. These volumes include 13 settings of the evening canticles, and three of these are ACs, all dating from after 1660: Blow in A, Blow in E minor and Purcell in B \flat . In Arnold's supplement, printed in 1790, 13 more settings of the evening canticles are present, with two being ACs: Aldrich in A, dating from before 1700, and King in B \flat composed in 1708. The useful summary of service repertoire in major institutions assembled in 1824 under the title 'Cathedral Service' (examined more fully below) reveals many of the places that owned copies of Boyce and Arnold, as summarised here:²

Cathedrals that owned Boyce and Arnold: Canterbury, York, Chichester, Carlisle, Durham, Ely, Gloucester, Hereford, Lichfield, Norwich, Oxford, Rochester, Salisbury, Winchester

Cathedrals that owned just Boyce: Bangor, Bristol, Chester, Exeter, Lincoln, Peterborough, St David's, Wells, Worcester

The conservative contents of the Greene/Boyce/Arnold volumes matches the often retrospective approach taken by contemporary composers to service composition, and may have actively encouraged it. If many of the surviving settings considered below still retain occasional musical characteristics established in the late 17th century, this is perhaps not surprising given the continued use of settings by composers such as Blow and Child even into the 19th century. As we have already noted above, some composers saw the opportunity for developing more musically imaginative settings of the ACs, perhaps when the possibility of performing them as anthems was considered. But although the service style remained firmly rooted in the past, this throws into relief the occasional notable efforts made by a few musicians to say something different and attempt to keep the cathedral repertoire relevant to the changing musical world outside.

Settings of the ACs from c.1750 – c.1800

Part two of this survey ended in Oxford, and it is there that we might pick up the trail again with settings by William Walond (senior) and Richard Shenton. **William Walond** worked as an organist and music copyist first at New College and then Christ Church in the 1750s. His ACs survive incomplete in the form of an autograph organ score at Christ Church.³ Given the limited information about the middle parts provided by the organ score, reconstructing the work would be challenging. This is unfortunate since the work appears to have plenty of character, including some unusual deployment of verse and full writing. Near the start of the CD, sections that open as verses suddenly switch to full choir:

[VERSE:] The Lord declared his salvation: his righteousness has he openly shewed [FULL:] in the sight of the heathen.

[VERSE:] He hath remember'd his mercy and truth [FULL:] toward the house of Israel:

As an example of Walond's musical style, here is part of the penultimate verse of the CD, with some bold harmony and strong contrapuntal entries:⁴

² 'CATHEDRAL SERVICE', *The Quarterly musical magazine and review*, Vol. 6, Iss. 21, (Jan 1824), 17-27. This list is discussed more fully below. The three Boyce volumes were also owned by Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin: see B. Boydell, *A History of Music at Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin*, (Woodbridge, 2004), p. 125.

³ Mus. 1228, in which Walond's ACs are followed immediately by those by the former Dean, Henry Aldrich.

⁴ Cue notes in the manuscript are given in smaller type.

Verse Slow

Richard Shenton needs to be distinguished from his brother Robert, whose two settings of the ACs are considered below. Richard's ACs in D survive in another organ score copied by Walond at Christ Church, and also in some of the New College partbooks now in the Bodleian Library, and a later vocal score also in the Bodleian Library. A further organ book associated with Walond that survives at Chichester Cathedral also contains Richard's setting. In the Oxford MS Walond simply refers to 'Mr Shenton', but Richard is clearly indicated at the end of the copy in a New College treble partbook, where he is described as 'Chaplain of New College'. A tenor part at Hereford seems to have been copied by Robert, bearing the inscription: 'Finis Ric:|d Shenton. 1752 / Oct: 6. 1752 Robert Shenton'. This might seem to indicate 1752 as a date of composition, but the Chichester organ copy carries the date 1750.⁵ Both brothers were educated at Oxford before they both moved to Hereford to sing in the choir there in the 1750s; they often sang duets in concerts, known as "Richard and Robert, the two singing birds".⁶ Richard's setting in D is rather bland, though mostly competently written, and verses in the minor at the end of each canticle provide harmonic variety. (For a complete transcription of this setting and most of the others discussed below, see the Appendix.) Another example of a forgotten passage of text – as described in part ii of this survey – occurs when he omits "even our own God" in v. 6 of the *Deus misereatur* (Dm).

Shenton in D is one of several straightforward settings that survive from around the middle of the century which show little advance stylistically from works such as the popular Bishop in D that dates from before 1720, and strengthens the case that the ACs may have been sung routinely at this time rather than only for specific festive occasions. The generally conservative idiom makes dating of individual, undated works difficult to determine, as in the case of the setting in B \flat by **Thomas Kempton** of Ely. Kempton's other setting of the ACs, in E minor, is dated 1728 (see part ii), but the broadly similar B \flat setting might date from anytime between around then and his death in post in 1762.⁷ Once again Kempton reacts with enthusiasm to the mention of the harp (see bar 85), but unlike the earlier setting there are no added Hallelujahs.

George Coombes at Wimborne Minster in Dorset also composed two settings, only one of which survives complete, his Service in A.⁸ The opening appears to ape the popular setting by Bishop, as shown here:

⁵ Sources referenced: Christ Church, Oxford MS Mus. 1231, Bodleian Library, Oxford Tenbury MS 844 & Mus. d. 149 (New College), Hereford Cathedral MS 30.A.16. The organ book with Walond's name at the front in Chichester Cathedral Library has no reference number; it is simply shelved with other music material on open access.

⁶ Elizabeth Chevil, 'Music societies and musical life in old foundation cathedral cities 1700-60', PhD dissertation, University of London, 1993, p. 40. John Bumpus compiled a list of music by Shenton which is inserted into the Tenbury MS c.425 (Bodleian Library, Oxford), but the list does not distinguish between the brothers.

⁷ It survives in the same MS as the E minor setting (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum Music MS 277) copied in 1775.

⁸ This is available in an edition made from the Wimborne Minster partbooks by Peter Gibson on cpdl.org.

Bishop in D

S
O sing, O sing un - to the Lord, the Lord a new song:

A
O sing, O sing un - to the Lord, the Lord a new song:

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

B
O sing, O sing un - to the Lord a new song:

Coombes in A

S
O sing, O sing un - to the Lord a new song:

A
O sing, O sing un - to the Lord a new song:

T
O sing, O sing un - to the Lord a new song:

B
O sing, O sing un - to the Lord a new song:

Although generally of little interest, the setting contains a brief ritornello in the organ part of the CD for the trumpets in v. 7 at the traditional place (in a style also close to the vocal writing in Bishop in D), in the manner of the more extensive trumpet writing by Lamb and Richardson (see part ii):

S
With

A
With trum - pets, with —

Org.

The vibrant musical life of the city of Durham in the 18th and early-19th centuries has been closely examined by Simon Fleming in his 2009 PhD dissertation 'A Century of Music Production in Durham City 1711-1811: A Documentary Study', which contains much information on **Thomas Ebdon**, appointed Organist at the Cathedral in 1763. Volume One of his published collection of church music appeared in 1790, but John Bumpus reports in his *A History of English Cathedral Music* that the Service in C which it

contains, comprising both sets of evening canticles, was originally composed in 1765.⁹ Fleming's analysis of the service music focuses on its retrospective elements: "The compositional style of Ebdon's setting is severely archaic, with functional melodic lines that are similar to his full anthems with their restricted range of movement and large numbers of repeated notes. The choral texture is essentially homophonic."¹⁰ His musical example comes from the opening of the Te Deum where this description is borne out. Much of the Magnificat and Nunc dimittis also remains highly conservative in style, but there is a notable difference when it comes to the ACs. Ebdon appears to have followed the model of composers such as James Hawkins in setting the ACs with greater expansiveness and imagination than the traditional set, perhaps with festive occasions in mind, thus allowing some ingress of more contemporary musical idioms. The most obvious difference to the rest of his service music is the occasional appearance of an obligato organ part, Ebdon taking his cue, as several of his predecessors had done, from the mention of the harp and trumpet in verses 6 & 7 of the CD. The figuration employed here, together with a heavy emphasis on chords I and V7, recalls the style of his instrumental music composed around the same time.

Verse Dec [AT] SPRIGHTLY

Praise the Lord, the Lord up-on the

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

harp: sing to the harp, sing to the harp,

sing to the harp with a psalm of thanks - giv - ing

sing to the harp with a psalm of thanks - giv - ing.

⁹ Thomas Ebdon, *Sacred music: composed for the use of the Choir of Durham by Thomas Ebdon, organist of that cathedral* (London, 1790). John Bumpus, *A History of English Cathedral Music 1549-1889* (London, 1908), p. 395.

¹⁰ Simon Fleming, 'A Century of Music Production in Durham City 1711-1811: A Documentary Study' (Durham, PhD thesis, 2009), p. 263.

The Dm begins with a solo organ introduction in a graceful manner with appoggiaturas, and with the marking 'Swell diapasons' suggesting some judicious use of the organ's swell box:

SLOW PIANO
Swell Diapasons

The image shows two musical staves. The top staff is for the organ introduction, marked 'SLOW PIANO' and 'Swell Diapasons'. It features a treble clef and a 3/4 time signature. The music consists of a series of chords and melodic lines with appoggiaturas. The bottom staff is for the 'Verse Cantoris', marked 'Verse Cantoris'. It features a bass clef and a 3/4 time signature. The lyrics are: 'God be mer - ci - ful, God be mer - ci - ful un - to us, and bless'. Below the lyrics, there are figured bass notations: 6 5 / 4 3, 6 / 5, 4 3, b5, 6, 6 5 / 4 3.

Writing on Ebdon's sonatas, published c.1765 around the time Ebdon composed the ACs, Fleming notes that they "reveal a composer who was well aware of the latest developments in music", and on his keyboard concertos that survive in manuscript he notes that their style "is distinctly galant", revealing the influence of J. Christian Bach whose concertos were first published in London in c.1763. Ebdon's instrumental music formed part of the flourishing concert activities in the region alongside the music of other composers such as John Garth in Durham and Charles Avison in Newcastle. Thus the context in which Ebdon tentatively brought more up-to-date idioms into his service music is clear, but the result is indeed a peculiar mix of styles, a juxtaposition that is facilitated by the often verse-by-verse nature of service music. Other modern traits found in Ebdon's ACs are the extensive use of performance markings, and some chromatic colour, as in the isolated Italian augmented 6th chord (CD: 'towards the house', bar 47), and an augmented 5th progression near the start of the CD Gloria (bars 210-214). The markings include 'cheerfull' and 'sprightly' (calling to mind William Hayes's 'moderately brisk' in his E \flat service), and there are changes of tempo within a single section under one time signature, with marks such as 'a little faster' (see bar 50). The dynamics include a 'pianissimo' at the end of the CD (bar 188) and a 'M.F.' on a diminished 7th chord in the last verse of the Dm (bar 141). These changes of dynamic and tempo often relate closely to the text, and Ebdon responds in a particularly interesting way to the last two verses of the CD, expressing both theological aspects of God's judgement as previously discussed in relation to the writings and Bennett and Hole, and Henry Purcell's CD in B \flat . The first half of verse 9, '...be joyful together before the Lord', ends in C major, then 'for he cometh to judge the earth' is in A minor in duple time (employing a diminished 7th chord) marked 'Slow, Piano', and verse 10, 'with righteousness shall he judge...' is in F major and triple time (see bars 170-76). Other composers who showed a similar approach to these verses around this time were Philip Hayes, James Kent and Thomas Pitt.

Ebdon's tentative but clear effort to introduce something of the new *galant* style into parts of his service music deserves recognition. Its timing coincides with the very first wave of interest in the new style in Britain, led by the circulation and performance of music by the Italian Felice Giardini and then Germans including Franz Xaver Richter and Carl Friedrich Abel (who arrived in London in 1759) as well as J. C. Bach. One of the first British musicians to take on the new style was the enterprising Thomas Erskine, the Earl of Kelly, who studied with Stamitz in Mannheim and whose imitations of the "new style of composition

lately cultivated in German” had “first introduced that species of music in this country”, as reported by John Gergory in 1766.¹¹ It is notable that the new wave arrived in Newcastle, Durham and Edinburgh as much as in London.

A setting of the ACs in E \flat by **Robert Hudson** survives only in the form of an organ score at St George’s Chapel, Windsor. A Service in E \flat by him also survives at St Paul’s Cathedral, where he was worked as a vicar choral from 1756-1815 (i.e. 60 years) and also as Master of the Choristers from 1773-93, but this only contains items for Matins and Communion. However, the surviving music at St Paul’s and Windsor suggests that the ACs were indeed intended to form part of the same service, and although the Windsor organ score is dated 1802, a more likely date of composition for the ACs is around the time of the earliest copies of the morning services at St Paul’s which date from 1765 (though the lack of sources of the ACs at St Paul’s may suggest that they were added at a later point).¹² The organ score of Hudson’s ACs in E \flat reveals a setting with some sensitivity to galant idioms, seen in occasional unison phrases and graceful writing with appoggiaturas, but the work is unusually stop-start in nature since Hudson chose to set almost every verse separately and with little textual repetition, not following the common pattern of setting more than one and sometimes several verses to create longer musical spans. Hudson’s choice of keys is also rather odd, with much use of C major, not normally found in pieces in E \flat ; in the CD it is approached via the relative minor (subsequently returning to the tonic via F and B \flat), but in the Dm it follows immediately after a cadence in E \flat . The following examples show the start of both canticles as they appear in the organ score. The organ scale near the start of the CD is one of several that appear in the setting; the start of the Dm reveals an interest in expressive performance instructions, though not to the extent found in Ebdon’s ACs.

Cantate Domino

The image shows two systems of musical notation for the canticle 'Cantate Domino'. Both systems are in E-flat major (two flats) and 3/4 time. The first system, labeled 'Verse', features a vocal line with lyrics 'O sing' and 'for he hath' and a corresponding organ line. The second system, labeled 'Full', features a vocal line with lyrics 'Org.' and 'marvellous' and a corresponding organ line. The organ line in the second system begins with a scale-like figure. Measure numbers 5 and 6 are indicated at the bottom of the organ staves.

¹¹ See Stanley Sadie writing in ‘The Blackwell History of Music in Britain’ vol. 4: *The Eighteenth Century*, ed. H. Diack Johnstone & Roger Fiske (Oxford, 1990), p. 322. The earl’s instrumental works were first published in Edinburgh in 1761.

¹² See the records and incipits of Hudson’s Service in E \flat at St Paul’s in *RISM*. The probable St Paul’s origin of the piece is also suggested by the markings ‘Echoes’ and ‘Echoes with Trumpet’ in the Windsor score, since the Smith organ in St Paul’s (built 1695-7) had this specific capability, unlike the Windsor organs at this time. See S. Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 137.

Deus misereatur

Slow and Pia. Echoes little faster

God be merciful be merciful and shew

Full

and be merciful

John Bumpus reported in 1908 that “Hudson's pleasing service in E \flat was, a century ago, a favourite at S. Paul's. It has not been printed.”¹³ Hudson may have been at least partly responsible for the choice of music made for the extensive celebrations described in the title of a collection of music printed in 1797:

A Complete & exact delineation of the Ceremony from St. James's to St. Pauls on Tuesday the 19th Dec.r 1797. on which day their Majesties, together with both Houses of Parliament, went in solemn Procession to return thanks for the several Naval Victories obtained by the British Fleet, over those of France, Spain, & Holland.

This contains a setting of the Sanctus in A by Hudson, which was composed according to the St Paul's sources to go with former St Paul's organist Charles King's Service in A, i.e. the 1739 set which contains ACs. The choice of this service by King may thus relate to the suitability of the texts of the ACs for national celebrations such as this, though the service of Evensong is not detailed in the publication.

Little is known about **Edward Higgins** (or Higgens), who was appointed Organist at Bristol Cathedral in 1759 and then moved to Christ Church, Dublin in 1765 till his death in 1769. The Te Deum and Jubilate of his Service in D were copied in Durham in the 1770s, where he is described as “Mr Edward Higgins, late Organist of Christ Church Dublin”, and the ACs of the same service survive in Dublin in a copy made in the 1790s.¹⁴ Unfortunately the Dublin copy by John Matthews appears to show us how the piece was performed in Dublin in the 1790s rather than preserving its original state, as described in part ii of this paper in relation to the Dublin copies of the ACs by John Bishop, Thomas Deane and Ralph Roseingrave. Numerous extra voice parts and ornaments seem to have been added by Matthews, described by R. P. Stewart as that “horrible old vandal”. One passage may reveal a specific example of the alterations made, since in a 3-part verse for SST the two treble lines briefly have 2 parts each, as shown below (bars 37-40). Perhaps the lower parts of both treble lines are from the original piece, with the more decorative upper lines with appoggiaturas constituting the later version.

¹³ Bumpus, *op.cit.*, p. 335.

¹⁴ The biographical notes in O'Keeffe's study, *op. cit.*, describes the Tudor composer of the same name before noting that “Another possibility is that Edward Higgins (flourished 1760-90) may be the composer of the services in these score-books”, which is surely correct (apart from the dates given).

S1
[sal-] va - tion, have seen the sal - va - tion of our God.

S2
[sal-] va - tion, have seen the sal - va - tion of our God.

T
seen the sal - va - tion, the sal - va - tion of our God.

Org.

Inasmuch as the original form of the work may be identified, the setting is notably lively and vigorous, with a *moto perpetuo* organ bass line under the 'harp' verse in the CD (from bar 49) and an extended Dm Gloria. The CD Gloria has what look like optional high-note entries, with the Alto and Bass parts singing high Ds and the Soprano and Tenor parts high As (bars 101-4), though these of course may also be later accretions.

Thomas Dupuis was one of the leading proponents of musical conservatism in the second half of the 18th century. A chorister at the Chapel Royal, he succeeded William Boyce as Organist & Composer in 1779, remaining there till his death from an opium overdose in 1796. He was a leading supporter of the continued cultivation of the music of Handel; Haydn praised his improvised fugues at the organ, whilst Charles Burney noted "he was a correct harmonist in his compositions...with a fancy not very rich or original". John Bumpus put it well when he noted that his music "was in some measure curbed by his devotion to the school of music in which he had been educated, and of which he was to the last a most uncompromising defender."¹⁵ He wrote a good number of services, with various movements reaching publication in the anthology of his music entitled *Cathedral Music in Score* published in three volumes by his pupil John Spencer shortly after his death. Others remain in manuscript but it would seem that he set the ACs just twice, in the Services in E \flat and in F, both of which were included in Spencer's collection.¹⁶

The Evening Service in E \flat would appear to date from around 1766, given its location in BL MS Add. 27750, where it is preceded by an anthem dated 1766. This places it before his return to the Chapel Royal in 1779, possibly during his time as Organist of the Charlotte Street Chapel (no longer existing), where he is known to have worked at least from 1773. However, the Gloria for the Dm is indicated to be that written for the *Jubilate Deo* which appears earlier in the manuscript where it occurs before an anthem dated 1753, so it remains unclear whether the Morning and Evening Service both date from the early 1750s (when he was in his late teens) or whether Dupuis only added the Evening Service c.1766. The verses are mostly for either 2 trebles or the standard ATB group, though verse 6 in the Dm is scored for ATTB with the unusual heading 'SEMI CHORUS', perhaps reflecting the particular vocal forces he had at the time of composition.¹⁷ Burney's description of his musical style is apt enough, though he does make an effort in response to the instruments in the CD, through the organ part's temporary independence:

¹⁵ Burney, as recorded in *Rees's Cyclopaedia*, vol. 12 (1819-20). Bumpus, *op. cit.*, p. 321.

