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## Introduction

‘What service settings and anthems were sung in Canterbury Cathedral during 1873-1988’ is a straightforward question to answer. The significance of the practice of choral music making in Canterbury Cathedral in the restoration and growth of Cathedral worship and early music repertoire deserves close examination through the information discovered in that first answer. The implication is that reinstatement of the worship and development of early music, following a period of impoverishment, was necessary. Investigation of the nature of changes made in Canterbury Cathedral, together with the progress of expansion of that worship, through music, becomes a challenging essential. Regeneration describes the breathing of new life, as in recovery from serious illness, which was shown to be necessary in the music and worship of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, following the vicissitudes of disagreement, war and apathy regarding style of worship in general and the role and compositional characteristics of music in particular. Preservation implies maintenance and safeguarding something of value, which had been hard won, in the battle for well-crafted music that conveyed and supported the meaning of the words that the music carried. Sustenance speaks of active feeding and nurture of something that has been made healthy, on a daily basis, so that it will have future life.

The churchmanship evident in regular choral services in Canterbury Cathedral is middle to high, as is that of the writer, (akin to the *Via Media* recommended by John Henry Newman, between ‘the superstitions of Rome...and the errors of Protestantism’<sup>1</sup>). The Cathedral building, its people and its musical life were historically damaged by those of excessive Puritanism. A teenage exposure to *The Wilderness*: John Goss, made a deep and life-changing impression on the writer; in later years serving as Organist and Choir Master of an Anglo-Catholic church choir, together with singing in a national chamber choir in Cathedral services made a significant contrast to the crushing puritanism experienced in childhood and also to some extent the low Anglican church services of early adulthood. However, a respect for those with different approaches to spirituality and worship remains an essential component of the Cathedral ethos and the views of the writer. The knowledge of the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist has given purpose to the writer’s life, especially when combined with well-crafted music, and in its original language wherever possible. One of the chief roles of this study is to demonstrate the way in which Canterbury Cathedral’s music has been an essential part of the movement towards reconciliation of the differing tenets of Roman Catholicism and Protestantism.

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<sup>1</sup> Rainbow, B. (1970) *The Choral Revival in the Anglican Church: 1839-1872*. London: Barrie and Jenkins. p6.

### **1.i. Purpose of the study**

No systematic study of Service music and Anthems in Canterbury Cathedral since 1760 has been located. The low state of worship in churches and Cathedrals, nationally, at the beginning of the Victorian period, has been examined by many scholars and musicians, but the sustained regeneration of musical life in Canterbury Cathedral during the period 1873-1988 has not been acknowledged. It is right and proper that this lacuna, in the musical history of the Mother Church of the Anglican Communion, should be filled. This study records the results of examination of the primary source evidence, available in the Cathedral Archives, relating to the music used during 1873-1988, and relates this information to the history of Cathedral and church music and the environment in which it was used, with specific reference to Canterbury Cathedral. The service settings and anthems in use are assessed to ascertain the extent to which the external influences both of those interested in early music revival, and S. S. Wesley and his supporters, were utilised, in that music. The view will be extended to take account of the musicians who performed the music; this will cover the work of the Organists and the Precentors and their role in the preparation and ordering of the services, followed by the choristers and their Choir School, together with the lay clerks. The music of the Cathedral was affected by both the First and Second World Wars, the latter even more directly affecting the personnel of the choir and their participation in the services. The field of study will also include matters relating to the organ, and the ethnology of Cathedral life.

An outline history of attitudes towards music in Worship and English Cathedral choral music from the beginnings of Christianity to 1873, from the political, ecclesiastical and musical point of view, in Canterbury Cathedral, will demonstrate a symbolic seed-bed in which music prior to 1873 was nurtured or neglected. The substantive study subsequent to that date, will consider how significant the practice of choral music making in Canterbury Cathedral was, firstly in the restoration of Cathedral worship, and then the growth and the development of the repertoire within that ancient building. Cathedral archival evidence will be supported by research drawn from books, journals, contemporary accounts and examination of musical documents.

The following areas of interest will be observed throughout the study as indicators of progress:

- The ordering of the service: processing; orderly and reverent services
- Attitude towards use of music in services, conformity to the rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer which provided opportunities for music
- Clergy and Choir attendance, behaviour and pluralism
- Music selection

- Changes in the Liturgy
- Value of matters of antiquity and tradition shown in the inclusion of early music and texts
- Inclusion of polyphonic music
- Numbers of Matins/Evensong Service settings, without frequent repetition
- Frequency of Sung Communion and the number of settings used
- Number of anthems
- Plainsong-style music, then inclusion of true plainsong
- Inclusion of music from countries other than England
- Greater inclusion of new music, i.e. contemporary music
- Movement towards authenticity of musical performance
- Movement towards authenticity of language
- Evidence of compositional developments in the repertoire chosen
- Use of early traditional music

### **1.ii. Background to Music in Worship with Special Reference to Canterbury**

#### **Cathedral**

There has been a place of worship on the site of Canterbury Cathedral since before the withdrawal of the Roman armies in circa AD 410;<sup>2</sup> sacred music has been heard in that location for more than 1600 years. The Cathedral has undergone several rebuilds and seen much trouble, but apart from eighteen years of silence during the Civil War, the Choir of the Cathedral has been the scene of sung services, which for most of that time have been held daily.

From the arrival of St Augustine in Canterbury, in AD 597, monks would have sung the services for the Cycle of Canonical Hours, using the Old Roman Rite.<sup>3</sup> The first Cathedral survived until 1067. In 1070, the first Norman Archbishop, Lanfranc, brought Gregorian chant, which was sung by both men and ‘pueri’, boys aged between 8 and 10 years old, who were preparing for a monastic life, using the Sarum Rite.<sup>4</sup> In Christ Church Priory, Canterbury, this practice of ‘child oblation’ died out from c1140. Boys’ voices were not heard again until 1438, when they were formed into a Lady Chapel choir, singing a Lady Mass each morning and a Votive Antiphon every evening in the Lady

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<sup>2</sup> One of three possible temples, dating from the late second century, lies beneath St Gabriel’s Chapel in the present Cathedral. (Lyle, M. (1994) *Book of Canterbury*. London: B. T. Batsford/English Heritage. p31).

<sup>3</sup> Guilmard, Dom Jacques-Marie. (2006) *The Discovery of the Origins of Gregorian Chant: the Office at Tours (800) and at Saint-Denis (835)*. In *Music and Liturgy Issue 323, Volume 32 No 3*. p9

<sup>4</sup> Bowers, R. (1999) *English Church Polyphony: Singers and Sources from the 14<sup>th</sup> to the 17<sup>th</sup> Century*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited. p411.



Chapel, under the direction of Lionel Power, while the monks continued their daily and nightly singing of the offices alone.

Following the Dissolution of the monasteries and the re-founding of Christ Church Abbey as a Cathedral in 1540-1541, the adult male singers and the Lady Chapel Choir were combined. In this way the men, the lay clerks, as they are still called in Canterbury Cathedral today, were joined by boys, as choristers, to form a choir similar to that heard in the Cathedral of the present.

Extensive information about the liturgy and music of the Cathedral is covered in Bowers' book, including the fact that for a short period following Tallis's departure from Waltham Abbey, at its dissolution, he was a lay clerk at Canterbury, departing to the Chapel Royal in 1542.

The Lutheran Reformation in Germany was aimed at addressing Clergy immorality, ignorance, pluralism and absenteeism, and the problem of Papal Indulgences. Luther's ideas did not relate to the role of music in worship, which remained unaffected, permitting Germany to be the seed bed of much of the world's great and long-lasting church repertoire. The English Reformation was very different, in that it was designed primarily for Henry VIII to obtain a divorce from his first wife, by taking over the headship of the English church, the Anglican Church, from the Pope. The Sarum Rite was still followed in Canterbury Cathedral throughout the Henrician Reformation and the daily services continued to be said and sung in Latin.<sup>5</sup> Had Henry VIII pursued his idea of alliance with the Lutherans following the visit of the Lutheran delegation in 1537-1538,<sup>6</sup> music in the Anglican Reformation and the centuries that followed might have been treated in a significantly different fashion. Cranmer and his colleagues proceeded with draft proposals for a new liturgy, but the negotiations and proposals came to nothing. There were reactions to these proposals, which were seen as heretical.<sup>7</sup>

Martin Luther and Henry VIII encouraged a move towards use of vernacular language, to enable the people to understand what was being said or sung; from 1543 lessons at Evensong and Matins were read in English (available in the Great Bible from 1538). The only music sung in English was Cranmer's Litany from 1544. From then onwards there were changes to the music to be used in services: Cranmer's idea was expressed to the King from 1544 for music to be note-for-syllable and without word repetition.<sup>8</sup> Cranmer abandoned Lutheran ideas and became increasingly influenced by the Calvinist approach, particularly through Peter Martyr and Martin Bucer, living, as refugees in England, at the

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<sup>5</sup> LeHuray, P. (1967) *Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660*. London: Herbert Jenkins. p2.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, p3.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, p4.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, pp 7 and 25.

Archbishop's Palace, having failed to be reconciled with Luther.<sup>9</sup> Martyr had been teaching at Cambridge University for some time when Bucer arrived in England.

From 1549 full choral services were heard in about forty Cathedrals, churches and chapels in England, Ireland and Wales.<sup>10</sup> All Latin service manuals were replaced by 1549.<sup>11</sup> Appendix 3 shows the changing attitude towards singing in the Communion service from 1549 to 1980. However, in the Preface to the 1549 First Prayer Book and all subsequent versions thereof are the following words:

‘Though it be appointed in the afore written preface, that al thinges shalbe read and song in the church, in the Englishe tongue, to thende that the congregacion maie be therby edified: yet it is not meant, but when men saye Matins and Evensong privatelye, they maye saie the same in any language that they themselves do understand. Neither that anye man shalbe bound to the saying of them, but suche as from tyme to tyme, in Cathedrall and Collegiate Churches...’<sup>12</sup>

In 1552 York Minster was reminded that the organ was to be silent.<sup>13</sup> Vestments and furnishings were decreased, the traditional east end position was abandoned and the altar was now called ‘the table’.<sup>14</sup>

Upon the accession of Elizabeth I to the throne Cranmer's English Litany was replaced by Latin forms throughout the country, and the Latin services reintroduced during Mary's reign were retained.<sup>15</sup> Within a few years Elizabeth had changed her approval to the vernacular form of services, and desired ‘modest distinct song, so used in all parts of the common prayers in the Church’, and

‘there may be sung an Hymn, or such like song, to the praise of Almighty God, in the best sort of melody and music that may be conveniently devised’.<sup>16</sup>

The music of composers such as Tallis and Byrd was welcomed by Elizabeth despite Byrd's recusancy, but Puritanism began to have greater influence in all areas of power, and a proposal to abolish organs was narrowly defeated in the 1563 Convocation.<sup>17</sup>

The 1559 Prayer Book of Elizabethan I differed little from the Second Edwardian liturgy, and formed the substance of the 1662 Book of Common Prayer, which is still used today, together with other reformed and modernised Liturgies.

Following the accession of James VI of Scotland to the English throne as James I, the climate seemed more kindly disposed to music of the Cathedral genre, and between 1590

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<sup>9</sup> Cuming, G. J. (1969) *A History of Anglican Liturgy*. London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd. Chapter 5

<sup>10</sup> LeHuray, P. (1967) *Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660*. London: Herbert Jenkins. p13.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*, p18.

<sup>12</sup> *The First and Second Prayer Books of Edward VI*. London: Dent, p5.

<sup>13</sup> LeHuray, P. (1967) *Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660*. London: Herbert Jenkins. p45.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid*, p28.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*, p31.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid*, p33.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*, p39.

and 1640 over 120 composers provided music for the Anglican rites, many of them from the Chapel Royal.<sup>18</sup> William Laud, a high churchman appointed Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633, assisted in musical matters, including rebuilding of organs and election of choir men.<sup>19</sup> He was still in post during the reign of Charles I; a difficult time, as the two opposing factions of Puritanism and High Churchmanship led onwards to the English Civil War. Laud's support of the king resulted in his own death by decapitation in 1645. Catholic services had been restarted in the London Somerset House Chapel, for Queen Henrietta Maria;<sup>20</sup> an eight-part High Mass being sung there in 1627, (the music described as 'exquisite'), but by 1633 it was silent again; contents destroyed and the building demolished.<sup>21</sup> Barnard's Collection of Selected Church Music, containing many complete service settings and anthems by Tallis, Byrd, Gibbons, Morley and Weelkes, was published in 1641; many of these compositions were polyphonic and for ten part choir. Barnard was a Minor Canon of St Paul's Cathedral during the reign of Charles I having been a lay clerk at Canterbury Cathedral, 1617/18-1622. A much damaged copy of this collection exists in the Archives;<sup>22</sup> it is the part book for contra tenor, cantoris choir, suggesting that this music was sung in Canterbury Cathedral.

Both Calvin and the Puritans were favourable towards music, but under limited conditions. Psalms were suitable in church, instruments and polyphony in the home, although theologically there is no foundation for the difference in their use. The Civil War and its results for the King of England are well known; although of different significance, its effect upon music in Cathedrals and churches was also devastating. The English Civil War took its toll upon Canterbury Cathedral; services ceased in the Choir, there was no singing in the Nave for eighteen years, apart from 'lusty' psalm singing; not chanted psalms, but metrical ones, such as those composed by Sternhold and Hopkins.<sup>23</sup> Sadly most of the Cathedral's collection of precious early music has been lost, much of it destroyed by Cromwell's soldiers. It was reported in the Canterbury News of 1644,<sup>24</sup> that they had rampaged through the Cathedral violating anything they could lay their hands on, including the organ. The Cathedral's musical staff had to reconstruct what they could of the previous repertoire, for many years to come.

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid, pp45-46.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid, p50.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid, p86.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid, p88.

<sup>22</sup> DCc-MS 1A

<sup>23</sup> Dearnley, C. (1970) *English Church Music: 1650-1750*. London: Barrie Jenkins. p61.

<sup>24</sup> Scholes, P. A. (1934) *The Puritans and Music: in England and New England*. London: Oxford University Press, (p233) summarising the report of Richard Culmer, the pro-Cromwell writer.

Following the offences of the Commonwealth people welcomed the order and gaiety of peace, church-going became a pleasurable activity once more,<sup>25</sup> and life in Canterbury Cathedral returned to its daily routine. Charles II ordered that his composers should provide instrumental ‘Symphonies’ to be added to their anthems, for use when he was at Chapel worship.<sup>26</sup> However, in church and Cathedral there followed the ‘Sound of Sovereigns’ (money) and the ‘World of Pluralities’;<sup>27</sup> (pluralism was the prevalent practice of holding more than one clerical office at a time. In general the holder of the office would pay a curate to care for parishioners, but it did not only occur in parish ministry as shown in the life of John Gostling).

John Gostling, 1649/50-1733, was a Minor Canon and Precentor of Canterbury Cathedral from 1675-1733. He was a pluralist, and as such he also held posts as Vicar of Littlebourne, Minor Canon and Vice Dean of St Paul’s Cathedral and worked as a music tutor within the Royal Household and Chapel Royal; following the Great Fire of London and the destruction of St Paul’s Cathedral he became Prebendary of Lincoln Cathedral. Many of these positions were held simultaneously, by spending about half of each year in Canterbury and the remainder in, or around the capital. He was also a music copyist, working very closely with Stephen Bing (1610-81), copyist at Westminster Abbey and also the Chapel Royal. The benefit to Canterbury was the quantity of music which Gostling brought from London and Lincoln for the use of the choir. A Doctoral Dissertation by Robert Ford,<sup>28</sup> exists in the Cathedral Archives, and contains a comprehensive list of Gostling’s Collection of Music. John Gostling’s own part-book remains in the Archives and contains many service settings and anthems, including some from the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Ford states that Gostling owned John Barnard’s part-books. Charles II compared Gostling favourably with nightingales, ‘I have a Gosling who excels them all’.<sup>29</sup> He sang at the coronation of James II, as a member of the Chapel Royal, and William and Mary continued to support the ‘stupendous Base’ [sic].<sup>30</sup> He was well known to Blow and Purcell, through performing their music; the latter composed anthems specifically to use the great range and technical facility of his voice and musical intelligence.<sup>31</sup> On the accession of James II, the Anglican services at the Chapel Royal continued only for the benefit of his daughter, Princess Anne. The new King and Queen,

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<sup>25</sup> Dearnley, C. (1970) *English Church Music: 1650-1750*. London: Barrie Jenkins. p21.

<sup>26</sup> Dearnley, C. (1970) *English Church Music: 1650-1750*. London: Barrie Jenkins. p25.

<sup>27</sup> These are chapter titles in the book: Virgin, P. (1989) *The Church in an Age of Negligence: Ecclesiastical Structure and Problems of Church Reform 1700-1840*. Cambridge: James Clarke & Co.

<sup>28</sup> Ford, R. (1984) *Minor Canons at Canterbury Cathedral: The Gostlings and their Colleagues*. Dissertation PhD in Music, University of California. p306. Unpublished.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid*, p194.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid*, p199.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid*, p226.

William and Mary, preferred vocal rather than instrumental music, and the order of 1691 stated that ‘the King’s Chapell shall be all the year kept...with solemn musick like a collegiate church’.<sup>32</sup> Queen Anne supported the use of music in services, but of the more serious variety and standards of performance and choir attendances slowly slipped.<sup>33</sup>

### **1.iii. Interest in Musical Antiquity**

Following the Restoration of the Monarchy attitudes towards history changed, everything that was contemporary was valued; anything from the past was discarded rapidly. The attitude continued into the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and music composed prior to that period rarely remained in performance for more than a generation, but in 1726 a society was formed in London that was to affect Cathedral repertoires nationally. The Academy of Ancient Music was unique in Europe for its performance of both secular and sacred music that was at least one hundred and fifty years old. Initially the society was named the Academy of Vocal Music and became a private club to which members were elected, but their interests and repertoire already involved music from the past, and did not change when the word Ancient was included in the title in 1731. Initially many of the active members were from the Continent, but following frequent serious internal disputes the society leadership passed to Johann Christoph Pepusch, a German musician, who had lived in London since 1704. The newly named Society kept a low profile for some years, possibly because their sacred repertoire included motets, psalm settings, services and anthems by composers such as Palestrina, Lassus, Allegri, Tallis and Byrd, whose music was either unknown or little used in an English ecclesiastical setting at this time because of Roman Catholic connotations, together with that of contemporary English composers. Members included leading singers from the Chapel Royal, Westminster Abbey, St Paul’s Cathedral and Dr Maurice Greene, the St Paul’s Cathedral Organist.<sup>34</sup> In the course of time Greene admitted William Boyce as a chorister at St Paul’s Cathedral. Following completion of his apprenticeship as an Organist, Boyce began studies with Dr Pepusch, under whose direction he encountered the works of Roman Catholic ecclesiastical musicians. Greene, in his turn, began to collate such English manuscripts as had survived the Civil War, ‘for use in the reformed church from the final establishment of its liturgy to his own time’.<sup>35</sup> Sadly Greene’s premature death in 1755 left his studies far from complete and Boyce was given the task of publication, all the manuscript music being remitted to him by Greene in his Will. The result, of what was to be a mammoth undertaking, was the publication, in

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<sup>32</sup> Dearnley, C. (1970) *English Church Music: 1650-1750*. London: Barrie Jenkins. p56.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid*, p58.

<sup>34</sup> Information gathered from the Academy of Ancient Music website [www.aam.co.uk](http://www.aam.co.uk) 13/07/2008 (Weber, W. *The Original Academy of Ancient Music*).

<sup>35</sup> Boyce, W. (1768) *Cathedral Music*. Volume I. London: Boyce. vi.

1760, of the first of three editions of Cathedral Music. Amongst the subscribers were the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury Cathedral, who bought five copies, and nine residents of Canterbury, including the Organist, Samuel Porter, and at least one of the lay clerks, each purchased a copy.<sup>36</sup> The music included in the first of the three volumes consisted of services by Tallis, Morley, Farrant, Bevin, Gibbons, Child, Benjamin Rogers, Blow and Aldrich. Volume two has full and verse anthems by composers ranging chronologically from Tye (c1500-72) to Croft (1678-1727), while the third volume contains services by Bird (Byrd), Child, Blow and Purcell, plus more verse anthems and four settings of the Sanctus (including one by Gibbons) to be used in Communion services. The three volumes of Cathedral Music, having been purchased by Cathedral authorities and individuals, would then have been transcribed into part books by copyists, for the singers of the services. Music produced by this group of enthusiasts for musical antiquity was to form the foundation of the 19<sup>th</sup> century repertoire of Canterbury Cathedral and the heavy part books were still in use following the Second World War, together with typeset music from publishers like Novello and Company. Whilst early music transcribed by Boyce in his collection of Cathedral Music is provided with figured bass accompaniment, it is likely that it would originally have been sung unaccompanied, in keeping with Injunctions<sup>37</sup> prejudicial to organ and instrumental accompaniments during the post Henrician years of the Reformation. It is, however, probable that music would have been accompanied in Canterbury Cathedral during the Victorian period, but on the organ, rather than with other instruments.

During the Georgian years there was something of a competition between the English and continental musicians, and church music was somewhat withdrawn from the arena to a 'cosily sacred corner'.<sup>38</sup> Despite the efforts of Maurice Greene and William Boyce to include music from their past in the repertoire of their present, and a collection of Cathedral Music by Samuel Arnold dated 1790, interest in the music of Cathedrals and churches was poor in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Samuel Arnold wrote, referring to the publication of his collection,

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<sup>36</sup> Vincent Novello, when preparing his organ accompaniments for a later edition of Boyce's Cathedral Music, was most uncharacteristically incensed that the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's Cathedral had purchased no copies of the original editions. Copies of later music composed by Boyce for St Paul's, had not been 'prized or preserved' by that Cathedral. The lists provided to Novello by Goss, contained less Boyce compositions, than half of what would have been 'commonly found in almost every respectable choir', (Hurd, M. (1981) Vincent Novello and Company. London: Granada. p6).

<sup>37</sup> From 1550 onwards a series of Royal Injunctions were made regarding what was acceptable in services of worship. In the first of these it was made clear that 'choral and instrumental music to be of little value in public worship'. Le Huray, P. (1967) Music and the Reformation in England: 1549-1660. London: Herbert Jenkins. p25.

<sup>38</sup> Dearnley, C. (1970) English Church Music: 1650-1750. London: Barrie Jenkins. p59.

'I am well aware that the encouragement will not be great, as it is not the fashion to study Church, so much as secular Musick; and if the Cathedrals and Churches...where Choir Service is performed...do not encourage it, the time may come, when this...much neglected stile of Composition...will be totally lost in this Kingdom',<sup>39</sup>

This statement by Arnold seems to be a key stage in the purpose of this study, stated in 1790, that is: without Cathedral worship the sublime, but much neglected, music would have been totally lost.

A copy of Arnold's Cathedral Music is also to be found in the Canterbury Archives.<sup>40</sup> Listed amongst the subscribers is the name of Highmore Skeats (Senior), lay vicar of Salisbury Cathedral. He became Organist at Canterbury Cathedral in 1803, so had already benefitted from the influence of Arnold's repertoire, when he was appointed. Also listed is Dr Henage Dering, Prebendary of Canterbury Cathedral, which confirms that the Cathedral already had its own copy, and did not await the arrival of that belonging to Skeats.

There had been a spiritual reaction to the Puritanical fanaticism of the Commonwealth which followed the Civil War. The words 'irreverence' and 'neglect' are quoted by Rainbow, describing behaviour in many churches during those years.<sup>41</sup> Reference has been made to the Early Music Revival which took place during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, but, apart from those few individuals who were interested in music, religious life seemed to fall into two distinct approaches: those who attended church and Cathedral as a social activity and those who were intensely evangelical and became partially separated from the forms of worship of the Anglican Church. Many textbooks about church music cover the 18<sup>th</sup> century very briefly, spending most of their content discussing hymnody and the Wesley family, who had explored a different approach to worship and established the Methodist Church, to supplement what was occurring amongst Anglicans. Phillips covers the period from the Book of Common Prayer of 1662 to the early 19<sup>th</sup> century in only three pages.<sup>42</sup> During the 17<sup>th</sup>-mid 19<sup>th</sup> centuries in Canterbury Cathedral hymns were rarely sung, so that aspect of musical progress did not benefit them at that time. Canterbury Cathedral musicians clearly used the repertoire available from Boyce and Arnold, but were otherwise reliant on what are today seen as mundane contemporary compositions, as will be exemplified in chapter 1. Nationally, public challenges about the state of the Anglican Church and its music began to be made during the late Georgian and early Victorian period. The conduct of services was under criticism, and the secularisation of the Church

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<sup>39</sup> Arnold, S. (1790) Cathedral Music. London: Arnold. p5.

<sup>40</sup> W2/S-12-1.

<sup>41</sup> Rainbow, B. (1970) The Choral Revival in the Anglican Church (1839-1872). London: Barrie and Jenkins. p7.

<sup>42</sup> Phillips, C.H. (1979) The Singing Church. London: Mowbrays. pp161-163.

drew attack from John Keble, specifically in his Assizes Sermon in 1833 on ‘National Apostasy’. Keble was to become a member of a group of theologians and academics at Oxford University, led by Edward Pusey, who formed themselves into the Oxford Movement, also known as Tractarians, because of their Tracts, published between 1833-1841. One of their aims was an improvement in liturgy and ceremony, with a marked increase in the frequency of the Eucharist from its three celebrations a year. The Cambridge Camden Society, later named Ecclesiologists, shared Tractarian views. Both groups of scholars loved and respected all matters relating to antiquity, and sought to find the best from the past. Tractarian aims included use of plainsong and the reintroduction of early music, such as had been sought by Greene, Boyce and Arnold in earlier times. They, in their day, formed a part of what Haskell calls ‘Romantic Antiquarianism’, evident in Europe from the late 18th century; for example, the interest in the music of such ‘ancient’ composers as Bach, Palestrina and Marcello by Mozart, Schumann and Mendelssohn.<sup>43</sup> Several Ecclesiologists are well remembered for their translations of ancient texts, which were to become significant in hymnals and the anthem repertoire.

The Tractarians did not seek to imitate Cathedral services and music, as they were nationally in a dire state, although Canterbury was far better than Westminster Abbey and St Paul’s Cathedral in its conduct of worship and music. John Peace drew attention to Cathedral conditions, in his *Apology for Cathedral Service*, published anonymously in 1839.<sup>44</sup> He listed the hindrances to progress: musical ignorance on the part of Minor Canons and lay clerks, irregular attendance and lateness of clergy and choir and poor musical repertoire and standards of performance. Dr Walter Hook, Vicar of Leeds Parish Church from 1837, acknowledged his great difficulty in meeting the spiritual needs of his parishioners. Although not musical himself he was aware that, as a dedicated and responsible Vicar, he had to find a middle way lying between ‘Methodistical and Popish absurdities’.<sup>45</sup> He was concerned that the mind of England had become ‘Protestantised’ and therefore ‘hated’ music, which had fallen into disuse, but feared that the Tractarians would ‘Catholicise’ England. Hook asked Rev’d John Jebb, Prebendary of Limerick Cathedral, for advice, and was persuaded to adopt the Cathedral form of service at Leeds, which, in 1841, resulted in the appointment of S. S. Wesley as Organist and Master of the Choristers. In 1849 Wesley wrote:

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<sup>43</sup> Haskell, H. (1996) *The Early Music Revival: A History*. New York: Dover Publications, Inc. p18.

<sup>44</sup> Anon. (1839) *An apology for Cathedral Service*. London: John Bohn. (Later known to be by John Peace).

<sup>45</sup> Rainbow, 1970, pp29-30. Hook’s attempt at rationalizing the situation is a clear and spiritual expression of his soul-searching, quoted by Rainbow from a letter to Miss Harcourt, 7<sup>th</sup> October, 1841; (see W. R. W. Stephens, Vol II, p133).



‘Music, as it is now performed in our Cathedrals, when compared with well-regulated performances elsewhere, bears to them about the proportion of life and order which an expiring rush-light does to a summer’s sun’.<sup>46</sup>

Wesley remedied the problems in Leeds and then worked nationally to improve the musical repertoire and its performance in churches and Cathedrals and his compositions also played a significant part in raising standards, through their attention to word setting and use of the organ as an accompanying instrument. In Canterbury Cathedral the assistant Organist, Longhurst, prepared a collection of early, unused, church music for use in services, most of which were English in origin, but not all. The collections of music by Boyce, Arnold and Barnard, together with those of Longhurst, provided the largest part of the repertoire used in Canterbury Cathedral during the earlier years of this study; they were also the foundation of what was to follow. Novello’s typeset copies entered the musical scene and permitted a larger range of music to be included in the services. He had an interest in early and continental music as well as the more contemporary repertoire and made a great difference to the musical libraries of Cathedrals and choral institutions.