¹⁶ The volumes are available online via the platform imslp.org. A significant error occurs in the last verse of the Dm in the print, but the fair copy of this service in BL Add. 27751 and also the earlier copy in 27750 clarify the correct reading, as given in the transcription in the Appendix.

¹⁷ This marking is in the print, but in MS 27750 it also states 'to be sung on both sides [of] the choir'.

S1
Praise the Lord up - on the harp, up - on the harp: sing,

S2
Praise the Lord up - on the harp:

Org.

The start of the Dm, marked 'Grave', is carefully crafted with the use of graded dynamics which run 'soft', 'a little louder', 'loud', and 'soft' again, and the final verse of the Dm is an elegant and expressive duet for two trebles:

S1
SLOW *tr* God shall bless us, *tr* God shall bless us: a little faster and all the ends of the world shall fear him,

S2
God shall bless us, God shall bless us: and all the ends of the world shall fear him, shall

Org.

The autograph score of the Service in F by **Philip Hayes** which survives in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge (Music MS 674) contains several dates, indicating the work's origins during his time as a singer in the Chapel Royal and shortly after the publication of his six keyboard concertos in 1769. The close of the Te Deum has 'Dec 3rd 1769', the Jubilate 'Dec 8th 1769' and the Creed 'Dec 27 1769'. Work then soon began on the CD, and at the end of verse 4 we find '30th Dec 1769'. However, his work was for some reason interrupted, and verse 5 was 'begun Oct' 3 1770'. The CD was finished 'London Octo. 6 1770', and the Dm on the 10th. It is perhaps not surprising to see some echos of his father William's setting in Eb: the CD opens with the same gesture with two semibreves for 'O sing' followed by a rest (first encountered in Bishop in D); similar material is developed at 'with his own right hand' and 'shew yourselves joyful', and the last verse of the Dm is in 5 parts for SSATB, opening with a similar homophonic gesture. However, in general it is a much plainer setting than his father's, with a relatively low level of inspiration throughout, and

a reluctance even to rise to the customary special effects for the harp, trumpet and shawm. If any modernity can be determined it may perhaps lie in the considerable quantity of melodic single and double appoggiaturas deployed in the verse sections. Although Hayes became Organist at New College, Oxford in 1776, the surviving partbooks indicate that it was his father's setting that won a place in the repertoire there.

The Gloria of Philip Hayes's ACs in F opens in a traditional quasi-canonic style, and the Creed of the same service has an actual canon 'three in one' fittingly chosen for the Trinitarian verse 'who proceedeth from the Father and the Son...'. Hayes thus shows his interest in the established tradition of canticle writing going back to the early years of the Restoration. But the prize for the most overwhelmingly retrospective setting of the ACs from the later 18th century must go to **John Alcock** of Lichfield, whose ACs in B \flat date from 1771.¹⁸ The Gloria of the Dm is a contrary motion canon 'per arsin, et thesin', and although he is to be credited for following it through the entire Gloria, the resulting music is sadly plodding and awkward. Elsewhere the style is scarcely different from the 1680s, as in his use of ATB and SST verse textures, *piano* repeats, and passages such as this verse from the CD (bar 22) which might have been composed by Purcell or Blow:

A

T

B/Org.

He hath re - mem - ber'd his mer - cy and truth to - wards the house of Is - ra - el.

He hath re - mem - ber'd his mer - cy and truth to - wards the house of Is - ra - el.

He hath re - mem - ber'd his mer - cy and truth to - wards the house of Is - ra - el.

Alcock was greatly interested in the music of the past, and his ACs are a perfect reflection of this. He attempted to set up a new edition of the music of earlier composers as he deplored the quantity of mistakes that had crept in due to copying, and supplied material for the Greene/Boyce *Cathedral Music* collection, being well-known in London having been a chorister at St Paul's with Boyce. The forward to his Service in E, with a Magnificat & Nunc dimittis (composed in 1732 and published in 1753), has pertinent remarks about organ accompaniments. Whilst most copies of service music at the time contained a fully figured organ bass line, Alcock provided no figures on the grounds that organists routinely simply doubled the voices, except when the contratenor part is uppermost (in verses), when the parts are 'often performed eight Notes above'. How widespread this technique was applied is hard to gauge, since it is not evident from the surviving scores themselves which adhere to the pitch of the voice parts. His dismissal of figured bass in this context is easily understood, even if some organists may have occasionally preferred to attempt a more independent part based on the figures.

Winchester Cathedral was the work-place of three successive organists whose ACs became much performed around the country during the 18th century and beyond: John Bishop, James Kent and Peter Fussell. John Bishop we have already encountered in part ii, but now we turn to his immediate successor, **James Kent**, whose Service in C was edited and published posthumously by Joseph Corfe at Salisbury Cathedral.¹⁹ Kent died in 1776, but it is not clear when his service was composed, though probably after his appointment at Winchester in 1737. Manuscript copies appear to have circulated during Kent's lifetime, as shown by survivals at Lichfield, Durham and elsewhere, and Corfe's edition (issued during his time as Organist at Salisbury so between 1792 and 1804) was widely circulated in the early 19th century. The print

¹⁸ An edition by Richard Shakeshaft is available on the cpdl platform.

¹⁹ James Kent, *A Morning and Evening Service with 8 Anthems*, ed. J. Corfe, c.1777. This edition is unusual in employing G clefs rather than C clefs for the middle voice parts (see the Appendix).

of Corfe's edition opens with his 'Memoirs of the life of Mr James Kent', in which Corfe writes that "It will easily be discovered by anyone conversant with Church Music that Mr Kent was a Scholar of Dr Croft. Indeed, without hesitation, he often followed the ideas of Dr Croft in his compositions." The same line was taken up in a later assessment of Kent made anonymously in the periodical *The Harmonicon* in August 1830 (p. 313), but more consideration is also given here to other features in Kent's work: "As a composer of sacred music Kent followed, but not servilely, the style of his master, Croft, though he was less elaborate; and his works show what progress melody and ease had made since the termination of the seventeenth century...". Also, "His compositions are airy, but not devoid of that sobriety which the subjects demand...". Without meaning to question the general veracity of this connection with Croft, Kent's ACs have little in common with Croft's set, and do indeed show something of the melodic, airy emphasis noted by the later commentator. There is one possible sign of Croftian influence in the unusual repeats of the word 'Glory' for Father, Son and Holy Ghost in the Gloria of Kent's CD (as found in the Gloria of Croft's Dm), but Kent's music is generally concise, 'airy' and harmonically simple. Here is the final verse of the CD, a far cry from Croft's rich 6-part verse in E b minor for the same text, and the start of the Gloria showing the repeated text over the simplest of harmonic patterns:

The image displays three sections of handwritten musical notation. The first section is a three-part setting of a verse, with staves for 1st Treble, 2nd Treble, and Bass. The lyrics are: "With righteous...ness shall he judge the World: and the". The second section is a three-part setting of a repeated text, with staves for Treble, Bass, and Organ. The lyrics are: "peo-ple with e-qui-ty the peo-ple the peo-ple with e-qui-ty". The third section is a Chorus for four voices (Treble, Counter, Tenor, Bass) and Organ. The lyrics are: "Glo-ry Glo-ry be to the Fa-ther, Glo-ry Glo-ry be to the Son,". The organ part includes figured bass notation: ♭ 6 ♭.

Whilst the vocal parts remain straightforward throughout, Kent does at least provide a modest amount of independent material for the organ part, first with a running quaver bass line under ‘let the sea make a noise’, and then with some echoing appoggiaturas at ‘he cometh to judge the earth’, both in the CD. The former example has a clear parallel in a setting of the same words by William Hayes, not in his CD but in his anthem *O worship the Lord* which sets verses from a psalm with a very similar text, Psalm 96. The two passages can be seen here:²⁰

W. Hayes, O worship the Lord

Kent in C

Kent’s opposite number at Salisbury Cathedral was **John Stephens**, who died soon after Kent, in 1780. The ACs by Stephens in E_b were destined to be published in a collection of his church music entitled *Cathedral Music* printed in 1805, prepared by Highmore Skeats (senior) of Canterbury Cathedral who encountered a problem, explaining that due to a certain Mr Riley, “in the confusion of his Affairs, the Cantate Domino was lost, and the Editor has not been able to recover it”. A manuscript copy of the work does nevertheless survive at Canterbury, made by a colleague or pupil of Skeats (MS 77), which explains a little more about what occurred:

NB This Service is exceedingly scarce. It was to have appeared in the volume of anthems, but the copy given to the printer was destroyed by fire, among other of his productions. Mr Skeats possessed however the “original copy” from which he copied this, and presented it to me. Besides these two there is no other in the kingdom.

In fact two other institutions appear to have made copies in the late 18th century, Durham Cathedral (as noted in *RISM*) and Christ Church, Dublin (scorebook 20). The chief feature of musical interest in this setting is the composer’s fondness for pedals, alternating chords I and IV. This appears at the very opening of the CD, as shown below, and recurs in places such as verse 3 and its repeat as v. 5 in the Dm.

²⁰ The “stormy organ part” noted by Simon Heighes in the Hayes anthem, and its companion by Kent may of course co-exist by chance, but if one is copying the other then it’s not clear who influenced whom, since the composers were close contemporaries and the dates of composition are unknown. S. Heighes, *The Life and Work of William and Philip Hayes: 1708-1777--1738-1797* (New York & London, 1995), p. 102. The anthem by William Hayes appears in *William Hayes, Cathedral Music in Score*, ed. Philip Hayes (1795).

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

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

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

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

Org.
O sing un - to the Lord a new song, sing

The feature also appears in the verse section at the end of the CD, where a crescendo mark appears in the Canterbury organ score, and the Dublin source has 'swelling' written by the two upper vocal parts:²¹

[Canterbury:] <
[Dublin:] swelling

S
and the peo - ple, the peo - ple,

T
and the peo - ple, the peo - ple,

Org.
and the peo - ple, the peo - ple,

The I-IVc-I pedal pattern, particularly at the outset of a piece, probably derives from the galant style gradually taking hold in the country from the 1760s onwards. With regard to the harpsichord concertos of J. C. Bach published in 1763, Roger Fiske notes that "All the first movements begin with a typical galant tutti over an indolent one-note bass in repeated quavers."²² Although there is obviously no string writing to provide quavers in Stephens' canticles, the opening might be compared to the start of the first of Bach's concertos, and the next harmonic gesture of Bach's concerto, V7-I, is also matched by Stephens in the second example above:

²¹ The Canterbury score (MS 77) also has a crescendo mark at a similar moment in the final verse of the Dm.

²² R. Fiske, writing in 'The Blackwell History of Music in Britain' vol. 4: *The Eighteenth Century*, ed. H. Diack Johnstone & Roger Fiske (Oxford, 1990), p. 209. Richard Maunder, *The Collected Works of Johann Christian Bach*, Volume 33 (New York, 1985).

Johann Christian Bach, Harpsichord Concerto No. 1 in B \flat (1763)

Allegretto

The image shows a musical score for Johann Christian Bach's Harpsichord Concerto No. 1 in B-flat. It consists of four staves: Harpsichord (Harp.), Violin 1 (Vn 1), Violin 2 (Vn 2), and Violoncello (Vncello). The tempo is marked 'Allegretto'. The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and the time signature is 2/4. The Harpsichord part features a melodic line with some chromaticism and a bass line with figured bass notation (6 4 and 5 3). The Violin 1 part mirrors the Harpsichord's melody. The Violin 2 part plays a rhythmic accompaniment of eighth notes. The Violoncello part provides a steady bass line.

The shape of the phrase works well for the CD with the natural emphasis required in the text for “new” song. Also of note is Stephens’s use of the Italian augmented 6th chord, as in Ebdon’s setting, in verse 2 of the Dm ‘That thy way may be known upon earth’. Like Ebdon, Stephens appears to have aimed to enliven the typically restricted style of service of the day with some contemporary features.

Two fragmentary settings from around the 1770s survive in the Ely Cathedral manuscripts, one by Organist **David Wood** (who moved to the Chapel Royal in 1774) and the other by **Worth Marshall**, a subscriber listed as ‘of Ely Cathedral’ in Boyce’s *Fifteen Anthems* of 1780.²³ The parts suggest very standard settings by both composers. Neither composition is known outside Ely, in contrast to the third and final of the three eighteenth-century settings emanating from Winchester that were widely performed, that by **Peter Fussell**, who succeeded James Kent as Organist in 1774. John Bumpus describes specifically the ACs in Fussell’s Service in A as “florid”, adding that they were “long popular”.²⁴ Copies at many institutions attest to the continued use of the set well into the 19th century, such as the score at St George’s Chapel, Windsor, dated c.1850 (MS 51). *RISM* records a copy at Lincoln dated 1777, thus placing the setting not long after his appointment at Winchester. The ‘florid’ element in the ACs is in reality quite slight; most of the writing is conventional and modest in ambition, but the few such moments (such as bars 68-70 for ‘rejoice’) are nicely turned. They occur mainly in the tutti sections, but ‘florid’ writing also occurs in the penultimate verse section of the Dm (v. 5):

The image shows a musical score for a vocal and organ setting. It features two staves: Soprano 1/2 (S 1/2) and Organ (Org.). The key signature has three sharps (F#, C#, G#), and the time signature is 3/4. The vocal part has lyrics: "praise ————— thee," and "peo - ple praise ————— thee,". The organ part provides a harmonic accompaniment. The lyrics are written above and below the vocal staff.

²³ Alto and bass parts survive for Wood in D. The typed catalogue in Cambridge University Library also refers to a setting of the ACs by Wood in C, but this only has a Magnificat & Nunc dimittis. Only a bass part by Marshall survives.

²⁴ Bumpus, *op. cit.*, p. 285.

Fussell has a good sense of melody (as at 'Praise the Lord upon the harp', from bar 74), and provides an unusual take on the start of the Dm by alternating the full chorus with two treble voices only to repeat the text 'be merciful unto us'.

We know the date of composition of the Service in Eb by the second of the Shenton 'singing birds', **Robert Shenton**, due to a Durham manuscript copied by a fellow singer, John Matthews, who sang there before moving to Dublin. The source also records that like his brother Richard, Robert also at times held clerical as well as purely vocal duties. In Durham MS A19, Matthews describes him as 'Vicar Choral of Christ Church Vicar Choral and Precentor of St Patricks Cathedral Dublin' and notes that the service was 'Sett to Music Anno Domini 1777'.²⁵ Like Ralph Roseingrave (see part ii of this paper), Robert Shenton composed two settings of the ACs, suggesting that the singing of the ACs was quite common in Dublin in the mid-late eighteenth century. The Service in Eb and the Service in E were both copied by Matthews into Christ Church scorebook 25, which contains an Index that once again shows how the old service repertoire was being sung happily alongside more recent settings.²⁶

An Index of the Music contained in this Book		Pages	Sanctus, Kyrie & Credo	Pages	Evening Services	Pages
Morning Services						
Mr Shenton's Eb	Tedeum & Jubilate	280 300 309	Sanctus - 320 Kyrie - 322 Credo - 325		Magnificat & Cantate &c	254 254 217
Mr Shenton's Eb	Tedeum & Jubilate	1 28	Sanctus - 46 Kyrie - 48 Credo - 50		Magnificat & Cantate &c	64 89
Mr Shenton's G	Tedeum, Benedicite & Jubilate	132 157 148	Sanctus - 184 Kyrie - 186 Credo - 188		Magnificat	200
Mr Shenton's D	A Jubilate for (and taken from) Birds Service	217	This Jubilate is for Birds Service & was put & fastened into One of Boyce's Third Volume of Services. Printed Score Book of Services. Each Volume of its Authors.			
Mr Shenton's D	A Jubilate for (and taken from) Bevin's Service	226	* Mr Thos. Freke's Jubilated Co's were put (restitch'd or fasten'd) into One of Boyce's First Volumes of a printed Score Book of Services & div'd by its Authors. * The following Matthews, what was - rubs old man at thro' 1777 why stich'd? if stich'd, why fasten'd?			
Mr Shenton's D	A Jubilate for (and taken from) Tallis's Service	232				
Mr Shenton's F	A Jubilate for (and taken from) Gibbons's Service	238				
Mr Shenton's A	A Jubilate for Ferrando's Service	246				

²⁵ The MS also reveals that the Communion elements in the service were composed as a specific request from Matthews after he had moved from Durham to Dublin in 1776. See *RISM*.

²⁶ Image reproduced by permission of the Representative Church Body Library (custodian of the Church Cathedral Dublin archives): RCB Library, Dublin, C61.24.26 (= Scorebook 25).

S1
[A-] - - - - - men.

S2
A - - - - - men.

A
A - - - - - men.

T
A - - - - - men.

B/
Org.
men, A - - - - - men.

But other features may be genuine Shenton, such as the three-part verse in the Dm with clashing semitones between the two treble parts (bars 93-5). The Dm ends with a four-voice verse containing an expressive false relation and shift to E \flat minor for 'shall fear him':

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

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

T
and all the ends of the world,

B
and all the ends of the world,

Org.
and all the ends of the world

The same scorebook also contains an alternative setting to verse 2 of the Dm copied out later in the book, though the annotation by Matthews is not clear about who actually composed it: 'NB The following Verse may be introduced into the Deus misereatur in E \flat instead of the Verse originally composed by Rev. Rob. Shenton...'. Both verses are in triple time for ATB and modest in nature, so there is no obvious reason why the alternative was provided.

The E major setting has many good features too, though is slightly less ambitious in scope, with its chorus writing remaining in 4 parts throughout. It's not clear in what order the two services were composed as the styles are very close; the settings of the Dm verse 'O let the nations rejoice' have almost identical material. The verse sections of the E major set has many delightful passages, such as first verse in the CD, a duet for 2 trebles:

Duetto
Verse

S
The Lord de - clar - ed his sal - va - tion: his right - eous - ness hath he o - pen - ly

Org.
6 8 7 6 #6

Although the main chorus sections are here only in 4 parts, the final verse of the Dm is notable for being in eight (from bar 106). There is plenty of ornamentation written in the scores of both settings, but the E major CD is alone in using the turn sign (CD, bar 49), perhaps again originating with Matthews.

One more setting probably dates from the 1770s, by **Benjamin Thomas**, a lay-clerk at Gloucester Cathedral. It survives incomplete at Gloucester, but a full score copied into a Tenbury MS allows one to see the whole work.²⁷ It seems likely that this score was copied by Thomas himself, since it contains an illuminating inscription signed by Thomas, and the handwriting of the music and text is very close to that found in the earliest surviving Gloucester parts. The inscription precedes the morning part of his Service in G and is addressed to the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester: he hopes that the music would find their approbation, which would provide for him 'the strongest motive to my making some further progress in things of this nature'. Unfortunately the music does indeed bear out his own humble implication that progress was needed, as it is very basic in nature with several clumsy passages.

William Jackson 'of Exeter' (as he was known since there was another contemporary musician with the same name) left a fascinating legacy of paintings, writings and music, including an entertaining and informative autobiography which came to be published in the magazine *The Leisure Hour* in 1882. Music for four of his services was published posthumously in three volumes by his successor as Organist at Exeter Cathedral, James Paddon, and these became widely sung around the country: settings in C, E, E \flat and F.²⁸ Jackson set the ACs in his Services in F and E. Amongst the other service settings that survive only in manuscript at Exeter is an incomplete Service in A which also contains the ACs. Jackson's surviving brief autobiography gives some clues as to when he wrote his services, and the sort of concerns that were in his mind when doing so. He became Organist at Exeter Cathedral in 1777 and immediately composed his Service in F, "soon followed" by his Service in E. Jackson wrote of his early years at Exeter as follows:²⁹

I found a bad choir, which I was determined, if possible, to make a good one. By degrees I succeeded, and it is now (1801), and has been for many years, the best in the kingdom. Some time previous to this I had been in correspondence with Dr. Lowth, Bishop of London, on the subject of the "Te Deum." We both agreed as to the proper division of the parts of that hymn, and having my own opinion aided by so very respectable a critic, I executed our joint ideas by composing my service in F. It is all in plain counterpoint from the beginning to the end. The same plan was continued through the Jubilate, Sanctus, Commandments, and Creed, and in the evening service as well. The effect was in all respects superior to my expectation.

Jackson then goes on to explain in rare detail his approach to service setting, acknowledging its unusual nature:

It may be proper to show in what respect this composition differs from others of the same kind. Every preceding service in the church is in point of modulation unlike any other composition, nay, it is unlike anthems, the other musical pieces of a cathedral. A composer, as is well known to musicians, modulates from the key to its fifth, sixth, fourth, etc., once and once only; in the old services these modulations are made and

²⁷ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tenbury MS 613. The listings in *RISM* suggest that there are 2 settings by him at Gloucester, in G and B minor, but in fact the parts are all from the same Service in G.

²⁸ William Jackson, *Anthems and Church Services*, three volumes, ed. J. Paddon. (Exeter, [1819])

²⁹ The autobiography in *The Leisure Hour* of 1882 (pp. 360-62) is available online via the HathiTrust.

quitted over and over again. Seeing no reason why the modulations in services might not be upon the same principle as in other compositions, I proceeded in the usual method, and never returned to a key when I had quitted it; this rule is observed in my other services, as well as the proper accent and emphasis of the words, together with their expression.

His observation that earlier composers would use neighbouring key areas more than once is also true of most of his contemporaries, but his goal was in reality easy enough to achieve since his concise manner involves almost no repetition of the text, so that each canticle is very short in any case. Jackson's comments on texture are also revealing, showing his interest in music beyond the Cathedral close. He continues:

I varied from the usual score of treble, counter-tenor, tenor, and bass, partly from the imperfect state of the choir and partly from an inclination to adapt the instrumental plan to voices, which, being first and second violin, alto, and bass, I had first and second treble, tenor, and bass. This had its advantages by the second treble being nearer connected with the first, although it loses in being deprived of the spirit of the counter-tenor. Many years after I recomposed this service for five parts, when the alto was added.

Finally, Jackson was keen on providing independent organ parts, particularly in his anthems. Having just mentioned his composing of the Service in E he writes:

About this time I made the anthem of "I beheld, and lo a great multitude," when I first conceived the idea of considering the organ not as the double of the singing parts, but as a band accompanying the choir; in consequence it differed from the voices in some parts, and sustained them in others, much upon the plan of Handel's choruses. The effect answered my expectation, and I afterwards made many other anthems upon the same principle.

All of the above comments provide a helpful background for understanding the very particular nature of Jackson's service music. The two early settings in F and E are extremely similar in style and length. As Jackson explains, they were both originally composed in four parts, with 2 treble parts and no counter-tenor part, and then later altered to have 5 parts, SSATB. They are short, in duple time throughout, with little repetition of text, and verse sections in the relative minor occur for the final verses of both psalms. Jackson's interest in the contemporary German style is evident throughout, with much use of pedal points and phrases in octaves. However, there is no attempt to add the more graceful, ornamental aspects of the classical style here, which probably lies behind Jackson's comment that they are written in 'plain counterpoint'. However, the very opening of the F major service sets out Jackson's musical intentions by presenting arpeggios in the bass of the short organ introduction:

The image shows a musical score for a service in E major. It consists of five vocal parts (S 1/2, A, T, B) and an organ part (Org.). The lyrics are: "O sing un - to the Lord a new song: for he hath done mar - vel - lous things. With his". The organ part features arpeggios in the bass line.

Jackson's decision to imagine his choir texturally as a string quartet in the late 1770s is remarkable indeed, even if it came about partly due to the particular state of the vocal forces he had inherited. The F major service can be found amongst the manuscript partbooks at Exeter, but only the 2nd treble, tenor and bass parts survive. From these it is not entirely clear whether they represent the 4-part or 5-part version, but there are some evident minor differences from the published version.³⁰ Happily, both versions of the E major service do survive complete, since an autograph score of some of his church music survives in the British Library as Add. MS 32584. This contains both the original 4-part version, which is headed (fol. 17r) as follows: 'This Service was new[-ly] written in 1799 with....the addition of the Counter tenor part'. The manuscript also contains the 5-part version, almost identical to the printed copy, at the end of which the same information is given (fol. 49r): 'This Service was originally composed in Four Parts - Two Trebles, a Tenor, and Bass - The Counter-tenor Part was added in 1799'. The vocal writing of the two versions can be compared below:

a) Cantate Domino in E, 4-part version, 1778?

Chorus

Treble 1
O sing un-to the Lord a new song: for he hath done mar-vel-lous things. With his

Treble 2
O sing un-to the Lord a new song: for he hath done mar-vel-lous things. With his

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

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

own right hand, and with his ho-ly arm: hath he got-ten him-self the vic-to-ry. The

own right hand, and with his ho-ly arm: hath he got-ten him-self the vic-to-ry. The

own right hand, and with his ho-ly arm: hath he got-ten him-self the vic-to-ry. The

own right hand, and with his ho-ly arm: hath he got-ten him-self the vic-to-ry. The

b) Cantate Domino in E, 5-part version, 1799

Chorus

Treble 1/2
O sing un-to the Lord a new song: for he hath done mar-vel-lous things. With his

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

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

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

own right hand, and with his ho-ly arm: hath he got-ten him-self the vic-to-ry. The

³⁰ See Exeter partbooks 2.5, 2.13, 2.14, 2.15, 2.16, 2.19. The edition in the Appendix is that of the printed 5-part version. Differences in the MS partbooks include a few performance indications, the possibility that the organ-only echo phrase at the end of the CD (b. 53) may have originally been sung (to different rhythms), and that the basses were originally part of the setting of the penultimate verse of the Dm.

own right hand, and with his ho - ly arm: hath he got - ten him - self the vic - to - ry. The

own right hand, and with his ho - ly arm: hath he got - ten him - self the vic - to - ry. The

own right hand, and with his ho - ly arm: hath he got - ten him - self the vic - to - ry. The

own right hand, and with his ho - ly arm: hath he got - ten him - self the vic - to - ry. The

The earlier Treble 2 part survives with relatively few changes, such as its first note, and some pencil markings in the earlier version reveal some of the workings of Jackson's changes.

The only significant musical difference between the F and E settings is Jackson's handling of the doxologies, since those in the F major setting are both extremely brief, ending with simple block chords, whereas those in the E major setting provide some welcome extra elaboration in the form of sequential writing and a brief organ interlude, as shown here from the Dm:

S [A-] - - - - men, A-

A A - - - - men, A-

T A - - - - men, A-

B A - - - - men, A-

Org.

Regarding Jackson's A major setting of the ACs, only 3 parts survive at Exeter, the alto, tenor and bass vocal parts. From these we can be clear that this was a later composition than the early F and E settings, since the writing is now in Common time in crotchets, but it is a similarly concise setting with only a few verse sections. One of these does reveal a new idea: the full chorus only enters in the Dm for the refrain verse 3 'Let the people praise thee, O Lord'. Before that point, although no voice parts survive, the tenor partbook has the indication 'Soli 2 voci' for these bars next to its rests.³¹

Jackson's other canticle settings provide further evidence of his attempts to bring some elements of the classical style into English church music. His Magnificat and Nunc dimittis in E \flat is particularly notable, with 8-bar organ introductions for both movements, set in 3/4 time, and more varied textures including imitative

³¹ Partbook 2.13.

writing wholly absent from the AC settings, and one appearance of an augmented sixth chord in the Magnificat at 'his servant Israel'.³²

John Bumpus notes in his *History of English Cathedral Music* that many critics had been harsh on Jackson's services, but himself offers a balanced view, noting the success of his text-led approach in the Jubilate Deo in F:

Its author, an obstinately practical man, set the words without repeats, and according to the sense in every case. In the Jubilate of the same service, the verse "Be ye sure" is loud, unisonal, and declamatory; then comes "It is He that hath made us" (a pause here for half a bar, which divides the sense), and the explanatory clause, "Not we ourselves" comes in admirably. This and a few other similar passages always seem strong points in favour of "Jackson in F," than which many worse services have been written since.³³

Jackson's 'loud, unisonal, and declamatory' writing can be seen in the following excerpt from the CD in E which also shows typically simple and mellifluous writing in thirds and sixths:

The image shows a musical score for a Jubilate Deo in E major. It features a soloist (S) and organ (Org.). The soloist part is marked 'Tutti' and includes the lyrics: '-wards the house of Is - rael: and all the ends of the world have seen the sal - va - tion of our God.' The organ part is marked 'Full' and provides harmonic support. The score is in E major and common time. The organ part includes a section marked '[Praise the Lord...]'.

Whatever their level of success as original compositionals, Jackson's services show that the classical style was reaching into the regular service music not just in the North of England but also in the South West, from as early as the 1770s, albeit in Jackson's idiosyncratic interpretation with 'plain' music in a texture inspired by the string quartet. Paddon's edition of Jackson's works saw that they maintained a presence well into the nineteenth century, and the services in E and F were both republished in the 1860s.

³² The Jackson manuscript in the British Library, Add. MS 32584, also contains a Jubilate in F, unrelated to the early Service in F. It is headed 'Anthem' and so appears to be a stand-alone work, but seems to have been a notably ambitious work in the contemporary style, with extended use of arpeggio figuration, dated 1796.

³³ pp. 340-1.

Although the date of the Service in F by **Thomas Dupuis** is unclear, it probably dates from after his arrival at the Chapel Royal in 1779, since the markings adopt the names of the two sides of the Chapel Royal choir, 'Dec[ani]' and 'Sub[decani]'.³⁴ Even more than the earlier E \flat service the F major setting betrays the composer's natural conservatism, being a full service with doxologies set as canons, 3 in 1 (both with a free tenor part). The style is generally both conservative and succinct, with only the briefest of repetitions of the text in a mostly homophonic texture, and even less independence given to the organ part than the E \flat setting, but it should probably take pride of place in being the most successful brief setting in the full style from this period, even if the canonic writing has some awkward moments. In the CD, in the manner of some earlier examples, God's judgement is introduced in serious tones with the tonic minor (bar 99), but then revealed to be benign through a quick return to a melodious 3/2 idiom. The final verse of the Dm illustrates the generally straightforward nature of the music, the repetition emphasising the significance of the text 'God shall bless us', a procedure found in many earlier settings, not least his own E \flat set illustrated above:

Sub. [Cantoris]

S
God shall bless us, God shall bless us: and all the ends of the world, of the world shall fear him.

A
God shall bless us, God shall Bless us: and all the ends of the world shall fear him.

T
God shall bless us, God shall bless us: and all the ends of the world shall fear him.

B
God shall bless us, God shall bless us: and all the ends of the world shall fear him.

Org.

The composer **John Marsh**, well known for his orchestral symphonies, published several collections of church music, and copies of his Service in D, comprising morning items only, are found at several institutions. His ACs in G unfortunately only survive incomplete at Canterbury, though we know from his informative Journals about its composition and first performances at Canterbury Cathedral in 1785-6.³⁵

Amongst the many supporters of the legacy of Handel towards the end of the century was Worcester Cathedral's Organist from 1793-1806, **Thomas Pitt**, who made many adaptations of Handel's music for use as anthems. The treble parts of his Service in B \flat are lacking at Worcester, but fortunately they survive at nearby Gloucester so the work can be reconstructed. Notwithstanding his Handelian interests, Pitt shows little interest in old-fashioned counterpoint; his chorus sections are overwhelmingly homophonic in nature, including the doxology. Although uneven in inspiration, Pitt's setting is not without some pleasant surprises. The trumpet stop on the organ is called into play even before its mention in the text of the CD; it heralds a syncopated entry for the alto and tenor above the organ bass, but sadly the idea is not further developed:

³⁴ His A major Service, with Magnificat & Nunc Dimittis, is dated 1779 and so may be the first that he composed after taking up his new post. The F major ACs only survive in the printed edition.

³⁵ See, for example, the tenor part-book MS 21, p. 73. The ACs in G are not noted in the composer's work list in *The New Grove...*, and the modern edition of Marsh's Journals state that "it is no longer extant": *The John Marsh Journals: The Life and Times of a Gentleman Composer (1752-1828)*, ed. Brian Robins (London, 1998), p. 361.

When the trumpet is mentioned in the text both ‘cornet’ and ‘trumpet’ stops are called upon, but only playing *colla voce*. At the start of the CD Gloria, Pitt produces his most progressive-sounding passage containing a careful deployment of dynamics and pedal points, with both verse and chorus textures, providing a kind of ‘Grave’ prelude to the Gloria proper in B \flat which gets under way in bar 113:³⁶

The rich sonorities only occur at this point in the work; the Gloria of the Dm begins its repeat only from 113.

After being a chorister in St Paul’s Cathedral, **Joseph Pring** served as Organist at Bangor Cathedral from 1793, and his Service in F survives in an autograph manuscript now in the University of Wales at Aberystwyth, thought to have been copied before 1800. Like Dupuis in F, this is a rare example of a full setting, without verses, though the organ part is nevertheless independent at the usual ‘instrumental’ moments in the CD. Pring’s setting has much to commend it, especially his imaginative tonal planning. After the cadence in F at the end of verse 2 for ‘victory’ the music progresses through d-e-C-a-e-G-a-C-g-E \flat -B \flat before returning to F in time for the final verse. Tonal considerations seem to override textual ones, so that the expressive G minor passage linking the trumpets/shawms with the noise of the sea sets the words ‘O shew yourselves joyful...’:

³⁶ The ‘Cresc.’ and ‘Dim.’ marks are found in two Worcester partbooks, tenor and bass.

S
A
T
B
Org.

with trum - pets, trum - pets al - so and shawms: O shew your-selves joy - ful be - fore the Lord the

King. Let the sea make a noise, and all that there - in is: the round

King. Let the sea make a noise, and all that there - in is: the round

King. Let the sea make a noise, and all that there - in is: the round

King. Let the sea make a noise, and all that there - in is: the round

Rather less successful overall is the setting in B \flat by a lay-clerk at Wells Cathedral, **Henry Cook**, who sang there between 1780 and 1820.³⁷ Unusually for a lay-clerk rather than organist, his music came to be published in a volume containing a Te Deum, Jubilate Deo, CD & Dm and five anthems, though the volume's date is not indicated in the possibly unique surviving copy in the Library at the Royal College of Music in London. Unlike Pring, Cook barely deviates from his home key and its dominant, and the music is very plain throughout, epitomised by his reaction to the noisy sea, illustrated simply by a low, thick chord of B \flat on the organ (bar 101). Even the similarly plain effort by Gloucester lay-clerk Benjamin Thomas provides some substantial tonal contrast with the relative minor in the Dm.

Cook's service strangely does not survive in the partbooks at Wells, but there is one setting from around 1800 that survives apparently uniquely there, by Wykehamist **Rev. Gilbert Heathcote**. Heathcote was perhaps the most notable musician-cleric of his generation, in the tradition of Dean Aldrich at Oxford. Whilst studying at New College, Oxford, from 1783, Heathcote studied with Philip Hayes, though his career remained as a priest, his two most significant ecclesiastical appointments being as Treasurer of Wells Cathedral from 1814 (perhaps accounting for the presence of his music there) and then Archdeacon of Winchester from 1819. (He also became a Fellow at New College in 1791, and at Winchester College from 1804). Historian John Bumpus wrote warmly of his abilities, and noted both Heathcote's interest in old music as a collector and copyist (his collection having included the autograph score of William Croft's Service in E \flat with the ACs), and his considerable abilities as a composer: "he left in manuscript a large amount of composition, consisting of services, anthems, psalmody, canons, glees, etc., which denote him a

³⁷ For further details on Cook see Hilda F. Gervers, 'A Manuscript of Dance Music from Seventeenth-century England: Drexel Collection MS 5612' in *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, vol. 80 (1977), p. 503.

clever man.”³⁸ He mentions five service settings, including one in B \flat , the vocal parts of which survive at Wells (copied c.1828-35). Unfortunately the lack of an organ part means the work is incomplete, but a suggested completion has been included in the Appendix, with an editorial organ bass line. The work amply supports Bumpus’s enthusiasm for his abilities as a composer. The style of the music suggests a date of composition from the 1790s rather than from the latter part of his life in senior church posts. His ‘clever’ trick at the start of the CD is to immediately change key for ‘a new song’, ending his opening phrase in the sub-dominant. And then as a complete surprise, he sets verse 3 as a tenor recitative, a feature only very rarely encountered in service music, as in two canticles by John Stevenson (considered below).

Tenor recitative

The Lord de - clar-ed his sal - va - tion: his right - eous - ness hath he o - pen - ly shewed, hath he o - pen - ly shewed in the sight of the hea - then.