Although the Schola Cantorum, set up in Paris in 1894, seems not to have had any direct influence upon the musical life at Canterbury, Jean Langlais, a teacher at the establishment, was included in Canterbury’s lists from 1980, by which time fears of Roman Catholicism did not prevent a welcome to his communion services. Other composers, excluded in the earlier years because of their churchmanship, were included increasingly as time went on. The result of the ideas of these supporters of antiquity and the desire for excellence in musical composition, in the life of Canterbury Cathedral, is revealed in this study of repertoire: 1873-1988.

The Edward VI First Prayer Book was revisited by members of the Liturgical Commission in preparation for a revision of the Book of Common Prayer, published in 1928, which did not become legal, but, as an Alternative rubric, formed the foundation of the official Alternative Service Book of 1980, which contains the following guidance with regard to the singing or saying of the rubric of worship:

‘**Saying and Singing** Where rubrics indicate that a section is to be ‘said’, this must be understood to include ‘or sung’ and vice versa’.<sup>47</sup>

See Appendix 3 for a detailed description of liturgical changes affecting the Communion Service; which in turn affected the repertoire of service music and anthems.

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<sup>46</sup> Wesley, S. S. (1965) *A Few Words on Cathedral Music: and the Musical System of the Church with a Plan of Reform*. London: Hinrichsen. A reprint of the original edition dated 24<sup>th</sup> May 1849. London: Hinrichsen Edition Ltd. p12.

<sup>47</sup> The Alternative Service Book 1980. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p32.

### **1.iv. Interest in Musical Authenticity**

Historically there have been problems in the performance of music taken from old collections of music, whether liturgical or secular, and particularly from pre-Restoration sources. Some of the collections are incomplete with missing parts,

‘by twentieth-century standards, all the sources are singularly uninformative, both printed and manuscript, liturgical and secular. Tempi and dynamic markings are non-existent, underlay is all too often ambiguous (especially in the manuscripts), and accidentals are inserted or omitted with bewildering inconsistency’.<sup>48</sup>

Word setting with consistency of syllabic accentuation seems not to have concerned composers such as Gibbons.<sup>49</sup> LeHuray comments on the practice of splitting polysyllabic words, such as ‘pa-ti-ence’ around 1620, although the fashionable people of 1580 had been pronouncing them in the way we do today.<sup>50</sup>

At around the same time as the Tractarians in Oxford were encouraging a return to earlier Anglican practices in church services, musicians in Europe were seeking a return to greater authenticity in music.<sup>51</sup> Newly researched editions of secular and sacred music became available and were welcomed into the repertoire, led, in twentieth-century England, by such churchmen as Edmund Fellowes.<sup>52</sup> Whilst there will always be a debate about authenticity of language, whether, or not, to sing the words to the text which the composer used, most vocal musicians are in agreement that phrasing is significantly affected by singing in translation, as exemplified by Michael Tippett on the setting of the Medieval Latin poem, *Plebs Angelica*,<sup>53</sup> explaining that the syllabic stresses, and therefore the intelligibility of the words, would be completely altered by an English translation. Dolmetsch summarised the views of many when he said, ‘We can no longer allow anyone to stand between us and the composer’.<sup>54</sup>

## **2. Methodology**

### **2.i. The Organists**

This study has been focussed on the work of the seven Organists, Longhurst, Perrin, Palmer, Knight, Hopkins, Campbell and Wicks, who provided music for the services, according to the historical time in which they were serving.

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<sup>48</sup> Le Huray, P. (1967) *Music and the Reformation in England: 1549-1660*. London: Herbert Jenkins. pp100-101.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid*, p107.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid*, p109.

<sup>51</sup> Haskell, H. *The Early Music Revival: A History*. New York: Dover Publications. p18.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid*, p37.

<sup>53</sup> CCA-Add MS/279

<sup>54</sup> Arnold Dolmetsch, *The Interpretation of the Music of the XVIth and XVIIth Centuries* (London, 1915, repr. Seattle, 1969, p471) quoted in Haskell, p43.

Longhurst and Perrin, have been studied simultaneously as their work was comparable, although there were significant changes in their roles through the period 1873-1908, giving the Organists more authority over music selection. During this period the celebration of sung Communion increased, although it was not to be weekly for many years to come.

Palmer served until 1936, and his repertoire shows considerable change in the use of language and earlier compositions, although there was no introduction of plainsong into the services.

Knight made great advances in his repertoire, which included the use of plainsong, but progress was hindered by the occurrence of the Second World War, with the evacuation of the choristers to Cornwall and the absence of lay clerks on military duties. His successor, Hopkins, maintained the same wider repertoire developed by Knight, but remained in post for a very short time. He was followed by Campbell, who was not able to sustain the progress made by Knight and Hopkins for reasons to be discussed in the body of the text, and related to Cathedral ethnology. These three Organists are included in the same chapter, as their aims and intentions regarding the range of music would appear to have been similar.

From 1961, Wicks, an outgoing and confident musician who would not be deterred from following his musical principles, succeeded in expanding the historical range of the service music to a much greater extent than his predecessors. He included plainchant (pre-Reformation) settings of the Eucharist, together with European services in their original Latin, and an internationally valuable array of anthems and motets covering seven centuries from around the world in seven different languages, English, Latin, German, French, Spanish, Italian and Russian, in addition to medieval music.

## **2.ii. Available primary source information**

Most of the primary source information about music performed at Canterbury exists in the Cathedral Archives. The core sources for this study have been the music lists, an incomplete collection, produced on a fortnightly basis, which have been the starting point for examination and processing into historical periods, together with the styles of composition that those times represent.

## **2.iii. The records**

As so much of the information for this study is drawn from archival records it is necessary to clarify what is still available for examination.

Service lists exist for 1873-1875, 1892, October 1893-October 1894, 1899-1925 and part of 1926; also present are 1935-1968, and 1969 January to June, but there is then a lacuna

up to the incomplete records of 1975, 1976 and 1977. The lists for 1978 onwards are complete, up to the part year of 1988. It has not been possible to explain these breaks in the continuity of the records; it appears that they have simply been lost. Because the years 1892, 1935 and 1978 follow breaks in the records it appears that there were many introductions of new music in those years, but the precise date of inclusions cannot be verified.

The records of Chapter meetings at Canterbury Cathedral are complete for the entire period, but there is a gap in the Precentors' books, which exist for 1873-1915, then recommence in November 1930. These records list the names of lay clerks and choristers, and it is of interest that this information starts to be included in the St Catherine's Audit Chapter minutes in each year from November 1924. It therefore seems possible that a Precentor's Book was not completed for the years from 1916 to mid 1930, but no explanation for this break in the records has been found. An annual St Catherine's Audit minute, in Chapter Book 18, dated November 25<sup>th</sup> 1924, states that the Precentor keeps a record of Dean and clergy attendances,<sup>55</sup> thus confirming this duty was undertaken by the holder of that office. The Chapter books have been an invaluable source of information about the day to day life of Canterbury Cathedral, often explaining why alterations have been made to services, as in the case of liturgical change, and illustrating the ethnology of Cathedral life over the 115 years of this study.

#### **2.iv. Investigation of the music**

The writer decided to examine the service settings, and their use, separately from the anthems, as service music relates to the liturgy, and liturgical change, particularly in relation to the Communion Service, has been studied and codified in Appendix 3. It then became possible to compare the repertoire in use during a particular year and compare it with that sung in other years, to evaluate progress in the inclusion of early music, music influenced by plainsong, true plainsong, and contemporary compositions, together with maintenance of the most effective services and anthems.

#### **2.v. Nomenclature of services**

Naming of services has been recorded, both according to the contemporary service lists and editions used at the time, and, wherever possible in the interest of clarity, supplemented by titles that are now used, with the benefit of recent scholarship (for example: Tallis in D minor, is the Dorian Service and also the Short Service).

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<sup>55</sup> CCA-DCc-CA/18, p4.

## 2.vi. Composer dates

Compositions have been dated, for the purpose of this study, by the birth date of the composer, where known, unless the actual date of composition can be identified. Composer dates have been taken from the New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, wherever possible, but some of the composers have not been considered sufficiently significant to be represented in that musical dictionary. Other sources of information<sup>56</sup> have been necessary and occasionally these have contradicted each other: wherever possible, the most recent editions have been used.

## 2.vii. Musical examples

In order to make objective decisions regarding the significance of the music from each historical period, in terms of its use during the period of this research, the writer decided to examine representative compositions. The Cathedral Archives contain a substantial collection of music used in the past, although, sadly, some has not been retained. In addition to gaps in the music collection, for a period of time, the Cathedral Music Library was not accessible,<sup>57</sup> and it became necessary to visit the British Library, where it was possible, in most cases, to find a copy of the same item from the repertoire, with the same publisher and date of publication as that in storage at Canterbury.

Matins and Evensong settings are listed separately from Communion settings and anthems follow. In each chapter examples are listed in chronological order of the composers and the period of use of each composition is included with each example. A list is provided as Appendix 1, with references wherever available. In most cases they are extracts, rather than full quotations.

As this is a study of the repertoire used in the Cathedral: how the music was used: the compositional structure of the music will not be examined in fine detail. The types of examples indicate the proportion of compositional styles found in each Organist's period of office, helping to trace the progress of change. They demonstrate their purpose in the musical life of the Cathedral according to the following criteria:

- Reaction to Henrician Royal Injunctions: note-for-syllable, no repetition of text, no organ
- Evidence of knowledge of the pre-Reformation liturgy
- Indication of use of compositional techniques: homophony or polyphony, melismas, canons, imitation, cadential suspensions and those used within the

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<sup>56</sup> Such as: Pratt, W.S. (1931) *The New Encyclopedia of Music and Musicians*. New York: The Macmillan Company.

Kennedy, M. (2007) *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Music*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

<sup>57</sup> As a result of the renovations to the Cathedral Library changes in referencing may have taken place, wherever possible the new references have been used.

musical lines, series of suspensions, appoggiaturas, non-harmony notes, stepwise melodies, melodic leaps, musical rhetoric, pedal notes, colla voce with, and independence of voices from, organ accompaniment, instrumental interludes, accompanied, unaccompanied, use of performance instructions for voices, and more particularly for the organ

- Music with little harmonic change, prepared modulation or significant sudden modulation
- Melodies inspired by plainchant or incorporating plainchant
- Text: Biblical: Old Testament, New Testament, non-Biblical, (early and later).  
Change in textual emphasis: judgemental, penitential, encouraging, promissory
- Composers: British, parochial, international, concert music used in services, e.g. oratorios and passions, music composed solely for church worship
- Music commissioned by the Cathedral or composed for the Cathedral
- Music sung in English translation, then later in the original language
- Music in original non-English language
- Music sung with different words to the original
- Musical structure e.g. strophic, ternary, first movement form or through-composed
- Relationship between music and text: Music that has been shaped to support and convey the words meaningfully or words constrained to pre-existing or regular patterns of music
- Very early date (prior to Royal Injunctions) to contemporary date
- Music that is inspiring, and less so
- Significant longevity of use, see also Appendix 4

The brevity or longevity of the period during which a particular piece was sung may say as much about that composition as the person who selected it. Where other factors, such as the reduction in frequency of Matins services, are at issue, this is described in the body of the text.

### **2.viii. Appendices**

Appendices have been provided to supplement the texts and musical examples, as follows:

1. List of Musical Examples.
2. The changing role of Precentors in Cathedrals.
3. A record of Liturgical changes to the Communion Service.
4. Lists of the longevity of the use of Matins, Evensong and Communion

Services, together with composers of Anthems

5. A record of the music used at the funeral and memorial services for Allan Wicks (in 2010) representing a perspective view of his repertoire.
6. The record of use of the Benedictus qui venit and Agnus Dei, as anthems, since 1892; a completely new area of study.
7. The introduction and use of anthems set to languages other than English.

### **3. The music**

#### **3.i. The Services and Service Settings**

In the early 1870s the principal Cathedral services were daily Matins and Evensong, both of which were amalgams of five of the pre-Reformation cycle of Canonical Hours (three having been abolished at the Reformation).

**Table 1: showing the Canticles of Matins and Evensong Services**

<b>Morning Service</b>	
<b><u>Canticles</u></b>	<b><u>Text derivation</u></b>
<b>Venite</b>	Psalm 95 (sung to a chant)
<b>Te Deum laudamus or Benedicite omnia opera</b>	Song of St Ambrose The Song of the Three Children, praising God, provoking all creatures to do the same
<b>Benedictus or Jubilate</b>	Luke 1: 68-79 The response of Zachariah to the news that his wife Elizabeth was to have a baby, John the Baptist Psalm 100
<b>Evening Service</b>	
<b>Magnificat or Cantate Domino</b>	Song of Virgin Mary at the Annunciation Psalm 98 – O sing unto the Lord a new song
<b>Nunc Dimittis or Deus Misereatur</b>	Luke 2: 29-32 Simeon`s Song Psalm 67 – God be merciful unto us

A set of Morning and Evening Services in the same key would contain all or most of the Canticles, or their alternatives, listed above.

Plainsong for the singing of services was introduced in late 1936 and proved invaluable, as the choristers could sing it, both unaccompanied and without the presence of the lay clerks. Similarly the men did not need the treble line to make up a full choir; they could chant the canticles, in the manner of the monks. Early settings, such as those by Gibbons and Byrd, which were based on plainchant, were added to the service music as time went on.

Sunday services, since the beginning of Canterbury Cathedral's records in 1835, have been very different to today's pattern. Prior to Longhurst's time Communion Services

during the week were always said, including those celebrating Saints Days. On Sundays there was an Ante-Communion service, but not a full sung service. By 1873 there had been changes and both Saints Days and Sundays were celebrated with a sung Ante-Communion, sometimes completed to be a full service. However, a Sunday sung Communion service did not stand on its own, as it does today, it always followed another service and from 1873 to October 1903 it followed a sung Matins. Subsequently the Litany was inserted between Matins and Communion services, with a space after the Offertory for those who did not wish to take Communion to leave.

The following table provides a brief summary of the Communion Service, but a fuller record of changes in the Liturgy of Holy Communion, from the 1549 Prayer Book of Edward VI to the Alternative Service Book of 1980, is included in Appendix 3.

Changes in the pattern of frequency of Communion services will be traced through each chapter, and summarised in the Conclusion.

**Table 2: showing the Ordinary of Communion**

Element of the Liturgy	Frequency
<b>Kyries</b> (short - with the Commandments) <b>Ninefold Kyries</b>	always until Series 1 services Ninefold became a legal option in Series 1 (1960s)
<b>Creed</b> (Nicene)	always
<b>Offertory Sentences</b>	sung between 1899-1903 otherwise said
<b>Sanctus</b> ( <b>Holy, holy, holy</b> )	always, but only the service setting was named after 1898
<b>Benedictus qui venit</b> ( <b>Blessed is He that cometh</b> )	became an option from Series 1 onwards
<b>Agnus Dei</b> ( <b>O Lamb of God</b> )	became an option from Series 1 onwards
<b>Gloria in excelsis Deo</b> ( <b>Glory be to God on high</b> )	not in the Catholic position in the service until Alternative Service Series 1

### 3.ii. Anthems

Matins and Evensong service settings could not be dated earlier than the Reformation, as they were created during that period, so communion services and anthems, in the Cathedral's musical life, have shown greater increase in range and variety. Having already acknowledged the Early Music Revival of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and the developments related to the interest in antiquity encouraged by the Oxford Movement and Ecclesiologists, together with the work of S. S. Wesley, the answer to the enquiry about growth of worship has to include the music of Stanford, Stainer, Wood and Parry, who were part of a time often called The Second Golden Age, from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century



onwards. The music deriving from this period of progress was, and is still, enjoyed in Canterbury Cathedral.

Anthems benefitted from the influence of plainsong from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, and, increasingly, plainchant-style compositions entered the repertoire.

Music initially came mainly from England, but, as travel improved, and ecumenical relationships flourished in the Cathedral, a wider, international repertoire was heard.

Whilst undertaking the listing of service music in Canterbury for 1961-1988 at the same time as the pre-1873 history, it became evident that certain music was being reintroduced to the repertoire. The later Organists examined the repertoire of their predecessors and drew on music that had been discarded, for a variety of reasons, including changing fashions, altered needs and personal preferences.

#### **4. Contribution to world musical activities**

It has become clear as the study has progressed that Canterbury Cathedral did draw on the tenets of the Tractarians, Ecclesiologists and S. S. Wesley. Services were increasingly well planned; plainsong became an integral part of the music, particularly from 1936 onwards; and early music flourished there, despite difficulties, without displacing the full range of 17<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> century repertoire. The influence of the musicians reached out, in the course of time, to the wider world, in the field of early music, but also in the contemporary music genre; many of the lay clerks and choristers moved on to contribute to the music scene around the world, both in mainstream and early music, as conductors, singers, instrumentalists, accompanists and musical directors.

#### **5. Conclusion**

Despite the ebbing and flowing fortunes of choral music in Anglican Cathedrals, music in Canterbury Cathedral has contributed significantly to its survival as a place of worship and to the revival of early music, the maintenance of the central heart of Anglican Church music and the innovation of contemporary compositions. The worship in Canterbury Cathedral has been regenerated, preserved and sustained by the daily offerings of words and music to God. The Cathedral, without its music, would not exist in the same fashion as it has done for centuries.

## Chapter 1.

### Choral Music in the Life and Work of Canterbury Cathedral:

#### Longhurst and Perrin: 1873-1908

Cathedral congregations in the mid-Victorian period were, like those of churches, regular in attendance, but unenthusiastic, and this continued to an extent into the reign of Edward VII, in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Music in Cathedrals had not flourished during the Georgian period and ‘reached its lowest ebb in the latter part of the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries’.<sup>58</sup> Throughout the 1880s and 1890s there was a severe national economic depression, which affected Cathedral finances, Canterbury Cathedral was not exempt from these concerns; in addition there were numerous entries in the Chapter Book records about the problems created by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.<sup>59</sup> The effect that this had on the workings of Chapter and the day to day finances of the Cathedral caused difficulties in all areas, not least for the musicians and the repertoire that they could produce. Repairs, followed by a substantial rebuild, to the Cathedral organ, affected the repertoire and musicians on a daily basis, as did the refurbishment of the Choir, where most of the daily services took place, although the Cathedral’s funds were not diminished by these improvements, as they were funded by voluntary subscriptions.

This chapter will trace the slow but evident responses to the inspiration of church leaders, such as Keble, Pusey, Pugin and Helmore, as revealed in the Cathedral repertoire.

#### 1.i. The Organists

The period 1873-1908 covers the service, as Organists, of William Henry Longhurst (1819-1904) and Harry Crane Perrin (1865-1953), who succeeded him, remaining until 1908. Their backgrounds were very different, and their roles in the Cathedral traced significant change.

Longhurst worked solely at Canterbury; born in 1819, he became a chorister in 1827, at the age of eight, under Highmore Skeats (Senior), a previous Organist of Canterbury Cathedral, and continued from 1836 as a lay clerk and assistant Organist to his immediate predecessor, Thomas Jones. He was an organ pupil of both Stephen Elvey, whose compositions were used in the Cathedral repertoire, and Jones. Upon the death of Jones, in 1873, the vacancy was not advertised and Longhurst was immediately appointed probationary Organist, aged 54, confirmed in the full role the following year, was

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<sup>58</sup> Nicholson, S. H. (1932) *Quires and Places Where They Sing*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. p48.

<sup>59</sup> The Ecclesiastical Commissioners were set up by Parliament in 1836. It was their intention to divert finance from Cathedral funds, to form new churches in deprived areas.

awarded the Archbishop of Canterbury's Doctorate in 1875, and the following year received another from the University of Toronto. He organised the publication of some little known early music together with more from the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century, in three volumes, well-used copies of which remain in the Cathedral Library.<sup>60</sup> Marenzio's Anthem, *Save Lord*, dated 1580, is included in the first of the collection, being block printed, (therefore pre-1840s) whilst others are typeset. The earliest anthem in the Longhurst collection is by Christopher Tye (c1500-1573). There are also two anthems each by Farrant (c1530-1580) and Marcello (1686-1739) together with several other composers from the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Longhurst contributed his own compositions to the repertoire and these continued to be used for a period following his retirement and death, but this is probably of lesser import than his three volume collection of Short Anthems which added to the early music available, together with anthems from the continent.

Although the Organist's responsibilities at this time were considerably less, compared to those of his successors, Longhurst took a pastoral interest in those working with him and rehearsed the lay clerks. In the writer's opinion he maintained an interesting repertoire by comparison to some of his contemporaries in several other Cathedrals. While there had been no reports in the Chapter Book records since 1873 regarding the repertoire sung by the choir, in 1891 the intention to 'render more efficient the musical services during the summer vacations' was noted, this communication was acknowledged by Longhurst.<sup>61</sup> Staffing the Cathedral choir during the holiday periods was always a problem, as it was allowed no official holiday, and repertoire had to accommodate a reduced number of singers. Longhurst's advancing years seemed to take their toll and in 1896 a committee discussed the question of improving the music, providing an interim report for confidential circulation among members of the Chapter; the minutes contain no details.<sup>62</sup> Chapter Book minutes, dated September 25<sup>th</sup> 1897, however, are entitled 'Improvement in the Singing'.<sup>63</sup> Plans to improve the music were postponed at that meeting, but in the St Catherine's Chapter and Audit of November 25<sup>th</sup> of that year a conclusion was reached. It was decided that:

'after 70 years of honourable service in the Cathedral he ought to be relieved, aged 78, of the active duties of the office of organist and choir-master, retaining his salary and his official residence.'<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Musical Examples 37, (*Malan: O Lord my God*) and 15, (*Creyghton: I will arise*) were published in Longhurst's volume one and Example 72 (*Weldon: O praise the Lord*) appears in volume three. The three volumes are bound together with other music which is chiefly Victorian in origin, including Musical Example 20 (*Jenner: Haste Thee, O God*) and 19 (*Elvey: Wherewithal shall a young man*). Longhurst's Anthems, ref: W2/T-3-20.

<sup>61</sup> CCA-DCc-CA/14, p131.

<sup>62</sup> CCA-DCc-CA/15, pp37, 40.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid*, p97.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid*, p105.

Longhurst accepted this with great grace and dignity, and was welcomed to be the honorary Organist to the Cathedral; his final service being April 6<sup>th</sup> 1898.

Unlike Longhurst, who had only served Canterbury Cathedral, Perrin, at thirty three, had been involved in music making in several places of worship. When he came to Canterbury Cathedral he was already a Fellow of the Royal College of Organists and had previously been an Organist in Dublin, Lowestoft and St. Michael's, the old Coventry Cathedral, having received a university musical education at Trinity College, Dublin. Perrin was significantly younger, by comparison to his predecessors, however, there is evidence in the Chapter Act books that this did not hinder his desire to make his mark on the musical life of Canterbury Cathedral. More specifically, Perrin made changes to the musical repertoire, as will be shown in the discussion about service settings and anthems.<sup>65</sup> He was evidently well-known internationally as in 1907 he received and accepted an invitation to head a new music department at McGill University, Montreal, and served as Dean of the Music Faculty until 1930. He completed his term of office at Canterbury in July 1908.

During the period that Longhurst was the Organist he played before, during and after the services, with an assistant Organist to play the organ on the his day off, while the Precentor was responsible for far more than looking after the ordering of the services and liturgy that was to be used. This division of duties was to change during the time that Perrin was Organist.

### **1.ii. The Precentors**

Since the Reformation a Precentor had been an ordained priest selected by the Cathedral Chapter from amongst the Minor Canons, all of whom were expected to be capable musicians, as they were given a vocal audition before appointment.<sup>66</sup> In his anonymously published *Apology for Cathedral Service*, John Peace<sup>67</sup> explains the difference in status of the Precentor according to whether the Cathedral is of the New Foundation or the Old Foundation. Early in the 19<sup>th</sup> century one of the criticisms of Cathedral music was the lack of musical ability amongst Minor Canons, reduced to four in Canterbury by the Church Commissioners following their appointment in 1818. The Church Commissioners abolished the office of Precentor in all cases where 'the emoluments were of value and in

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<sup>65</sup> In addition to his Cathedral duties Perrin was actively involved in organising musical performances of oratorios, including Haydn's *Creation* and Gounod's *Redemption*, in Canterbury Cathedral.

<sup>66</sup> See Appendix 2 for information about the changing role of the Precentor in Cathedral life.

<sup>67</sup> The author was readily identified and is named by Rainbow (Rainbow, B. (1970) *The Choral Revival in the Anglican Church: 1839-1872*. London: Barrie and Jenkins. p246.

no one instance did they nominate a substitute',<sup>68</sup> but Canterbury Cathedral Chapter did not experience the removal of their Precentor, Rev'd Robert Hake was in post, appointed in 1864, his name having been listed as a Minor Canon since 1854.

At Canterbury the Precentor kept the attendance book for lay clerks, Minor Canons, the Dean and Residentiary Canons. As a Minor Canon, the Precentor was not a member of Chapter, but in 1869 he was requested to take steps for the 'better ordering of the procession of the choir into church', but any action taken did not prevent the Church Times remarking on the slovenliness of an Evensong at Canterbury Cathedral, in 1874:

'when the procession straggled in, a more untidy and ill-fitting set of surplices could not have been seen, many of them not even having the recommendation of cleanliness'.<sup>69</sup>

At least Canterbury always maintained the practice of processing into services. Rainbow describes how on certain of the greater festivals the choir would enter in procession in most Cathedrals, with the organ playing, while Bristol and Canterbury did so every day. It is interesting to note that in other Cathedrals, including Westminster Abbey, the Prebendary and choir 'would drop in independently with no procession whatever,' when they were ready,<sup>70</sup> often buttoning their robes as they came.

In the St Catherine's Chapter and Audit of 1879 there is an entry relating to anthems and hymns. Lists were to be prepared and sent to the Dean a fortnight before the first service was to take place, and a copy was to be displayed in the treasury. The Dean was:

'to have the power to change any [sic] anthem or hymn, each Canon could change one anthem or hymn a month, notice of change to be given to the Precentor one week before the time when the list comes into use'.<sup>71</sup>

This confirms the fact that in 1879 the Precentor was the initiator of music selection.

Hake was succeeded<sup>72</sup> by Canon Frederick Helmore in 1883, so the untidiness of the procession and state of the surplices occurred during Hake's time, Helmore having been nominated Minor Canon in 1878.<sup>73</sup> There is evidence in the Canterbury Cathedral records that very soon after his move from Sacrist to Precentor Helmore was concerned about his

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<sup>68</sup> Wesley, S. S. (1849 reprinted 1965). *A Few Words on Cathedral Music*. London: Hinrichsen Edition Ltd. p73.

<sup>69</sup> Quoted in Keates, J and A. Hornak. (1998) *Canterbury Cathedral*. London: Scala Books. p85.

<sup>70</sup> Rainbow, B. (1970) *The Choral Revival in the Anglican Church: 1839-1872*. London: Barrie and Jenkins. p254.

<sup>71</sup> CCA-DCc-CA/13, p422.

<sup>72</sup> One might say superseded, as Hake remained a canon for some years after the change. There is no reference to the change in the Chapter Books, but as the Precentor was, at this time, elected annually, that is the most likely explanation.

<sup>73</sup> Helmore was the son of Rev'd Thomas Helmore, a Tractarian priest who became Vice Principal and Precentor at St Mark's College, Chelsea, serving in that capacity for 35 years. There, Helmore attracted the attention of the Bishop of Southwark and when a vacancy occurred he was also appointed Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal, who came to live in his house. Frederick therefore grew up with the High Church tenets of worship and music. He would have sung beside Arthur Sullivan who was a head chorister in the Chapel Royal Choir.

musical responsibilities, and when Perrin was appointed Organist in 1898 clarification about duties of Organist and Precentor had to be addressed. The Dean signed an entry in the Chapter Book answering the question ‘as to the officer in whom was lodged the supreme authority over the choristers’, as a result a Byelaw was adopted as a Statute defining ‘the office of Precentor contained in the Revised New Statutes’, this was then communicated to the Precentor and Organist.<sup>74</sup> The Chapter minutes also contain the statement that ‘we will that such Organist and lay clerks be appointed by the Dean and Chapter’.

Later that year a body of rules was brought to Chapter by the Dean designed to regulate the duties of the Precentor and the Organist, and amendments were agreed. In 1900 Chapter informed the Precentor that they wished the men’s practice to be taken by the Organist, as well as that of the boys. Whilst there is no further reference to these altered duties the changes were permanent. The role of Cantor remained for the Precentor, as previously, an essential part of the Versicles and Responses for Matins and Evensong. Until around 1900, the Precentor had selected the music, but once Perrin was appointed this also changed, and he was thereafter required to approve the music, and act as intermediary with Chapter over musical issues. At Canterbury some other responsibilities falling to the Precentor are mentioned in the detail of the Chapter Books, for example: advertising for lay clerks when vacancies occurred. He could approve lay clerk absences for more than one day at a time, but had to report occasions when numbers of lay clerks were reduced, having investigated the cause, (this ruling was noted in the Chapter Book covering 1890). He was not a member of Chapter, but could attend, by invitation, and represent a lay clerk who was in difficulties. The Precentor provided a report about the choir and the music annually, at the St Catherine’s Audit, in November of each year. At that same Chapter and Audit meeting the Precentor had to surrender his Cathedral key, for it to be reissued to him each year, following re-election to the post by Chapter.