The setting has a very satisfying overall design, with a good variety of styles and keys. Rather than falling for any cheap pictorialism in the CD he connects verses 7-9 in a single lively tutti, and he has a novel way of dealing with the theological connection between verses 9 and 10. The vigorous tutti comes to a half-close in the tonic at bar 135, and then ‘for he cometh to judge the earth’ is set as a ‘slow’ passage with a Phrygian cadence, marking the severity of the matter, but then the text is repeated with a joyful return to the tonic, anticipating the mood for verse 10 itself which emphasises God’s righteousness and equity in meting out his judgement, set by Heathcote as a graceful duet for two trebles. The Dm is equally resourceful, with another ‘Recitative’ passage, though this in a rather different manner to the earlier instance, being for bass and in tempo. It is difficult to be certain without the organ part, but the use of the word ‘solo’ as well as ‘recit.’ for verse 3, ‘Let the people praise thee’, seems to suggest that the bass phrase is to be sung without accompaniment, being an arpeggio phrase as if for a solo trombone. The next bar is given as a rest with the word ‘Sym[phony]’, suggesting that the organ enters at that point, and dynamics are indicated to enhance the drama. A similar effect occurs for the repeat of the text as verse 6, but here the tutti chorus enters for ‘yea let all the people praise thee’ with jubilant quaver movement. Heathcote’s setting is thus one of the most imaginative and enjoyable to survive from around 1800.

The ACs in parish music books and theological writings

It was noted in part ii of this paper that the ACs appeared in music books intended mainly for parish use around the middle of the eighteenth century, and this practice continued into the nineteenth century. An early example in this period is Bremner’s popular *The Rudiments of Music*, first printed in 1756, which has single chants separately set for the Magnificat and Nunc dimittis and then for the ACs.³⁹ From the early part of the nineteenth century we find several psalm-based publications that include the ACs including the following:

1816	J. Dixon, <i>Canto recitativo, or a system of English Chant</i>	London
1819	Benjamin Jacob, <i>National Psalmody</i>	London
1820	William Clarke, <i>A Collection of Chaunts, Psalm Tunes & Hymns</i>	Edinburgh
1825?	John Greenwood, <i>A Selection of antient and modern Psalm Tunes</i>	Leeds

³⁸ J. Bumpus. *op.cit.*, vol. 2, 433. Bumpus also said that he possessed a collection of all his original church music, but this cannot currently be traced.

³⁹ Robert Bremner, *The rudiments of music, or, A short and easy treatise on that subject. To which is added a collection of the best Church tunes, canons, and anthems* (Edinburgh, 1756).

Clarke's collection gives both single and double chants for the Benedictus, Jubilate Deo, CD and Nunc dimittis, but single chants only for the Venite, Magnificat and Dm, though no justification is given for this. Books without music that provide suitable pointing to be sung by chorus and congregations also indicate the ACs as well as the standard canticles, such as John Latrobe's *The Instructions of Chenaniah* (1832) and *The Psalter...pointed for chanting*, by R. Janes (1837). In the preface of Jonathan Gray's collection *Twenty-four chants* (1821) the author writes concerning the singing of parish churches as follows:

Within the last thirty years...the congregations join in the chanting the Venite Exultemus, the Te Deum, and Jubilate, the Magnificat, or the Cantate, the Nunc dimittis, or the Deus Misereatur, with a happy and devotional effect.

Following in the tradition of the canticle settings by John Bellamy from 1745 (discussed in part ii) which aimed to provide more elaborate fare for parish use, we find further examples in the *Psalmody Improved* of c.1797 by William Gresham of Dunstable. His ACs both begin with a short organ introduction, and then proceed with several changes of style and pace, following the meaning of the words just as in the more elaborate cathedral repertoire. The opening of both is given here:

11 **Cantate Domino** W. Gresham

Cheerful, but not too fast.

O sing unto the Lord a new Song, for he hath done marvellous Things;

Moderately slow **Deus misereatur** W. Gresham. 16

rather Soft.

God be merciful unto us and bless us, and show us the light of thy Countenance.

But perhaps the most ambitious example of parish canticles attempting to reach the same level of accomplishment as the cathedrals, alongside John Broderip's ACs in D from 1745, is a remarkable collection in score by Thomas Whitty Hallett of Axminster, which survives in the Cathedral library at Exeter, though there is no evidence that his music was copied out into parts for use there. The two volumes contain

a large quantity of church music composed by Hallett between 1788 and 1836, and a set of ACs in E \flat is found in volume one, dated 1798. Unless there was a musician of the same name in Axminster, it seems that Thomas Whitty Hallett was the successful wine merchant and banker who had married into the wealthy Whitty family of the famous carpet business. The ACs are written out in score with the standard four vocal parts (without C clefs) and organ accompaniment, and there are several short solo sections and one duet, the music fluctuating between duple and triple time signatures. Unfortunately there are many grammatical errors in the harmony, especially with the misplacement of second-inversion triads, as can be seen here in bars 3-4 at the start of the Dm:

The image shows a musical score for a hymn. It consists of five staves. The top four staves are for vocal parts: Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor (T), and Bass (B). The fifth staff is for the Organ (Org.). The key signature is E-flat major (two flats) and the time signature is 3/2. The lyrics are: "God be mer - ci - ful un - to us, and bless us: and". The organ part shows a progression of chords, with some second-inversion triads in bars 3 and 4.

Nevertheless, the collection as a whole is a remarkable legacy from an amateur musician with an obvious passion for church music, and a successful wine merchant to boot.

When John Shepherd published his *A Critical and Practical Elucidation of the Morning and Evening Prayer of the Church of England* in 1796, he acknowledged his debt to previous theologians, notably Charles Wheatly, whose 1710 study, known from 1722 onwards as *A Rational Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer*, continued to be reprinted right through the 18th and 19th centuries. With regard to the CD he writes as follows:

Cantate Domino is rarely used as a hymn after the first Lesson, and yet, where that treats of any extraordinary instance of divine protection, and mercy, Cantate seems more proper than Magnificat. It is upon this ground no doubt that Cantate is by authority enjoined to be used instead of Magnificat in some of our occasional forms of thanksgiving.⁴⁰

The justification for using the CD in relation to the content of the first lesson thus remains unchanged from that proposed by Wheatly. Even though the late 18th century seems to provide a peak in composition of the ACs, it is notable that Shepherd comments that it is rarely used. Although he made no clear corresponding remark concerning the Dm, he noted that it was “a very seasonable form of prayer and praise”, perhaps hinting that it was generally more ripe for use than the CD, reflecting the evidence already noted above for the singing of the Dm after the second lesson without the use of the CD after the first.

Thomas Pruen’s *An Illustration of the Liturgy of the Church of England* of 1820 follows earlier formulas concerning the ACs and is silent on their frequency of use, but one publication from 1834 provides an interesting sideshow: *Reform, not Subversion! A proposed Book of Common Prayer... The whole forming*

⁴⁰ p. 342.

the most comprehensive plan of Church Reform hitherto offered to the public, by Montague Robert Melville. Although Melville's proposals fell on deaf ears, it is interesting to note that his reforms included an elaborate *de tempore* pattern of canticle use. He cited as his inspiration for this the view expressed by Archbishop Whately of Dublin and "other great authorities in the church" that more variety should be provided across the church's calendar and in the celebration of particular feasts. His formulas even include the use of two further alternative canticles (which he calls hymns), with the same overall options available at both morning and evening prayer, as shown opposite.⁴¹

¶ *The following are the hymns to be sung after the Lessons, as directed in the Tables of Services.*
Te Deum &c.
 We praise thee, &c.
Benedictus.
 Blessed be the Lord, &c.
Jubilate Deo.
 O be joyful, &c.
Magnificat.
 My soul doth, &c.
Nunc dimittis.
 Lord, now lettest thou &c.
Cantate Domino.
 O sing unto the Lord, &c.
Deus Misereatur.
 God be merciful &c.
 (As in Prayer Book.)
And,
Miserere mei, Deus. Psalm 51.
 Have mercy upon me, &c.
And,
De profundis. Psalm 130.
 Out of the deep, &c.
 (As in Prayer Book Psalms.)

His tables show which canticles are to be used when, including major feasts such as Easter to Trinity Sunday shown here:

	MORNING.	EVENING.
Easter Day.	Lesson 1. Cantate Domino. Lesson 2. Deus misereatur.	Lesson 1. Cantate Domino. Lesson 2. Nunc dimittis.
Easter Monday and Tuesday.	1. Benedictus. 2. Jubilate Deo.	1. Cantate Domino. 2. Nunc dimittis.
Ascension Day, and Eve before, and Saturday evening after.	1. Cantate Domino. 2. Deus misereatur.	1. Cantate Domino. 2. Deus misereatur.
Whit-Sunday.	1. Cantate Domino. 2. Jubilate Deo.	1. Cantate Domino. 2. Deus misereatur.
Whit-Monday, and Tuesday.	1. Jubilate Deo. 2. Cantate Domino.	1. Cantate Domino. 2. Deus misereatur.
Trinity Sunday, and Eve before.	1. Cantate Domino. 2. Deus misereatur.	1. Cantate Domino. 2. Deus misereatur.

And the pattern continues down to minor feasts, as shown here:

⁴¹ p. 26.

	MORNING.	EVENING.
St. Andrew. Circumcision. St. Mark. St. Philip and St. James. St. Barnabas. St. Peter. St. James. St. Bartholomew. St. Matthew. St. Michael. St. Luke. St. Simon and St. Jude. St. Thomas. St. John Evangelist. St. Matthias. All Saints. The 3 Political Festivals. Any special general Thank- giving Day to be ap- pointed.	Lesson 1. Cantate Domino. 2. Deus misereatur.	Lesson 1. Cantate Domino. 2. Deus misereatur.

Thus the Magnificat and Nunc dimittis whilst remaining as default options, are largely supplanted by the ACs on most major and minor feast days. Although Melville's recommendations were not adopted, they support the notion that the ACs were selected for special occasions, be they liturgical or national (as mentioned at the foot of the above table).

Melville also provides specific musical choices for services arranged to raise money for charitable services, and here the ACs also appear as part of an impressive music list that requires a full orchestra and culminates in a performance of Handel's Dettingen Te Deum after the sermon. The most famous instance of such services was the annual service held at St Paul's Cathedral, sung mainly by charity children, which greatly impressed those who attended, including Haydn and Berlioz. Melville's choice of canticles for this type of service are the CD and the Jubilate Deo, and he recommends either the CD by Hayes (probably William Hayes in E_b, discussed above) or Thomas Attwood's orchestral setting in D (discussed below):

FORM OF PRAYER,
 TO BE USED IN CATHEDRALS, OR OTHER CHURCHES,
 UPON OCCASIONS OF SUCH
FESTIVALS FOR CHARITABLE PURPOSES,
 UPON WHICH
 A FULL ORCHESTRA IS PROVIDED.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>¶ <i>Before Prayer</i>, Coronation Anthem, "I was glad," (Attwood.)
 <i>Responses.</i> (Tallis.)
 The <i>Venite exultemus</i> shall, upon this occasion, be omitted.</p> <p>¶ <i>Proper Psalms</i>, 47, 133, 134, and 150. (Jones's Grand Chant.)</p> <p>¶ <i>Before the first Lesson</i>, Overture to Esther. (Handel.)</p> <p>¶ <i>Or, if the charity has recently lost, by death, a royal patron, or patroness</i>, Dead March in Saul. (Handel.)</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Proper Lessons.</i></p> <p>¶ <i>The First</i>, Job xxix. 11 to 16. (both inclusive.)</p> <p>¶ <i>After the First Lesson</i>, Cantate Domino. (Hayes, or Attwood, v. c.)</p> <p>¶ <i>Second Lesson</i>, Rom. xv. 25 to 27. (both inclusive,) if the Charity is one of those excellent ones for the relief of distressed children, v. c., of Clergymen.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">¶ <i>Otherwise,</i></p> | <p><i>The Second Lesson shall be</i> 1 John iii. beginning at ver. 11.</p> <p>¶ <i>Jubilate Deo</i>, (Humphries's Grand chant.)</p> <p>¶ <i>Then shall follow the Apostles' Creed, and the Prayers, as in Morning or Evening Prayer, (as the case may be,) to the end of the third Collect, after which,</i>
 <i>Anthem,</i>
 Ascribe unto the Lord, (Travers.)
 <i>Or,</i>
 Sing unto God, (Croft.)</p> <p>¶ <i>Or any other Anthem suited to a grand and solemn Assembly in the Church.</i></p> <p>¶ <i>Then shall follow the Prayers, as in ordinary Morning or Evening Service, after which shall be performed an Anthem suitable to the charity.</i></p> <p>¶ <i>Then shall follow the Sermon, after which shall be performed, Dettingen Te Deum.</i> (Handel.)*</p> |
|--|---|

* Most musical people will, I think, agree with me, that placing the *Dettingen Te Deum* earlier would prevent full justice being done to other composers, whose works, however excellent, all want that peculiarity of body more easily felt than described. It is also more in accordance with my proposed other services.

The ACs in the U.S.A.

Although this survey makes no attempt to consider the history of the ACs in the Anglican church beyond Britain and Ireland, the importance of the ACs in the U.S.A. deserves special mention, for in the 1789 Prayer Book of the Episcopal Church the Magnificat and Nunc dimittis were removed and replaced by the CD and Dm as the principal canticles. Mindful of the desirability of choice in this regard, the editors also provided two further psalms as new alternatives. The next revision occurred in 1892, and here the Magnificat & Nunc dimittis were reinstated as the principal canticles, now with two sets of alternatives:⁴²

Episcopal Church of the United States: Prayerbook of 1789

After the first lesson: Cantate Domino OR Bonum est confiteri (Psalm 92)
After the second lesson: Deus misereatur OR Benedic anima mea (Psalm 103)

Episcopal Church of the United States: Prayerbook of 1892

After the first lesson: Magnificat OR Cantate Domino OR Bonum est confiteri
After the second lesson: Nunc dimittis OR Deus misereatur OR Benedic anima mea

Settings of the ACs from c.1800 – 1837

The following list continues that given at the start of this paper, now covering the period from c.1800 to the accession of Queen Victoria in 1837.

<i>AC setting</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Notes</i>
Joseph Corfe in B \flat	c.1800?	Salisbury	
John Clarke(-Whitfeld) in D	1802?	Cambridge	Treaty of Amiens?
John Clarke(-Whitfeld) in E	before 1805	Cambridge	
John Stevenson in E \flat	c.1812	Dublin	
John Stevenson in C	c.1812	Dublin	
John Smith in B \flat	before 1815	Dublin	
John Stevenson in E	c.1815	Dublin	
John Camidge in A	by 1815	York	
Edward Hodges in C	1824	Bristol	Opening of new organ
John Stevenson in D	c.1826	Dublin	
Thomas Bridgewater in A	before 1827	York	
Thomas Attwood in D	1831	St Paul's Cathedral	With orchestra
William Havergal in E \flat	1836	-	

The edition made by Salisbury Organist **Joseph Corfe** of James Kent's church music was unusual in presenting the middle voices mostly in C clefs, and the publication of a collection of his own music under the title *Church Music*, containing his ACs in B \flat , has the same feature. The volume is undated, but one might assume that the music was composed during his time as Organist at Salisbury which was between 1792 and 1804. Corfe was a pupil of John Stephens at the Cathedral, but did not immediately succeed him, having to wait until 1792 when he was in his fifties. Corfe's ACs have some similarities with those by Stephens, such as the chord progression at the end of the first section of the Dm, as shown here:

⁴² For full details and links to different sources, see the website of The Society of Archbishop Justus.

Stephens:

Musical score for Stephens' setting of the Agnus Dei. The score is for SATB voices and Organ. The key signature is B-flat major (two flats), and the time signature is common time (C). The lyrics are: "to us, be mer - ci - ful un - to us." The vocal parts (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and Organ part are shown with their respective staves and lyrics.

Corfe:

Musical score for Corfe's setting of the Agnus Dei. The score is for SATB voices and Organ. The key signature is B-flat major (two flats), and the time signature is common time (C). The lyrics are: "-nance, and be mer - ci - ful un - to us." The vocal parts (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and Organ part are shown with their respective staves and lyrics. The word "Soft" is written above the Soprano staff.

Other similarities include the augmented sixth chord used on 'countenance' just before the above passage. Corfe's idiom is generally very concise, and this offers little scope for him to exceed his master's contribution to the genre, but the work has some effective moments such as the 7-7 sequence in verse 8 of the CD (page 29 of the printed score) and the contrast between unison/octaves and 5-part writing (SSATB) for the Dm refrain verses. A later edition of Corfe's collection, by Josiah Pittman, was issued in 1858.

John Clarke's two settings of the ACs both survive in the second volume of his four-volume collection entitled *Cathedral Music* published 1800-37. (The composer is sometimes known as Clarke-Whitfeld due to a family inheritance in 1814.) This second volume was published in 1805 during his time as Organist of both Trinity and St John's Colleges in Cambridge, having moved from Dublin to Cambridge in 1798. Clarke would have been familiar with various earlier settings of the ACs both from his time in Dublin, where he was Organist and Master of the Choristers at St Patrick's Cathedral 1795-8, and from his time studying with Philip Hayes in Oxford. The 1805 volume contains a fascinating preface in which Clarke discusses various aspects of the practice of church music in his experience, and he includes mention of Hayes playing at the installation of the new organ at Canterbury Cathedral, at which his father William Hayes's setting of the ACs is known to have been sung (see the end of part ii of this study). The start of both William Hayes in E \flat and Philip Hayes in F have tutti semibreve chords for 'O sing', and Clarke echoes this but raises the stakes in his E major setting by not only having have two utterances, but marking them *pianissimo*. Clarke's D major setting bears the inscription "composed on the late peace with France", probably referring to the Treaty of Amiens in 1802, and the E major setting probably dates from around the same time as it is quite similar in

style, though is generally less elaborate with no independent writing for the organ right hand. Some of the services in this volume, such as the Magnificat & Nunc dimittis settings in A major and A minor are unambitious in style and scope, and perhaps date from his youthful time in Ireland, as has been suggested by Elaine Sherwin.⁴³ Others, including his Magnificat & Nunc dimittis in E \flat , and both settings of the ACs shows a composer keen to allow the influx of contemporary continental idioms. The Magnificat opens with a simple I-V-I unison gesture that recalls a favourite theme of Beethoven in his *Eroica Variations for Piano*, Op. 35, published in 1802, shown here:

Beethoven:

Allegretto vivace

Pianoforte

Clarke:

Full

S

A

T

B

Org.

My soul doth mag - ni - fy the Lord:

My soul doth mag - ni - fy the Lord:

My soul doth mag - ni - fy the Lord:

Full Tasto

Even if this particular similarity is coincidental, the ACs show other similar links to the contemporary classical style, notably in relation to the use of crescendo effects, here rather more extensively cultivated than in the case of Stephens in E \flat noted above. The D major setting aims at particularly grandiose effects, the scene being set at the opening of the CD with an extended passage emphasising “the victory” clearly with the war with France in mind, in which the voices divide into 6 parts, and the organ provides orchestral effects with repeated-note chords from bars 35 to 45, starting as follows:

⁴³ Elaine Marie Sherwin, ‘An Edition of the Cathedral Works of Sir John Andrew Stevenson’ (PhD, National University of Ireland, Maynooth, 2012), vol. 1, p. 30.