In 1900 the Dean and Precentor worked together to draw up revised terms of engagement for lay clerks and in the following year the Rochester Scheme was introduced, stipulating pay and conditions. The 1905 Lay Clerk Committee specified that Pensions could commence at the age of 55, this was discretionary, if the individual was capable of remaining a singing member of the choir.

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<sup>74</sup> ‘We will and ordain that the Precentor be designated and elected...and that it shall be his duty to select the music to be sung in Our Cathedral church subject to the approval of the Dean; to direct all such as sing or take any part in the music; and to the end that there be no disorderly discord in our Church, as well the Organist as the Lay Clerks and all other singers and musicians shall in all matters give ready obedience...’ CCA-DCc-CA/15, p115. Full report of the minute is contained in Appendix 2.

The Precentor's involvement with staffing is mentioned in the 1906-1908 Chapter records as recommending, together with the Organist, that the assistant school master should be provided with financial help in the training of his voice. The Precentor was to monitor his attendances as an occasional member of the choir, while the Organist superintended the manner of vocal instruction. The following year the Precentor and Organist recommended to Chapter that he should be relieved of his school master duties and become a full lay clerk.

Whilst there is no evidence of any musical compositions by Helmore in the Cathedral music lists, he did introduce performances of oratorios in the Cathedral with approval from the Dean and Chapter, and so also reached out to the wider musical community.

## **2. The Music**

Examination of the music sung during the years 1873-1908 reveals both changes in the frequency of use of music from different historical periods and also compositional style and attitudes towards full choir and solo singers within a service of worship, together with the way in which the organ was used. These changes will be discussed in the context of the musical examples, as indicated in the Introduction.

### **2.i. Matins and Evensong Services:**

The records show that until 1876 there were no choral services at all on Wednesdays and Fridays during Lent or during the whole of Holy Week (this may have continued for a longer period, but there are no existing records between 1876 and 1891 to confirm or contradict), thereafter Holy Week was celebrated with sung services daily. During the rest of the church year Matins and Evensong were sung each day, (a Matins and an Evensong setting from the same set are counted as two services in the following charts). Services were accompanied on all weekdays until 1907, when it was decided that Friday Matins should be unaccompanied and also Evensong was to be a said service, thereby giving the Organist a day off, his deputy was available to sing at Matins.

Table 3 lists the numbers of Morning and Evening Services composed in four different centuries that were sung in three particular years at Canterbury, 1873, 1899 and 1907. Those years are significant in that they are the first year that Longhurst was in post as Organist, followed by the first and last years of his successor, Perrin. To those years are added 1892, which has a full record of service lists, following a break in the records. Figures show this information in different ways; i.e. as a line chart, Figure 1, which illustrates the numerical table, and Figure 2, containing the percentages, calculated by relating the total number of services for each century to the entire Matins and Evensong

repertoire for the four sample years, to demonstrate the proportion from one century to that from others.

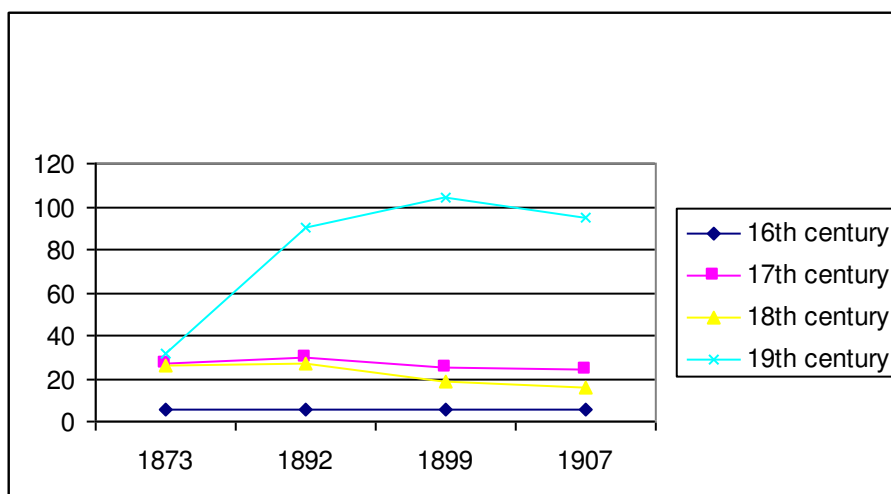
**Table 3 showing numbers of Matins and Evensong Service settings**

The rows indicate how many service settings composed in each century were in use in each year

	1873	1892	1899	1907
16 <sup>th</sup> century	6	6	6	6
17 <sup>th</sup> century	26	30	25	24
18 <sup>th</sup> century	26	27	19	16
19 <sup>th</sup> century	27	90	95	87
TOTALS	85	153	145	133

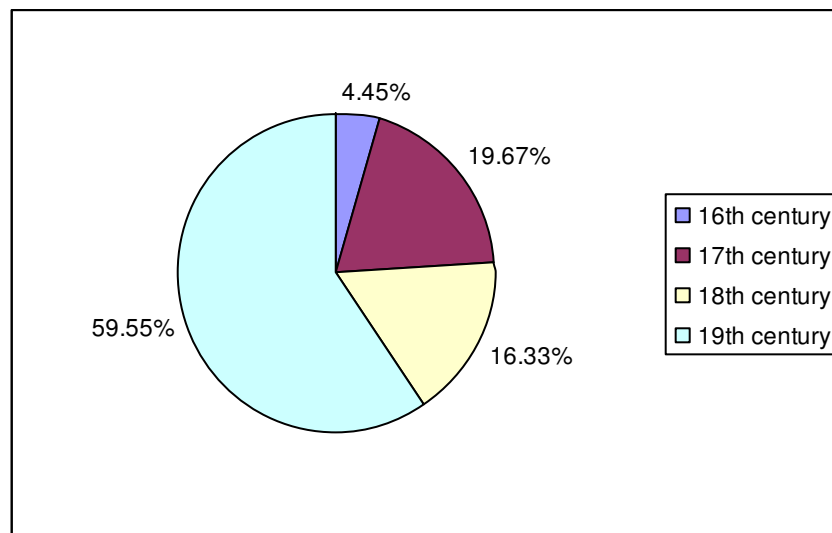
The same six 16<sup>th</sup>-century Morning and Evening Services remained in use in each of the four selected years. The numbers of services from the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries increased a little and then reduced; the combined total for those two centuries in 1907 was only forty. The 19<sup>th</sup> century music followed a similar outline of rise and fall, but amounted to eighty seven services in 1907; the year in which there was only one sung service on a Friday. There was a significant increase in the composition of church music in the later years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, together with improved access to newly published music. These changes will be explained in more detail, in connection with musical examples.

**Figure 1 showing numbers of Matins and Evensong Service settings**





**Figure 2 showing percentages of Matins and Evensong Service settings**



The six services listed from the 16<sup>th</sup> century are for Morning and Evening by Tallis, Farrant and Gibbons.

The earliest service setting used in Canterbury Cathedral between 1873 and 1908 was the Short or Dorian Service by Thomas Tallis (c1505-85). It was, like the two other settings from this period, written in English, rather than in Latin and translated into English, as were the other early services in use at this time. It is for four voices and was probably composed during the reign of Edward VI (1547-1553). While the Cantoris and Decani sections of the choir are used to provide variety for the morning Canticles, the writing is mostly homophonic; the melody line accompanied by the lower voices, but with some imitation between parts. The Matins set includes the canticles *Te Deum* and *Benedictus* and that for Evensong provides a *Magnificat* and *Nunc Dimittis*. The following Example shows this Dorian service with its pioneering use of syllabic text-setting, for its historical period, with no melismas, (the word *Amen* excepted) in keeping with Cranmer's recommendations that each syllable should have one note.<sup>75</sup> The compositional style of the *Magnificat* and *Nunc Dimittis* is for full choir throughout, however Tallis, within these constraints, manages to lift the music above the merely functional,. Each of the canticles ends with a different *Gloria*; the *Nunc Dimittis* ends with a memorable plagal cadence preceded by a false relation, characteristic of Renaissance music. The tenor and alto voices overlap each other in range, and the alto part is very low, particularly in the *Amen*, for modern day altos, which causes the writer to ask whether it was the vocal range

<sup>75</sup> LeHuray, P. (1967) *Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660*. London: Herbert Jenkins. p7. LeHuray does not cite a precise date for Cranmer's statement, but includes it in connection with the preparation of the English Litany, in 1544, it was confirmed in the Royal Injunction of 1552.

of a modern tenor part, with the tenors singing in a baritone range or, alternatively, if pitch was higher than it is today.

Example 1 Tallis in D Nunc Dimittis

The image displays a musical score for Tallis's 'Nunc Dimittis' in D. It features four vocal parts: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass, along with a basso continuo line. The lyrics are: 'As it was in the be-gin - ning, is now, and ev - er shall be, world with - out end. A - men.' The score includes a first system (measures 6, 56, 6, 43) and a second system starting at measure 32 (measures 4, 3, 6, 98). The basso continuo line includes figured bass notation: 4 #3 3, 6, 98, #.

The Tallis Dorian Services for Matins and Evensong were heard regularly in Canterbury, often used on special occasions, such as Easter or Christmas Days. They were still in Canterbury's repertoire in 1944; thereafter called Mode i, until Campbell reverted to naming the set Dorian from 1956, when only the Evensong canticles were used, as Matins was rarely sung; Wicks last used the Evensong setting in 1986. The complete set of services has been used as a model for composers through successive centuries. All of the six 16<sup>th</sup> century settings used at Canterbury, the Tallis Dorian, Farrant in G minor

and Gibbons in F, are found in Boyce's collection of Cathedral Music, Volume 1. The Farrant setting was originally composed in A minor, (Boyce transposed it down a tone for his collection), Fellowes describing it as 'one of the finest of the Elizabethan services; certain harmonic features in it are of an unusual character at that date',<sup>76</sup> but it retains a characteristic use of false relation. Farrant's G minor and Gibbons in F services for Morning and Evening, like the Tallis set, consist of a Te Deum, Benedictus, Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis, for four 'Voices'. The Farrant Morning canticles separate the sections of the Cantoris and Decani sides of the choir, to complement each other, and from time to time the texture is reduced to two parts in the Te Deum, using imitation between the sections. Most frequently the imitation occurs between treble and bass voices, then tenor and alto. The Services in F 'with the Greater Third'<sup>77</sup> (F major) by Gibbons, also uses Cantoris and Decani sides of the choir for imitation, but with less thinning of the texture compared to the Farrant. Each of the Gibbons Evening Canticles has a different Gloria; the one completing the Nunc Dimittis contains a 'two in one' canon between the two upper voices (see Example 4). One observes that Gibbons, composing his music some time later than Farrant, disobeys Cranmer's previously described ruling (confirmed in the 1552 Injunction of Edward VI) to use only one note per syllable, with considerable effect in the twofold Amen. Fellowes describes Gibbons' death as marking 'the end of a distinguished period of Cathedral music'.<sup>78</sup>

These sets of Morning and Evening Services, from the reigns of Edward VI and Elizabethan I, were used throughout the whole of 1873 to 1908.<sup>79</sup> There was nothing by Byrd, until 1924, his Services in D are included in Volume III of Cathedral Music. Morley and Tomkins are not represented in the repertoire until 1935 (Morley) and Tomkins (1937), possibly because they were not included in the Boyce collection. Rainbow<sup>80</sup> reports the results of a study of Cathedral Music Lists, from the Sundays in May 1857, published in the *Musical Remembrancer: A Monthly Guide and Companion to the Church for the Clergyman and Musician*, in that year. They represent the music for Morning Service and Evensong in fourteen Cathedrals, St George's Chapel, Windsor, Chapel Royal, St James's, several Collegiate Churches and other large churches. Canterbury Cathedral is not included, nonetheless it is very enlightening to discover that not one of the listed services listed contains settings by Tallis, Farrant or Gibbons, while the incomplete evidence from 1835 at Canterbury shows these three composers, plus

<sup>76</sup> Fellowes, E. H. revised J. A. Westrup. (1973) *English Cathedral Music*. London: Methuen and Company. (p59 fn).

<sup>77</sup> As listed in the index by Boyce, W. (1788) vol 1. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. *Cathedral Music*. London: Boyce.

<sup>78</sup> Fellowes, 1973, p97.

<sup>79</sup> See Appendix 4 for the longevity of their use, and Table 30 regarding reduction in Matins services.

<sup>80</sup> Rainbow (1970) Appendix 8.

Nathaniel Patrick, were heard throughout the years 1835-1873. This indicates that Canterbury Cathedral was using early music at a time when many Cathedrals with a higher national profile were not.

The settings from the 17<sup>th</sup> century, listed at Canterbury Cathedral for 1873, were not dissimilar to those quoted by Rainbow: they were by Benjamin Rogers, Bryan, Aldrich, Jeremiah Clarke,<sup>81</sup> King, Raylton (past Organist) and Kempton, plus Morning Services by Hall and Hine, Gates and Croft, but with no mention of Purcell until 1892, according to existing records.

Services by Blow and Aldrich were, like the Tallis settings, included in Boyce's Cathedral Music, Volume One. Fellowes describes Aldrich (1647-1710) as a 'man of exceptionally versatile gifts'<sup>82</sup> and as an ordained priest, became, in 1689, Dean of Christ Church, Oxford. The description of 'competent musician, though not of outstanding ability as a composer', did not hinder the use of the morning service until 1937, the evening service until 1936; neither Matins nor Evensong services were listed after those dates. Example 2, taken from the Jubilate, reveals Aldrich's competency in the use of imitation between the voices to provide some variety in the 'note for syllable' setting of the words.

#### Example 2 Aldrich in G Jubilate

The musical score for Example 2, Aldrich in G Jubilate, is presented in four staves, each representing a different vocal part: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The music is written in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The lyrics are: "O be joy - ful in the Lord all ye lands serve the Lord with...". The Soprano part begins with a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, B4, C5, D5, E5, and a half note D5. The Alto part begins with a half note G3, followed by quarter notes A3, B3, C4, D4, E4, and a half note D4. The Tenor part begins with a half note G2, followed by quarter notes A2, B2, C3, D3, E3, and a half note D3. The Bass part begins with a half note G2, followed by quarter notes A2, B2, C3, D3, E3, and a half note D3. The lyrics are written below each staff, with hyphens indicating syllables that span across notes.

<sup>81</sup> Jeremiah Clarke composed a Te Deum and Jubilate in the key of F, while John Clarke-Whitfeld (1770-1836) composed an Evening Service also in the Key of F, both of which are held in the Templeman Library for Canterbury Cathedral, so it is not entirely certain which of these two services are in the service lists. Until 1814 Clarke-Whitfeld was called Clarke, only.

<sup>82</sup> Fellowes. 1973, p189.

5

S. serve the Lord with glad-ness and come be-fore his pre-sence with a song. Be ye

A. Lord with glad-ness and come be-fore his pre-sence with a song. Be ye

T. — glad-ness and come be-fore his pre-sence with a song. Be ye

B. — with glad-ness and come be-fore his pre-sence with a song. Be ye

The lack of existing archival records from 1876-1891 inclusive, can give the false impression that a substantial amount of new repertoire was added in 1892. Were the records complete it would be possible to date, accurately, the introduction of certain significant services settings, such as Purcell's Morning (including Benedictus and Benedicite) and Evening Services in Bb, that were present in 1892, and remained until 1936.<sup>83</sup> Purcell's services in Bb for double choir are included in Boyce: volume three.<sup>84</sup> Both Long and Fellowes describe the Benedicite in Bb as the most effectively written of Purcell's Canticles, in this key, being both 'fine and elaborate'.<sup>85</sup>

While the Purcell Services in Bb were introduced to Canterbury Cathedral late in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Evening Services, in B minor and A Minor, of Thomas Kelway were sung regularly throughout the whole period 1873-1908,<sup>86</sup> with the A major set also still in use in 1873. Kelway (c1695-1749) was Organist of Chichester Cathedral, 'during good pleasure'. There is some doubt as to his competence as an Organist and Long includes him in his list of 'Minor Figures', together with King, Kent, Travers, Kempton, William and Philip Hayes, Nares and Benjamin Cooke. He describes Kelway's music as,

'dullness decked out in her full panoply of four-part block chords and tonic and dominant cadences enshrined as tribal deity of the minor composers.'<sup>87</sup>

This extract from the unaccompanied Nunc Dimittis of Kelway's B minor service, perhaps illustrates Long's point.

<sup>83</sup> Wicks revived the Morning canticle, Benedictus, and the Bb Evening Service, from 1967; they remained in the repertoire thereafter.

<sup>84</sup> Purcell's complete works were published by the Purcell Society progressively from 1878. The second part of his sacred music was issued in 1904, part three in 1907 and finally part one in 1921.

<sup>85</sup> Fellowes 1973, p178.

<sup>86</sup> These services were in the repertoire when Canterbury Cathedral music records began in 1835.

<sup>87</sup> Long, K. R. (1972) *The Music of the English Church*. London: Hodder and Stoughton. p306.

Example 3 Kelway in B minor Nunc Dimittis

FULL

SOPRANO  
ALTO  
TENOR  
BASS

Lord, now let - test Thou Thy ser - vant de - part in peace, ac -

5  
S. DEC.  
A.  
T.  
B.

cord - ing to Thy word. For \_\_\_\_\_ mine eyes \_\_\_\_\_  
cord - ing to Thy word. For \_\_\_\_\_  
cord - ing to Thy word. For \_\_\_\_\_  
cord - ing to Thy word.

8  
S. CAN.  
A. *et*  
T.  
B.

— have seen, have seen, have seen Thy sal - va - tion. Which Thou  
— mine eyes have seen, have seen Thy sal - va - tion. Which Thou  
— mine eyes have seen, have seen Thy sal - va - tion. Which Thou  
Have seen Thy sal - va - tion. Which Thou

Dearnley has stronger words about Kelway's Evening Services, suggesting they had

'nothing but a harmful influence...discrediting better and less frequently sung 18<sup>th</sup> century church music'.<sup>88</sup>

Composers born in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, represented in Canterbury Cathedral services between 1873 and 1875, included Travers, Boyce, Nares, Benjamin Cooke, Samuel Porter, Highmore Skeats (Senior) and Sir J. L. Rogers, with additional services by Attwood, for Matins, and Hayes - an Evening Service. Porter and Skeats had been

<sup>88</sup> Dearnley, C. (1970) *English Church Music 1650-1750*. London: Barrie and Jenkins. p261

Organists of Canterbury Cathedral in succession to one another. Most of these names would not be found in church or Cathedral service lists today as their music has been supplanted by that of earlier and later settings and are no longer in publication. The following examples discuss aspects of service settings by Boyce and Nares. The Boyce example shows his interest in the contrapuntal techniques of Renaissance music, the Nares, however, illustrates a rather more homophonic approach, with some imitation between parts. The techniques used by Nares were far more typical of those of Georgian and early Victorian composers.

Bartlett links the canon used in the Gloria of Gibbons' *Nunc Dimittis* in F, with the Gloria following the Jubilate from Boyce's *Service in A*.<sup>89</sup> This is incorrect as the service in which the canon by Gibbons (1583-1625) is developed into a four-part canon, is Boyce's *Verse Service in A*, (see Examples 4a and 4b).<sup>90</sup> The examples which follow quote the first seven bars of music and text of the Boyce four-part canon and the two voices in which Gibbons uses the original canon (bars 1-4).

Example 4a Boyce Verse Service in A Gloria from the Jubilate

SOPRANO  
Glo - ry be to the Fa - ther and to the Son, and to the

ALTO  
Glo - ry be to the Fa - ther and to the Son, and

TENOR  
Glo - ry be to the Fa - ther and

BASS  
Glo - ry be to the

5 6

<sup>89</sup> Bartlett, I. (2007) In *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. p159. William Boyce. Oxford: Oxford Music online, accessed 25<sup>th</sup> November, 2009.

<sup>90</sup> The *Service in A*, by Boyce (1711-1779) made an uplifting contribution to the Canterbury Cathedral repertoire; it is a buoyant, but somewhat unrelenting, full service, and was used frequently at Canterbury, but does not contain a canon in any combination of parts.

Example 4b Gibbons in F (Short) Gloria from the Nunc Dimittis

SOPRANO  
Glo - ry be to the Fa - ther and to the Son

ALTO  
Glo - ry be to the Fa - ther and

TENOR

BASS

James Nares (1715-83) was born only a few years after Boyce, he was successively Organist at York Minster, Chapel Royal & Master of the Children and Long's comment about 'dullness' in the service music of some composers, includes his name. This Service in D was in regular use at Canterbury and is barely different to that of Kelway; they both represent, to the writer, a retrograde step in comparison to the word setting of Tallis, Farrant, Gibbons and Purcell. It is accompanied by the organ, however, its use of non-vocal notes, including a dominant pedal, in the Gloria, demonstrates an unusual use of the organ at this time in history, when most English composers were writing colla voce accompaniments.

Example 5 Nares in D Nunc Dimittis

SOPRANO  
As it was in the be-gin-ning is -

ALTO  
As it was in the be - gin-ning is - now,

TENOR  
As it was in the be - gin-ning is - now,

BASS  
As it was in the be-gin-ning is -



The image shows a musical score for a choral setting of 'Amen'. It consists of two systems of staves. The first system (measures 4-6) includes four vocal parts (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and a piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: 'now, and e - ver shall - be, world with - out end. A - men, A -'. The second system (measures 7-9) continues the vocal parts with the lyrics: 'men, A - - - - - men.' and 'A - men, A - - - - - men.' The piano accompaniment includes a 'Ped' (pedal) marking at the bottom of the first system.

The composers who outlived and succeeded Boyce made no great impression upon a nation who preferred contemporary secular music. Gatens offers the thought that ‘far from being an edifying recreation for the cultivated gentleman, (music) was seen as simply beneath his dignity’.<sup>91</sup> It was a very lean period for those who valued church and Cathedral music, with dissent affecting attitudes towards music in worship in general and the historical role of music as a communicator of the liturgy; hence the early Victorian complaints about standards in church and Cathedral, both liturgical and musical, aroused amongst the Oxford and Cambridge theologians, and those interested in ideas of musical excellence such as S. S. Wesley.

<sup>91</sup> Gatens, W. J. (1986) *Victorian Cathedral Music in Theory and Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p20

An Evening Service in E by Vincent Novello (1781-1861) was in the Canterbury Service lists from 1873-1876, but his role as the initiator of the Novello Publishing house, to be run by his son, and as an encourager of early and continental music, was to have far greater influence upon Cathedral repertoire than this composition. From the 1840s music became available at substantially reduced cost through the efforts of the Novello Publishing Company, using type-set music in place of block printing and hand copying. Novello, as a Catholic, had knowledge of liturgical music from the Continent and made it available through his publishing company in addition to that produced by the Motet Society<sup>92</sup> and St Michael's College, Tenbury. (See later information about this college following Musical Example 20, composed by the Ecclesiologist, Rev'd Canon Henry Lascelles Jenner).

In addition to the increased accessibility of music mentioned above there were changes in compositional style, with more use being made of the organ as an accompanying instrument. On some occasions the organ had its own independent part chiefly as an introduction or interpolation, and did not always double the voices as in the previous century. It was different again from music of Purcell's time when the organ was heard playing interludes between Verse choral or solo sections.

While Samuel Sebastian Wesley was Organist of Exeter Cathedral, before moving to Leeds Parish Church at the age of thirty one, he earned the reputation as the foremost composer of English Cathedral music, as well as the best Organist.<sup>93</sup> He composed a great Service in E major published in 1845 and a Short Service in F, published in 1869, while still in Leeds, where he had a robed choir capable of singing in eight parts.<sup>94</sup> The complete Service in E, in Verse form, for double choir, appears in a fragment of the Canterbury service lists for 1891, from August, together with the Service in F, which was very popular at Canterbury Cathedral when there was a shortage of lay clerks. Both continued in the lists to the end of Perrin's tenure of office. The Morning Service in E was last sung in 1939, while the Evening set continued until 1963, which indicates the respect with which it was viewed. Fellowes describes the Service in E as marking

‘very great progress in the development of this particular class of composition. Nothing so elaborate in design had previously been attempted for ordinary daily use’.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> The Motet Society was an offshoot of the Cambridge Ecclesiological Society who performed and published early music, both British and Continental. Research in the Canterbury Cathedral Archives and Library has yet to reveal any copies of early music published by them, most of the typeset music found has been produced by Novello.

<sup>93</sup> Fellowes, E. H. revised J. A. Westrup. (1973) *English Cathedral Music*. London: Methuen and Company. p223

<sup>94</sup> Temperley, N. and S. Banfield. eds 2010. *Music and the Wesleys*. Illinois: University of Illinois Press. p221

<sup>95</sup> Fellowes, E. H. revised J. A. Westrup. (1973) *English Cathedral Music*. London: Methuen and Company. p236.

The list of composers in use during the late Victorian - early 20<sup>th</sup> century years, included some that are still known today, but many more that have been forgotten with time. The following six musical examples provide insight into the compositional styles of the day. There is no mention of John Baptist Calkin (1827-1905) by Fellowes, and Long includes his name in a list of mid-Victorian composers 'whose church music has already mouldered into dust'.<sup>96</sup> However dated Calkin's music may seem to contemporary ears, it formed a significant part of the repertoire in Canterbury Cathedral during 1891- 1926. His Magnificat is a note for syllable setting, but the beginnings of independence between voice and organ can be seen in bar 6, where the organ briefly fills in the harmony, not reflecting the vocal part.

Musical Example 6 Calkin in Bb Magnificat

The musical score is for a Magnificat in B-flat major, 4/4 time, marked 'Con moto'. It features five parts: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass, and Organ. The lyrics are: 'My soul doth mag - ni - fy the Lord, and my...'. The organ part includes a 'Ped.' (pedal) marking in the first measure and a 'Man' (manual) marking in the sixth measure. The organ part shows a brief harmonic independence in bar 6.

**Con moto**  
**FULL**  
 SOPRANO My soul doth mag - ni - fy the Lord, and my...  
**FULL**  
 ALTO My soul doth mag - ni - fy the Lord, and my  
**FULL**  
 TENOR My soul doth mag - ni - fy the Lord, and my  
**FULL**  
 BASS My soul doth mag - ni - fy the Lord, and my  
**Con moto**  
 ORGAN  
 Ped. Man

<sup>96</sup> Long, 1972. p359.

5

S.  
spi - rit hath re - joic'd in God my Sav - iour. For

A.  
spi - rit hath re - joic'd in God my Sav - iour, For he

T.  
spi - rit hath re - joic'd in God my Sav - iour, For he

B.  
spi - rit hath re - joic'd in God my Sav - iour, For he

ORG.  
Ped.

George Garrett (1834-1896) had been a chorister at New College, Oxford, under Stephen Elvey. He had been a pupil of S. S. Wesley, and, following his teacher's lead, was one of the Victorian composers to develop the role of the organ as an instrument in its own right, not purely as a support, note for note, to the singers. Long describes his chief contribution as freeing the accompaniment from the voices in different ways,

'by adding an independent bass line below the sung bass (sometimes in the form of a pedal point), by doubling voice parts at the octave above or below, or by writing a completely free organ part',<sup>97</sup>

Garrett in D Morning and Evening services were in the repertoire in 1873, and continued in use until 1936. The services in F were included by 1892 and also remained in the repertoire until 1936. This extract shows the organ part that underpins, but does not copy, the voices.

<sup>97</sup> Long 1972. p358.

Example 7 Garrett in F Te Deum

**Vivace** ♩ = 108

SOPRANO  
Glo - ry. The glo - rious com - pan-y of the A - pos - tles praise Thee. The

ALTO  
Glo - ry Praise Thee.

TENOR  
Glo - ry. The glo - rious com - pan-y of the A - pos - tles praise Thee. The

BASS  
Glo - ry Praise Thee. the

ORGAN  
**Vivace** ♩ = 108

The Benedictus and Benedicite composed by the Rev'd Edward Fellowes<sup>98</sup> for use in the Morning Services, during Lent and Advent, were performed regularly, in unaccompanied services, until 1926. Whilst Fellowes left his role as Master of the Choristers after twelve years in post, this Gloria completes a scholarly piece of writing. It is written in double canon until the Amen, revealing an interest in early contrapuntal techniques.

Example 8 Fellowes in D Gloria from Benedictus

SOPRANO  
Glo - ry be to the Fa - ther, and to the Son: and to the

ALTO  
Glo - ry be to the Fa - ther, and to the Son: and to the

TENOR  
Glo - ry be to the Fa - ther, and to the

BASS  
Glo - ry be to the Fa - ther, and to the

<sup>98</sup> He is not to be confused with Rev'd Edmund Fellowes, the writer and musicologist cited above. No dates for Edward Fellow(e)s have been discovered, but he was schoolmaster of the Choristers 1855-1867. More will be explained about Fellow(e)s in the section describing the choristers' education.

9

S. Ho - ly Ghost; As it was in the be - gin - ning, is - - now, and

A. Ho - ly Ghost; As it was in the be - gin - ning, is now, and

T. Son: and to the Ho - ly Ghost; As it was in the be - gin - ning, is -

B. Son: and to the Ho - ly Ghost; As it was in the be - gin - ning -

John Stainer (1840-1901) took a considerable interest in plainsong.<sup>99</sup> His Evening Services called Parisian Tone I and II were used in the Cathedral between 1891 and 1900. In these settings Stainer used:

‘Gregorian Tones with their Endings Harmonised in Various Ways, being the Accompanying Harmonies to the Merton Psalter (1867),’<sup>100</sup>

These accompaniments were in keeping with the style of Victorian composers and Organists when using plainchant, being homophonic with a regular number of beats in a bar, lacking the flexibility of the original plainsong. There is no evidence of the use of true plainchant in the main services in Canterbury Cathedral in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>101</sup>

In addition to his Services in A, Bb and E, Stainer contributed to a Benedicite. This is a canticle that is usually only sung during Lent and Advent. The setting is an example of Anglican chant. The first section was by Stainer, followed by verses 18 to the end by Winn and then Walker. It was used from 1894-1924. (It has not been possible to identify either Winn or Walker).

#### Example 9 Stainer, Winn and Walker Benedicite

J. STAINER

SOPRANO  
ALTO

TENOR  
BASS

O all ye works of the Lord, bless ye the Lord: praise Him and mag - ni - fy

<sup>99</sup> Stainer nominally superintended the preparation of the Manual of Plainsong and accepted the Presidency to the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, and also the London Gregorian Association. Dibble, J. (2007) John Stainer: A Life in Music. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press.

<sup>100</sup> Quoted in: *ibid*, p31.

<sup>101</sup> There was, however, a solitary special Evening ‘Service of Plain Chant’, held in 1874, using a Book of Gregorian chants, which has yet to be located. CCA-DCc-CA/13.

7  
S. A. W. WINN  
Him for e - ver. 2. O ye angels of the /Lord, /bless etc 18. O let the earth etc-  
3. O ye / heavens,

32 F. WALKER  
S. A.  
O let Israel bless the Lord: praise Him, and mag - ni - fy Him for  
T. B.

A copy of the Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis in D by Parry, located in the Cathedral Library, is part of a setting for all three Services, Communion, Matins and Evensong, in the same key, called a Short Service in D. The composer is, however, the same Charles Hubert Hastings Parry (1848-1918), well known for his Songs of Farewell and the Great Parry in D Service which is used in Canterbury Cathedral at present. This evening service, no doubt because of the expert crafting and simplicity, was sung frequently over many years at Canterbury, from 1891 beyond the end of the period covered by this chapter, and until 1946. In the years of the Second World War, when staffing the Cathedral choir was very difficult, the morning service, also, was used. Although composed in undemanding form, the setting shows a progression from the repertoire of earlier in the century to the music of Stanford. It is simpler in design than music by Wesley and the setting by Garrett, but contains some of their characteristics. The voices are not dependent on the organ accompaniment, the first section being a canon at the octave, between the upper and lower voices, which then come together in unison later in the canticle, ending with a serene twofold Amen.

#### Example 10a Parry in D Nunc Dimittis

Andante ma non troppo *p*  
SOPRANO ALTO  
Lord, now let-test Thou Thy ser - vant de-  
TENOR BASS  
*p*  
Lord, now let-test Thou Thy ser - vant de - part - in  
Andante ma non troppo *p*

10

S.  
A.  
T.  
B.  
ORG.

part in peace: ac - cord - ing to Thy word. For mine eyes - have  
 peace: ac - cord - ing to Thy word. For mine eyes\_ Have seen Thy sal - va -  
 tion, Which Thou hast pre - par - ed: be - fore the face,  
 tion, Which Thou hast pre - par - ed: be - fore the face, the face

18

S.  
A.  
T.  
B.  
ORG.

seen Thy sal - va - tion, Which Thou hast pre - par - ed: be - fore the face,  
 tion, Which Thou hast pre - par - ed: be - fore the face, the face

Example 10b Parry in D twofold Amen.

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

Stanford's compositions entered the lists from 1894 (when his popular Bb Services were used), but his later setting in A made an even deeper impression on those who prepared the music. John Stainer had commissioned Stanford to compose a service setting with orchestral accompaniment for the Annual Festival of the Sons of the Clergy at St Paul's Cathedral in 1880. Stanford's use of Ternary form is shown in both the Magnificat and the Nunc Dimittis in A and the repetition and development of themes, between the voices and the organ part, (both an independent and integrated accompaniment), makes a very clear statement of progress in the composition of liturgical music, begun in the earlier Bb



setting. In the *Nunc Dimittis* the first time the tonic chord of A major is heard from the organ and choir is in bar 12, on the word 'peace', after the harmonic restlessness of the organ introduction, and serene choir entry in the subdominant key of D major. Towards the end of Simeon's Prayer one hears echoes of Wagner from Stanford's first visit to Bayreuth, again using the tonic chord of A major, for one bar, to create a great sense of arrival on the word 'glory'. Fellowes chooses to criticise the recapitulation of the beginning of the Cantic, he says, 'it is questionable whether it is appropriate in a cantic which is part of the Office of Evensong'.<sup>102</sup> It is difficult to agree with the liturgical point that he is making, as there was no longer an Injunction against 'repeatings' such as was made during the reign of Edward VI, to York Minster, and here it permits a beautifully managed musical and textual closure for Simeon to 'depart' in his tonic key of A, affirmed by the tonic pedal note lasting through the last six bars. This can be seen as an evidence of musical rhetoric, which had not been much in evidence in the music of the previous two centuries.

Many scholars call this style of composition symphonic because of the recapitulation of earlier themes. Dibble points out that this technique was 'an inspiration quite new to the context of service writing'.<sup>103</sup> A double choir Gloria bridges the centuries from the glory of renaissance music to the best of the late 19<sup>th</sup>/early 20<sup>th</sup> century repertoire. The service is now usually performed with organ accompaniment in church and Cathedral services, not acoustically the same as the original orchestral effect, but greatly successful in stirring the emotions and reflecting the ancient words of faith, nonetheless. The Services in A were in the repertoire in Canterbury Cathedral at least from 1892 and the Evening Service continues to be sung today. Long says 'as a church musician Stanford is acknowledged to be one of the most significant composers since Blow'.<sup>104</sup>

From 1884 Herbert Fricker (1868-1943) was Longhurst's Organist assistant, having been one of his pupils for some years. In 1890 he moved on to be Organist at Holy Trinity, Folkestone and it was whilst he was there, in 1897, he composed a Magnificat and *Nunc Dimittis* in G. It was published by Novello and demonstrates a compositional style that is far more harmonically and dynamically exciting than much produced in the 19<sup>th</sup> century by better known composers. The momentum of the music is significantly enhanced by the skilful use of extended suspensions, combined with chromatic stepwise movement. The organ quietly introduces the five unaccompanied lower voices, but is independent of

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<sup>102</sup> Fellowes, 1973, p254.

<sup>103</sup> Dibble, J. (2002) Oxford: Oxford University Press. (pp103-104)

<sup>104</sup> Long, 1971, p371. Blow's Morning Service in A was also listed as in use from 1892- 1919, and again in 1935. Others of his Evening service settings were used by Knight, Hopkins, Campbell and Wicks.

them, permitting the singers to make their message clear. This section leads to an eight bar contrapuntal passage, before the organ and full choir complete the canticle in accompanied homophonic writing with brief organ interludes, sometimes echoing the voices, at other times leading the voices, with a slow but steady increase in dynamic, leading to fortissimo, before a peaceful Amen. Perrin introduced this Evening Service into the Cathedral repertoire in 1899 and it was still listed in 1926.

### Example 11 Fricker in G Nunc Dimittis

Andante Moderato

SOPRANO

ALTO

TENOR

BASS

Andante Moderato

11

S.

A.

T.

B.

Fricker went on to become city Organist at Leeds, founder and conductor of the Philharmonic Society there 1900. From 1917 onwards he was leader of the Mendelssohn Choir in Toronto and Organist of the Metropolitan Church.

Up to this point no mention has been made of the compositions of Goss, Turle, Smart, Sir George Elvey, the cousins E. J. and J. L. Hopkins, Longhurst, Chipp, Dykes, Ouseley, Walmisley, Barnby, Lloyd and others, who include two lay clerks, Kenningham and Pearson. Complete or partial service settings from these composers were used in the Cathedral, but apart from Goss, Ouseley and Walmisley (his Evening Service in D minor is still in use, unlike his service settings in D major) little of their service music is used today. Goss is best remembered for his anthems but more will be said about Ouseley in the context of both his anthems and the establishment of St Michael's College, Tenbury, in the section describing the anthem repertoire. Mendelssohn's considerable contribution will also be discussed at a later stage.

## **2.ii. Communion Services**

The Ordinary (the sections of the liturgy that do not change according to the Lectionary) of the Holy Communion service was described in the Introduction, Table 2, showing some variations in historical use, all according to Canon Law.

There is little mention of the singing of the Gloria in the service lists of 1873-1908, but reference is made to the Gloria in excelsis, from time to time, in the Chapter Books. It is possible that this part of the communion service is presumed in the naming of the service setting, if a full communion was used. As shown in Table 2 there would not have been a Benedictus qui venit, 'Blessed is He that cometh', (as distinct from the canticle called Benedictus) which now follows the Sanctus in the contemporary Communion Service. It did not appear in the 1662 Book of Common Prayer; the Agnus Dei<sup>105</sup> was not used for the same reason. Discussion of this significant aspect of the Service of Holy Communion will be found in Chapter 2 of this study, together with a full summary in Appendix 3. The Responses to the Commandments and the Creed were named in the service lists whether for a full or ante-communion service.

As an increase in the frequency of the celebration of Holy Communion was a Tractarian aim a résumé of its use will give some idea of the changes that took place during the period in question, also see Table 31 in the Concluding Chapter.

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<sup>105</sup> Cranmer had specifically mentioned the Agnus Dei for inclusion, in his letter to Henry VIII, when making his suggestions for setting the music, (quoted in LeHuray, P. 1967. *Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660*. London: Herbert Jenkins). However, The Agnus Dei was not legally used in Communion services from 1552 until the 1960s, although Archbishop Benson had refused to condemn its inclusion, in an 1889 Synodical Court in which the Bishop of Lincoln was called to account for its use. The Archbishop made it clear that 'no un-protestant meaning could logically or properly be attributed to' the use of the Agnus Dei. (Benson, E. W. (1899) *The Life of Edward White Benson: Sometime Archbishop of Canterbury*. London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd. p361). The final three lines of the Litany are the words of the Agnus Dei so if the Litany was an acceptable text the Agnus Dei had to be, but was not included in the liturgy from 1552-1960s.

In 1835 there were no sung Communion services in Canterbury Cathedral at all, they were all said. Similarly special days, such as Saints Days, had no choral Communion, and were also marked by the absence of an anthem. In response to the challenges made by the Tractarians there were changes, and by 1873 there was sung Communion every Sunday, Saint's Day and Ash Wednesday, although not Easter Sunday or Christmas Day, when it was sung Ante Communion, with the remainder of communion said, following. As there were no choral services at all during the whole of Holy Week, there was no sung Communion on Maundy Thursday. Although there had not been a choral Communion on Christmas Day, sung Communion services were celebrated on the three Festal days immediately following; acknowledging St. Stephen, St. John and Holy Innocents.

From 1876 it was noted in the Precentor's Book that occasionally lay clerks went out during the Sunday morning services, and in 1881 there was discussion at the Chapter Meeting about the great length, consisting of a sung Matins, sung Ante-Communion and said Communion. By 1895 a break was provided after Matins and Ante-Communion, to allow those who did not wish to take Communion, to leave, for both the first and third Sundays in the month.

In 1884 the Precentor gained agreement from the Dean and Chapter for there to be a choral celebration of Communion on Easter Sunday and Christmas Day, which the choristers would not be required to attend. Three years later it was decided to discontinue the choral Communion for Saints Days, and it became a said service at 8.15 a.m. instead. No reason was offered, but it was always difficult for lay clerks to attend daytime services, if they had managed to obtain employment that accommodated evensong, and the choristers had to leave their lessons to come and sing for these occasional celebrations.

By 1899 sung services continued during Lent and there was an Ante-Communion, (sometimes listed as 'Precomm') after Matins on Maundy Thursday. A full communion acknowledged Easter Day, Ascension Day, Trinity Sunday, Whit Sunday and Christmas Day, creating a more recognizable picture of the celebration of Communion throughout the year on the most important days in the church calendar. At the Chapter meeting of September 26<sup>th</sup>, 1903 it was agreed that:

‘henceforth Sunday morning 10.30 Service should be Matins, the Litany and the...Office of Holy Communion, with a pause, suitable for the withdrawal of those who were not communicating, made after the Offertory Sentences’.<sup>106</sup>

**Table 4 showing numbers of Communion and Ante-Communion Service settings**

The rows indicate how many service settings composed in each century were in use in each year

	1873	1892	1899	1907
16 <sup>th</sup> century	1	2		1
17 <sup>th</sup> century	4	1	1	
18 <sup>th</sup> century	3	0		
19 <sup>th</sup> century	3	16	15	18
TOTALS	11	19	16	19

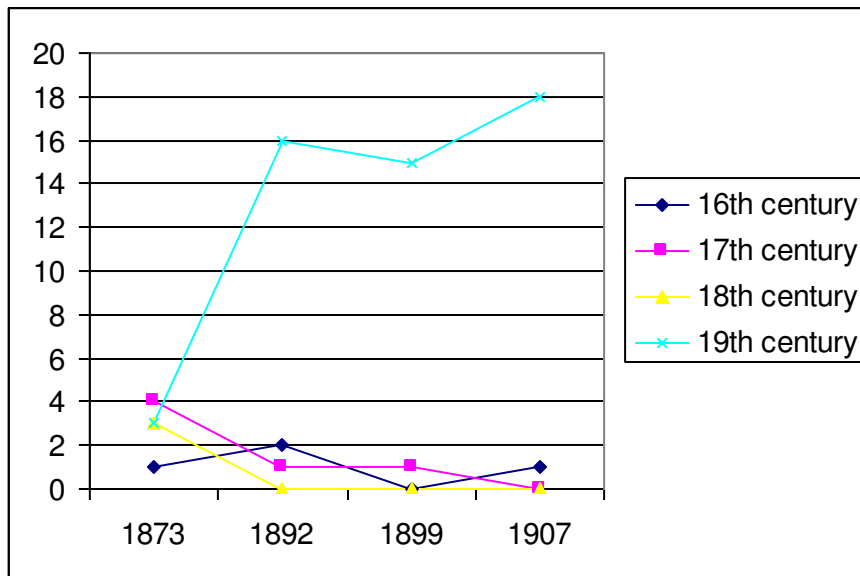
The 16<sup>th</sup> century Communion service listed for 1873 (and 1875) is by Nathaniel Patrick (1569 - 1595), in the key of G, used seven times in that year. In 1875 there were partial communion settings by Gibbons and Patrick. Within Samuel Arnold’s collection of Cathedral Music, Volume IV, dated 1790, marked as ‘Organ’, Patrick’s Communion service is to be found on page 9, but only a Kyrie and Credo. There is, however, a handwritten note, which is only partially legible, because of paper pasted over it, together with these words: “Sanctus used with Patrick in G” written in ink, followed by a Sanctus transcribed in red ink;<sup>107</sup> not attributed to any composer. It is the addition of this Sanctus that made the service available for Communion in Canterbury Cathedral, without it the setting is suitable for Ante-Communion only. It was not unusual at this time in the Cathedral’s history for parts of different Communion service settings to be used in one service, the Registers of Service music list the items separately, when necessary. The use of the abbreviation ‘thro’, in the records, is taken to mean that a full service was sung. (Tallis’s Communion service, in Boyce’s Cathedral Music Volume I, contains the Sanctus and Gloria. The Gibbons Ante Communion Service is also in Volume I, while the Sanctus is in the third Volume. The Farrant setting is only adequate for Ante Communion).

There were a few Communion settings from the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century, but as can be seen from the chart the largest proportion of Services came from the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

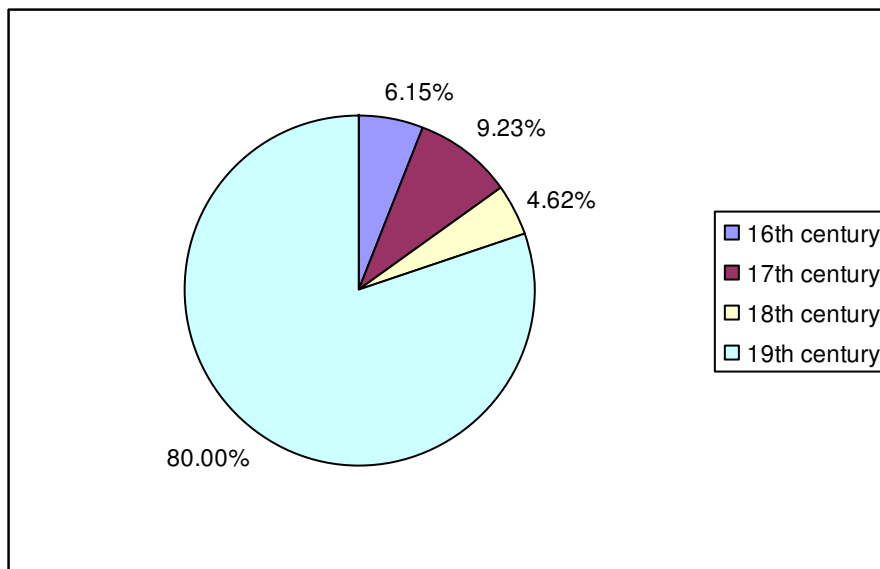
<sup>106</sup> CCA-DCc-CA/15, p259. These Offertory Sentences set by composers such as Longhurst, Calkin, Garrett, Barnby, Stainer and Lloyd, but not Stanford, were sung at Communion Services from 1899-1903, otherwise they were said parts of the service.

<sup>107</sup> W2/S-12-1/4.

**Figure 3 showing numbers of Communion and Ante-Communion Service settings**



**Figure 4 showing percentages of Communion and Ante-Communion Services settings**



The single 16<sup>th</sup> century service listed in 1907 was the Tallis Dorian setting, composed for the English Prayer Book and used first in November 1547 at Westminster Abbey to mark the opening of Parliament, the year before English translations of the Mass were available in print. The music is mainly homophonic, in note-for-syllable setting, the only repetition of words coming from the original text.

Example 12 Tallis in D Sanctus

SOPRANO  
Ho - ly, ho - ly, ho - ly, Lord God of hosts. Heav'n and Earth are full\_

ALTO  
Ho - ly, ho - ly, ho - ly, Lord God of hosts. Heav'n and Earth are full\_

TENOR  
Ho - ly, ho - ly, ho - ly, Lord God of hosts. Heav'n and Earth are full\_

BASS  
Ho - ly, ho - ly, ho - ly, Lord God of hosts. Heav'n and Earth are full\_

# b 4 # 3

6  
S. of Thy glo - ry, Glo - ry be to Thee O Lord, most High.

A. of Thy glo - ry, Glo - ry be to Thee O Lord, most High.

T. of Thy glo - ry, Glo - ry be to Thee O Lord, most High.

B. of Thy glo - ry, Glo - ry be to Thee O Lord, most High.

6 4 #3 6 4 #3

In Canterbury Cathedral this Dorian setting was specified for Communion services many times until 1912, then intermittently to 1922.

The 17<sup>th</sup> century settings, used in 1873, were by Benjamin Rogers, Aldrich and two by King, but Rogers' service, alone, survived until 1899. A Kyrie by J. S. Bach was added to the services occasionally, but it is difficult to confirm what composition it was taken from and how it was used.<sup>108</sup> Nares, Porter and Skeats (Senior) contributed the three from the following century.

There was an increasing number of 19<sup>th</sup> century settings, Turle, Elvey and Whyley, in 1873, to which were added services by Goss, Mendelssohn, Smart, Longhurst, Calkin, Garrett, Prout, Barnaby, Stainer, Gadsby, Lloyd, Stanford, and Battison Haynes in 1899. Some of these settings were discarded, but others, by S. Elvey, Wesley, Walmisley, Chipp, Dykes, Ouseley, Selby and Stanford were added by 1907.

<sup>108</sup> It cannot be from the Mass in B minor, as that Kyrie is a Ninefold, rather than Kyrie for the Commandments.

Thomas Attwood Walmisley (1814-1856) came from a musical family, and was godson of Thomas Attwood. He is best known for his Evening Service in D minor, in which the organ takes an independent part from the singers, whilst his D major services can be sung unaccompanied. Both Fellowes and Long make complimentary comments about the D minor service, Long describes it as ‘strikingly original’, (1971, 356). Neither have anything similar to say about the D major services, but Canterbury Cathedral used the Communion Service until 1924.

Example 13 Walmisley in D major Credo

SOPRANO  
of His Fa - ther be - fore, be - fore all worlds, God of

ALTO  
of His Fa - ther be - fore all worlds, God of

TENOR  
of His Fa - ther be - fore all worlds, God of

BASS  
of His Fa - ther be - fore, be - fore all worlds, God of

ORGAN

15  
S. God, Light of Light, ve - ry God of ve - ry God, Be - got-ten, not

A. God, Light of Light, ve - ry God of ve - ry God, Be - got-ten, not

T. God, Light of Light, ve - ry God of ve - ry God, Be - got-ten, not

B. God, Light of Light, ve - ry God of ve - ry God, Be - got-ten, not

ORG.

Stanford's Communion Service in Bb is listed in 1899 and was sung frequently thereafter. His word setting, for example in the Sanctus, reveals significant differences between



earlier and more recent music. His music is created to accommodate and express the words, rather than the words being stretched or compressed to fit the notes. He also used varied dynamics and changes in pitch as rhetorical illustration, e.g. a sudden drop from fortissimo to piano for the words ‘glory be to Thee’ then soaring into the heavens for ‘O Lord most high’. This was part of the significant progress in the composition of church music, made at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, rightly described as the ‘Golden Age of Church Music’, much of which is still in heard today.

### 2.iii. Anthems

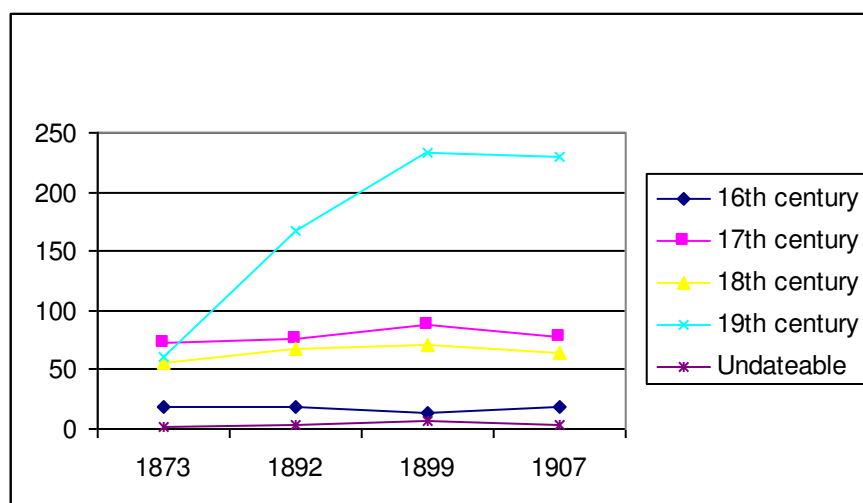
As there were two anthems sung almost every day in the thirty four years under consideration it is impossible to examine any of them in great depth. Sadly as records for some of the years are missing the information is incomplete.

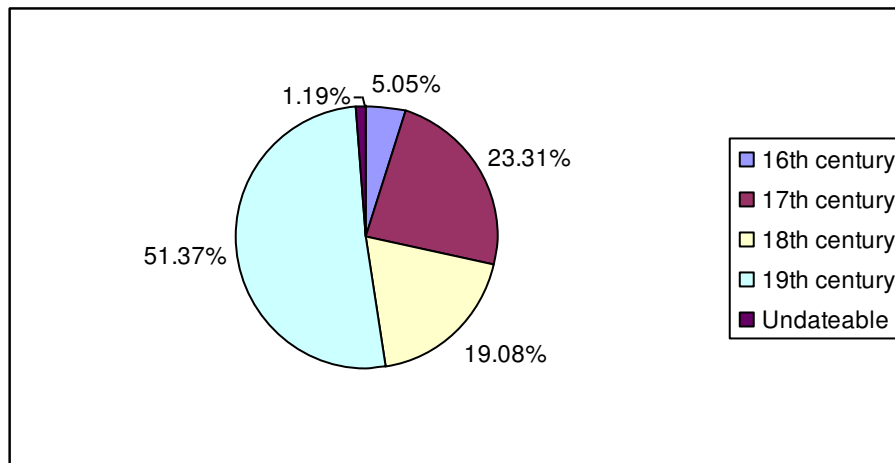
**Table 5 showing numbers of Anthems**

The rows indicate how many anthems composed in each century were in use for each year

	1873	1892	1899	1907
16 <sup>th</sup> century	18	18	13	19
17 <sup>th</sup> century	73	76	88	77
18 <sup>th</sup> century	55	67	71	64
19 <sup>th</sup> century	61	168	233	230
Undatable	2	4	7	3
TOTALS	209	333	412	393

**Figure 5 showing numbers of Anthems**



**Figure 6 showing percentages of Anthems**

Many of the 16<sup>th</sup> century anthems were included in the Boyce and Samuel Arnold collections, but progress in printing with the availability of Novello's cheaper octavo editions could have allowed an increase in early music to be used during the Victorian years. However, the repertoire from the 16<sup>th</sup> century performed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century increased very little, as indicated in the table above.

In 1873 there was one anthem by Tye, five by Tallis, one of which was a translation from Latin by Aldrich, three claiming to be by Farrant, although it is now known that Lord, for Thy tender *mercies' sake* is by Hilton, two by Byrd (spelt Bird in the service lists), Save Lord by Marenzio, (an Italian composer, 1553-1604, who had worked in Rome), four well-known anthems by Gibbons and two by Batten. Two more anthems by Tye were added in following years, but the rest remained the same. The two anthems by Batten were dropped in 1900 for a few years and other composers were less well represented. In 1901 the stirring anthem, Rejoice in the Lord, claimed to be by Redford, was added.<sup>109</sup> Also in 1901 another anthem from Rome, Palestrina's Break forth into joy, joined that of Marenzio, but Morley, Weelkes and Tomkins had yet to be included in the repertoire. The anthem by Byrd (c1538-1623) Bow thine ear (from Boyce's Cathedral Music, volume II), an English translation of Civitas sancti tui, was maintained in the repertoire until 1900, on or around All Saints' Day, 1<sup>st</sup> November; in 1901 Perrin replaced it with The Souls of the Righteous,<sup>110</sup> a most effectively crafted anthem, which was sung many years thereafter at that season and on Saints Days.

<sup>109</sup> As Fellowes points out, its style and technique is more that of the early Elizabethan period, rather than Edwardian. Redford died in 1547 and this anthem is set to the English Version of the Epistle for the fourth Sunday in Advent, as it first appeared in the 1549 Prayer Book. (Fellowes, 1969, p60).

<sup>110</sup> It was to prove significant as, in 1913, it became the fourth anthem, since the death of Mary I in 1558, to be sung in Latin in Canterbury Cathedral, under the direction of Perrin's successor.

Example 14 Byrd The Souls of the Righteous

The musical score consists of two systems of five staves each. The first system contains the vocal parts with the following lyrics:
   
S. peace, in peace, in peace, in peace,
   
S. they are in peace, in peace, in peace,
   
A. they are in peace, in peace, in
   
T. but they are in peace, in peace,
   
B. they are in peace, in peace,
   
The second system continues the lyrics:
   
S. in peace, in peace,
   
S. in peace, in peace,
   
A. peace, in peace,
   
T. peace, in peace,
   
B. in peace, in peace,

Victoria's anthem, Behold I bring you, from Spain, was included in 1906, both this and Palestrina's anthems, Break forth into joy and Holy, holy, holy, were sung in English, at this time.<sup>111</sup> In 1907 the addition of This is the record of John, by Gibbons, made him the best represented composer of that century, with six anthems listed.