S
vic - to - ry, the vic - to - ry, the vic - to - ry, the

A
vic - to - ry, the vic - to - ry, the vic - to - ry, the

T
vic - to - ry, the vic - to - ry, the vic - to - ry, the

B
vic - to - ry, the vic - to - ry, the vic - to - ry, the

Org.
8^{va}

Crescendo marks are later deployed in a section in D minor to enhance the “noise” of the sea (bars 133-4). They also appear in the section marked ‘Pomposo’ when the Lord comes to “judge the earth” (b. 163). Here the opening “victory” idiom returns, plus the use of vertical strokes that imply a strong rhythmical accent, even if this is deliberately against the natural stress of the words, as on the second syllable of “cometh” (bars 168-9). But Clarke saves his boldest crescendo gesture for the start of the Gloria in a passage moving from *pp* to *ff*, over a tonic pedal with suspensions:

Largo *Pianissimo e Sostenuto*
Chorus

S
Glo - ry be to the Fa - ther: and to the Son, and to the Ho - ly Ghost;

A
Glo - ry be to the Fa - ther: and to the Son, and to the Ho - ly Ghost;

T
Glo - ry be to the Fa - ther: and to the Son, and to the Ho - ly Ghost;

B
Glo - ry be to the Fa - ther: and to the Son, and to the Ho - ly Ghost;

Org.
Choir Organ

cresc. **f** **ff**

Clarke’s Magnificat & Nunc dimittis in E_b and his two AC settings have Glorias that all conclude with an emphatic dominant seventh cadence (rather than the presence of a seventh passing-note), the first time such a conclusion can be seen amongst the ACs covered in this study, and the use of dominant seventh chords throughout these settings, along with features such as light textures and vigorous unison passages all give the overall effect of modernity to much of the writing, alongside more conventional passages. The E major ACs conclude not only with a dominant seventh cadence, but with chords separated by rests as in the classical symphonic manner, shown here:

Largo

Chorus *p* *f* Chorus

S A - men, world with - out end, A - men, A - men.

A A - men, world with - out end, A - men, A - men.

T A - men, world with - out end, A - men, A - men.

B A - men, A - men, A - men.

Org. Full 7 *p* *f*

The E major CD opens with another typically classical I-V/V-I chordal gesture, with the added twist of being marked *pianissimo*, followed by a *forte* entry and then a *fortissimo* arpeggio in octaves. Clarke's use of harmony at both the structural and local levels shows considerable skill in both settings. He makes effective use of the relative minor to extend some sections, as at the opening of the CD in D, and the Dm opens with an expressive dominant minor 9th chord. Several solos are given to the bass voice, singing a baritone-pitched line above the organ continuo – a texture only otherwise previously encountered in this period in Ebdon's pioneering set from 1765. This Andante section from the D major Dm shows his melodic skills, as well as another crescendo and augmented 6th chord:

Andante

Solo *p* *cresc.* *tr.*

B Then shall the earth bring forth her_ in - crease: and God, ev'n our own God shall give us his

Org. 6 6 7 7 6 4 2 6 6

f *tr.*

bless - ing, and God, ev'n our own_ God shall give us his bless - ing,

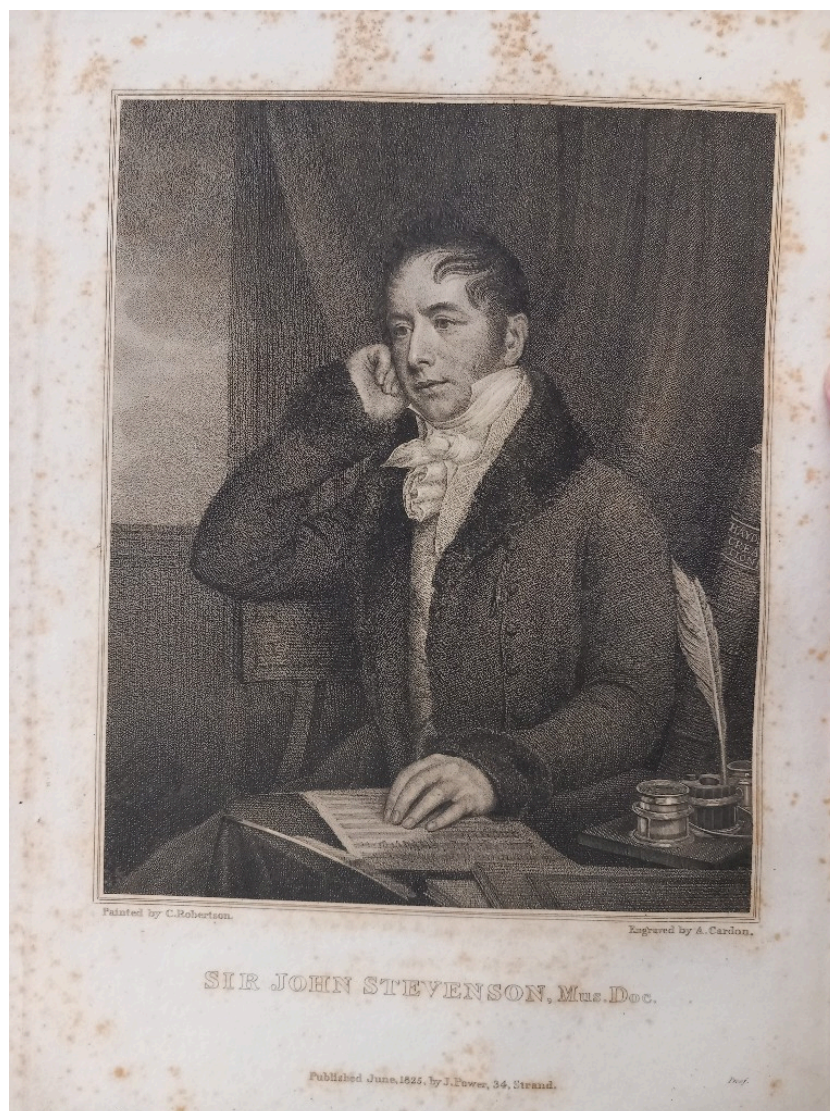
4 6 6 6 5 6 7 7 6 6

2 4 3 #6

Given the focus on conservative writing found in most late 18th-century settings of the ACs, the two settings by Clarke reveal a remarkable leap forward, showing the same drive to introduce new idioms as Ebdon had showed almost 40 years previously and a few others such as John Stephens. (Clarke's anthems show the same spirit and go even further in the extensive involvement of the organ, with many creative combinations making the most of the advances in organ building around the same time.)

When Clarke worked in Dublin from 1795-8 his colleagues included **John Stevenson**, a prominent figure in Dublin musical life who held posts at both Cathedrals during his career and became the first Director of Music at the newly built Chapel Royal in Dublin Castle in 1814. He was knighted in 1803 and also served

as Master of the State Band of Musicians. Stevenson holds a certain pride of place in this story of the ACs since he is the only composer by whom four settings have survived, written in the period between c.1812 and c.1826.⁴⁴ Given the importance of the ACs for occasions of national rejoicing, it may be that his interest in setting the ACs owed something to working in royal circles. Elaine Sherwin's thesis 'An Edition of the Cathedral Works of Sir John Andrew Stevenson' provides much relevant information about the music and its sources alongside the editions themselves, including the probable dating of the four settings: the settings in C and E \flat date from around 1812, that in E from around 1815 and that in D from c.1826.⁴⁵ She notes that the portrait of Stevenson in the printed edition of music of his church music, issued in London in 1825 and widely used in Cathedrals in England as well as Ireland, shows him alongside a score of Haydn's *Creation*, as shown here (see the bound copy on the right by his left shoulder):



The association with Haydn's music is very evident in Stevenson's service music. The C major service as a whole was composed in different stages involving more than one of his institutions, and the Evening segment comprises both sets of canticles, placed in the published edition in the order Magnificat, Nunc dimittis, CD, Dm, and composed by 1812.⁴⁶ Stevenson maintains a similar style across all these canticles,

⁴⁴ Writing in his *A history of English cathedral music, 1549-1889* (London, 1908?), John Bumpus suggests that the ACs by John Clarke "appear to be modelled on those of his contemporary, Sir John Stevenson" (p. 373), but this seems unlikely in the light of this dating.

⁴⁵ Sherwin, *op. cit. passim*; most of the dating is given by dates of copying noted in the sources.

⁴⁶ See Sherwin, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, pp. 262-3.

so no particular effort is made to make the ACs more jubilant or extensive than the standard canticles. In all of the movements we find echos of Haydn, with the key of C major conjuring up in particular the much-loved chorus in *Creation*, 'The heavens are telling', in which the tonic is approached chromatically and then often resolved with the sequence Ic-V-I. The chromaticism invariably features a diminished 7th, or the Italian or German augmented 6th. At the end of the first section of the CD we find the German 6th:

Musical score for the first section of the CD. The score includes vocal parts for Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor (T), and Bass (B), along with an Organ (Org.) part. The lyrics are: "ho - ly arm: hath he got - ten him - self the vic - to - ry." The organ part features a German 6th chord at the end of the section.

And at the end of the Dm we have a phrase particularly close to the Haydn chorus, followed by an interrupted cadence before the final resolution:

Musical score for the second section of the CD. The score includes vocal parts for Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor (T), and Bass (B), along with an Organ (Org.) part. The lyrics are: "all the ends of the world shall fear him, shall fear him." The organ part features a phrase particularly close to the Haydn chorus, followed by an interrupted cadence before the final resolution. A dynamic marking of *p* (piano) is present.

Other Haydnesque features of the service include an independent and often orchestral-like organ part with high-note trills as decorations (see the CD bar 114), and the prominent use of the dominant 7th chords in all inversions. Two of the other movements of the service, the Nunc dimittis and Jubilate Deo, even contain short bursts of recitative, as if the Archangel Uriel had decided to attend divine service in Dublin, and the duet 'For he hath regarded' in the Magnificat seems to feature Adam and Eve ('By Thee with bliss') with overlapping phrases and triplet accompaniment. Nevertheless, none of the movements in the service is solely Haydn pastiche, since the style and textures frequently fall back into a more standard late 18th-century canticle style with traditional verse groupings, and the Te Deum even maintains the continued

reverence of Handel and Georgian rule by including a short duet for the organ trumpet stop alone after 'thou shalt come to be our judge', recalling Handel's 'Dettingen' Te Deum.

Stevenson had a champion in the late 19th century in the form of the music historian John Bumpus, who published an enthusiastic full-length study of the composer and his music, one of the first of its kind: John S. Bumpus, *Sir John Stevenson. A Biographical Sketch* (London, 1892). Stevenson's debt to Haydn is an important theme of the book, beginning with this in the preface (no page number):

"Sir John Stevenson's church compositions, like those of Haydn, his great model and some time contemporary, have often been characterized as deficient in depth, dignity and solemnity, and calculated to elate worshippers rather than to rouse in them feelings of devotion. But no one who is acquainted with it can be unconscious that, underlying the cheerful spirit of Stevenson's sacred music, there is a vein of piety which aims rather to glorify the merciful kindness of the Lord, than to deprecate his vengeance." "God," said Haydn, "has given me a cheerful heart, so he will surely forgive me if I serve him cheerfully." From what we know of his character and disposition these sentiments must have been Stevensons's also. Certainly, he has brought music home to the hearts and minds of the people, and opened to all who have ears to hear and hearts to be touched, a spring of the purest pleasure."

Bumpus also notes how the first half of one of his double chants was based on the theme of the Andante from Haydn's *Symphony in D*, Salomon No. 7; he describes a chorus "à la Haydn" in his anthem *Lord, how are they increased* and reports that a duet and solo were composed by Stevenson to be performed between the tenor recitative and chorus 'The heavens are telling' from *The Creation*, to be used when the chorus is sung as an anthem.⁴⁷ Small wonder that the inscription added to the memorial to Stevenson in Christ Church Cathedral in 1896 described Haydn as Stevenson's "ideal master".

Dating from a period of around 14 years, the four settings by Stevenson are remarkably similar in both style and technique. Each begins with semibreve chords for 'O sing' (in the tradition of Bishop in D and Hayes in E_b), and the structure follows the same allocation of canticle verses in all the settings (with a sombre twist each time for the second half of verse 9 at 'for he cometh to judge the earth'), the main variation only being the vocal textures employed within the verse sections.

Stevenson's AC structure

Verse(s)	Time-sig.	Scoring	Comments
CANTATE DOMINO			
1	C	Full	
3-4	3/2 (3/4)	Verse	
5	C	Full	
6-7	C or 3/2	Verse	
8-9	C	Full	In tonic minor or relative minor
10	3/2	Verse	
DEUS MISEREATUR			
1	3/2	Full	
2	3/2	Verse	
3	C	Full	
4	C or C & 3/2	Verse	
5	C	Full	repeat of v. 3
6	C or C & 3/2	Verse	
7	C or 3/2	Verse	

⁴⁷ See pages 30-35.

S1 *cresc.*
 give, shall give us, shall give us his blessing.

S2
 give, shall give us, shall give us his blessing.

Org.

In the same canticle we also find a verse in eight parts (bar 63), though the music remains transparent as the eight parts only sing together for the final cadence.⁴⁹

The final setting, in D major, has the most independent organ part of them all, often behaving like an orchestral transcription. In the second section of the CD there are many repeated-note chords (crotchets in 3/2) like string writing. In Clarke's CD in D the repeated-note chords occur only in the right hand, but here they form the complete texture:

S
 hea - then. He hath re - mem - b' red his mer - cy and truth to - wards the

A
 He hath re - mem - b' red his mer - cy and truth

T
 hea - then. He hath re - mem - b' red his truth

B
 hea - then. He hath re - mem - b' red his mer - cy and truth

Org.

The next two sections both contain much prominent writing for the right hand in higher registers further imitating violin writing, as also occurs in the repeated verses 3 and 5 in the Dm:

⁴⁹ Sherwin has suggested that inspiration for this passage and a similar one in the D major setting may have come from the anthems of John Alcock, whose collection *Six and Twenty Select Anthems in Score* (1771) was in use at Christ Church, though other examples of eight-part writing include the anthems of Boyce and Greene's Service in C.

The image shows a musical score for three parts: Soprano/Alto (S/A), Tenor/Bass (T/B), and Organ (Org.). The music is in E major (one sharp) and common time (C). The lyrics are: "praise thee, all, all, let all the peo - ple praise thee." The S/A part has a melodic line with some grace notes. The T/B part provides a harmonic accompaniment. The Organ part features a complex texture with many chords and some melodic lines.

Viewed as a whole, the Morning, Communion and Evening Services composed for use in Dublin by Stevenson form by far the most substantial example by a single composer of the 'classical' style being grafted onto the Anglican service tradition. The music is technically sound and rarely dull, with charming melodies and harmonic surprises never far away, and choruses that contain a happy balance of homophonic and polyphonic writing. Sherwin has attempted to gather information regarding the performance of Stevenson's music in England, though the only evidence regarding the ACs is a manuscript copy of the Service in E major at Wells Cathedral.⁵⁰

Stevenson's Dublin colleagues included the rather younger **John Smith**, born in Cambridge in 1791, who became a salaried singer at Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin in 1815 (not to be confused with John Stafford Smith, b. 1750). Although his ACs in B \flat were only published in a collection of his church music entitled *Cathedral Music* in 1837, a source at St Patrick's Cathedral indicates that the work was already in use there the year he arrived in 1815.⁵¹ Bumpus's study of Stevenson also includes a short summary of musical achievements of Smith, whom he describes as "another avowed imitator of Haydn", perhaps partly as a result of his youthful experiences at Cambridge where John Clarke was prominent, as well as encountering Stevenson in 1815.⁵² In the preface to his collection he notes that some of the contents are the result of "the first attempts of his early years", citing the Magnificat and Nunc dimittis as being composed when he was only eighteen years old, so c.1809 when still in Cambridge. The style of these movements can well be understood as youthful, being simple and repetitive, whilst the idiom itself is notably classical. The ACs, composed sometime between 1809 and 1815 reveal a development of his ambition and inventiveness within the same idiom, though the repetitiveness is still apparent, not just in the frequent immediate repetition of a particular phrase but also by the specific re-use of material from the end of the CD at the conclusion of the Dm.⁵³ Repetitiveness aside, John Smith's setting marks another major effort to absorb the classical style into Anglican church music. The setting opens with four chords on paused semibreves, echoing the E major setting of Clarke (though with *fortissimo* rather than *pianissimo* chords), and there are other similarities with Clarke's two settings (such as the crescendo at the start of the Gloria), but the significant difference occurs in the middle verses of the CD, where the organ part is notably more independent and orchestral in conception than in Clarke's settings, and more like what was yet to come in Stevenson's last setting of the ACs in 1826 described above. A quasi-orchestral flute enters to evoke the harp, over staccato repeated-note chords:

⁵⁰ *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 385 ff.

⁵¹ St Patrick's Cathedral Organ Book vol. 78. See Sherwin, *op. cit.*, pp. 192 ff.

⁵² Bumpus, *Sir John Stevenson*, p. 51.

⁵³ The manuscript copy made at Canterbury Cathedral (organ book MS 62) contains pencil marks that suggest that several of the written-out repeats may have been omitted in performance there.

Moderato

Verse

Praise the Lord up - on the harp, praise the

Swell

Choir

Swell

Org.

p

Ped.

The quaver motion underneath 'Let the sea make a noise' clearly follows Clarke's lead in his setting in E major (from bar 115), but Smith develops the idea so that the quaver movement overtakes the entire organ part, providing quasi-string writing, as shown here:

(a little faster)

S/A

dwel there - in. Let the floods clap their hands,

T/B

Org.