The best of the 17<sup>th</sup> century sacred repertoire by Wise, Blow, Purcell, Croft and Greene was present throughout the period under discussion, plus anthems by many lesser composers such as Child, Rogers, Creighton, Humphreys, Aldrich, Weldon and King.

Robert Creighton (1640-1733) was Canon and Precentor of Wells Cathedral from 1674. His compositions consist of anthems and service settings. He is best known for his

<sup>111</sup> There continued to be a total adherence to the ban on Latin music in public places of worship imposed during the Edward VI years, (and specified in the Book of Common Prayer) except in the Collegiate Chapels of Oxford and Cambridge, where Latin, together with Hebrew and Greek would have been understood. The first anthem to be sung in Latin at this time in history was the macaronic anthem, In dulci jubilo, by Robert Pearsall, just before Christmas 1908, when Charlton Palmer was still in his probationary period as Organist.

Creyghtonian Seventh,<sup>112</sup> which consists of a subdominant chord with added seventh which precedes a final cadence; unusual at this time in history. In this extract the chord is found in the second half of bar 27. The example is taken from the anthem *I will arise* which was in use in Canterbury Cathedral until 1955.

**Example 15 Creyghton *I will arise***

18 SLOW *mf*

SOPRANO  
and am no more wor- thy to be call - ed thy

ALTO  
*mf*  
and am no more wor- thy to be call - ed thy son, no more

TENOR  
*mf*  
and am no more wor- thy to be call - ed thy son, no more

BASS  
*mf*  
and am no more wor- thy to be call - ed thy son, no

24

S.  
son, no more — wor - thy to be call - - ed thy

A.  
wor - thy to be call - - ed, to be call - ed — thy

T.  
no more wor - thy to be call'd thy son, to be call - ed thy

B.  
more wor - thy to be call'd thy son, to be call'd thy

<sup>112</sup> Kennedy, M. (1980) *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Music*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

29

S. son, Fa - ther I have sinn'd

A. son. Fa - ther I have sinn'd ag-ainst heav'n

T. son. Fa - ther I have sinn'd a-against

B. son. Fa - ther I have sinn'd a-against

Many of the best anthems from this period were by Purcell,<sup>113</sup> whose compositions always reveal great sensitivity to the sentiments of the texts being set. There were three Purcell anthems in Jones' repertoire of 1836, and eight in 1873, including Rejoice in the Lord, sung when Longhurst became Organist. Thou knowest Lord was added in 1894 and Remember not, Lord in 1903. Once these anthems were introduced to the repertoire they were used almost every year, and remain to this day.

Purcell is celebrated for more than sacred music, but Clari and Leo are known today for nothing other than anthem compositions. Leonardo Leo (1694-1744) was an Italian Baroque composer, chiefly working in the field of opera. Carlo Clari (1678-1727 or 1669-1754)<sup>114</sup> is the sole composer of two anthems, Hear my crying and Out of the deep, used in Canterbury's repertoire, until 1905. The music for the collaborative Be merciful is not listed in Canterbury's Library catalogue, but exists in the uncatalogued stock,<sup>115</sup> it was in the repertoire until 1899. The words were taken from Psalm 57, the first section set for solo tenor voice.

<sup>113</sup> His anthems can be described as falling into three groups, which are available for a variety of occasions: those written in an older style that can be sung unaccompanied, some with organ accompaniment and others with symphonies and ritornelli for strings. Rejoice in the Lord, also called The Bell Anthem, is one of the latter. It is a lively accompanied Verse Anthem in which short instrumental 'symphonies' are used alternating with a trio of soloists. Remember not, Lord our offences, is a full anthem, as is Thou knowest, Lord, which was first performed in Westminster Abbey for the funeral of Queen Mary II. These two were composed without independent accompaniment, so could be sung unaccompanied.

<sup>114</sup> The dates for Gian Carlo Clari vary according to different authors, should his name be referred to. He, too, was an Italian conductor-composer.

<sup>115</sup> W2/S-15-7, described as 'selected from the second Volume of Mr Novello's Fitzwilliam Music, adapted to English words by J. Pratt'.

**Example 16a Clari** Be merciful unto me

SOLO TENOR

ORGAN

*mez. Pia*

Andante

14

Be mer - ci - ful un - to me O God

The second section, by Leo, is for five part choir, with organ pedal support an octave lower than the bass vocal line. It provides a contrast to the section by Clari, being in quadruple time, rather than triple and set in the tonic major, rather than the original minor modality.

**Example 16b Leo** God shall send forth

100 CHORUS

Treble

Treble

ALTO

TENOR

BASS

ORGAN

Full to 15th

God shall send forth, shall send forth his mer - cy

God shall send forth, shall send, shall send

God shall send forth, shall send forth his mer - cy

God shall send forth, shall send forth his mer - cy,

God shall send forth, shall send forth, shall send

It is not possible to leave the 17<sup>th</sup> century repertoire without acknowledging the contribution made by the German composers, Bach and Handel. Following the

introduction of Bach's St Matthew Passion to mid 19<sup>th</sup> century London concert-goers, excerpts from the Passions and Christmas Oratorio were in use in Canterbury Cathedral services on a regular basis, increasingly, from 1892. (A setting of a Tonus Peregrinus Service attributed to J. S. Bach, was also used on a few occasions).

Handel's Messiah dominated the repertoire, with occasional choruses from the Chandos Anthems. The Messiah was composed in Dublin and heard in England before it was sung in Handel's native Germany. The Hailstones Chorus and The Lord is a Man of War from the oratorio, Israel in Egypt, were in the repertoire, with text bearing no connection to the day in the church calendar, for some years after Longhurst's appointment as Organist in 1873. Choruses from the Coronation Anthems and the Messiah were easier to fit into the seasonal aspects of the services. The solo, I know that my Redeemer liveth and the Hallelujah Chorus were sung at Easter Sunday Evensong annually until 1937. Similarly Christmas evening congregations heard the Christmas recitatives from the Messiah followed by the chorus Glory to God, without fail. In 1894 there were twelve performances of Croft's anthems, while Handel was heard twenty nine times.

Maurice Greene's anthems were very popular, in 1899 eleven of them were performed. Thou visitest the earth, was sung each year, because of the agricultural nature of its text, in early Autumn and also at Rogationtide.

Many of the 18th century anthems, used at Canterbury, provide relatively little interest by comparison to those of the previous century. Kent, William and Philip Hayes, Nares, already mentioned in connection with service settings, and Callcott are listed by Long as Minor Figures, but some are not mentioned in academic studies. There was initially one anthem from Italy by Pergolesi, O Lord, have mercy, which was joined by Glory be to God, in 1901.

Haydn's Creation, like Handel's Messiah, had a ready appeal for Cathedral congregations. Choruses from that oratorio had been in the choir repertoire for some years, but in 1907 it is evident that his Seven Words from the Cross had become known, as extracts played a significant part during Lent and Holy Week as anthems.

Mozart and Beethoven were represented each year, not by anthems, but with excerpts from larger works.

Boyce is not remembered for oratorio choruses, but his anthems appeared amongst the more memorable compositions to be heard. O where shall wisdom be found demonstrates Boyce's skill in setting music to a text. I have surely built a house uses a bass soloist to start the anthem, and shows his affection for Purcell's music in its musical expression.

The contribution of Battishill, Attwood and Crotch to Canterbury's repertoire cannot be ignored, as, although small, it was significant, and some is still in use. Call to remembrance by Battishill, (unaccompanied), Come Holy Ghost by Attwood and Comfort

the soul by Crotch, although short full anthems are well crafted with the melody in the treble line, and not ‘dull’.

The London debut in 1820 of Spohr, (1784-1859) a German conductor, violinist and composer, began an English vogue for his music. In 1873 just one of his anthems was in use but by 1899 there were nineteen, including that original title, As pants the hart. This chorus was an arrangement from Spohr’s Oratorio, Calvary. His sentimental and readily memorable ‘tunes’ helped to fill the vacuum caused, perhaps, by the seemingly low level of English compositional skill of the time.<sup>116</sup> ‘Long’s description of ‘banality, naïveté, mawkish sentimentalism and...technical incompetence’ was given to the imitations of music such as this, ‘though the copies never achieve such dizzy heights as the originals’.<sup>117</sup> In As pants the hart the treble soloist first sings the melody which the five part choir then repeats. It was last sung in the Cathedral in 1936, indeed none of Spohr’s anthems were sung after that date.

Example 17 Spohr As pants the hart

The musical score for 'As pants the hart' by Spohr is presented in a multi-staff format. The top staff is for the Treble Soloist, which is currently blank. Below it are five vocal staves for Soprano, Alto, ALTO, TENOR, and BASS. Each vocal part begins with a piano (*pp*) dynamic. The lyrics for all parts are: "As pants the hart for cool - ing streams, When heat - ed in the". The organ part is at the bottom, starting with a piano (*p*) dynamic. The score is in 6/8 time and G major.

<sup>116</sup> In his autobiography Stanford says that during the Victorian period the music of Spohr was rated higher than that of Beethoven. Stanford, C.V. (2010) Pages from an Unwritten Diary. General Books. (Originally published by E. Arnold in 1914). (p155)

<sup>117</sup> Long, 1972, p330.



5

Tr. Solo

S. chase, So longs my soul, O God, for Thee, And

A. chase, So longs my soul, O God, for Thee, And

A. chase, So longs my soul, O God, for Thee, And

T. chase, So longs my soul, O God, for Thee, And

B. chase, So longs my soul, O God, for Thee, And

ORG. *cresc.* *p*

Detailed description: This is a musical score for Schubert's 'The Lord is my Shepherd'. It features a vocal ensemble (Tr. Solo, S., A., A., T., B.) and an organ (ORG.). The score is in G major and 3/4 time. The lyrics are: 'chase, So longs my soul, O God, for Thee, And'. The organ part includes dynamic markings 'cresc.' and 'p'. The vocal parts are arranged in a homophonic style, with the organ providing accompaniment.

Schubert's setting of The Lord is my Shepherd made a brief entry into the lists, but was soon replaced by Smart's version of the same text, although, to the writer, the Schubert was the far better work, being well crafted with music more closely related to the words. Schubert continued to be represented by Where Thou reignest, and whilst it appears to be superficially like the Spohr, As pants the hart, with its rippling accompaniment, Schubert's compositional skill is shown to be far more effective.

The 19<sup>th</sup> century anthem repertoire of John Goss uses both the techniques of full and verse anthem writing, some of it memorable. However, despite being sincere and functional in terms of the musical expression of the text, his music is not exciting. The best known in use at the time were, as they are today, The Wilderness, a Verse Anthem and the short Full Anthem, O Saviour of the World.

Earlier in this chapter, the name of Jones (1805-1873) was referred to as Longhurst's predecessor, Organist from 1831-1872. He left a small legacy of compositions which includes the next example, which is homophonic and sung colla voce with the organ, sung until 1936.

Example 18 Jones Unto Him that loved us

**Moderato**

SOPRANO *mf*  
Un-to Him that lov-ed us and wash'd us from our sins in His own

ALTO *mf*  
Un-to Him that lov-ed us and wash'd us from our sins in His own

TENOR *mf*  
Un-to Him that lov-ed us and wash'd us from our sins in His own

BASS *mf*  
Un-to Him that lov-ed us and wash'd us from our sins in His own

**Moderato**

ORGAN *mf*

7

S. blood. Un-to Him that lov-ed us and wash'd us from our sins in His own blood.

A. blood. Un-to Him that lov-ed us and wash'd us from our sins in His own blood.

T. blood. Un-to Him that lov-ed us and wash'd us from our sins in His own blood.

B. blood. Un-to Him that lov-ed us and wash'd us from our sins in His own blood.

ORG.

The name of Mendelssohn appeared in the music lists repeatedly, with fifty one titles, representing eighty six services, in 1894, reducing to forty eight titles in 1899 and forty two in 1907. By this date it becomes clear that there were more of his solos, anthems and choruses available in the repertoire than could be used in a single year. His Opus 79 motets were very popular, of which the first, Rejoice, O ye people on earth, was in frequent use in the Christmas season. Mendelssohn's other contributions consisted chiefly of choruses and solos from Elijah, St Paul, The Hymn of Praise, Lauda Sion, the Forty Second Psalm and his Opus 97 Cantata, Christus.

Goss's contribution to the Victorian repertoire has already been discussed, but there is a long list of composers from this time, who are barely remembered today, including Dykes and Barnby. However, S. S. Wesley made a significant difference to the quality of compositions that were heard in the Cathedral from the earlier 19<sup>th</sup> century, not only for his services, but also for anthems, the best of which are still in use today. Goss composed a setting of The Wilderness some time after Wesley wrote his version of the same text; the two make an interesting comparison. The Goss setting is well worth hearing and was regularly used in Victorian services, but that by Wesley reveals his superior imaginative and technical skills as a word-setter and composer. Amongst twelve or thirteen anthems by Wesley each year there are differences in length, forces needed for performance and expressive word setting according to the needs of the text. Lead me, Lord is a section from a larger Anthem: Praise the Lord, O my soul, both of which were used at Canterbury. Ascribe unto the Lord is a longer Verse anthem and contains a Bach-style Chorale as one of the full choir sections. The shorter Verse Anthem Wash me throughly, begins with a solo treble and has a skilfully handled penitential text, it remains in the church repertoire together with Blessed be the God and Father.

The list of anthem composers used in the Cathedral that follow chronologically after Wesley are not in the same class musically, they include names such as Smart, Walmisley (best known for his D minor Evening Service, already mentioned), Sterndale Bennett, the brothers Stephen and George Elvey, E. J. Hopkins, Jenner, Gounod and Longhurst. Most of these composers are better known today for their contribution to Psalm chants, some for their hymn tunes, and Gounod composed music in much the same style as Spohr. Both Stephen and George Elvey (1816-1893) were pupils of Highmore Skeats (Senior), Jones' predecessor as Organist at Canterbury. Stephen went on to be Organist at New College, Oxford and George, later Sir George, became Organist at St George's Chapel, Windsor. His anthem, Wherewithal shall a young man change his ways, remained in use in Canterbury Cathedral until 1936.

Example 19a G. J. Elvey Wherewithal shall a young man

Andante

ORGAN

8ves sempre con Ped.

7

ORG.

12

Tenor Solo

Where - with - al shall a young man\_ cleanse\_ his\_ way.

17

VERSE

SOPRANO

Where - with - al shall a young man\_ cleanse\_ his\_ way\_

ALTO

Where - with - al shall a young man cleanse his way

TENOR

Where - with - al shall a young man\_ cleanse\_ his\_ way\_

BASS

Where - with - al shall a young\_ man\_ cleanse his way

ORGAN

After this Verse section there is a sequence of contrapuntal and homophonic passages, followed by a fifty six bar solo, which includes an organ introduction and finale. This section could stand as a solo anthem in its own right. The tenor soloist asks for God's help to amend his ways. After this the full choir and Verse group alternate, before the Finale begins. Many of the minor composers of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries chose to imitate Handel, often with long Hallelujahs and many textual repetitions, because his music was seen to be the height of fashion. Elvey's anthem survived in the repertoire for more than half a century despite pages of Amen and Hallelujah. This first section of the Finale is entitled Fuga, but combines fugal and homophonic writing.

**Example 19b G. J. Elvey** Wherewithal shall a young man (Hallelujah and Amen)

177 Allegro Moderato

SOPRANO Hal - le - lu - jah, A -

ALTO Hal - le - lu - jah, A - men. A - men, A -

TENOR Hal - le - lu - jah, A - men.

BASS Hal - le - lu - jah, A - - - - - men.

ORGAN Allegro Moderato  
8ves sempre

Some seventy bars later a Coda is begun, which lasts for another twenty bars.

**Example 19c G. J. Elvey** Wherewithal shall a young man (Amen and Hallelujah)

247

SOPRANO Hal - le - lu - jah, A - men, Hal - le - lu - jah, A - men, A - men, A -

ALTO Hal - le - lu - jah, A - men, Hal - le - lu - jah, A - men, A - men, A -

TENOR Hal - le - lu - jah, A - men, Hal - le - lu - jah, A - men, A - men, A -

BASS Hal - le - lu - jah, A - men, Hal - le - lu - jah, A - men, A - men, A -

ORGAN

255

S. men, A - men, Hal - le - lu -

A. men, A - men, Hal - le - lu - jah, Hal - le - lu -

T. men, A - men, Hal - le - lu - jah, Hal - le - lu -

B. men, A - men, Hal - le - lu - jah, Hal - le - lu -

ORG.

261

S. jah.

A. jah.

T. jah.

B. jah.

ORG.

Henry Lascelles Jenner (1820-1898) was an early member of the Cambridge Camden Society, formed in 1839, which became known as the Ecclesiological Society, interested in Ancient Christianity and ritual, also the study of church architecture. John Mason Neale was also in this association and made many scholarly translations of early church poetry into texts that were then set as hymns. They published a periodical entitled *The Ecclesiologist*, and thereby were often called Ecclesiologists. Their members included Thomas Helmore, who was Master of the Choristers of the Chapel Royal. He and Tractarian clergymen were involved in the revival of neglected early music, which included plainchant, its performance in services and concerts, its restoration and publication. Helmore was closely associated with church music and teacher education at

St Mark's College, Chelsea and Ouseley provided training for church musicians in performing the newly discovered early continental anthems.

Following several curacies, in Cornwall, Essex and Kent, Jenner was accepted for a Minor Canonry at Canterbury Cathedral. Adelman says, 'he took his fine tenor voice and sight reading skills' to Canterbury in October 1852.<sup>118</sup> His influence in helping the founding of the Canterbury Choral Union, in 1862, is acknowledged by its continued existence. Jenner's hymn tune 'Quam Dilecta' for the words, 'We love the place, O God', remains in most contemporary hymnals today. Unlike the hymn tune, Jenner's anthem, marked 'For Fridays', only survived in the repertoire until 1875. It is thirty five bars long, and whilst being sound harmonically, it lacks any particular energy or memorable harmonies or melodic line.

Example 20 Jenner Haste Thee, O God

The musical score is for the anthem 'Haste Thee, O God' by Jenner. It is written for Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass, and Organ. The tempo is marked 'Grave'. The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and the time signature is 4/2. The lyrics are: 'Haste Thee O God, to de - li - ver me. Haste Thee, Haste Thee,'. The organ part provides a simple harmonic accompaniment with chords and single notes.

<sup>118</sup> Adelman, D. (1997) *The Contribution of Cambridge Ecclesiologists to the Revival of Anglican Choral Worship: 1839-62*. Aldershot: Ashgate. (p130)

7

S. to de - li - - - ver me: make haste to

A. to de - li - - - ver me: make haste to

T. to de - li - - - ver me: make haste to

B. to de - li - - - ver me: make haste to

ORG.

The music of Sir Frederick Gore Ouseley is not frequently heard today but there were about fifteen of his anthems in the choir lists in Canterbury in any year of those being discussed. His compositions were often of a sentimental nature, but most were technically sound and displayed his support of S. S. Wesley's standards of sensitive word-setting and harmonic variety. The Tractarian cause at St Barnabas Church, Pimlico, where Ouseley was a member of the clergy, was the subject of riots on Sundays and people charged those attending the services with 'Papal aggression'.<sup>119</sup> The church lost its choristers and Ouseley arranged for them to be housed and educated at his expense in Buckinghamshire. Later he founded St Michael's College, Tenbury as a model choir school, its aim being the singing of daily services for God's glory and the promotion of early music. The College provided education, spiritual and musical, and was a centre of musicology, with a valuable archive for research. It facilitated music publishing, particularly early and continental music, which made possible the enlargement of the repertoire for any that were interested. Through the college the Tractarian (Oxford) and Ecclesiological (Cambridge) aims for change in worship ethos from the early 19<sup>th</sup> century became combined with the work of Organists such as S. S. Wesley. The statutes of the college provided for training in the choral Anglican Communion and set up a model choir which was eventually supported by Cathedral musicians around the country.

Whilst Ouseley, like Wesley, did not wish to use plainchant in his services, and had disagreed with Thomas Helmore about this, Helmore counted Ouseley's expressive anthem, *How goodly are thy tents* as a favourite. It is composed in high Victorian style and is an excellent communicator of its text, like several of his other anthems, such as O

<sup>119</sup> Rainbow, 1970, p160.



Saviour of the world, From the rising of the sun and Is it nothing to you? which remain in contemporary church repertoire.

It has already been said that choruses from Handel's oratorios and Haydn's Creation were included in the Cathedral anthem repertoire. In the same way, as soon as Brahms' German Requiem became known in England, three choruses from it were used, in English,<sup>120</sup> from 1906 onwards, in services related to the celebration of Saints Days.

Many of the anthems composed later in the 19<sup>th</sup> century have not stood the test of time, but were very popular in the Canterbury Cathedral repertoire in their day. A list of the composers, better known to the Victorian congregations, of Cathedral anthems at this time would include Steggall, Calkin, Gilbert, Oakeley, Garrett, Barnby, Stainer, Roberts, Sullivan, Martin and Bridge, with Rheinberger and Coleridge Taylor added in the later years.

John Stainer (1840-1901) is best known today for his Oratorio The Crucifixion, which is frequently performed during Lent. His interest in plainchant is less well known, although examination of his church music will reveal it. An overlap between communion service music and anthems will be considered at the end of this section describing the anthem repertoire, but Stainer made a crossover from plainchant to hymnody and also to anthems. He also composed plainchant-style melodies, for example in the hymn Hail Gladdening Light, where his own plainchant melody is interspersed with four-part harmony. This was included in Hymns Ancient and Modern, which was used in Canterbury Cathedral from 1897, approved by Chapter on May 1<sup>st</sup>. (More will be said about this text in chapter two).<sup>121</sup>

Stainer's anthem, O Zion, that bringest good tidings, composed in 1874, is an example of the crossover from medieval melody to hymn and into anthem. It came into the Canterbury Cathedral lists between November 1893 and October 1894 and remained until 1936.

The anthem is written in ternary form, the first and last sections have four-part homophonic writing led by treble voices, characteristic of many Victorian compositions. In the middle section Stainer sets the text Of the Father's Love begotten with his own melody, but in the Pastoral style of its 1582 Piae Cantiones origins, an example of his interest in music from antiquity. The original Latin words by Prudentius, 348-413, are in English translation by the Ecclesiologist John Mason Neale, as used in the first edition of

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<sup>120</sup> Blessed are the dead, Blest are they that mourn and How lovely is Thy dwelling place.

<sup>121</sup> Hymns Ancient and Modern is described as a 'strongly Tractarian hymnal' in Dibble, J. (2007). John Stainer: A Life in Music. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, (p154) which is supported by the fact that it contains many examples of plainsong, accompanied and modified for congregational use; some are barely recognizable as plainchant, because of the harmonisations and rhythms employed.

Hymns Ancient and Modern. That version of the melody is set with four minims in a bar. The Standard Edition of that same hymn book adds an 'Alternative version' in four compound beats in a bar, which is described as Plainsong.<sup>122</sup> It is this version of the hymn which is used today.

**Example 21a) Of the Father`s love begotten (Hymns Ancient and Modern)**

SOPRANO  
ALTO

TENOR  
BASS

S.  
A.

T.  
B.

O the Fa - ther's Love be - got - ten Ere the worlds be - gan to  
be, He is Al - pha and O - me - ga, He the source the end - ing life, etc

**Example 21b) Stainer O Zion, that bringest good tidings**

The following example shows the second verse of the central section of Stainer`s anthem, which is rooted in that plainsong. It is not authentic plainsong, but it uses the text of the first verse of the Prudentius translation.

TENOR

BASS

T.

B.

Of the Fa - ther's Love be - got - ten Ere the worlds be - gan to be, He is  
Al - pha and O - me - ga He the source, the end - ing He, etc

<sup>122</sup> Described as plainsong in the Hymns Ancient and Modern: Standard Edition, xxxviii, where both versions are included.

The verse just quoted follows one sung by the trebles,<sup>123</sup> when an additional historical factor has to be considered.

Example 21c) Stainer O Zion, that bringest good tidings

The musical score is presented in two systems. The first system is for Trebles and Piano. The Treble part is in 12/8 time, starting with a rest followed by a melodic line. The piano accompaniment consists of chords and moving lines in both hands. The second system is for Tr. (Tenors) and Piano. The Tenor part continues the melodic line. The piano accompaniment continues with similar harmonic support. The lyrics are written below the vocal lines.

The whole of the central part of the anthem is based on a Pastorale rhythm of four compound beats in a bar, which can be described as a Siciliano. This was originally a rural instrumental piece, performed in Rome before images of the Virgin Mary on the first day of Christmas.<sup>124</sup> It is possible that Stainer knew of the Pastorale origin; if not, the fact that he set the description of the blessed Birth of Christ to the Virgin Mary as a Siciliano is a remarkable coincidence. It is equally possible that it was an intentional but a discrete reference to his interest in antiquarian and High Church tenets. The forebears of the Siciliano were set for rural pipers, e.g. flutes, shawms and bagpipes, and Dibble suggests that in the anthem ‘the almost folk-like melody [would have been] accompanied by the traditional Baroque timbres of oboe and flute stops on the organ’.<sup>125</sup>

Dance-like rhythm can indicate a general pace at which the music can be performed, but until metronome marks were used no precise speed can be presumed. Metronome markings, where they occurred in Victorian music, indicate that the pulse was often very slow; however, that would not have been reflected in the best known music of Sullivan, (1842-1900) the composer of the Savoy Operas. He had been a chorister in the Chapel Royal choir at St James’s Palace, and spent a lot of time with teachers and musicians who supported the Oxford Movement. His church music reveals an interest in ancient and non-

<sup>123</sup> Using text of verse four from the Neale translation of the hymn.

<sup>124</sup> Lehmann, C. Editor. (1998) Johann Sebastian Bach: The Aria Book: Accompanying Brochure. London: Bärenreiter.

<sup>125</sup> Dibble, J. (2007) John Stainer: A Life in Music. Chippenham: The Boydell Press. (p181)

biblical texts, the anthem by Sullivan entitled, O gladsome Light sung at Canterbury from 1899, is from a poem adapted by Henry Longfellow, the words contain similar sentiments to Phos Hilaron, to be discussed later, but a direct connection with it is not claimed.

Fellowes says ‘too often the idiom of his anthems is out of keeping with the splendour of the words’.<sup>126</sup> However, that criticism does not describe the hymn-like anthem Lead kindly Light which is at least serviceable. Sullivan makes use of a secondary ninth (bar four), a dominant ninth (at the beginning of bar five) and major ninth (the last beat of the ninth bar), to provide some harmonic colour and variety. Each verse of the poem is six lines long, the first four of which are paired, but Sullivan takes advantage of the different partnership between lines five and six by making one musical phrase in bars 13-17, most effectively supporting the meaning of John Henry Newman’s text.<sup>127</sup>

### Example 22 Sullivan Lead kindly Light

The musical score for 'Lead kindly Light' is presented in a five-staff format. The top four staves are for the vocal parts: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The bottom staff is for the Organ. The score is in 4/4 time, marked 'Moderato', and begins with a piano (*p*) dynamic. The lyrics are: 'Lead kind - ly Light, a - mid th'en - cir - cling gloom, Lead Thou me'. The organ part provides harmonic support with chords and moving lines in both hands.

<sup>126</sup> Fellowes, E. H. revised J. A. Westrup. 1973. English Cathedral Music. London: Methuen and Company. (p248)

<sup>127</sup> Newman wrote what is effectively a prayer, during his spiritual struggle about whether he should remain in the Protestant church as a High Churchman or move to the Roman Catholic Church.

6

S. on; The night is dark, and I am far from home; ——— Lead *mf*

A. on; The night is dark, and I am far from home; ——— Lead *mf*

T. on; The night is dark, and I am far from home; ——— Lead *mf*

B. on; The night is dark, and I am far from home; ——— Lead *mf*

ORG.

11

S. Thou me on. Keep Thou my feet, I do not ask to *f* *dim*

A. Thou me on. Keep Thou my feet, I do not ask to *f* *dim*

T. Thou me on. Keep Thou my feet, I do not ask to *f* *dim*

B. Thou me on. Keep Thou my feet, I do not ask to *f* *dim*

ORG.

16 *p*

S. see The dis - tant scene, One step e - nough for me.

A. see The dis - tant scene, One step e - nough for me.

T. see The dis - tant scene, One step e - nough for me.

B. see The dis - tant scene, One step e - nough for me.

ORG.