Smith also follows Clarke in his use of idioms such as the German 6th, phrases with turns indicated by the ornament, triplet patterns, and sudden changes between loud and soft. The repeated double-chromaticism in the verse section at the end of the Dm has no precedent in Clarke's settings, though it does call to mind a similar instance in the E major setting of Stevenson dating from almost exactly the same, c.1815, as shown above:

p

S

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

A

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

T

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

B

fear him, of the world shall fear him, of the world

Org.

p

Another impressive setting survives from around 1815, the Evening Service in A by **John Camidge** of York, a member of the Camidge family that dominated musical life in the city for several generations. This particular John Camidge was born in 1790 and assisted his father Matthew at the Minster and St Michael-le-Belfrey, before eventually succeeding him in 1742. The Service appeared in his *Cathedral Music*, published in 1828, a collection clearly intended to imitate that of his father, whose own *Cathedral Music* had been published around the time of John's birth in c.1790. Matthew's collection contained a Magnificat and Nunc dimittis, but his son issued both sets of evening canticles: the ACs form part of his Service in A, and there is also a Magnificat and Nunc dimittis in E \flat . His father Matthew's Service in F is written in close imitation of the style of his teacher James Nares (who when at York had taught Matthew's father, also John Camidge, b. 1734), including an obvious homage in the first phrase in the Magnificat which is almost identical to that in Nares's Evening Service in F.⁵⁴ John Camidge took the degrees of MusB and MusD at Cambridge, where he was probably at least acquainted with John Clarke(-Whitfeld), whose two settings of the ACs have been discussed above. His ACs in A are remarkably inventive and elaborate, and show a similar debt to the classical style as noted in the other settings from around 1815 by Smith and Stevenson.⁵⁵ Opting for an unusual contrapuntal start, he sets out his stall with two extended solo runs for treble then alto, alternating with a tutti ensemble with 2 treble parts. Camidge gets so carried away at two points in his CD that he felt obliged to give alternative, shorter settings of the same texts. The instruments of verse 6 are presented in the form of an extended bass duet with much filigree passage-work from the organ, the start of which is shown here:

The musical score is presented in three systems. The first system includes two vocal parts (B1 and B2) and an organ part. The second system includes two harp parts and an organ part. The third system includes two vocal parts and an organ part. The organ part is marked 'mf' and 'Flute' in the first system, and 'Ped.' in the third system. The lyrics are: 'Praise the Lord up - on the harp, the Lord up - on the harp, sing to the harp, sing to the harp with a harp, to the harp with a'.

⁵⁴ Matthew Camidge, *Service in F*, ed. David Griffiths, (York Early Music Press, 2010). This and the editions of John Camidge's service music in A and E \flat by David Griffiths are available online via the website of the York Early Music Press (2012 and 2013).

⁵⁵ The date of composition for Camidge's Evening Service in A has been established by David Griffiths due to its presence in a tenor partbook at York Minster by this date.

But the shorter alternative for verse 6 is far from dull, ending with a high-pitched chromatic duet with pause for two trebles, leading to a Ic-V-I cadence (see p. 29 of the Griffiths edition), similar to that encountered in Stevenson's Dm in E. The other extended section is for the reference to God's judgement in verses 9-10, which is set as another duet, this time in slow triple time for treble and bass. The main melody has much charm, though in this case the substitute version is notably routine (see pages 16 and 30 of the Griffiths edition). Camidge has no time for the traditional ATB verse texture, and the only 3-part verse is set for SAB. The setting as a whole contains plenty of tonal as well as textural variety: at the structural level he employs sections in the keys of D and E, and in the Gloria of the CD there is a notable local excursion through unrelated keys in the passage from bars 249 to 267, ending with a German 6th cadencing onto chord V. The organ part is notably independent and clearly intended to strengthen the overall sound in the tutti sections, using thick left-hand chords rather than just octaves (see the CD from bar 51). Camidge also deploys the organ to join sections together: at the end of the bass duet in A the semiquavers continue and lead directly into the next verse in D, and the most unusual instance occurs with a lead provided into the Gloria of the CD, where a break is normally employed (though this occurs only in the main setting, not the shorter version of this verse):

The image shows a musical score for a verse, likely from a Mass. It features five staves: Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor (T), Bass (B), and Organ (Org.). The key signature is D major (two sharps) and the time signature is 3/4. The tempo is marked 'Allegro'. The lyrics are 'peo - ple with e - qui - ty. Glo - ry be to the'. The organ part includes dynamics like 'mf' and 'cresc.'. The score is divided into two sections by a double bar line. The first section is marked '[Verse]' and the second section is marked 'Allegro Verse'. The organ part in the second section has a 'cresc.' marking.

After such an extended CD it is perhaps not surprising to find the Dm rather shorter, with notably succinct renditions of the refrain verses 3 & 5, and the final two verses swept up in a *minore* section of only 16 bars. However, Camidge does not skimp on the second doxology, though the fugal section for 'as it was' turns out to be one of the weaker passages of the work. Camidge concludes with one final classical trick not yet encountered in this repertory, the syncopated placement of the penultimate chord (V7), following the more regular alternation of chords I and V:

The image shows a musical score for a doxology, likely from a Mass. It features five staves: Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor (T), Bass (B), and Organ (Org.). The key signature is D major (two sharps) and the time signature is 4/4. The lyrics are '[A-] men, A - men, A - men'. The organ part includes dynamics like 'mf' and 'cresc.'. The score is divided into two sections by a double bar line. The organ part in the second section has a 'cresc.' marking.

Compared to the scale and invention of the efforts by Clarke, Stevenson, Smith & Camidge, our next setting, the Service in C by **Edward Hodges**, is musically something of a disappointment, but there is much about Hodges and the origin and aims of the setting that is of interest. Hodges, whose career took him to Toronto and New York, was a pioneer in the realm of organ building, and the instrument that he had built for the church of St James in Bristol (a former priory now a Roman Catholic church and centre) in 1824 was one of the earliest large C-compass instruments, with many novel features including a stopped 32' pedal rank down to C and an octave manual coupler for which extra pipes were provided to give the necessary extra pitches above the top of the keyboard. His Service in C was published in his *Morning and Evening Service and Two Anthems*, Op. 1 (London, 1825), most of which was composed specially for the opening of the organ (with one of the anthems composed for the opening of another organ in Bristol), thus providing another example of the choice of the ACs for such an occasion. In his Preface, Hodges makes several comments about the music, its notation and intended function, including the following:

The Morning and Evening Services were intended, not only for the particular occasion which called them forth, but for subsequent use, and consequently are not surcharged with fugue-points and verbal repetitions. This is to accommodate them to the taste of those persons who, from economy of time or other motives, wish to have as little music as may be in the course of divine worship. The Anthems, on the contrary, have undergone considerable amplification.

Some phrases will be noticed, which cannot be performed with two hands only. Although these are much fewer than in the original copy, it is necessary to mention that they were written for an instrument of no common construction. In these instances, the Organist will take the bass entirely upon the pedals, leaving to his left hand the command of the tenor; which I apprehend to be the legitimate style of Organ-playing.

For the use of the proper clefs, or even of the old-fashioned *alla-breve* time, I consider no apology necessary; although futile attempts have been made to get rid of both.

Hodges thus considered the anthem to be the proper home of elaborate music, and deliberately avoided the 'surcharged' elements found in the ACs by Camidge and others. His Service in C is indeed a straightforward 'full' setting, and although there are no signs of the new organ design in the ACs, there is at least this section of the Te Deum where the 'legitimate' manner of playing can clearly be seen in a passage where the bottom note of the 32' stop probably made its presence felt at the first performance:

The image displays a musical score for the Te Deum section of the Service in C by Edward Hodges. The score is arranged in three systems, each with three staves. The top staff is for Soprano/Alto (S/A), the middle for Tenor/Bass (T/B), and the bottom for Organ (Org.). The music is in common time (C) and features a variety of dynamics, including *pp* (pianissimo) and *ff* (fortissimo). The lyrics are: "Ho - ly: Lord God of Sa - ba - oth; Ho - ly, Ho - ly, Ho - ly: Lord God of Sa - ba - oth; Ho - ly, Ho - ly, Ho - ly: Lord God of Sa - ba - oth;". The organ part is particularly notable for its use of the 32' stop, which is indicated by the presence of notes in the lower register of the keyboard.

The anthems do indeed make full use of the new organ, with extended solos and special effects. That for St James is a setting of Psalm 150, and the verses concerning musical instruments are given great attention, calling to mind the tradition of imitating the trumpet, harp & shawms in settings of the CD. Hodges's plain Service in C was republished by his daughter Faustina in 1886 after her father's death, with the C clefs and *alla-breve* notation now removed, as given in the Appendix.⁵⁶

Little is known about **Thomas Bridgewater**, whose Service in A was published in 1827 only a few years before his untimely death in 1831 (the British Library catalogue indicates his birth date as 1803/4). He was Organist at St Saviour's Church in York, yet the publication proudly proclaims that the service was "composed for, and sung in, York Cathedral", and dedicated to the Dean & Chapter, and so presumably performed by Matthew and/or John Camidge. His other publications include songs and some extended piano variations in the classical style. Although the service contains much textural variety with solos, duets, trios etc, and a keen sense of modern classical style, the work is severely hampered by the composer's decision to set every verse separately with negligible development within the short sections, and by providing negligible tonal variety, keeping to A major or D major throughout. His interest in the piano is evident in verse 6 of the CD, since although the accompaniment is unusually announced as being for either organ or piano, here the composer provides two versions, one for each instrument, the piano part showing the use of the sustaining pedal to create a harp-like effect:

The image shows a musical score for a duet of two trebles and a piano accompaniment. The top staff is labeled 'Duett. Two Trebles' and contains two vocal lines. The lyrics are: 'Praise the Lord up - on the harp, praise the Lord up - on the harp:'. The middle staff is labeled 'Organ' and contains a single line of music. The bottom staff is labeled 'Piano Forte' and contains two lines of music. The piano part is marked with a piano dynamic (*p*) and includes a 'Ped.' (pedal) marking at the beginning and two asterisks (*) indicating pedal use later in the piece. The score is in the key of A major (two sharps) and common time (C).

At the Chapel Royal in London, **Thomas Attwood** succeeded Thomas Dupuis on his death in 1796, holding the post in tandem with being Organist at St Paul's Cathedral. Attwood's first service was composed around this time, in the key of F, which though being broadly traditional in style and technique (including a canonic Gloria, as employed by Dupuis in his Service in F) already shows signs of the time he had spent studying with Mozart in Vienna. This service contains a Magnificat & Nunc dimittis, as does his next setting which did not appear until almost thirty years later in 1825, the Service in A. However, for this third Service, in the key of D, Attwood composed a set of ACs for the annual Festival of the Sons of the Clergy in St Paul's in 1831. Hitherto, the canticles sung at the festival had been the morning set, the Te Deum and Jubilate (as famously set by Turner, Blow and Purcell with orchestral accompaniment in the 1690s), but an apparent change in timing of the event led to the need for evening canticles, as with Stanford's famous orchestral Magnificat & Nunc dimittis in A composed in 1880. Thus Attwood appears to

⁵⁶ The service was copied into the partbooks at Ely bound in 1859-1860, where they appear in the notation of the 1825 publication.

have been the first composer to have produced a set of evening canticles with orchestra, and given the joyful nature and scale of the occasion, it is unsurprising that he chose to set the ACs. The canticles remained a popular choice for the occasion in subsequent years, and the music was established as follows for the years 1833-38:⁵⁷

The Dettingen Te Deum – Handel
Cantate Domino – Attwood
Deus Misereatur – Attwood
Hallelujah Chorus – Handel.
Anthems:
Lord, Thou hast been our refuge – Boyce
Zadok the Priest – Handel

A full score of the CD survives in the collection of material from Novello that was acquired by the Royal College of Music in 1964 (MS 5027). This is a separate manuscript, and there is no sign of a companion Dm. The CD begins for choir and organ alone, and Attwood dramatically introduces the orchestra only at the arrival of the named instruments in verse 6, thus mirroring but eclipsing the way previous composers had allowed a *segunte* organ suddenly to erupt into independent writing for the harp, shawms and trumpets, with *pizzicato* strings to imitate the harp. The organ then returns as the sole accompaniment only for the final verse before a tutti doxology. Given Attwood's selective use of the orchestra in the CD, it seems likely that the Dm may have been intended for organ alone, with the orchestra returning for the Gloria, since the Dm has no separate doxology. The Service in D (with morning canticles added by Attwood in 1832) was published with an organ part in Walmisley's edition of Attwood's *Services and Anthems* issued in 1852, and was also released as a separate edition by Ewer in 1854. Transcriptions of both versions are given in the Appendix.

The orchestra required for the CD comprises double flutes, oboes, bassoons, horns, trumpets, three trombones, timpani and strings. The surprise entry of the orchestra in verse 6, shown on the full page below, begins with soft, *pizzicato* strings (with the melody doubled by horns in A), from bar 98; the brass then enter for the trumpets, and then running quavers for the strings, matching similar organ writing in earlier settings, provide the noise of the sea. The Gloria opens with just the lower voices and organ in octaves before an impressive tutti entry with the trebles pitched on a high G. The organ part is written out carefully in either full-size notes or small-size notes, presumably suggesting where the organ might drop out when the orchestral writing comes to the fore.⁵⁸ Although his use of the orchestra in the CD is limited, the result is a unique hybrid between the conventional organ-only repertoire and the fully orchestral coronation anthems that Attwood composed for George IV (1821) and William IV (1831). To what extent Attwood conceived his music with the orchestra in mind is not immediately obvious, and it is possible that he initially composed it with just organ in mind. However, one notably dramatic moment, a *subito piano* in bar 156 of the CD (with arpeggio figuration in the organ part) might perhaps betray a specific desire to reproduce a symphonic effect, shown below in the organ version (following the excerpt showing the entry of the orchestra):

⁵⁷ See Sanders, L. G. D., 'The Festival of the Sons of the Clergy, 1655-1955', *The Musical Times*, vol. 97, no. 1357 (Mar., 1956), pp. 133-135.

⁵⁸ Particular registrations are given in the organ part even when the notes are small, but these may have been provided in case of an organ-only performance, and are the same as those given in the 1854 organ-only version.

Entry of the orchestra in the CD in D by Thomas Attwood:

Flauti *dolce*

Oboi *dolce*

Fagotti

Corni in A / D (sounding pitch) *dolce*

Trombi in D

Tromboni 1 & 2

Trombon. 3

Tympani

Treble
Praise the Lord up on the harp; sing to the harp with a

Alto
sing to the harp with a

Tenor
sing to harp with a

Bass
sing to the harp with a

Violini 1 *p pizz.*

Violini 2 *p pizz.*

Viola *p pizz.*

Cello *p pizz.*

Basso *p pizz.*

Organ
Full Org: with Sw epld

'Symphonic' *subito piano*:

Despite the presence of an orchestra, the basic style of Attwood's ACs in D maintains the traditional verse-by-verse manner, with little extended elaboration of ideas, that can also be found in his settings of the primary canticles in his Service in F from 1796 and his Service in A from 1825, almost 30 years later. The work thus appears in some respects less extravagant than the AC settings by Stevenson and Camidge, but more than compensates with fine melodies and harmonic progressions, often set over a pedal, and carefully balanced tonal planning well suited to the text. In the Dm he uses the repeated verse 'Let the people praise thee' in a unique way to act as a pivot to and from the secondary dominant:

v. 2	That thy way may be known	D
v. 3	Let the people praise thee	A
v. 4	O let the nations	E
v. 5	[repeat of v. 3]	A
v. 6	Then shall the earth	D

His use of the relative minor includes the second half of verse 9 to reflect the change in text to the theme of God's judgement, setting this as an *Andante* ending with a half-close in B minor. He then opens the final verse with the same chord but then gently eases us back into the key of D, emphasising the benign nature of God's judgement. B minor also appears unexpectedly for the start of the Dm, where a dominant 7th chord on A is used on the word 'light' (emphasised by the entry of the pedal) to bring us back to the home key and enhance the meaning of the text. The relative minor also appears in the final verse, where it surrounds a central phrase in D with typical chromatic colour over a pedal, as shown here:

Attwood in D was clearly well liked: one report noted in Pearce's history of the event described it as "one of the finest specimens of our English ecclesiastical harmony".⁵⁹ John Bumpus refers to "the celebrated *Cantate Domino* and *Deus Misereatur* in D", and singles out the CD for particular praise, and also records that the setting was performed again for the 1854 Festival. He also gives a careful evaluation of the unique blend of English and German (principally Mozartian) musical characteristics found in his music, noting that his "nearest approach to the Continental Mass style is in his Evening Service in C", which was composed later in 1832. He also noted elsewhere that amongst the various instances of Mozartian influence in his church music, the verse 'O let the nations rejoice and be glad' in the Dm can be considered "perhaps the most tender and Mozart-like of them all" (from bar 52).⁶⁰

The image shows a musical score for a church service. It is in D major (two sharps) and common time (C). The score is divided into two sections: 'Verse' and 'Full'. The vocal parts are Soprano/Alto (S/A) and Tenor/Bass (T/B). The organ part is labeled 'Org.' and includes 'senza 8vb' and 'Ped.' markings. The lyrics are: 'O let the na - tions re - joice and be glad, re - joice and be glad: p for thou shalt judge the folk right-eous-ly, and go - vern the na - tions up - on earth, and go - vern the na - tions up - on earth.'

One traditional aspect of canticle setting that Attwood ignores, seen as early as his F major service from 1796, is the traditional verse grouping of ATB. It is the melody line, the treble part, that features in solos, duets, and as part a full SATB grouping, producing textures more familiar in continental church music. But despite Attwood's deep appreciation of the German style, it is very telling that unlike Camidge and Stevenson, he does not use the German 6th chord in any of the four evening service settings found in Walmisley's volume. Moreover, he prefers to end his Glorias with plagal rather than perfect cadences, as if very deliberately maintaining a traditional, ecclesiastical decorum in his services, creating his own unique blend of Anglo-German service music as noted by Bumpus and also immediately on his death in 1838 by *The Spectator* which wrote:⁶¹

MR. ATTWOOD'S style of sacred composition, though originally formed on the model of his English predecessors, partook of that of the German school; but, like every thing that he wrote, it bore the stamp of his own elegant mind, and reflected his own habits of thought.

⁵⁹ E. H. Pearce, *The Sons of the clergy, 1655-1904* (London, 1904), pp. 234-5.

⁶⁰ J. Bumpus, *op. cit.*, see vol. 2, pp. 407, 415-6, 513.

⁶¹ Saturday 31st March 1838, p. 303.

Attwood thus successfully allowed music at the heart of the British establishment to reflect the stylistic advances of the contemporary German school without having to sweep away the past or use every trick available. Attwood's compromise is understood very keenly when comparing his ACs with those by some of his contemporaries in York and Dublin. An anecdote survives concerning the performance of the ACs in D at one of the Sons of the Clergy Festivals, recorded by John Bumpus in his *Dictionary of Ecclesiastical Terms*, when describing the shawm mentioned in v. 7 of the CD:⁶²

The word always puzzled the Duke of Cambridge, father of the late duke. It is related that on one occasion while hearing the Cantate Domino of Attwood, at the Festival of the Sons of the Clergy at St Paul's, he exclaimed aloud, "Shawms, shawms — what are they?"

Our final specimen in this part of the survey is by the priest, writer and musician **William Havergal**, whose ACs in E \flat were published c.1836 when he was Rector of Astley in Worcestershire. The volume contains his evening ACs and 100 chants, prefaced by an essay entitled 'Remarks on Chants and Chanting'. Havergal complains about the infiltration of "trite and trashy" chants into the cathedral repertoire, and quotes William Crotch in his view that church music should not bring to mind the music of "the parade, the concert and the theatre". He also offers a few words about his canticles, saying that they are "strictly accordant to the dignity and sobriety of cathedral-music". However, like most composers of his generation, he was unable to ignore all aspects of the contemporary German style, and fortunately his naturally conservative outlook did not prevent him from producing perhaps a particularly dramatic deployment of the German 6th. His CD begins in the style well known from the settings of William Hayes and others, with conservative features including gently imitative counterpoint for the chorus and the typical ATB verse scoring for verse 3 in triple time. There is some mildly decorative writing in the organ part for the harp, with turn ornaments for the duetting treble voices, and the 'noise' of the sea is set with a unison descending chromatic phrase, making a welcome change from the more usual thick chords or running bass in the organ part. But with perhaps a clergyman's emphasis on the importance of the last judgement he then moves from B \flat to D in the following manner:⁶³

The musical score is for a choral setting of a canticle. It consists of five staves: Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor (T), Bass (B), and Organ (Org.). The key signature is E-flat major (three flats) and the time signature is common time (C). The lyrics are: "Lord: Solo Softly but expressively for he com-eth, he com-eth, he com-eth to judge, to judge the earth." The organ part includes a "Chorus" section marked *ff* and a "Solo" section marked *pp*. The score shows a key change from B-flat to D major in the final measures.

⁶² (London, 1910), p. 280.

⁶³ The same chord progression forms a climax at 'Abraham and his seed for ever' in the Magnificat in D by T. A. Walmisley composed in 1843.

Havergal employs a further German 6th in the CD Gloria, though providing just local colour rather than for a key shift. His setting avoids the opportunities for repeating music in verse 5 of the Dm and the Gloria, leading him to produce some inventive techniques. In Verse 5 he uses the flattened seventh to emphasise the word 'yea' in successive entries (from b. 81), and the Gloria, headed 'Slowly and reverently', opens with a call-and-response effect between 2 soloists and the full ensemble. The setting as a whole is notably more inventive than his other evening service, the Magnificat & Nunc dimittis in A, also published in 1836, which is a modest Full service.

John Peace's 'Cathedral Service' survey of 1824

In 1824, *The Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* published a remarkable survey which appears to be the earliest known effort to gather information from cathedrals across the country to compare their musical activities. We know a fair amount by this time about the anthems sung at various institutions, since anthem books were published by several cathedrals in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, but the precious information recorded uniquely here was of the service settings being sung, not the anthems.

The author of the survey is identified only by the initials X. A. P., which refer to the somewhat eccentric Bristol librarian John Peace (1785-1861). We learn about Peace from biographical details given as a preface to a posthumous collection of his sayings 'Axiomata Pacis' (London, 1862), 'axioms of peace' (presumably referencing the author's name and chosen pseudonym of X. A. P.). Peace was a "fossil Tory", a friend of Wordsworth and Coleridge, and a tireless champion of the Church of England and its music in particular. He published four discursive and entertaining 'descants' on the subjects of the weather, the introduction of the penny post, the terrors of the new rail travel, and cathedral choristers. We also learn that he managed to visit most of the Cathedrals in the country, before the introduction of the railways, which was clearly the inspiration for both his 1824 survey and his later book entitled *An Apology for Cathedral Service* (London, 1839). Here is his part of the introduction to his survey:⁶⁴

Perhaps the noblest portion of Cathedral music is that which is technically called "the Service," consisting, in the morning, of the *Te Deum* and *Jubilate*,† and in the evening, either of the *Magnificat* and *Nunc dimittis*, or the *Cantate Domino* and *Deus misereatur*. It has occurred to me that it would be desirable to ascertain, if possible, what number of compositions of this class may be in existence, and owing to the urbanity which would seem to mark the members of our cathedrals and collegiate churches, I have obtained from the greater part of these establishments an account of their treasures in this way. You will probably agree with me in thinking that the publication of my lists will be neither uninteresting nor useless. Utility has indeed already resulted from the collection; it has, even while in MS. enabled several choirs to ascertain where some imperfect services in their possession might be completed, and where other services which they were desirous to obtain might be found; but the opportunity of effecting mutual interchanges will become much more extensively known through the medium of the *Quarterly Musical Review*.

⁶⁴ 'CATHEDRAL SERVICE' in *The Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review*, London Vol. 6, Iss. 21, (Jan 1824), 17-27; with the listing continued in 'LIST OF SERVICES IN THE SEVERAL ECCLESIASTICAL LIBRARIES OF ENGLAND' in Issue 23, (July, 1824), 310-317, currently available online via the Proquest platform.

The survey tells us which service settings, morning and evening, were present in the libraries of nearly every Cathedral of the time, though not how often they were sung. Many of these are still present in the better-preserved archives amongst the cathedrals concerned, though sometimes the archives reveal the existence of certain settings that do not appear for whatever reason in Peace's lists, such as Fussell in A which survives at Canterbury Cathedral but is not included by Peace.

In the following copies of the various entries (which begin with Canterbury and York and then proceed alphabetically) I have highlighted in turquoise those settings of the evening canticles which only contain the ACs, and in yellow those that are known to contain both sets of canticles.⁶⁵ St Paul's Cathedral in London, and the royal institutions are notably absent from the list. Peace also lists the presence of the collections of Boyce and Arnold, which contain the following ACs (as already noted above):⁶⁶

Boyce: Blow in A, Blow in E minor, Purcell in B \flat (with 10 settings of the Magnificat & Nunc dimittis)

Arnold: Aldrich in A, King in B \flat (with 11 settings of the Magnificat & Nunc dimittis)

CANTERBURY.	
M. and E. Amner, in G	E. Priest, in F
M. and E. Brailsford	M. and E. Porter, in D
M. and E. Bishop, in D	M. and E. ———, in B
M. Boyce, in A (Verse)	M. and E. Rogers, in E minor
M. Bacon, in A	M. and E. ———, in F
M. and E. Child, in A minor	E. ———, in A minor
M. ——— in C	M. and E. Raylton, in G
M. and E. ——— in F	M. and E. ———, in A
M. and E. ——— in G	E. ———, in E
M. and E. Croyghton, in E	M. and E. Richardson, in C
M. Cook, in A	M. and E. Surgerson, in B \flat
M. Croft, in A	E. Smith, in C
M. Corfe, in B \flat	E. Stephens, in E \flat
M. and E. Ebdon, in C	M. Skeats, in D (Full)
M. and E. Humphryes, in G	M. ———, in D (Verse)
M. and E. Henstridge, in D	M. and E. ———, in C
E. Hayes, in E \flat	E. ———, in A (Sequel to Boyce)
E. Kelway, in B minor	E. Tudera, in A
M. and E. King, in D	M. and E. Tucker, in
M. and E. Kent, in C	M. and E. Wise, in D minor
M. and E. Kempton, B \flat	Boyce's Collection
M. and E. Nares, in C	Arnold's Collection.
E. Portman	

⁶⁵ In some cases, such as Ebdon at Carlisle, the listing seems to explicitly show the presence of both sets of evening canticles, so one of the two is highlighted in turquoise.

⁶⁶ In most cases it is clear that the Boyce and Arnold items are not duplicated in the main list, though there are a few exceptions, as noted below in the case of Ely.

YORK.	
M. and E. Attwood, in F	M. and E. Elway, in D
M. Boyce, in A (V.)	E. Elway, in C (Magnificat, &c.)
M. ———, in C	M. Goodson, in C
Jubilate, Croft, in D	Te Deum, Hayes, in C
M. and E. Child, in F	M. Latrobe, in D
E. ———, in F (Magnificat, &c.)	M. King, in B minor
M. and E. Camidge, (M.) in F	M. and E. Kent, in C
M. and E. Camidge, (Dr.) in A	M. Marsh, in D
M. and E. Corfe, in Bb	M. Nares, in C
M. and E. Clarke, in F	M. and E. ———, in C
M. and E. ———, in F	M. and E. Nalson, in G
E. ———, in A	E. Purcell, in G minor
E. ———, in A minor	M. ———, in D (Grand)
E. ———, in E	M. and E. Porter, in D
E. ———, in Eb	M. and E. ———, in Bb
E. ———, in D	M. and E. Rogers, in G
M. and E. Dupuis, in Eb	E. Tudway, in A
M. and E. ———, in D	E. Wise, in Eb
M. and E. ———, in F	Boyce's Collection
M. ———, in C	Arnold's Collection.

Note: Peace's errata list also adds Ebdon in C (both sets of evening canticles).

BANGOR.	
M. Boyce, in A (Verse)	E. Pratt, in E
E. Cooke (Mr. R.) in C	M. and E. Pring, in F (Full)
E. Hayes, in Eb	M. ———, in F (Verse)
E. King, in A	E. Rogers, in G
M. and E. ———, in C	E. Travers, in F
M. and E. ———, in F	Boyce's Collection

BRISTOL.	
M. and E. Aldrich, in A	M. and E. Jackson, in Eb
M. and E. Batten, in D minor	M. and E. ———, in F
E. Bishop, in D	M. and E. Kent, in C
M. Boyce, in A	M. and E. ———, in D
M. ———, in A (Verse)	M. and E. King, in F
M. ———, in C	M. and E. ———, in C
M. and E. Calah, in C	M. and E. ———, in Bb
M. Carter, in C	M. and E. Kelway, in B minor
M. and E. Child, in F	E. Langdon, in A (Sequel to Boyce)
M. and E. Clarke, in F	M. and E. Langdon, in A (Chanting Service)
M. and E. Combes, in E	M. and E. Patrick, in G minor
M. Dean, in C	M. and E. Priest, in F
M. and E. Dupuis, in Eb	E. Richardson, in C
M. and E. Ebdon, in C	E. Rogers, in A minor
E. Fussell, in A	M. Stevenson, in C
E. Gibson, in A	E. ———, in Eb
M. Goodson, in C	E. Smith, in Bb
M. Hall and Hine, in Eb	M. Walkley, in A
E. Hayes, in Eb	Boyce's Collection.
M. Hudson, in Eb	
M. and E. Jackson, in C	
M. and E. ———, in E	

Note: Peace's errata list adds the settings Clarke in E and Clarke in D.

CARLISLE.

M. and E. Blank, in D minor	M. Foster, in D minor
M. Boyce, in C	M. and E. Jackson, in C
M. in A (Verse)	M. and E. ———, in E
M. and E. Camidge, in F	M. and E. Kent, in C
M. and E. Clarke, in F	M. and E. Mudd, in C
M. and E. ———, in F (short)	M. and E. ———, in F
E. ———, in A	M. Marsh, in D
E. ———, in A minor	M. and E. Nares, in C
E. ———, in E	M. and E. Porter, in D
E. ———, in Eb	M. and E. ———, in Bb
E. ———, in D	M. and E. Russell, in A
M. and E. Ebdon, in C	Boyce's Collection
E. ———, in C	Arnold's Collection.

CHESTER.

M. and E. Black, in Bb	E. Hayes, in Eb
M. Boyce, in A	M. and E. King, in C
M. and E. Child, in G	M. and E. ———, in F
E. ———, in F	M. and E. Kent, in C
M. and E. Camidge, in C	M. Nares, in C
E. Clark (Jere.) in C	M. Purcell, in C
Clarke's (Dr.) Score	M. Rogers, in C
E. Ebdon, in C	E. Tudway, in A
M. and E. ———, in C	Boyce's Collection
M. Goodson, in C	

CHICHESTER.

M. and E. Alcock, in E	M. Hayes, in D
E. Arnold, in B	M. King, in D
M. Boyce, in A (Verse)	M. and E. Kent, in C
M. ———, in C	E. Kelway, in A
E. Bishop, in D	E. ———, in B minor
M. and E. Batten, in D minor	M. Marsh, in D
M. Child, in A	E. Nares, in C
M. ———, in F	E. Priest, in F
M. and E. ———, in G	E. Rogers, in A
M. Croft, in A	M. Shenton, in G
M. and E. Croyghton, in E	E. ———, in C
M. and E. Corfe, in B	E. ———, in A
M. and E. Ebdon, in C	Boyce's Collection
E. Fussell, in A	Arnold's Collection
E. Hayes, in Eb	

Note: Peace's errata list confirms that the Corfe ACs are in Bb.

DURHAM.

M. and E. Adcock, in E	E. Kelway, in B minor
M. Bacon, in A	E. ———, in A minor
M. and E. Bishop, in D	M. and E. Kent, in C
M. Boyce, in C	M. Marsh, in
M. ———, in A (Verse)	M. Nares, in C (No. 2.)
M. and E. Child, in F	M. and E. Priest, in F
M. and E. ———, in G.	M. Purcell, in D (Grand)
M. and E. Creighton, in E.	M. and E. Rogers, in F
M. and E. ———, in Eb	E. ———, in A minor
E. Cooke, in C	E. Raylton, in Eb
M. Croft, in A.	M. Shenton, in Eb
M. and E. Clarke, in F	M. Wakeley, in F
M. and E. Ebdon, in C	E. Wise, in Eb
E. Fussell, in A	M. Walsh, in D
M. Goodson, in C	Boyce's Collection
M. and E. Hayes, in Eb	Arnold's Collection
M. and E. King, in D.	

ELY.

M. and E. Aldrich, in A	M. and E. Ferabosco, in Bb
M. Boyce, in A	M. and E. Jones, in G
E. Blow, in Eb	M. and E. Kempton, in Bb (Full)
M. and E. Bryan, in G	M. and E. ———. in Bb (Verse)
M. and E. Child, in F.	M. and E. Kent, in C
M. and E. ———, in G	M. and E. King, in C
M. and E. Creighton, in Eb	M. and E. ———, in F
M. and E. Clarke, in F	M. and E. ———, in Bb
M. and E. ———, in E	M. and E. ———, in D
M. and E. Ebdon, in C	E. Morley, in D
M. and E. Ferabosco, in A	M. and E. Nares, in F.

M. and E. Patrick, in G minor	E. Skeats, in A
M. and E. Portman, in G	M. and E. Wood, in C
M. and E. Richardson, in C	E. Worgan, in Eb
M. and E. Skeats, in C	Boyce's Collection
M. ———, in Eb	Arnold's Collection
M. ———, in D	

Note: Blow's service is presumably his E minor setting. This is also in Boyce's collection, and Aldrich in A and King in Bb are also effectively listed twice as they are in Arnold's collection.

EXETER.

M. and E. Alcock, in E minor	M. and E. Jackson, in B \flat
M. and E. Aldrich, in A	M. ———, in B \flat
E. ———, in E minor	M. and E. ———, in C
M. and E. Bishop, in D	M. ———, in D
M. Boyce, in A	M. and E. ———, in E
M. ———, in A (Verse)	M. and E. ———, in E \flat
M. ———, in C	M. and E. ———, in F
M. and E. Camidge, in F	E. Jones, in F
M. and E. Child, in F	E. Kelway, in B minor
E. Clarke, in A	M. and E. Kent, in C
E. ———, in A minor	M. and E. King, in B \flat
E. ———, in E	M. and E. ———, in C
E. ———, in E \flat	M. and E. ———, in D
E. ———, in D	M. and E. ———, in F
M. and E. ———, in F	M. Hempell, in A
M. and E. ———, in E	E. ———, in C
M. and E. Compton, in D	M. Langdon, in A
M. and E. Corfe, in B \flat	E. ———, in A
M. and E. Creighton, in E	M. Marsh, in D
M. Croft, in A	E. Moseley, in E
M. and E. Ebdon, in C	M. and E. Porter, in B \flat
E. ———, in C	M. and E. ———, in D
M. and E. Fussell, in A	M. and E. Randall, in G
M. Goodson, in C	M. and E. Richardson, in C
M. and E. Hall, in D	E. Rogers, in A minor
M. and E. Hall, in A	M. and E. ———, in E minor
M. Hall and Hine, in E \flat	M. and E. Slatter, in E
E. Hayes, in E \flat	M. and E. Tallis, in E
E. Hawkins, in B minor	M. Tozer, in A minor
M. and E. Hallett, in E \flat	E. Travers, in D
M. and E. Jackson, in G	Boyce's Collection
M. and E. ———, in A	

GLOUCESTER.

M. and E. Alcock, in E minor	M. and E. Kent, in C
M. Boyce, in A (Verse)	E. Linley, in
M. ———, in C	Te Deum, Nares, in D
E. Bishop, in D	M. Pitt, in D (from Handel)
M. and E. Clarke, in F	M. Purcell, in E
M. and E. Child, in E	M. and E. Thomas, in G
M. Croft, in A	M. Walsh, in D
M. and E. Dean, in B \flat	E. Wise, in E \flat
E. Greville, in C	Boyce's Collection
M. and E. Jackson, in C	Arnold's Collection.
M. and E. King, in D	

HEREFORD.

<p>E. Arnold, in A M. and E. Batten, in D minor M. and E. Bishop, in D M. Boyce, in C E. Blow, in E. M. and E. Clarke, in E M. and E. ———, in F M. and E. ———, in F (short) E. ———, in A E. ———, in A minor E. ———, in E E. ———, in Eb E. ———, in D M. and E. Child, in G M. and E. Creighton, in Eb M. and E. Corfe, in Bb M. ———, in A M. Croft, in A M. Dare, in G M. Gates, in F M. Goodson, in C M. and E. Hall, in F E. ———, in D E. ———, in A M. Hall, jun. in F E. Hayter, in Eb</p>	<p>Hawkins, in Bb M. Handel, in D M. Hayes, in Eb M. Kent, in C M. and E. King, in D M. and E. ———, in B minor M. and E. Mudd, in G E. Mundy, in C E. Moseley, in C M. Nares, in C M. and E. Porter, in D M. and E. ———, in Bb M. and E. Purcell, in D Te Deum, ———, in C M. and E. Russell, in A M. and E. Richardson, in C M. Rogers, in F E. ———, in A minor M. and E. Smith, in E M. Swarbrick, in D E. Shenton, in D M. and E. Walkley, in A M. Walsh, in D E. Wise, in Eb Boyce's Collection Arnold's Collection</p>
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LICHFIELD.

<p>M. and E. Alcock, in A minor M. and E. ———, in E minor E. ———, in C M. Boyce, in A (Verse) M. ———, in C M. Camidge, in F M. and E. Child, in F M. and E. ———, in B M. and E. Cooper, in Bb M. and E. Corfe, in Bb M. and E. Creighton, in Eb M. and E. Croft, in E M. and E. Dean, in A M. and E. Dupuis, in Eb ———, in G minor Eblon, in C E. Grenville, in C E. Hayes, in Eb</p>	<p>M. Heathcote, in Bb E. Jackson, in E M. and E. ———, in Eb M. and E. ———, in F M. and E. Kempton, in Bb E. ———, in E minor M. King, in D M. and E. Kent, in C M. and E. Marsh, in D M. and E. Nares, in C M. Porter, in D M. Porter (Rev. W. J.) in F M. and E. Richardson, in C M. Sargerson, in Bb M. and E. Wise, in E Boyce's Collection Arnold's Collection</p>
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Note: Croft's setting is presumably that in Eb.

LINCOLN.