While Stanford's service music made a profound impact on the repertoire of Canterbury Cathedral, little of his anthem creation was listed in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century; the best had either yet to be composed or simply not arrived. The short anthem *Blessed are the dead* was used, however, regularly between 1901 and 1935, then again in 1945 and 1949. Stanford (1842-1900) was a close friend of Henry Bradshaw, President of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, who had introduced the 13<sup>th</sup> century Anglo-Latin hymn for the Annunciation, *Angelus ad Virginem*,<sup>128</sup> to Stanford, which he used in his unsuccessful opera, *Savonarola*. Stanford could not forget the inspiration of the early melody and in gratitude to Bradshaw he composed an anthem incorporating the outline of the melody for performance at his friend's funeral, following his unexpected death in 1886.<sup>129</sup>

### Example 23a)

### Angelus ad Virginem

Example from Oxford Book of Carols

Treble Solo An - ge - lus ad Vir - gi - nem Sub - in - trans in con -

7 Example from New Oxford Book of Carols

cla - ve, An - ge - lus ad Vir - gi - nem Sub - in - trans in con - cla - ve,

The ancient melody, with what is known today as its dance-like rhythm, combined with a text from the Service for the Dead, seems a rather unexpected marriage; however,

<sup>128</sup> *Angelus ad Virginem* was mentioned by Chaucer in his *Canterbury Tales*. The Hymn of Chaucer's Oxford Clerk, was referred to by Dibble (2002, p148), in Charles Villers Stanford: Man and Musician. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

<sup>129</sup> He later reworked it to create a larger composition which he re-named, *I heard a voice from heaven*.

research indicates that the rhythm published in the 1928 Edition of The Oxford Book of Carols is closer to that used by Stanford in the Victorian period.

Example 23b Stanford Blessed are the dead

The musical score is for a four-part setting of 'Blessed are the dead'. It is written in 3/4 time with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The tempo is marked 'Lento'. The dynamics are marked as *pp* (pianissimo) for the first two bars, *poco* (poco) for the third bar, and *p* (piano) for the fourth bar. The lyrics are: 'Bless - ed, bless - ed, bless - ed are the dead which die in the'. The Soprano part starts with a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, Bb4, and C5. The Alto part starts with a half note F4, followed by quarter notes G4, A4, and Bb4. The Tenor part starts with a half note E3, followed by quarter notes F3, G3, and A3. The Bass part starts with a half note C3, followed by quarter notes D3, E3, and F3.

The melodic outline of Angelus ad Virginem is observable partially in the first bar of the tenor line, almost echoed by the basses in bar three then more fully shown in the treble part, bars 5-7a, of the example.

The anthems by Stainer, Sullivan and Stanford were composed by musicians that are still known today, but *There is a river and, Lo! He comes*, are listed as being by Ryley, now unknown, from 1901. For some time information about the composer was elusive. Eventually copies of the music were found, both dated 1898, and the composer was discovered to be a Cathedral Minor Canon, Rev'd Geoffrey C. E. Ryley (1866-1947). *There is a river* is a gentle setting of biblical texts from Psalm 46 and Revelation, written in double canon, while the words of *Lo! He comes* are those of a Victorian Advent hymn. The creation of a grand entry for the return of Christ at the 'Second Coming' is entirely appropriate, but the added accents create a rather aggressive tone.

Example 24 Ryley Lo! He comes with clouds descending

The musical score is for the hymn 'Lo! He comes with clouds descending' by Ryley. It is written in 4/4 time and B-flat major. The score includes four vocal parts (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and an Organ part. The organ part is marked 'Moderato maestoso' and 'ff'. The lyrics are: 'Lo! He comes with clouds descending, Once for all'. The organ part includes a 'Gt to Sw.' section and a 'sf' section.

This anthem together with the music created by Porter, Raylton, Skeats (Senior), Jones, Longhurst and Perrin (Organists), Fricker (assistant Organist), Jenner, (Minor Canon), and members of the choir and choristers' school, demonstrates the parochial efforts of Cathedral staff to compose music for the daily services at this time.

It was mentioned in Table 2, showing the Ordinary of the Communion Service, that at this point in the church's history, the Benedictus qui venit, 'Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord, Hosanna in the highest' and Agnus Dei, 'O Lamb of God', were not accepted parts of the service, either sung or said. Examination of the music lists reveals



that some composers of liturgical music were not content with this situation, and continued to compose music for those words and include them in their published service settings. At Canterbury the following are found in the service lists, but sung as anthems, during the period under discussion:

<u>Blessed is He that cometh</u>	<u>O Lamb of God</u>
Calkin 1892-1894, 1899-1908 <sup>130</sup>	Calkin 1892-1894, 1899-1901, 1905-1908
Garrett 1899, 1901-1902, 1906-1908	
Stainer 1900, 1903, 1905	Stainer 1892

None of these composers wrote anthems with these titles, which therefore implies that the music was taken from the communion service settings and used in place of an anthem.

Exploring and describing the service music and anthems performed twice a day in Canterbury Cathedral from 1873-1908, has been a fascinating and challenging task. Changes in compositional style have been observed, the weak revealed and some memorable music discovered. It is now appropriate to look at those involved in the performance of that music.

### **3. Choir**

#### **3.i. Choristers**

The beginnings of the chorister section of the Cathedral choir were described in Section 1.ii. of the Introductory Chapter. The choristers were not boarders because there was no Choir Boarding House, they had to live in close proximity to the Cathedral, with either parents, near family or guardians.

By the early 19<sup>th</sup> century the choristers' education still consisted chiefly of music, but a Grammar Master was appointed in 1845. In 1855 it was decided that a person should be appointed as both a lay clerk and school master for the choristers, a house being provided for him. The Rev'd Edward Fellow(e)s was appointed, but sadly ten years later it became evident that he was unable to cope with the discipline of the boys and after some acrimonious exchanges between the Dean and Fellowes it was decided that the situation could not continue.<sup>131</sup> Despite the reasons for his departure, the Rev'd Fellowes did have

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<sup>130</sup> Calkin's 'Blessed is He that cometh' was used on Palm Sunday of 1892-94 and 1899-1901, then Garrett's version shared its place from year to year. It is the most appropriate day in the Church calendar for it to be sung, according to St Luke 19: 38, as the crowds shouted words using the same sentiments (according to different translations) as Jesus rode into Jerusalem.

<sup>131</sup> In the state sector those children who went to school in the 1830s were taught by pupil teachers. It was not until the early 1840s that Teacher Training Colleges began to appear, St Mark's College, at Chelsea, being one of a group of colleges founded by the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor.

a University education in addition to his skills as a musician, with which to educate the choristers, he also composed the Morning Service in D, Example 8. Various alternatives about the boys' education were considered and in 1867 Mr Joseph Plant, a Cathedral lay clerk, was placed in charge.<sup>132</sup> Notwithstanding Plant's appointment, a note in the Chapter Book, entitled 'Choristers reprimanded', appears in the St Catherine's Chapter and Audit of 1873, as follows:

'The choristers were summoned before us and received a severe reprimand for throwing stones into and about the Cathedral and for irreverence in Church out of hours of service, their Grammar Master and the Precentor being present'.<sup>133</sup>

At the same Chapter Meeting it was decided that in order that the boys could see and be seen during services higher seats were ordered to be placed over the existing choristers' seats. Both these occurrences were late in Longhurst's year of probation.

The number of boys was increased to 10 choristers and 10 probationers, half at a time to sing weekday services, and all on Sundays and Holidays (Holydays). The Brewhouse had been converted into the Choristers' School in 1867, but the needs of the School are mentioned three times in 1884. Developments had to be suspended while the plans for the new organ were implemented.

In 1880, Mr Wetherall, Lecturer in Natural Science, was appointed at the Choristers' School, but, following a Choir School Committee meeting, held in response to Canon Routledge's 1890 Choir School Report, Mr J. E. Reid became Assistant Master, at a salary of £40 per annum (Mr Plant's salary being reduced by £10 in consideration of this expenditure). Following a period as pupil teacher at St Mildred's School, Canterbury, Reid had studied at St Mark's College, Chelsea and was therefore a certificated teacher.<sup>134</sup> All the boys were taught instrumental music by the Organist of the day, but Perrin allowed the boys to choose their instrument, not all choosing the organ, although some later became very useful church Organists. King's School, Canterbury, like many King's Schools connected with Cathedrals, and Collegiate establishments, such as Eton, have never admitted choristers to their schools, because of the intrusion of rehearsals and services into the school day.

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<sup>132</sup> CCA-DCc-CA/13, pp197-8.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid, p317.

<sup>134</sup> He had already worked as a qualified teacher in Cambridge when he took up his appointment at the Cathedral Choir School, and was prepared by a clear statement of standards for the Choir School, made by the Inspector. This detailed the care of the boys, and amount of time choristers should spend in school, in the Cathedral and the educational curriculum: Religious Knowledge, History, Geography, Latin, Reading, Handwriting, Spelling and Arithmetic. Lessons were to be from 8.30-9.45 and 11.00-12.30 each day for all the boys, plus 9.45-11.00 for the boys not attending church. Music lessons were to be reserved, wherever possible, for the afternoons, except that Tuesday morning full choir practice should be retained. In 1895 two additional lessons in the elements of music were added to the probationers' curriculum, one to be given by the Assistant Master and the other by the Organist.

In 1898 the Schools Inspector recommended that Mr Plant should stand down as Master of the Choristers and Mr Reid was promoted to Headmaster with a salary of £100 plus an assistant teacher. Mr Coltham's name appears in the records at a later date, when, having his voice tried for lay clerkship, he was found to be suitable vocally and moved from his role as assistant master to the choristers.

Whilst the boys had to work hard at being both school boys and young professional singers, their lives were considerably better than those represented earlier in the 19<sup>th</sup> century by the authors Charles Kingsley and Charles Dickens, in novels *The Water Babies* and *Oliver Twist*.<sup>135</sup> Choristers had benefitted from the efforts of reformers such as Maria Hackett, who, as a maiden lady, was the bane of many Cathedral Organists' lives, in her attempts to gain proper education and care for boys in Cathedrals, such as St Paul's and the Chapel Royal, early in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>136</sup>

At Canterbury there is evidence that boys were admitted as choristers at the age of eight, could remain until their voices broke and were not simply discharged when their voices made them unsuitable to continue singing in services; apprenticeships, employment and gratuities were frequently referred to in Chapter records, regarding provision for those who could no longer sing the services. The choristers, if they did not move on to further study, had already received a longer period of education than most children, and were in many cases far better educated and ready for employment than those who left school at thirteen. In this way the Cathedral facilitated the musical life and education of the choristers, who, in turn, gave of their vocal abilities in praise of God.

### **3.ii. Lay Clerks**

At Canterbury the lay clerks took on the role of the singing monks of Christ Church Priory of pre Reformation times. Whilst they did not serve with the day and night services of their predecessors they sang at least two services every day.

It is when one examines the records relating to the lay clerks a picture of life within the Cathedral can be seen as almost comparable to that of a family. By 1873 there is little mention of suspension for 'immoral conduct' with care provided for the family, habitual lateness, or 'discreditable money transactions', as had been recorded earlier in the century. The conditions of lay clerk employment, as singers, were to be regularised during the years of Longhurst and Perrin as Organists.

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<sup>135</sup> Even as late as 1864 the Factory Act (Extension) permitted chimney sweeps to employ children under 10 years on their own premises. Key dates in Working conditions, Factory Acts Great Britain, 1300-1899. [www.thepotteries.org/dates/work.htm](http://www.thepotteries.org/dates/work.htm) accessed 17.10.2010.

<sup>136</sup> The Factory Act of 1874 raised the minimum working age to nine, and limited the working day to ten hours in the textile industry. The hours of work for children and young people in shops were not to exceed seventy four in a week, including meal times, in 1886.

From 1873 financial problems within the Cathedral Chapter were becoming evident, through the repeated requests to Chapter by individuals, then all of the lay clerks, for an increase in their stipends. The answers were typical of those from the head of a household, when the request was denied and they were instructed not to ask again. The annual bonuses, called gratuities, paid to lay clerks each Christmas, rose in 1879, but then consistently decreased over the years to 1907 to a lower level than in 1874.

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century it was not uncommon for lay clerks to continue singing in the choir beyond the modern retirement age for lay clerks, for example a Mr John Easter was appointed probationary lay clerk in 1841, probably in his early twenties, so would have late fifties/early sixties upon his death, in service, in 1879, having been ill for some months. Tilly, Gough, Manning, Farrow, Higgins and Grundy were in the same age group, but at their retirement, rather than their death. Joseph Plant was still in the choir in 1908 having given 52 years of service as a lay clerk, including 33 years with the additional responsibility for the choristers both as assistant master and head master. The 1905 Lay Clerk Agreement, referred to a pensionable age of fifty five, which avoided the problems caused by failing health and failing voices. More musically capable lay clerks moved to establishments such as Westminster Abbey and Trinity College, Cambridge, probably because pay was better during the difficult financial times at Canterbury, and there was delay in permanent reappointments. Visiting singers joined the Canterbury lay clerks from time to time, and the list of deputies was drawn on frequently. From 1901 the name of Reid,<sup>137</sup> the choristers' school headmaster, appeared in the lay clerk list, not as a lay clerk, but as an alto, he had failed several auditions to be a full lay clerk. From 1902 to 1905, inclusive, there were only nine lay clerks, and that included Reid, where in 1878 there were twelve, which is the ideal number, with two voices per part, in each of the Cantoris and Decani choirs.

There was an interesting comment inscribed in the Precentor's book on 17<sup>th</sup> July, 1903, the handwriting looking very much like that of the Precentor, Rev F. Helmore, himself. 'The Lay Clerks were excused attendance at Matins on account of the Choristers' outing the same day ('Men's voices only services are not approved of now)'.<sup>138</sup> There is no further reference in the Chapter Books relating to this statement, but he would be unlikely to put it in his records if it was incorrect, as they are official documents, that were to become part of the Cathedral's archive.

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<sup>137</sup> CCA-DCc-CA/15, p192.

<sup>138</sup> DCc-PB/15 p1903.

#### **4. Cathedral Business**

Within the context of difficulties in maintaining day to day finances, including lay clerks who wished to improve their financial state when other Cathedrals paid better, there was a need for various restoration projects in the Cathedral to be dealt with. There was also a far greater challenge regarding finances for all Cathedral Chapters to understand and address.

##### **4.i. Redecoration of the Choir**

In 1874, the architect Sir George Gilbert Scott was approached to refit and restore the interior of the Choir of the Cathedral. (This is the part of the building where the choir sings, between the Nave and the Chancel, also spelled Quire). A subscription-raising body was formed and designs for the east end of the Choir and a new Reredos were considered. At the Special Chapter Meeting of May 4<sup>th</sup> 1878 the son of Sir George Scott agreed to carry out his late Father`s plans for refitting the Choir, and he was appointed the Cathedral`s architect. The following year it was determined that the refitting should commence immediately and the Chapter House was to be prepared for services, rather than the Nave, while the Choir was being worked upon. By November final arrangements were made for the re-opening of the Choir and a celebratory service, with a lunch in the Cathedral Library, was planned, following the restoration. The Archbishop agreed to preach and all the principal donors and others who had aided the project were invited. A special expression of gratitude was made to Canon Moore at the St Catherine`s Chapter and Audit meeting for all the organisation of funds that he had undertaken. In 1880 it was agreed that the choristers` seats should have wooden panels placed behind them for their protection, which completed the final stage in the renovation.

##### **4.ii. The Organ**

In the service lists for 1873,<sup>139</sup> there is a note stating that there was to be ‘no organ from 21<sup>st</sup> August to September 13<sup>th</sup>, for tuning’. No mention is made of the condition of the organ, which was a three manual Samuel Greene instrument with 30 stops, dated 1784,<sup>140</sup> but this seems a lengthy period of time for the organ to be out of action for routine tuning. However, late in 1879 the first statement of intention to have a new organ installed in the Cathedral was made, when funds permitted, and when current planned works were complete. The major qualification to the statement was the words: ‘except for the present the Organist is to be placed in the South Aisle’;<sup>141</sup> a change of location was under consideration.

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<sup>139</sup> CCA-U3-100/1/17

<sup>140</sup> Hill, D. I. (1986) *Canterbury Cathedral*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p158.

<sup>141</sup> CCA-DCc-CA13, p419.

In 1883 a conference was held with the Mayor of Canterbury and others regarding the rebuilding and enlarging of the organ and a decision was made to invite J. O. Scott and Mr Willis to discuss plans with the Organist the following day. It was to be a Willis organ, built by Mr Willis himself. In May he advised Chapter that the space between the Choir and the Nave was insufficient for the new organ, but with modifications it could be sited in the South Triforium to good acoustic effect. It was generally agreed that the plans suggested by Willis and Scott,<sup>142</sup> should be approved and the Committee should be formed with a view to the necessary funds being raised. In July Dr Longhurst reported to Chapter that the new site for the organ, with console and small portion of the organ itself in a gallery over the screen between the second and third pillars at the South Eastern end of the Choir, would be favourably received. To aid fund-raising for the project, it was decided that morning service offertories for July and October 1884 and January and April 1885 should be donated to the Organ Fund. The fund-raising for the new organ gathered momentum when a Committee was set up with the Archbishop presiding at a public meeting. The new instrument was to retain as much of the old organ as was possible; this statement was reiterated in the Special Chapter Minutes of January 30<sup>th</sup> 1886. In August of that year Dr John Stainer visited to examine the new organ and gave it a certificate of approval, saying ‘the tone is splendid...and the mechanism a marvel of ingenuity’. In a postscript he calls the attention of the Dean and Chapter to:

‘the generous gift by Mr Willis of the costly electric action (his underlining) of the instrument; he drew up his specification on the basis of the charges for ordinary mechanism, but being alive to the special difficulties of the proposed position of the organ, he made an enormous contribution to the Cathedral by installing a novel and perfect electric communication at a cost to himself equal to the value of the whole instrument. JS.’<sup>143</sup>

In early September Mr Willis was most gratefully thanked by the Dean and Chapter and on September 25<sup>th</sup> thanks from Chapter were reiterated, using words such as:

‘great satisfaction...great power and extraordinary skill in mechanism...delicate and harmonious...great magnificence...wish to place on record their appreciation’.<sup>144</sup>

The organ was to be insured for the sum of £3000. The story of the new organ does not end there, as in November of that year it was agreed that the local water company should erect machinery for blowing the organ and supply water on a contractual basis, although

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<sup>142</sup> Mr Scott was one of the two sons of Sir George Gilbert Scott, 1811-78, both of whom were, like their Father, Architects. Mr George Gilbert Scott, Junior was appointed as the Canterbury Cathedral architect upon the death of his Father. John Oldrid Scott was the other son, who was clearly involved in the Cathedral’s architectural affairs.

<sup>143</sup> CCA-DCC-CA/14, p30.

<sup>144</sup> Willis had received a Gold Medal at the Inventions Exhibition of 1885 for the new patent combination of pneumatic and electrical appliances of the organ, (Dibble, 2007, p230). At Matins on 30<sup>th</sup> July 1886 the instrument was dedicated.

an organ blower continued to be employed. Organ maintenance was to be supplied by Messrs Willis for work on the organ, and supply of electric power was £86.5.0 per annum.

The present Organist and Master of the Choristers, Dr David Flood, confirms that the existing organ includes the heart of the 1886 organ, i.e. most of the 1886 pipe-work in its Great, Swell and Pedal sections. This means that together with the pre-1886 organ that remained within the Willis instrument, the organ itself is a significant part of the Cathedral's precious history.

#### **4.iii. Finance**

Both the organ and choir projects were funded externally from voluntary donations, so at this point the story of the music and the music-makers could end but for the implications of the repeated requests for an increase in the stipends of the lay clerks.

The Ecclesiastical Commissioners had been set up by Parliament in 1836 to reorganize dioceses, abolish surplus posts in Cathedrals and take over both the responsibility for funding Bishops and some Cathedral costs, and the assets that had supported those responsibilities. The intention of these actions was to divert Cathedral funds, which were deemed to be excessive, to help in financing churches in rural areas and those developing as the result of the Industrial Revolution and support the stipends of clergy working there.<sup>145</sup> Chapter Property, other than houses, began to be transferred to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners from 8<sup>th</sup> August 1862, causing their capital base to shrink and with this, their financial income. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners' records imply that the Canterbury Chapter negotiated a fixed block grant in lieu of the Commissioners having the estates. In 1873 unsuccessful efforts were made in the Cathedral to release funds to increase stipends of lay clerks and other officers. Nationally there was a financial slump which was at its worst between 1875 and 1879, and this could have contributed to the Cathedral's difficulties, but the story does not appear to be so easily explained; it is clear that the transfer of property that began in 1862 with resultant reduction of income, caused significant hardship.

The 1879 Cathedral Establishments Commission holds a financial report from Canterbury in which the financial situation is discussed, with an illustrated net income of £16,330 and expenditure of £16,556, and a note explaining that in recent years expenditure had always

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<sup>145</sup> St Paul's Cathedral received generous grants from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to improve their flagging choir and decayed buildings, (Stainer to J. S. Egerton, quoted in Dibble, J. 2007, p143) at a time when Canterbury Cathedral had to make substantial payments to the Commissioners. This implies that Canterbury Cathedral was considered to be in far better condition than St Paul's in both areas.

exceeded income.<sup>146</sup> The financial shortages affected all parts of the Cathedral's life and work, as lay clerks moved to Cathedrals that could pay better, resulting vacancies were to be filled only after a delay and the annual dividends of the Dean and Residentiary Canons could not be paid in full. Successive interviews with the Commissioners and further written appeals confirmed the inability of the Commission to comply with the requests. Effectively the daily function of the Cathedral was being maintained at the expense of the Dean and Chapter, and the burden was very great for them to bear. In 1889 it was discovered that the Cathedral surveyor and architect had allowed liabilities to accumulate, because of the inability for them to be paid, and was offered the opportunity to resign. The Cathedral Chapter had no alternative but to continue the transfer of property to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners which was undertaken in a total of five separate tranches until 12<sup>th</sup> August 1902.

Canterbury was not the only Cathedral affected in this way as a group called 'Distressed Cathedrals' was referred to several times in the Chapter records.

#### **4.iv. Technological developments**

As a part of general modernisation gas became available for lighting within the Cathedral, with gas standards provided for the lay clerks in 1887, and five years later safety issues required that there were to be six pails of water in the organ loft. In 1899, however, plans for extending the town electricity supply into the Precincts were submitted and agreed; implying that in the course of time electric light would be available inside the Cathedral, provided by the Canterbury Electric Company.

### **5. Conclusion**

The years 1873-1908 covered the time in which the Organists gradually took on some duties that had previously been undertaken by Precentors. Historically they moved from the mid-Victorian period into the reign of Edward VII, through the years of the Boer War and a National Financial Slump. Although the period begins after the energies of the Oxford Tractarians and Cambridge Ecclesiologists had waned, in Canterbury Cathedral there were slow and discrete changes throughout this time, in response to their challenges.

Nearly ten per cent of the music sung in the Cathedral in 1873 was drawn from the 16<sup>th</sup> century for the Matins and Evensong services, from only four composers, Tallis, Farrant, Gibbons and Patrick. There was little from Purcell or S. S. Wesley, and, at this time in history, nothing from Stanford, to challenge the level of interest that these early

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<sup>146</sup> File reference ECE/7/1/59250.



composers provided. By 1892 the 16<sup>th</sup> century services had halved and fell further by 1899, although by 1907 had risen to just under five per cent again. Although the 16<sup>th</sup> century repertoire of Matins and Evensong services had not significantly reduced, it was virtually static; it was the Victorian repertoire that had grown considerably, year by year, partly because the service music composed late in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was of considerable importance, including Stanford's settings, and remains so.<sup>147</sup>

At the same time there was an increased frequency of Communion Services, (albeit Ante-Communions on most occasions) sung for Saints Days and almost every Sunday. Again, it was the Victorian repertoire that was favoured and few early settings were heard, as was shown in Table 4. By 1899, when Perrin became the Organist, the interest in the aims to increase early music had subsided somewhat, the 16<sup>th</sup> century Communions not being represented at all and other centuries were much the same as for the Morning and Evening services.

The frequency of anthems being sung during services increased significantly from 1873 to the listed year of 1899, as can be seen in Table 5, as they were introduced for Holy Days and Sunday services. The proportion of 16<sup>th</sup> century anthems to the complete repertoire fell, in similar fashion to the results for service settings, as the Victorian repertoire increasingly dominated the music. Those who selected the Cathedral music were still limited in their access to 16<sup>th</sup> century music. Longhurst's Short Anthems included compositions by Marenzio and Marcello, from sixteenth-century Italy: these anthems were in the Canterbury lists in 1836. They were joined by Bach, Handel, Mozart and Mendelssohn to total nine European composers by 1873. In 1901 there were two more early compositions, both by Palestrina, also Italian, and in 1906, 'Behold, I bring' by Victoria: Spanish; together with a longer list by Mendelssohn. Most of the early repertoire came from the collections of the 18<sup>th</sup> century enthusiasts for 'Ancient' compositions such as Greene, Boyce<sup>148</sup> and Arnold. There were nineteen non-English composers by 1907; the geographical range was increasing, a little in advance of the practices of many other English Cathedrals.

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<sup>147</sup> Morning services in use at St Paul's Cathedral in 1881 had increased to forty five; while those in Canterbury Cathedral were fifty five in 1875 (there are no records for 1876-1891). Evening Services numbered fifty five at St Paul's and sixty three in Canterbury. This indicates that Canterbury Cathedral had a larger repertoire some six years prior to that of the St Paul's range of music, despite Stainer's major efforts to improve the latter since his appointment as Organist in 1872, and further confirms that the pre-1873 repertoire at St Paul's was in far worse condition compared to that of Canterbury Cathedral during the time of Longhurst's predecessor, Thomas Evance Jones.

<sup>148</sup> Boyce, W. (1788) 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. Vols 1-3. Cathedral Music. London: Boyce.

The Cathedral musicians did not embrace pure plainsong, despite the influence of the Tractarians and the Ecclesiologists and the presence of Frederick Helmore, as a Minor Canon and Precentor, who had grown up surrounded by their aims and intentions.<sup>149</sup>

A useful comparison with the repertoire in Canterbury Cathedral in 1873 can be made with that described by Dibble,<sup>150</sup> from Stanford's autobiography.

'During his first year as organist at Trinity, (Cambridge, 1873) Stanford did little to alter the chapel's mode of operation. Louis Borissow, who had been appointed Precentor in 1871, oversaw the choice of music, which drew heavily on the repertoire of the eighteenth century. A large proportion of the repertoire, of anthems and service music by Nares, Hayes, Clarke-Whitfield, Battishill, Greene, Travers, Wise, Kelway, and Boyce, was supplemented by extracts from oratorios by Handel, Mendelssohn, and Spohr. In addition, Victorian works by Macfarren, Hopkins, Elvey, Garrett, Dykes, Oakeley, and Best recurred with monotonous regularity, a routine broken only by the names of Attwood, Walmisley, Stainer, Goss, and S. S. Wesley, who lifted the levels of musical imagination above the commonplace'.

**Table 6 Services and Anthems in Canterbury Cathedral from 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries compared with the rest of the repertoire of 1873**

	16 <sup>th</sup> century Fraction of whole	17 <sup>th</sup> century Fraction of whole	Combined percentage
Matins and Evensong	6/85	26/85	37.65%
Communions and Ante-Communions	1/11	4/11	45.45%
Anthems	18/209	73/209	43.54%
TOTALS	25/305	103/305	Rounded total 42%

Whilst the Precentor at Canterbury Cathedral was, as at Trinity College, also responsible for the selection of the music, in no way can Canterbury's repertoire be criticised in the same fashion as that of the ancient Choral Foundation at Cambridge for the year 1873. In terms of historical content Canterbury is far superior, as the pre-18<sup>th</sup> century repertoire in all areas of music, not far short of half of the whole, is therefore a significant proportion of that repertoire. In Stanford's autobiography he also states that he was unable to have much effect upon the revival of the best of the old repertoire, or indeed in new compositions, in the department of Church Music at the University.<sup>151</sup>

Change in compositional techniques through the ages has been demonstrated in the musical examples shown in this chapter. It ranged through the concise note for syllable

<sup>149</sup> Frederick Helmore's father, Thomas Helmore, although a faithful member of the Cambridge Ecclesiological Society, also did not maintain his own early interest in pursuing plainsong and concentrated on greater inclusion of early music.

<sup>150</sup> Dibble, J. (2004) Charles Villiers Stanford: Man and Musician. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (p55)

<sup>151</sup> Stanford, C. V. (2010) Pages from an Unwritten Diary. www.General-Books.net. (p123)

settings, more florid writing for voices, solos for sections of the choir or for individual singers and even instrumental ritornelli in verse anthems. Anthems, although not service music, were introduced which incorporated both arranged plainchant and plainchant-style melodies and, in a Wesley anthem, a Bach-style chorale. At times there was unaccompanied singing, at others the organ replicated the voices, but finally the organ took its own part, whilst still supporting the singers. The music became far less fragmented or repetitive and musical themes were developed and recapitulated as in a symphony. Despite the much larger repertoire of anthems, it was the services that revealed greater progress in communication of textual meaning and musical structure, chiefly through the work of Wesley and Stanford. Many of the anthems used in Canterbury Cathedral at this time cannot escape all criticism for sentimentality, but legitimate rhetoric was heard; S. S. Wesley's exhortations were being heeded, as the 19<sup>th</sup> century proceeded into the 20<sup>th</sup>.