<p>E. Aldrich, in A E. Bishop, in D M. and E. Bryan, in G M. Boyce, in A M. ———, in A (Verse)</p>	<p>M. Boyce, in C M. and E. Camidge, in F M. and E. Child, in F M. and E. Dupuis, in Fb M. ———, in C</p>
<p>M. and E. Dupuis, in D M. and E. ———, in F M. and E. Ebdon, in C M. and E. Ferabosco, in Bb E. Fussell, in A E. Greville (Rev.) in C M. Hall and Hine, in Eb E. Hayes, in Eb M. ———, in D M. and E. Jackson, in C M. and E. ———, in E M. and E. ———, in F</p>	<p>M. and E. Kent, in C M. and E. King, in Bb M. and E. ———, in F M. and E. ———, in C M. and E. Nares, in F M. and E. ———, in C Te Deum ———, in D M. and E. Porter, in D M. and E. ———, in Bb M. Sargerson, in Bb M. and E. Woodward, in Bb Boyce's Collection</p>

NORWICH.

<p>M. and E. Beckwith, in Bb M. and E. ———, in E M. and E. ———, in C M. ———, in D M. ———, in G E. Bishop, in D E. Bullis, in G M. Boyce, in A (Verse) M. ———, in C E. Cotton, in A E. Child, in F M. and E. ———, in G M. and E. Cooper, in F M. and E. ———, in E ? M. and E. ———, in G M. and E. Connoult, in G M. and E. ———, in F M. Croft, in A M. Camidge E. Creighton, in Eb M. and E. Ebdon, in C M. and E. Ferabosco, in A M. and E. ———, in Bb Fussell, in A M. and E. Farrant, in A M. Goodson M. Garland, in A E. Gibbons, in D M. and E. Humphreys, in E E. Hawkins, in C E. ———, in D</p>	<p>E. Hawkins, in E M. and E. Holder, in C E. Hayes, in Eb M. Handel, in D Te Deum, ———, in D. Dett. shortened M. and E. Inglott, in D M. and E. Jones M. and E. Jackson, in C M. ———, in E M. and E. Kent, in C E. Kelway, in A E. ———, in B minor M. and E. King, in D M. Linley M. Linley (Rev. O.) M. Marsh Te Deum (Norwich) Beckwith M. and E. Nares, in C E. Priest, in F M. and E. Pleasant, in D M. Purcell, in D M. and E. Rogers, in G M. and E. Stodgers, in D E. Smyth, (Rev. C.J.) in Bb M. ——— E. Wesley M. and E. Wise, in D E. ———, in E Boyce's Collection Arnold's Collection</p>
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Note: Cooper in E is probably an error for Cooper in C, as found in the Norwich partbooks.

OXFORD.

<p>E. Bird, in C E. ———, in G M. and E. Batten, in D minor</p>	<p>M. and E. Blow, in E M. Boyce, in A (Verse) E. Bishop, in D</p>
<p>M. and E. Camidge, in F M. and E. Child, in E E. ———, in A E. ———, in A (Verse) E. ———, in C M. and E. Creighton, in E M. and E. Croft, in A M. and E. ———, in E M. and E. Goodson, in C M. and E. Gibbons, in C E. Giles, in C E. Howard, in D M. and E. Humphreys, in E E. Hayes, in Eb E. Jones, in F M. and E. Kent, in C E. Kelway, in A E. ———, in B minor</p>	<p>M. and E. Mundy, in D M. and E. ———, in G E. Morley, in G M. and E. Parsons, in D M. and E. Priest, in D M. and E. Portman, in G M. and E. Patrick, in A M. and E. Randall, in D E. ———, in G M. and E. Serton, in D M. and E. Stodgers, in D M. and E. Tomkins, in D (?) E. Wallond, in E M. and E. Wise, in D M. and E. Walkley, in F Boyce's Collection Arnold's Collection</p>

Note: the settings by Croft and Walond are presumably those in Eb.

PETERBOROUGH.

<p>M. and E. Aldrich, in A M. Boyce, in A M. ———, in A (Verse) M. and E. Child, in F M. and E. Calah, in C M. and E. Creighton, in Eb M. and E. Corfe, in Bb M. and E. Clarke, in F M. Dupuis, in D M. and E. ———, in Eb M. and E. Ebdon, in C M. and E. Ferabosco, in Bb M. Hall and Hine, in Eb E. Hayes, in Eb M. ———, in D M. and E. J. Hawkins, in Bb M. and E. Jackson, in E E. ———, in Eb M. Jones, in G M. and E. Kent, in C</p>	<p>M. and E. King, in C M. and E. ———, in Bb M. and E. ———, in F M. and E. Kempton, in Bb M. and E. Nares, in F M. and E. ———, in C M. and E. Patrick, in G minor M. and E. Porter (S.) in D M. and E. Porter (Rev. W. L.) in F M. Pitt, in D (from Handel) M. and E. Rodgers, in A (Sequel to Boyce) M. and E. Rodgers, in Eb M. and E. Richardson, in C M. Sargerson, in Bb E. Tudway, in A E. Wise, in E M. and E. Woodward, in Bb Boyce's Collection</p>
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ROCHESTER.

M.	Aylward, in Eb	M.	Hayes, in D
M. and E.	Barrow, in F	E.	———, in Eb
M.	Boyce, in A (Verse)	M. and E.	Kent, in C
M.	———, in C	M. and E.	Kempton, in Bb
M. and E.	Banks, in C	M. and E.	———, in Bb (Verse)
M.	———, in G	M. and E.	Porter, in D
M.	———, in Eb	M. and E.	———, in Bb
M. and E.	Child, in F	E.	Priest, in F
M. and E.	Camidge, in F	M.	Purcell, in D (grand)
M.	Croft, in A	M. and E.	Railton, in A
M. and E.	Dupuis, in C		Boyce's Collection
M. and E.	Ebdon, in C		Arnold's Collection

ST. DAVID'S.

M.	Boyce, in A	E.	Langdon, in A
M.	Day, in D	M. and E.	Porter, in D
Te Deum and E.	Inglott, in F	M. and E.	———, in Bb
M.	Kent, in C	E.	Patrick, in G minor
M. and E.	King, in F		Boyce's Collection

Note: ACs present only in Boyce?

SALISBURY.

	E.	Arnold, in A	M.	Goodson, in C
	E.	Attwood, in F	E.	Guise, in B
M.		Bacon, in A minor	E.	Hayter, in Eb
M.		Boyce, in A (Verse)	E.	Hall, in Bb
M.		———, in C	M.	Humphrys, in E minor
M. and E.		Barrow, in F	M. and E.	Jackson, in C (not Exon.)
M. and E.		Bishop, in D	M. and E.	Kent, in C
M.		Child, in F	M. and E.	———, in D
M.		———, in G	E.	Kelway, in B minor
M. and E.		Cooke (Dr.) in G	E.	———, in A
	E.	Cooke (R.) in C	M.	Marsh, in D
M.		Coombs, in D	E.	Rogers, in A minor
M. and E.		Corfe (J.) in Bb	E.	Richardson, in C
M.		Corfe (A.) in A	E.	Stephens, in Eb
M. and E.		Creyghton, in Eb	M.	Walkley, in A
M. and E.		Ebdon, in C	M. and E.	———, in F
	E.	———, in C		Boyce's Collection
M. and E.		Fussell, in A		Arnold's Collection

WELLS.

M. and E. Aldrich, in A	M. Hudson, in Eb
M. Boyce, in C	Te Deum, Herschell, in G
M. ———, in A	M. Hall and Hine, in Eb
M. ———, in A (Verse)	M. Hall and Broderip, in E
E. Broderip, in E	E. Heathcote, in Bb
E. ———, in D	M. and E. Jackson, in C
E. ———, in F	E. Kelway, in A
E. Bishop, in D	M. and E. Kent, in D
M. and E. Calah, in C	M. and E. ———, in C
M. and E. Clarke, in F	M. and E. King, in Bb
M. and E. Corfe, in Bb	M. and E. ———, in C
M. and E. Creighton, in E	M. and E. ———, in F
M. and E. ———, in F	M. and E. Nares, in F
M. and E. ———, in D	M. and E. Patrick, in G minor
M. and E. ———, in D (Verse)	E. ———, in A
M. and E. ———, in Bb	M. and E. Porter, in D
M. and E. ———, in Bb (Verse)	M. and E. ———, in Bb
M. and E. ———, in C	E. Priest, in F
M. and E. ———, in C (Verse)	E. Richardson, in C
M. and E. ———, in Eb	E. Smyth, in Bb
M. Dean, in C	M. and E. Travers, in F
M. and E. Ebdon, in C	M. and E. Walkley, in A
Te Deum, Tripp, in D	—————, in F
M. Goodson, in C	Boyce's Collection.

WINCHESTER.

M. and E. Bishop, in D	E. Ebdon, in C
M. Boyce, in C	M. and E. Ferabosco, in A minor
M. ———, in A (Verse)	M. and E. ———, in E
M. and E. Calah, in C	M. and E. Fussell, in B minor
M. and E. Child, in F	E. ———, in A
M. and E. ———, in G	M. and E. Hayes, in Eb
M. and E. Chard, in Bb	? E. Heathcote (Rev. G.) in F
M. and E. ———, in F	M. Jackson, in F
E. ———, in C	E. Kelway, in B minor
M. Croft, in A	E. ———, in A minor
E. Cooke, in C	M. and E. King, in D
M. and E. Clarke, in F	M. and E. Kent, in D
M. and E. ———, in E	M. and E. ———, in C
M. and E. ———, in F (Short)	M. ———, in G minor
E. ———, in A	M. Purcell, in D
E. ———, in A minor	E. Shenton, in C
E. ———, in E	E. Tudway, in A
E. ———, in Eb	E. Wise, in Eb
E. ———, in D	Boyce's Collection
M. and E. Dean, in Bb	Arnold's Collection
M. and E. Ebdon, in C	Alcock's printed volume

Note: Alcock's printed volume is presumably his 1753 publication which contains a service with a Magnificat and Nunc dimittis. Heathcote's Evening Service in F may be an error for his Bb service which survives at Wells.

WORCESTER.

M. and E. Alcock, in D	M. and E. Humphries, in E
M. and E. Aldrich, in A	M. and E. Henstridge, in D
E. Arnold, in A	M. and E. Jackson, in C
M. Boyce, in A	M. and E. ———, in Eb
M. ———, in A (Verse)	M. and E. King, in C
M. and E. Bishop, in D	M. and E. ———, in F
M. and E. Blow, in Eb	M. and E. ———, in Bb
E. Cooke, in C	M. and E. ———, in A
M. and E. Clarke, in F	M. and E. Kent, in C
M. and E. ———, in E	M. Loder
M. and E. Child, in F	E. Moseley, in E
M. and E. Corfe, in E	M. Nares, in C
M. and E. Dean, in C	M. and E. Purcell, in C
M. and E. Dean, in Bb	E. Pitt, in A
M. Davis, in C	M. and E. ———, in Bb
M. and E. ———, in G	M. and E. ———, in D
M. Dupuis, in Eb	M. and E. ———, in E
M. and E. Ebdon, in C	M. and E. Porter, in D
E. Ebdon, in C	M. and E. ———, in Bb
M. and E. Goodson, in C	E. ———, in Eb
M. and E. Goldwin, in F	E. Rogers, in A minor
M. Hall and Hine, in Eb	M. Walsh, in D
E. Hayes, in Eb	M. and E. Woodward, in Bb
M. ———, in D	Boyce's Collection
M. Handel, in D	

Note: the listing of Purcell Morning and Evening Service in C is puzzling. This may refer to the Bb service, but that is in Boyce. One manuscript at the cathedral has part of his 'great' Morning Service in D transposed to C, but this setting has no evening canticles. The entry for Blow must refer to his E minor setting. (The setting of the standard canticles by Moseley refers to the earliest known set by a woman composer, Lucy Moseley.)

With regard to the ownership rather than frequency of use, we can extract some rough figures to show the proportion of the presence of the ACs against the number of settings of the Evening Service as a whole in these cathedrals, including in the calculations the contents of the Boyce and Arnold volumes.

Canterbury: 26.2%	Exeter: 29%	St David's: 15.8%
York: 27.8%	Gloucester: 23.7%	Salisbury: 27.1%
Bangor: 27.3%	Hereford: 25%	Wells: 26%
Bristol: 42.2%	Lichfield: 36.7%	Winchester: 25.9%
Carlisle: 22.2%	Lincoln: 39.5%	Worcester: 29.2%
Chester: 32%	Norwich: 23.5%	
Chichester: 27.3%	Oxford: 17.2%	
Durham: 26.1%	Peterborough: 31%	
Ely: 23.5%	Rochester: 25%	

These figures produce an average of 27.4% per cathedral, and notwithstanding some uncertainty concerning those settings highlighted in yellow in the above tables and a few other queries, we can say with reasonable confidence that settings of the ACs accounted for roughly a quarter of all evenings services in cathedral use at this time.

The next statistics show the relative occurrence in the lists of individual AC settings that were not included in the Boyce and Arnold collections, where a minimum of 5 institutions are involved, in order of frequency:

Kent in C:	20
Hayes in Eb:	15
Child in F:	14
Bishop in D:	12
Corfe in Bb:	9
Clarke(-Whitfeld) in E:	8
Richardson:	8
Ebdon in C:	7, plus up to 11 more (maximum total 18)
Clarke(-Whitfeld) in D:	6
Jackson in E	6

The 'long life' of Child in F has already been discussed, but its appearance in 14 of these lists from 1824 is astonishing, especially as it never found its way into print until c.1850 (ed. Goss/Turle). Most of the other settings were published, but of those that were only available in manuscript, the most successful appear to have been two of the Winchester settings from the early 18th century, Bishop in D and Richardson in C.

Although most anthem books of the period do not mention services, there is one exception, that produced for Southwell Minster in 1828 by its Organist Edward Heathcote, which gives the following lists:⁶⁷

EVENING SERVICES.

FULL.

<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr><td>Tallis,D.</td><td>1585</td></tr> <tr><td>Bird,D.</td><td>1623</td></tr> <tr><td>Gibbons,F.</td><td>1625</td></tr> <tr><td>Patrick,G.</td><td>1626</td></tr> <tr><td>Bryan,G.</td><td>abt. 1650</td></tr> <tr><td>Rogers,D.</td><td>abt. 1685</td></tr> <tr><td>Child,F.</td><td>1696-7</td></tr> </table>	Tallis,D.	1585	Bird,D.	1623	Gibbons,F.	1625	Patrick,G.	1626	Bryan,G.	abt. 1650	Rogers,D.	abt. 1685	Child,F.	1696-7	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr><td>Aldrich,G.</td><td>1710</td></tr> <tr><td>Ferrabosco,Bb.</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>Creyghton,Eb.</td><td>1736</td></tr> <tr><td>King,C.</td><td rowspan="2">} 1748</td></tr> <tr><td>King,F.</td></tr> <tr><td>Travers,F.</td><td>1759</td></tr> <tr><td>Heathcote,A.</td><td></td></tr> </table>	Aldrich,G.	1710	Ferrabosco,Bb.		Creyghton,Eb.	1736	King,C.	} 1748	King,F.	Travers,F.	1759	Heathcote,A.	
Tallis,D.	1585																											
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Heathcote,A.																												

VERSE.

Composers.	Key.	Ob.	Composers.	Key.	
Farrant,G.		1585	Jackson,Eb		} <i>Flourished in the latter part of the 18th Century.</i>
Blow,A.		} 1708	Ebdon, (<i>Magnificat</i>) C.		
Blow,G.			Ebdon, (<i>Cantate Dom.</i>) C.		
Tudway,A		} <i>Flourished in the Reign of Queen Anne.</i>	Porter,D.		
Aldrich,A.			1710	Alcock,D.	
King,Bb.		1748	Marsh,D.		} <i>Still living, A. D. 1828.</i>
Kent,C.		} 1776	Clarke,F.		
Kent,D.			Hayes,Eb.		
Nares,C.		} 1783	Nares,F.		
Nares,F.			Dupuis,Eb.		} <i>Flo. in the latter part of the 18th Century.</i>
Dupuis,Eb.		Jackson,E.			

⁶⁷ Edward Heathcote, *A Collection of Those Portions of the Psalms of David, Bible, & Liturgy, which Have Been Set to Music, and Sung as Anthems, in the Collegiate Church of Southwell* (Newark, 1828), near the end of the volume.

There is no further description of these contents; the lists simply appear after the anthems and psalm texts, but the implication is presumably that this represents the repertoire in use at that time. The online catalogue of music at the Minster indicates the presence of Boyce and Arnold's collections as well, but since some of their services are included in the above list, it may indicate the particular items that were regularly used. The percentage presence of ACs in the above list is similar to that noted above from Peace's lists.⁶⁸

There is at least one piece of evidence to help identify the precise performance frequency of ACs in this period, thanks to the survival of music lists at Exeter Cathedral from 1832. All the daily sung service and anthem music from January to early June is noted in the lists, featuring the following ACs:⁶⁹

Child in F
Jackson in F
Jackson in E
Jackson in A
Bridgewater (in A?)
Kent (in C?)
Richardson (in C?)

Keys are given generally where there are more than one setting by a particular composer, but if one compares this list with Peace's listing from 1824, as well as the surviving partbooks at Exeter, both the mention of Kent and Richardson would appear to imply their respective ACs in C. Bridgewater is not on Peace's list, but this probably refers to his ACs in A, which also survives in the partbooks. The number of ACs sung each week on various days ranges from zero to four in only one week. The canticles sung in one week in February were as follows, alternating between the standard and alternative sets:

Exeter Cathedral week of February 26th, 1832: Evensong canticles (ACs in red)

Sunday	Bridgewater
Monday	Tallis
Tuesday	Jackson in F
Wednesday	King in F
Thursday	Child in F
Friday	Gibbons
Saturday	Jackson in A

However, for most weeks two sets of ACs were sung, most often Child in F, with one of the Jackson settings, and the period of Lent (from 7th March) saw no particular deviation from this pattern. How typical a picture this paints of use elsewhere is impossible to determine, but it certainly shows Exeter giving routine performances of the ACs at this time, with no link to special occasions.

Finally, one 'special occasion' is worthy of note, a commemoration service for Henry Purcell that was held at Westminster Abbey in August 1837. *The Musical World* magazine reports that the Dm and the Benedictus from the Service in B \flat by Purcell were sung at Evensong that day (the latter perhaps as an anthem).⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Blow's Service in G may well have contained the regular rather than highly elaborate ACs, and although the entry 'Heathcote in B \flat ' may conceivably refer to that by Rev. Gilbert Heathcote of Wells/Winchester, it seems more likely that this is a different setting by the compiler of the list, Edward Heathcote.

⁶⁹ Work carried out on the organ and the nave of the cathedral appear to have limited the sung services in June and July, and although the morning service music is listed for much of the rest of the year, the mid-week evening services are left mostly blank for whatever reason.

⁷⁰ *The Musical World*, vol. 6, iss. 76, (Aug 25, 1837), p. 171.