The major renovation of the Choir and provision of a substantially new four manual organ, which facilitated more demanding organ accompaniments for the music, plus the continued efforts made to meet the educational and musical needs of the choristers, took place during a period of great financial difficulty. The possibility of bankruptcy must have been in the minds of the Dean and members of the Cathedral Chapter, yet they continued onwards, unaided by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, doing what they saw as God's work, at considerable personal cost.

The only negatives that could be made about the ordering of services during this period came in the first year after Longhurst's appointment, when the procession and condition of the choir robes was observed to be less than appropriate.

Problems with attendance of lay clerks at services were less than in earlier years and none of the clergy or choir had, for many years, noticeably fallen asleep or read the newspaper during services,<sup>152</sup> but the length of some of the sequences of services caused lay clerks to leave, until in 1895, a break was permitted between them. The quality of music performance was generally good, although, during Longhurst's final years as Organist, he was unable to maintain his best standards. No negative comments were made about the music itself and from 1900 the Organist was able to select the repertoire, albeit subject to the approval of the Precentor. There was no criticism expressed in Chapter meetings about inclusion of early music, the few well-known polyphonic anthems drew no adverse attention; there was, however, a high proportion of homophonic service settings and anthems in the repertoire, balanced by occasional inclusion of plainsong

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<sup>152</sup> Canon Nelson, brother of Admiral Lord Nelson, was known to do this in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Shirley, J. (1964). *The Pictorial History of Canterbury Cathedral: The Mother Church of English Christendom*. London: Pitkin Pictorials Ltd. p82.

inspired melodies within new compositions. A gradual increase in the number of service settings together with a variable number of sung communions added variety to the services. The discarded parts of the pre-Reformation Communion service were included, as anthems at least twice a year. Progress towards authenticity of music and language was only facilitated as new editions became available and were included in the repertoire, but at this time everything was sung in English. There was significant interest in the 19<sup>th</sup> century compositions coming from composers such as Wesley and Stanford (from 1892) and compositional techniques revealed in the new music still puts it on a level with the best compositions of the past.

The relationship between the Dean and Chapter, the historic building itself, the music and the musicians has to be seen as one of symbiosis, in which no element could function effectively without the others; attempts to do so would not convey God's message in the same way. Canon Joseph W. Poole, when Precentor of Coventry Cathedral, said, 'Worship without music does not soar'.<sup>153</sup> One remembers that he remained, as Precentor at Canterbury, in the dark days of the Second World War, and kept the worship, through music, alive.

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<sup>153</sup> Quoted in Routley, E. (1978) *Church Music and the Christian Faith*. London: Collins Liturgical Publications. (p131)

## Chapter 2

### The Repertoire of Clement Charlton Palmer: Organist from 1908-1936

The period from 1873 to 1908 in Canterbury Cathedral saw changes in the roles of the two initiators of repertoire and the performance of the music. Longhurst had been very much part of the Cathedral life when he was appointed Organist, while Perrin brought in ideas from his academic roles at Dublin University and ecclesiastical experience from churches such as the old Cathedral, St Michael's, in Coventry. By the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century some of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century influences of the Tractarians and Ecclesiologists were incorporated into the services, together with the musical aims and examples of S. S. Wesley. Communion was now a sung service at least twice a month, and some compositions revealing an interest in plainsong were evident in the repertoire. 19<sup>th</sup> century music formed the largest part of the repertoire; some of such quality that they remain amongst the most respected music sung by choirs of today.

Palmer would oversee twenty eight years of music at Canterbury, a period of slow, but steady growth of repertoire. The measured expansion of the repertoire can partly be attributed to the social and political environment of the times. The First World War cut into the staffing of the choir, and music requiring double choir parts had to be limited; indeed, the financial strictures of the whole period reduced what could be performed. The greatest problems were in the late nineteen twenties surrounding the national strike, which affected the funds available for new music, staffing and electrical power for the lighting and organ. On the positive side Palmer introduced a small number of anthems in their original Latin text, which would open the way to a wider repertoire in years to come. His role seems to have been, in chief, one of maintenance and support, as will be shown through the musical examples.

#### 1. The Organist and the Precentors

When Clement Charlton Palmer came to Canterbury Cathedral at the age of 37, as Organist, he had been deputy Organist at Lichfield Cathedral from 1890-1897, then Organist at Ludlow Parish Church in succession to Ivor Atkins. Palmer's appointment at Canterbury followed upon the departure of Perrin, only six years Palmer's senior. Perrin moved from Canterbury after just ten years to become head of the new music department of McGill University, Canada, but Palmer was to be at Canterbury for twenty eight years. Dr Palmer's appointment was confirmed at the end of May 1908. He was rarely mentioned in Chapter records until 1926, when constant problems with supply of coal came to a head in the coal stoppage and National Strike and it became essential for the

Cathedral to economise on electricity to the organ; this required that Dr Palmer should cease his organ teaching.

Changes in the role of the Organist were described in the previous chapter. In 1900 he ceased to be just the person who played the organ before, during and after the services. Thereafter, he took the lay clerks' practices and worked with the choristers, as well as selecting much of the daily musical repertoire. The Precentor still acted as Cantor for Versicles and Responses and mediated between Chapter and the musicians, but was no longer the initiator of music selection and preparing lay clerks for services. The choir school staff and the Organist taught the choristers, in both their school subjects and their service music.

The Rev'd Frederick Helmore had been a Minor Canon in the Cathedral for forty seven years, forty two of them as Precentor, by 1925. At the 1926 Audit Rev'd L. E. Meredith was appointed to be Minor Canon and Precentor, on condition he studied the duties of Sacrist as well. His report for the 1928 St Catherine's Audit contains the words: 'Musically the year had been more than satisfactory', but there were discussions about the quality of the singing and the number of weekly practices for the lay clerks, the following year the variable quality of the music is referred to. For the Enthronement of the Archbishop music was described as being of a high standard, but:

'at other times...especially during the holidays of the choristers...the part singing has been badly balanced and the services ragged and lifeless'.<sup>154</sup>

The Precentor asked that Chapter would refrain from asking him to suggest the lines which developments might take and explained that he had already discussed the matter with the Dean. However, the Dean had been absent, ill, for some months and was rarely present until he left Canterbury the following year. In 1930, the Precentor's report indicated an improvement in general level of singing, making it comparable with that heard in other Cathedrals. The tone of the boys' voices was now rather stronger than it had been previously. Attendance by the lay clerks had been improved by the removal of fines for absence, rather than encouraging it. In November 1930 the report indicates a breakdown in relationships between the Precentor and the Organist and the post of Precentor and Sacrist was offered to Rev'd R. Staple in January 1931. Staple's report at the end of that year indicates that one of the requests of him, at appointment, was that he 'should try to work agreeably with the Organist and the members of the choir'.<sup>155</sup> He explained that the Organist selected the canticles and anthems, the repertoire being enough to ensure that no setting of the music was repeated for at least two months. He indicated a desire to be more effective in his position, but the 'present circumstances'

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<sup>154</sup> CCA-DCc-CA/18 p699.

<sup>155</sup> CCA-DCc-CA/18, p1166.

made it impossible. He praised the work of the choir school and especially the fact that choristers seem to do even better at their school work than their non-chorister classmates. Staple persisted, in his reports, in finding matters that could be praised in connection with the music. However, on January 7<sup>th</sup> 1933, relationships between the Precentor and Organist were referred to once again, although no details were provided. In September 1936 Rev'd Joseph Weston Poole<sup>156</sup> replaced Staple; an appointment that was to prove a significant decision in the years to come. In July 1936 Chapter proposed that the Dean should see Dr Palmer, now aged sixty five, to terminate his appointment after twenty eight years of service in Canterbury Cathedral.

## **2. The Music**

A superficial glance at the service records which list the repertoire used by Palmer, gives the impression of a very similar range, historically and stylistically to that of Longhurst and Perrin. Closer investigation reveals subtle or, perhaps, cautious progress towards a wider historical, national and linguistic choice. Perrin had succeeded in obtaining far more responsibility for selecting the music used for services and anthems than his predecessors and Palmer maintained that independence, whenever it was acceptable. Tables, Figures and Musical Examples will continue to be provided to aid interpretation of the large quantity of information produced in the repertoire for 1908-1936.

### **2.i. Matins and Evensong Services:**

The following Tables and Figures list the numbers of Matins and Evensong service settings that were used during the period under discussion. As there are more records available for this period than for 1873-1908, numerical information for alternate years is shown. Changes in the frequency of services affected the number of service settings used, and this can be detected in the slow reduction in numbers from all the centuries, particularly up to 1926.

There were, of course, no service settings from the years prior to the 16th century as they did not exist before the Reformation. Henry VIII proclaimed himself to be the head of the Church of England in 1535, and a revised edition of the Sarum Breviary with the eight daily monastic offices was issued in 1542; the new Book of Common Prayer for the Anglican Rite followed the Act of Uniformity in 1549. The newly created Matins service combined Matins, Lauds and Prime, while the new Evensong blended the offices of Vespers and Compline.

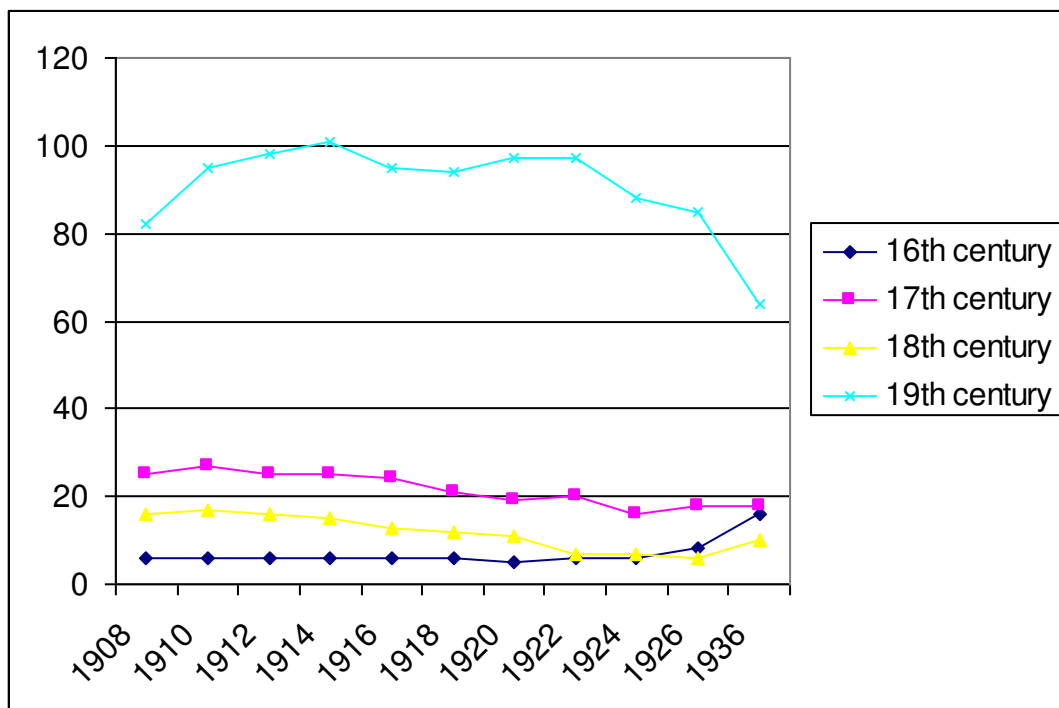
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<sup>156</sup> Poole had been noted in the Chapter Minutes of December 1924 amongst the King's Senior Scholars.

**Table 7 showing numbers of Matins and Evensong Service settings**

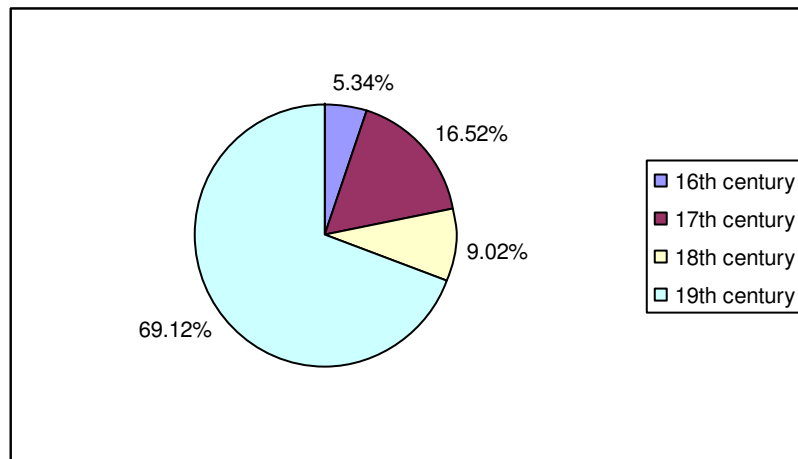
The rows indicate how many service settings in each century were in use for each sample year.

	1908	1910	1912	1914	1916	1918	1920	1922	1924	1926	1936
16 <sup>th</sup> century	6	6	6	6	6	6	5	6	6	8	16
17 <sup>th</sup> century	25	27	25	25	24	21	19	20	16	18	18
18 <sup>th</sup> century	16	17	16	15	13	12	11	7	7	6	10
19 <sup>th</sup> century	82	95	98	101	95	94	97	97	88	85	64
TOTALS	129	145	145	147	138	133	132	130	117	117	108

**Figure 7 showing numbers of Matins and Evensong Service settings**



**Figure 8 showing percentages of Matins and Evensong Service settings**



It can be seen from these charts that the Matins and Evensong services from the 16<sup>th</sup> century changed very little over the period 1908-1926. Detailed examination of the service lists reveal that there were generally the same number of service settings and the same number of composers represented, but following the lacuna in the records it can be seen that the early service repertoire increased significantly.

In 1908 there were service settings by Tallis, Farrant and Gibbons, but by contrast, in 1936 there were Matins and Evensong service settings by Merbecke, Tallis, Farrant, Causton, Byrd, Day, Tomkins, Gibbons and Patrick.

The Matins and Evensong services of Tallis, his Dorian Service, Farrant in G and Gibbons in F (Short Service), had remained unchanged in the repertoire since the records were started in 1835. All of these service settings were included in Boyce's Collection of Cathedral Music, so were readily available for Canterbury Cathedral's choir to sing. It was not until 1924 that William Byrd's name entered the Evensong lists; first the D minor (Short Service), then the B minor (Second Service) and Eb services were added. Only the Short Service had been included in Cathedral Music, Volume 3. The Second Service exists in the Cathedral Library in the edition by E. H. Fellowes, in transposition up a major third from the original G minor.<sup>157</sup> Following the gap in the records a step forward is evident, in response to enhanced interest in early music by the 19<sup>th</sup> century antiquarians, and increased availability of early music editions. Faux Bourdon Services by Tallis, Tomkins and Gibbons were now included in the repertoire from 1935, together with Matins canticles by Merbecke and Nathaniel Patrick, and Evensong services by Day and Causton.

<sup>157</sup> Revd E.H. Fellowes, (1870-1951) began researches into music of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century while he was an undergraduate at Oriel College, Oxford, during 1889-1892. His published editions made a vast difference to the available music for performance, thereafter.

These compositions, when studied in some detail, show how the 16th century church music composers progressed following the Reformation, in their approach to word setting. For example: the setting of the words ‘He hath put down the mighty from their seat’ in the Magnificat canticles by Tallis, Farrant, Byrd and Gibbons reveals their response to the Reformation demands for simple ‘*nota contra notem*’ (c1544).<sup>158</sup> Tallis and Farrant had set the words homophonically, without repetition or any particular melodic representation of the meaning of the words. Byrd, in his Second Service, gives the words ‘He hath put down’ to a solo tenor, without any textual repetition. He also requires the five-part choir to sing these same words in his Short Service without repetition. Gibbons, however, in his F major (Short) service, provides a melodic fall of a fifth in the treble and bass parts, in canon at the fifth, for the words ‘put down’, as an example of musical rhetoric, but still with no repetition of the text. By contrast Causton’s setting of these words contains a clear example of use of musical rhetoric, together with repetition of text. The falling interval echoed by all four voices, in imitation, illustrates the direction in the words ‘put down’. He ignores the caution against repetition; the lower voices singing them twice, and the trebles three times, which ensures that the listener has understood the text.

#### Musical Example 25 Causton in Ab Magnificat

15

S. He hath put down, he hath put, he hath put \_\_\_\_\_

A. hath put down, he hath put down the migh -

T. \_\_\_\_\_ down, he hath put \_\_\_\_\_ down \_\_\_\_\_ the mighty -

B. put down, he hath put down \_\_\_\_\_ the \_\_\_\_\_ migh -

<sup>158</sup> LeHuray, P. (1967) *Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660*. London: Herbert Jenkins. (7)

19

S. \_\_\_\_\_ down the migh - ty from their seat and hath ex - alt -

A. ty from \_\_\_\_\_ their \_\_\_\_\_ seat and hath ex - alt -

T. \_\_\_\_\_ ty, the migh - ty from their seat and hath ex - alt - ed

B. ty from \_\_\_\_\_ their \_\_\_\_\_ seat and hath ex - alt -

There appears to have been an editorial and printing interaction between Causton and John Day, whose music was also introduced at Canterbury during the same year as that of Causton.<sup>159</sup> Thomas Causton was a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal Choir and lived between c1520/25-1569. His service music was in Canterbury Cathedral's repertoire from 1935-1937, inclusive, possibly earlier, allowing for the lacuna in records. Causton is far less well known than the composers Tallis and Gibbons, whose music had been in the repertoire since before 1835. Causton's music had to await re-discovery and publication by S. Royle Shore in 1912. From 1939 a Faux Bourdon Setting by Causton was listed, which continued to be used until 1949, then again from 1964-87. His 'sincere religious feeling' compared to his moderate musical skill is raised by Fellowes.<sup>160</sup> Long discussed whether this/these services are actually by Causton,<sup>161</sup> as he edited much of Day's *Certaine Notes* and it is thought that he may have taken advantage of this situation to claim to be the composer of certain compositions.

Melismatic decoration of syllables was rare in the English Protestant music of this early period because of the note for syllable rule. In the Canterbury Cathedral repertoire it can be seen that Tallis and Farrant used brief decorations in the lower voices for the *Nunc Dimittis* and Byrd also confined their use to the lower voices in the *Magnificat* from the Second Service. Gibbons, being a little later, historically, extended his melismas through all the voices over five bars. In every instance the word set with a melisma was *Amen*, so there could be no objection that comprehension of the meaning was obscured by the decoration.

As shown on the numerical table, services from the 16<sup>th</sup> century were tripled between 1926 and 1936, but the *Matins* and *Evensong* repertoire from the 17<sup>th</sup> century reduced

<sup>159</sup> Milsom, J. (2002) *Thomas Causton: New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians II*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. The spelling Causton/Causton, seems equally acceptable.

<sup>160</sup> Fellowes, E. H. revised J. A. Westrup (1969) *English Cathedral Music*. London: Methuen. (p41)

<sup>161</sup> Long, K. R. (1971) *The Music of the English Church*. London: Hodder and Stoughton. (p78)

over the same period. There were morning and evening service sets by Rogers, Aldrich, Jeremiah Clarke, Gates and King, consistently throughout this time. Charles King wrote six services; that in C was listed in 1836 and continued in use until 1938, but none remain in contemporary choral repertoire of churches and Cathedrals. Long includes King (1687-1748) in his section entitled MINOR FIGURES.<sup>162</sup> He adds that Maurice Greene describes his pupil, King, as ‘a very Serviceable man’. This example shows that the music was not tedious, certainly in the movement of parts. Shaw and Johnstone describe the services as ‘not so much bad as merely commonplace’.<sup>163</sup> Boyce’s three volume collection of Cathedral Music has been mentioned frequently, as the source of the early music that was available for use in Canterbury Cathedral. Samuel Arnold’s set of three volumes, also entitled Cathedral Music and published in 1790, was designed ‘to supplement that of Dr Boyce’.<sup>164</sup> King’s Morning Service in C appears in volume 3.

Musical Example 26 King in C Te Deum

5 Decani

S. All the earth doth wor-ship thee: the Fa-ther e-ver last-ing. To

A. All the earth doth wor-ship thee: the Fa-ther e-ver last-ing. To

T. All the earth doth wor-ship thee: the Fa-ther e-ver last-ing. To

B. All the earth doth wor-ship thee: the Fa-ther e-ver last-ing. To

9 Cantoris Decani

S. thee all An-gels cry a-loud the Heav'ns and all the pow'rs there-in to

A. thee all An-gels cry a-loud the Heav'ns and all the pow'rs there-in to

T. thee all An-gels cry a-loud the Heav'ns and all the pow'rs there-in to

B. thee all An-gels cry a-loud the Heav'ns and all the pow'rs there-in to

<sup>162</sup> Ibid, p306.

<sup>163</sup> Watkins Shaw and H. Diack Johnstone. "King, Charles." In Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/15017> (accessed January 29, 2011).

<sup>164</sup> Arnold. S. editor. (1790) Cathedral Music. Printed for the Editor.

Services by Croft and Jeremiah Clarke were discarded by 1936, together with the Benedictus and Benedicite of Hall and Hine, although Croft's Morning Service in A was used again in 1954, in an arrangement by George Martin, see Musical Example 61.

Settings by Blow, Purcell, Croft, Hall and Hine and Kempton were of the morning canticles. The Purcell was Benedictus and Benedicite in Bb, last known to be sung in 1926. An Evening Service in G, by Henry Purcell, was added to the repertoire in 1935 and remained in the repertoire until Wicks was Organist, together with another in E minor by his brother, Daniel, from 1922. That, too, was still in the repertoire during the time of Wicks, see Musical Example 76.

William Raylton (1688-1757) had been a pupil of William Croft (1678-1727) and was Organist from 1736-1757 in Canterbury Cathedral. Extensive searches in the Cathedral music library have revealed only the block printed part-books, without rests, for his Morning Service in A, there is no copy in the British Library, and the Bodleian have confirmed that the only copies are at Canterbury. The bass line is in a part-book that had belonged to John Gostling (1644-1733), the pluralist Minor Canon at both Canterbury Cathedral and St Paul's Cathedral, with a 'stupendous' bass voice. Raylton composed music for Gostling, as did Henry Purcell.<sup>165</sup> Vocal parts from Raylton in A have been collated from single line Music Manuscripts and an organ score, containing treble and bass voices together with figuring, found in the Cathedral Archives,<sup>166</sup>. It was listed as sung in 1836 and remained until 1926.

#### Musical Example 27 Raylton in A Jubilate

FULL

SOPRANO  
O be joy - ful in the Lord all ye lands, serve the Lord

ALTO  
O be joy - ful in the Lord all ye lands, serve the

TENOR  
O be joy - ful in the Lord all ye lands, serve the

BASS  
O be joy - ful in the Lord all ye lands, serve the

<sup>165</sup> Purcell's anthem They that go down was specifically composed to show off Gostling's bottom register and vocal facility, but sadly it does not appear in Canterbury's repertoire for any of the years 1873-1988. One has to assume that there was no bass suitable for the demands of the solo section, although the music was available in Boyce's Cathedral Music volume 3.

<sup>166</sup> CCA-DCc-MS/12, CCA-DCc-MS/31.

5

S. — with glad - ness and come be - fore his pre - sence with a song.

A. Lord with glad - ness and come be - fore his pre - sence with a song.

T. Lord with glad - ness and come be - fore his pre - sence with a song.

B. Lord with glad - ness and come be - fore his pre - sence with a song.

The 18<sup>th</sup> century repertoire reduced slowly to 1926 then increased a little in 1936. The repertoire included three services by Boyce. His Verse Service in A, referred to in the first chapter, was the last setting in Verse form still in use, from this period of history. It remained in the repertoire until 1910, while either or both of his full services in A and C for Matins continued to be sung until 1962.

From 1909 a Matins service by Samuel Wesley, father of Samuel Sebastian Wesley, and an Evening Service by Vincent Novello were added. They knew each other through attendance at the Roman Catholic Chapel of the Portuguese Embassy in London, where music from the continent was known and used. Amongst their close friends were Thomas Attwood and the young Mendelssohn, both of whom were Protestants. Clearly Palmer saw no difficulty in using services composed by Roman Catholics any more than these friends had problems with their differing religious tenets.

The 19<sup>th</sup> century repertoire was the largest in 1908, and increased each year. Services by some composers remained throughout the entire period while others already existed in the repertoire from earlier times and were then dropped from the lists. The next two examples reveal the simple approach to word setting that had been in use amongst many church composers since the Restoration. Such were the services in A and D by Edmund Chipp, which were sung from 1892-1923. Chipp (1823-86) was a church and Cathedral Organist in several locations, including Ely Cathedral from 1866. The music of his Evening Service in A was neatly crafted with simple upper voice melodies, using a note for syllable setting. There is little independence between the voices and organ accompaniment, but as can be seen from this example, a tonic pedal note is held for almost three bars at the beginning of the canticle, which confirms that it would have been accompanied on the organ.

## Musical example 28 Chipp in A Nunc Dimittis

FULL *Andante*

SOPRANO *p* *cresc*  
 Lord, now let-test thou Thy ser - vant de - part in peace: ac - cor - ding

ALTO *p* *cresc*  
 Lord, now let-test thou Thy ser - vant de - part in peace: ac - cor - ding

TENOR *p* *cresc*  
 Lord, now let-test thou Thy ser - vant de - part in peace: ac - cor - ding

BASS *p* *cresc*  
 Lord, now let-test thou Thy ser - vant de - part in peace: ac - cor - ding

*p* *cresc*

7 *Dim* *p*  
 S. to Thy word. For mine eyes have seen Thy sal - va - tion etc

A. *Dim* *p*  
 to Thy word. For mine eyes have seen Thy sal - va - tion etc

T. *Dim* *p*  
 to Thy word. For mine eyes have seen Thy sal - va - tion etc

B. *Dim* *p*  
 to Thy word. For mine eyes have seen Thy sal - va - tion etc

*Dim* *p* etc

PED

Calkin was discussed in the previous chapter as a composer of communion services that contained the Benedictus qui venit and Agnus Dei at a time when they were not an accepted part of the Anglican liturgy. However, he also wrote settings for Matins and Evensong. The Jubilate from his Morning Service in Bb is typical of many of the service settings of this period which used different music for each line of the canticle. Calkin's service music was sung from 1892-1926, but had ceased to be used by 1935. As can be seen in this example the organ accompaniment closely follows the voice parts. The setting neither returns to the Renaissance style of composition nor utilises the organ as an instrument in its own right, apart from the introductory pedal note.

## Musical example 29 Calkin in Bb Jubilate

FULL  
*Andante con moto*

TREBLE  
O be joy - ful in the Lord all ye lands serve the Lord with glad - ness, and

FULL  
ALTO  
O be joy - ful in the Lord all ye lands serve the Lord with glad - ness, and

FULL  
TENOR  
O be joy - ful in the Lord all ye lands serve the Lord with glad - ness, and

FULL  
BASS  
O be joy - ful in the Lord all ye lands serve the Lord with glad - ness, and

Ped

4 Dec

S.  
come be - fore His pres - ence with a song. Be ye sure that the Lord He  
Dec

A.  
come be - fore His pres - ence with a song. Be ye sure that the Lord He  
Dec

T.  
come be - fore His pres - ence with a song. Be ye sure that the Lord He  
Dec

B.  
come be - fore His pres - ence with a song. Be ye sure that the Lord

Musical Examples 28 and 29 have shown the voices reflected, almost totally note for note, in the accompaniment. They could, indeed, have been sung unaccompanied, with only the loss of organ tone and volume.

J. Varley Roberts is listed with Berthold Tours, George Martin and Frederick Bridge as clinging 'tenaciously to the sentimental style of the mid-Victorians'.<sup>167</sup> However, the harmonies of the Nunc Dimittis from his Service in E are more adventurous than those

<sup>167</sup> Long 1971, p368.



found in the music of Chipp and Calkin. The chromaticism in the inner voices would be one of the reasons that Long made his comment about sentimentality, in this treble voice dominated composition. The sudden modulation to the mediant major key and raised dynamic with slightly faster speed is his attempt to reflect Simeon's joy in the words, 'For mine eyes have seen Thy salvation'. The only evidence that it was composed to be accompanied by the organ is the use of the pedal written an octave below the bass voices. Fellowes is perhaps kinder than Long, he simply draws attention to the fact that Roberts' service music remained faithful to the mid-Victorian School of composition. Having been popular for some years, it 'shared the fate of almost all the Cathedral music of this character'.<sup>168</sup> Existing records show that it was sung from 1892-1926, but was no longer in the repertoire at Canterbury by 1935.

Musical Example 30 Roberts in E Nunc Dimittis

The musical score is for the 'Nunc Dimittis' by Edward Elgar, arranged for voice and organ. It is in E major (one sharp) and 3/4 time. The tempo is marked 'Andante sostenuto' with a metronome marking of 88. The score includes parts for Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass, and Organ. The lyrics are: 'Lord, now let-test Thou Thy ser-vant de-part in peace, ac-'. The organ part includes a 'Ped. Bourdon' pedal line. The dynamic is marked 'p' (piano) for the vocal parts.

<sup>168</sup> Fellowes, E. H. (1948) *English Cathedral Music from Edward VI to Edward VII*. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd. (p237)

6 *Andante con moto* ♩ = 96

S. cord - ing to Thy word. For mine eyes have seen Thy sal - va - tion,

A. cord - ing to Thy word. For mine eyes have seen Thy sal - va - tion,

T. cord - ing to Thy word. For mine eyes have seen Thy sal - va - tion,

B. cord - ing to Thy word. For mine eyes have seen Thy sal - va - tion.

ORG. *f* Gt. Org *Andante con moto* ♩ = 96  
senza Ped Ped coup. to Gt

Long includes Alan Gray with Basil Harwood, Tertius Noble and Walford Davies in a group who developed the musical ideas of Parry, Stanford and Wood in the restoration of English church music.<sup>169</sup> This quotation from Gray's Magnificat in A major, shows the beginnings of genuine independence of the voices from the organ, which does more than accompany.

#### Musical Example 31 Gray in A Magnificat

SOPRANO *p* name. And his mer - cy is on them that fear him through

ALTO *p* name.

TENOR *p* name.

BASS *p* name.

ORGAN *pp*

Chipp, Calkin and Roberts were represented in either the Matins or Evensong repertoire, sometimes in both, until 1926. Settings by Goss, E. J. Hopkins, Stainer, Martin, Lloyd

<sup>169</sup> Long, 1971. p382.

and Garrett remained in the repertoire throughout the period from 1908 to 1936, while Gray's services existed from 1919 until 1956, indicating the level of interest they created. The longevity of a service setting seems to be an indication of the value that had been placed upon it, by the musicians who selected the music.

Some of the names of Cathedral music composers are still known today because their music is still in performance; amongst them is Tertius Noble. His Morning Service in A, and Evensong setting in B minor entered the music lists in 1912. The services composed by Sydney Nicholson, the founder and director of the Royal School of Church Music, were used from 1915, becoming basic elements, together with Noble in B minor, of a well-rounded repertoire. Following the break in the records there is noticeable change in the inclusion of music by Arthur Marchant, Samuel Liddle, Walford Davies and Charles Wood, the latter moving the repertoire further towards acknowledgement of plainchant heritage.<sup>170</sup> To this repertoire from the wider English Cathedral world, were added compositions by members of the past and present Cathedral community: Fellowes, the previous Grammar Master of the Choir School; Longhurst, Palmer's predecessor; Fricker, an assistant Organist, and Ryley, a Minor Canon, have already been referred to. Kenningham and Pearson were lay clerks and also contributed to the repertoire; Palmer's own compositions were to be added in the course of time. The service settings by Fellowes and Pearson were still in the morning service repertoire in 1926, and the latter's Benedictus and Benedicite remained until 1942, having been published.

Very few of these 19<sup>th</sup> century service settings remain in performance today, but those of Stanford and Wood continue, together with Noble in B minor. Long confirms the singers' appreciation of Stanford's church music:

'his gift for melody goes hand-in-hand with a rarer gift – a happy flair for laying out voice parts to achieve maximum effectiveness...they invariably sing well'.<sup>171</sup>

Like the settings by Stanford, the heritage left by Wood is expressive of text; its variety and fine craftsmanship making it useful for all occasions. Harwood's Service in Ab also continued to be in the repertoire from 1901 throughout this period of the Cathedral's musical life and is still in publication.

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<sup>170</sup> Neither Bairstow's service settings or those of Vaughan Williams had yet appeared in the Canterbury Cathedral repertoire in 1936.

<sup>171</sup> Long, 1971, p371.

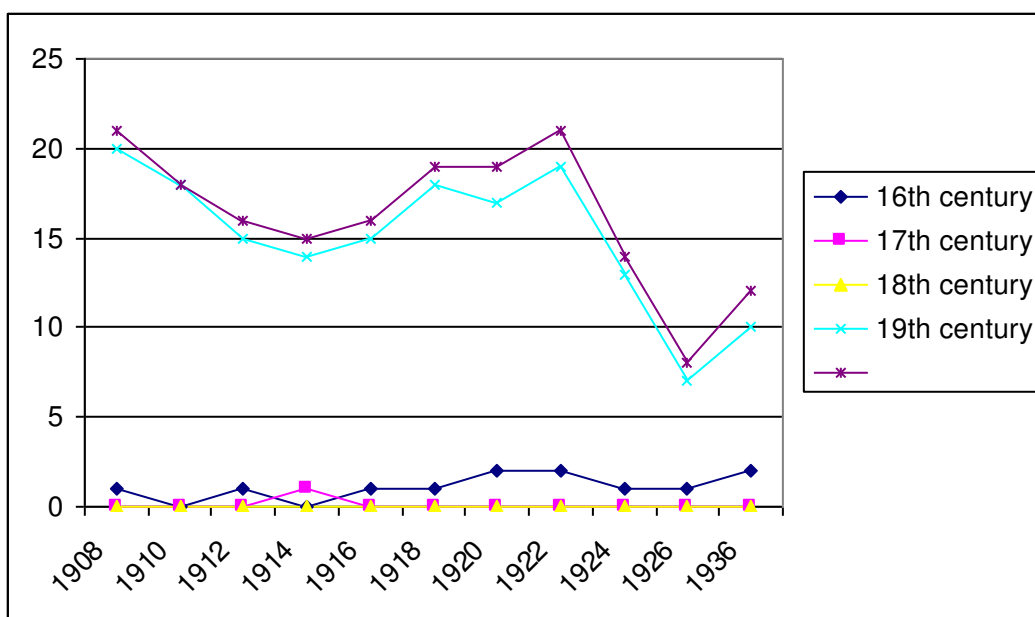
**2.ii. Communion Services**

**Table 8 showing numbers of Communion and Ante-communion settings**

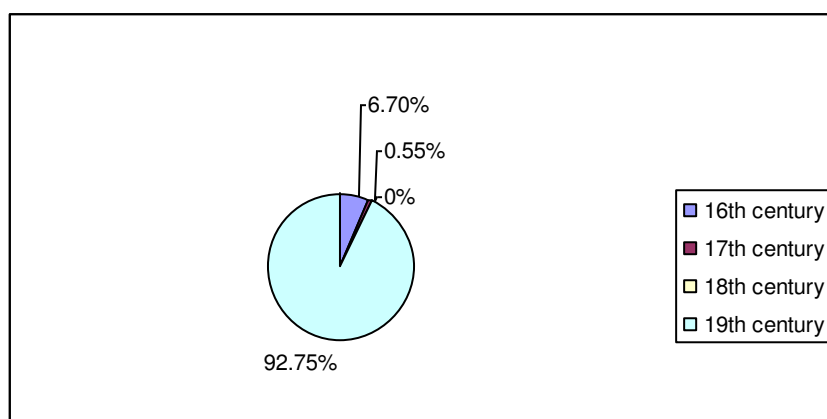
The first column lists the century in which the Communion services were composed. The rows indicate how many service settings from each century were used in the sample year.

	1908	1910	1912	1914	1916	1918	1920	1922	1924	1926	1936
16 <sup>th</sup> century	1	0	1	0	1	1	2	2	1	1	2
17 <sup>th</sup> century	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
18 <sup>th</sup> century	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
19 <sup>th</sup> century	20	18	15	14	15	18	17	19	13	7	10
TOTALS	21	18	16	15	16	19	19	21	14	8	12

**Figure 9 showing numbers of Communion and Ante-Communion Service settings**



**Figure 10 showing percentages of Communion and Ante-Communion Service settings**



During the years when Longhurst and Perrin were the Organists most of the communion services were chiefly used for Ante-Communion, consisting of the Responses to the Commandments and the Creed, sung from the listed setting. There were occasions when the word ‘full’, or ‘thro’, was written in the records beside the name of the setting. However, during 1908-1936 those words were not used in the lists. Instead the sung section of the setting was named as Kyrie<sup>172</sup> and Creed or Credo. The remainder of the communion service, i.e. the Sanctus, and Gloria, if it was used, was said after the sung service was ended, there having been a break to allow those who did not wish to take the sacraments to leave, as described in the first chapter.

Initially the only Communion Service in use in this period, deriving from the Reformation, was Tallis’s Dorian setting. To this Elizabethan repertoire *Merbecke’s* Communion service, based on plainchant, was added from 1916 onwards as an alternative to the Tallis. Nathaniel Patrick’s Communion Service returned to use around 1935, having been neglected since the early Longhurst years. In addition to the Patrick service Causton’s Service in F was new to the repertoire. No full communion services from the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries were sung during the years being studied, but there was occasional use of a Kyrie<sup>173</sup> by J. S. Bach, this is represented by the single entry in 1914 in Table 6.

The lists consistently contain the names of sung services from which the Kyrie and Credo were taken, until 1923. But the following year *Merbecke*, *Smart* in F, *Prout* in F, *Lloyd* in Eb, *Stanford* in Bb, *Harwood* in Ab and *Palmer* in Eb were all listed as ‘Full’, amongst seven other settings that were clearly the Ante-Communion partial service. From 1925 fewer services were listed, but all of them were sung in their entirety, according to the 1662 liturgy.

Reference was made, in the first chapter, to the church music of George Garrett (1834-96). Although his music is no longer in the contemporary Cathedral repertoire, his pursuit of the ideas initiated by Wesley, his teacher, and Walmisley, of greater independence for the organ, is of historical interest. It is possible that this came about both because choirs were becoming more competent at unaccompanied singing and it was now appropriate to develop writing for the organ as more than an adjunct to the voices. The use of the organ as more than accompaniment makes Garrett an important link between Wesley and Stanford. This example, showing the setting of the Creed from his Communion Service in D, reveals how the voices are harmonically supported, while the organ contributes its own arpeggios, together with a pedal part underpinning the bass vocal line. It was sung

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<sup>172</sup> The Kyrie was still not the Ninefold Kyrie, such as begins the Roman Catholic communion services, but the words that acknowledge the Commandments.

<sup>173</sup> It has not been possible to identify this Kyrie. It is unlikely that the Kyrie from the B Minor Mass, a Ninefold Kyrie sung in Latin, would have been used at a time when only the Kyrie with the Commandments was used, and in English.

from 1892-1911, so was used during the time that the Responses to the Commandments and the Creed was most frequently used for the Ante-Communion service.

Musical Example 32 Garrett in D Credo

**Con spirito**  $\text{♩} = 100$

SOPRANO  
fa - ther be - fore all worlds, God of God,

ALTO  
fa - ther be - fore all worlds, God of God,

TENOR  
fa - ther be - fore all worlds, God of God,

BASS  
fa - ther be - fore all worlds, God of God,

ORGAN  
*Con spirito*  $\text{♩} = 100$   
Sw RH *Without mixtures*

6

S.  
Light of Light, Ve - ry God of ve - ry

A.  
Light of Light, Ve - ry God of ve - ry

T.  
Light of Light, Ve - ry God of ve - ry

B.  
Light of Light, Ve - ry God of ve - ry

ORG.  
*Con spirito*  $\text{♩} = 100$   
Sw RH *Without mixtures*

Stanford in Bb, Lloyd in Eb, Prout in F, Palmer in Eb and Harwood in Ab were the chosen service settings when a full communion was sung; Stanford in Bb was the most frequently selected.

Another name, which is better known in a different capacity, is that of Sydney Nicholson. Nicholson (1875-1947) took a lifelong interest in church music at village, town and

Cathedral levels, and composed a Communion Service in Db which was used at Canterbury from 1915-1937.<sup>174</sup> The organ has some independence from the voices, whilst supporting them. The writing reveals pleasing melodic and harmonic qualities not dissimilar to those of his teacher, Stanford.

Initially only the Kyrie and Credo were used at Canterbury, but, like the other services mentioned above, the full service, including this Sanctus, was sung from 1925 and remained in the repertoire until 1937.

Musical Example 33 Nicholson in Db Sanctus

The musical score is for a Sanctus in D-flat major, Op. 10, No. 1 by John Nicholson. It is written for Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass, and Organ. The tempo is Adagio, with a quarter note equal to 48 beats (♩ = 48). The time signature is 3/2. The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The lyrics are "Ho - ly, Ho - ly, Ho - ly, Lord God of Hosts,". The organ part includes a "Ped 16 ft" instruction.

<sup>174</sup> He was one of the applicants for the Organist vacancy at Canterbury Cathedral in 1908, but withdrew and eventually progressed to Westminster Abbey. In the course of time he became chairman of the Church Music Society. He resigned his post at Westminster Abbey when he became the first director of the School of English Church Music in 1927. Nicholson's links with Canterbury Cathedral were taken up again when the SECM moved from Chislehurst to a building within the Precincts of the Cathedral.

9

S.  
glo - ry be to Thee, O Lord most High, glo - ry be to Thee, O Lord most High.

A.  
glo - ry be to Thee, O Lord most High, glo - ry be to Thee O Lord most High.

T.  
glo - ry be to Thee, O Lord most High, glo - ry be to Thee O Lord most High.

B.  
glo - ry be to Thee, O Lord most High, glo - ry be to Thee O Lord most High.

ORG.

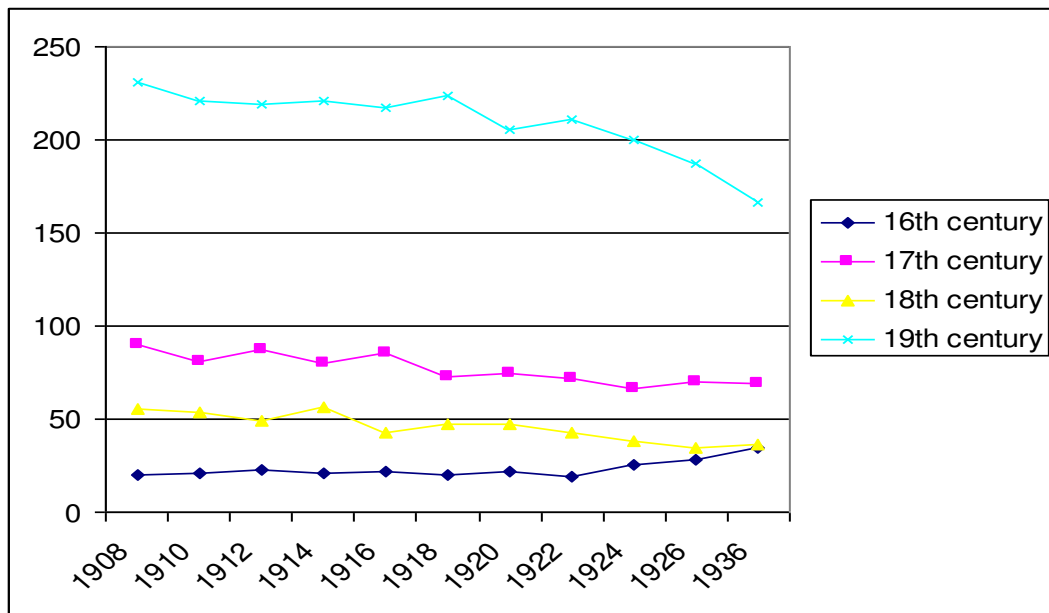
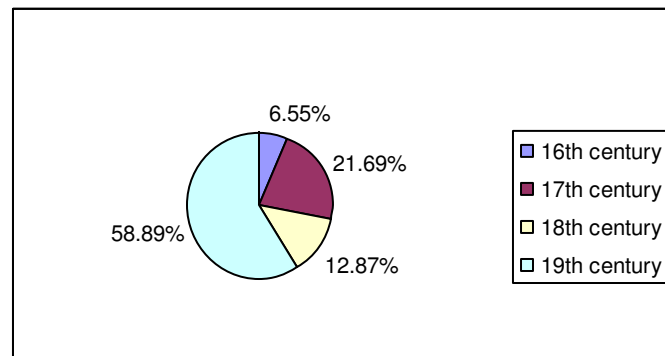
### 2.iii. Anthems

**Table 9 showing numbers of anthems**

The first column contains the century in which the anthems were composed. The rows show the number of anthems from each century that was performed in the sample years.

	1908	1910	1912	1914	1916	1918	1920	1922	1924	1926	1936
16 <sup>th</sup> century	20	21	23	21	22	20	22	19	25	28	35
17 <sup>th</sup> century	90	81	87	80	85	73	75	72	66	70	69
18 <sup>th</sup> century	55	54	49	56	43	47	47	43	38	35	36
19 <sup>th</sup> century	231	221	219	221	217	224	205	211	200	187	166
TOTALS	396	377	378	378	367	364	349	345	329	320	306



**Figure 11 showing numbers of Anthems****Figure 12 showing percentages of Anthems**

These figures show clearly that the largest proportion of the anthem repertoire was drawn from the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Comparison with results shown in Figure 6, in chapter one, show an increase in the Victorian music, which is to be expected as more compositions were available in the later period, but, more significantly, an increase in the music from the 16<sup>th</sup> century, i.e. 5.05% during 1873-1908 and 6.55% in 1908-1936.

There was, as always, a far larger repertoire of anthems by comparison to service settings but, for the years 1908-1936, the birth date for the earliest composer is similar, being around 1500. Henry VIII was given as the composer of O Lorde the Maker of alle Thinge until 1926, but by 1935 the anthem was attributed to William Mundy (c1529-90). Similarly John Redford, Master of the choristers at St Paul's Cathedral 1491-1546/7, was stated as the composer of Rejoice in the Lord always. Reference books do not include the

anthem in their entries about Redford, all his listed anthems being in Latin. The following is added as a footnote in the vocal score,

‘It is now accepted that this anthem was not composed by John Redford but by an unknown composer of the period. The only known text (source) is that of the Mulliner organ book, in which the music is written in short score and without any words.

The words of the Authorized version of the Bible have been added to the MS. in a nineteenth century hand, but the rhythm of the MS clearly points to the text of the Epistle for the 4<sup>th</sup> Sunday in Advent as found in the Prayer Book of 1549’.<sup>175</sup>

The number of anthems sung was inevitably affected by the reduction in frequency of Matins services already mentioned.

In 1908 the identifiable 16<sup>th</sup> century compositions began with those by Tye and Tallis, followed by Farrant, Byrd, Gibbons and Batten, with continental contributions from Palestrina, Victoria and Marenzio. The listed twenty anthems, including the Mundy and Redford, are unchanged from Perrin’s repertoire, but this list increased slowly, Eccard’s *When to the Temple Mary went* was added in 1910, then two years later Arcadelt’s, *Give ear*. The next addition to the early repertoire was not until 1924 when *Abide with us* by Bourgeois (c1510-1561), was heard, together with *Hosanna to the Son of David* by Weelkes, (c1575-1623). The anthem with the same text as the Weelkes, by Gibbons, had been in the repertoire since, at the latest, 1835, as it had been included in Boyce’s *Cathedral Music*. In 1925 *O Key of David*, by Lassus, 1532-94, was performed. By 1936 there were thirty four anthems from this period, two of which, *Laudate nomen Domini*, by Tye, from 1912 and Byrd’s *Justorum animae*, from the following year, were in their original Latin language. The English translations were still used occasionally, perhaps as a reminder to the congregation of the meaning of the text. In 1913 *The Souls of the Righteous* by Byrd, was sung in both English and Latin, titles in both languages appearing in the music lists, but in Latin only, as *Justorum animae*, thereafter.

The 17<sup>th</sup> century anthems originating in England were by Child, Rogers, Wise, Creighton, Humphreys, Aldrich, Blow, Richardson, Purcell, Goldwin, Weldon, Croft, King and Greene. This list of composers remained the same throughout the whole period 1908-1936; indeed they were the same as those used since 1873, none were cut; none were added.

Much of the early music repertoire that was sung increasingly during the years 1908-1936 is now in regular use, but the next example by Humphreys, composed in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, might not be recognised by contemporary Cathedral congregations. It is of historical interest because of the background of the composer.

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<sup>175</sup> Fellowes, E. H. ed. (1939) *John Redford: Rejoice in the Lord Always*. London: Oxford University Press.

Pelham Humphreys (1647-74) had been a chorister (1660) and Gentleman (1667) of the Chapel Royal, where he attracted the attention of King Charles II, who sent him to France to study under Lully. In 1672 he returned to be Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal. His anthem *Hear, O heavens*, was one of two that were used in the Canterbury repertoire during Palmer's time as Organist. This was the only anthem by Humfrey(s), also called Humphry, to be sung from 1906-1925, but in 1926 it was joined by one other of his anthems. *Hear, O heavens*, was still in use in 1935 but from 1936 it was replaced, although Wicks ensured it was not totally forgotten and it was heard once again in 1984. The edition in use during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century had an accompaniment provided by Vincent Novello. It is a Verse Anthem, set for three solo voices and full choir; solos are written in an operatic recitativo style, as if individuals are in turn declaiming Isaiah's words, (Isaiah 1:2) describing his vision about the moral state of Israel.

Music Example 34 Pelham Humphreys *Hear, O heavens*

VERSE A Verse Anthem by Pelham Humphreys

Treble

ALTO

TENOR

BASS

SOLO

Hear, O heav'ns and give ear, O earth: for the Lord hath spo - ken I have nou-rish'dand

*Soft*

$\text{♩} = 46$

5

Tr.

A.

T. SOLO  
Ah, sin-ful na-tion,

B. brought up chil-dren, and they have re-bell'd a-against me a seed of e-vil-do-ers

22 FULL  
Tr. They have pro-vok-ed the Ho-ly One of Is-ra-el un-to an-ger,  
FULL

A. They have pro-vok-ed the Ho-ly One of Is-ra-el un-to an-ger,  
FULL

T. They have pro-vok-ed the Ho-ly One of Is-ra-el un-to an-ger,  
FULL

B. They have pro-vok-ed the Ho-ly One of Is-ra-el un-to an-ger,  
FULL

The list of English composers heard in Canterbury Cathedral, during these years, does not represent the 17<sup>th</sup> century repertoire accurately, as many of them were known by a single anthem in each year. The music of Bach and Handel, however, continued to play a significant role in the repertoire. There was a slow, but steady increase in Bach's input until, in 1935, there were twenty one choruses, anthems and chorales in use. Much of Handel's music, which had arrived in England much earlier than that of Bach, was taken from his oratorios, chiefly the Messiah, together with the Coronation Anthems. His contribution, having been as great as twenty six in 1912, was slowly reduced, but still appeared on the music lists frequently. The rise in Bach's contribution to the Cathedral

anthem repertoire may have been a response to increasing opportunity to hear the Passions in concerts.

The repertoire from the 18<sup>th</sup> century continued to show a large number of English composers together with a contribution from the Continent. Kent, Stroud, William Hayes, Boyce, Nares, Mason, Battishill, Philip Hayes, Attwood, Callcott, Clarke Whitfeld, Crotch, Skeats and Buck are represented by up to five compositions each. Pergolesi, Hiller, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Spohr, Malan and Schubert were the European contribution. Skeats, having been Organist at Canterbury prior to Thomas Jones, was the composer of *The Righteous Souls* which was used on Saints' Days at some time in most years.

The anthem by Humphreys was written in an operatic style, which derived from the Continent, and provided respite from the many hymn-like anthems that were in the repertoire, but in 1913 a composition by Joseph Haydn (1732-1809) was added to the lists. It was very dramatic, not devotional, and was sung in Latin. *Insanae et vanae curae* was one of five Latin text anthems sung during the years 1908-1936; no objections were raised in Chapter at the time, because of its language. *Insanae et vanae curae* is part of Haydn's first oratorio, *Il ritorno di Tobia*, written to raise money for poor musicians and their families. The oratorio was not a success, but Haydn re-wrote the 'storm' chorus as this motet, for orchestra, with trumpets, horns and percussion; Joseph Barnby prepared the arrangement for organ. It is a lively setting of the words and requires a virtuoso Organist for the accompaniment, as this example reveals. It is rarely used today in services, possibly because it takes almost seven minutes to perform, but is still in publication and is heard in concerts. The text is Biblical in sentiment, definitely of Old Testament genre, but does not appear to be an exact quotation. It was in the repertoire, always sung in Latin, in 1913-1937, 1944-1955; Wicks also used it intermittently from 1962.

Musical Example 35a Haydn *Insanae et vanae curae*

## Musical Example 35b

16 *f*

S. In - sa-nae et va - nae cu - rae in va-dunt men - tes

A. In - sa-nae et va - nae cu - rae in va-dunt men - tes

T. In - sa-nae et va - nae cu - rae in va-dunt men - tes

B. In - sa-nae et va - nae cu - rae in va-dunt men - tes

*p.*

These examples show the lively introduction from the organ, followed by homophonic singing from the choir added to a continuation of the dramatic style of the organ opening. The next example shows the completion of the initial choral entry. From bar twenty five there is a change of mood and the Organist's right hand has an independent lyrical melody, above the voices, which the trebles and altos imitate in canon with each other.

## Musical Example 35c

20 25 *mezza voce. dolce*

S. nos - tros Quid pro - dest O mor -

A. nos - tros Quid

T. nos - tros Quid pro - dest O mor -

B. nos - tros Quid pro - dest O mor -

*p.*

28

S. ta - lis co - na - ri pro mun - da - nis, si coe - los neg - li -

A. pro - dest O mor - ta - lis co - na - ri pro mun - da - nis. si

T. ta - lis co - na - ri pro mun - da - nis, si coe - los neg - li -

B. ta - lis co - na - ri pro mun - da - nis, si coe - los neg - li -

32

S. gas, si coe - los ne - gli - gas.

A. coe - los, si coe - los ne - gli - gas.

T. gas, si coe - los ne - gli - gas.

B. gas, si coe - los ne - gli - gas.

The anthem is effective and exciting to the extent that it is different to the customary genre of the period, while its text is cautionary rather than uplifting to those who have access to a translation.

*In manus tuas*, by Vincent Novello (1781-1861) was another of the Latin text anthems included in the repertoire from 1912. It was always listed with its Latin title, although it was available with English text. The text is basically three four-line verses, words taken from Psalm 42, written in note-for-syllable style, although bar 7 contains brief decoration. It differs significantly from the Haydn, which is set for full choir throughout, in that it contains dynamic contrasts between the introductory verse section, sung by solo quartet, which is immediately repeated by the full choir. The same sequence of verse quartet, followed by full choir, is repeated for verses two and three, but there is new text and new

music for each of the full sections. At a very pedestrian speed it takes a maximum of two minutes to sing. It is written here as if unaccompanied, but the organ part is wholly *colla voce* so it could be sung without the organ as, for example, on its first performance on October 30<sup>th</sup> 1912. It was included in the repertoire of 1912, in Latin, until 1937 and thereafter in English, according to Chapter's ruling, until 1961. Reference to Chapter's changing attitude towards anthems sung in Latin will be discussed in later chapters, particularly in the context of Campbell's repertoire.

Musical Example 36 Novello *In manus tuas* (Like as the hart)

*Andante*  
VERSE

SOPRANO  
p Like as the hart de - si-reth the wat-er- brooks, so pant-eth my soul af-ter Thee, O God.

ALTO  
p Like as the hart de - si-reth the wat-er- brooks, so pant-eth my soul af-ter Thee, O God.

TENOR  
p Like as the hart de - si-reth the wat-er- brooks, so pant-eth my soul af-ter Thee, O God.

BASS  
p Like as the hart de - si-reth the wa-ter- brooks, so pant-eth my soul af-ter Thee, O God.

Malan's name was included in the list of composers whose music came to England from the Continent. *O Lord, my God* was composed by Rev'd César Malan (1787-1864). The words were taken from II Chronicles 6: 21. He is chiefly known as a French hymn writer, his family had suffered much persecution as Unitarians, but he became an ardent evangelist for Protestant Christianity as an ordained minister. Longhurst included this anthem in his *Collection of Short Anthems*, in his own arrangement with alterations to some of the harmonies. These changes do not alter the fact that it is even more lacking in energy than *In manus tuas*.

It was sung only once a year, on average, but was in the repertoire from 1869 until 1916.<sup>176</sup>

<sup>176</sup> The anthem is contained in the section at the back of the book listed in the Templeman Library as W2/T-3-1, which was dedicated in print to the Dean, and presented by Thomas Jones, Longhurst's Organist predecessor, in 1858. It is therefore probable that the anthem was used even before 1869.



Musical Example 37 Malan O Lord, my God

*Adagio*

SOPRANO  
O Lord, my God, O Lord, my God, hear Thou the prayer Thy ser-vant pray - eth:

ALTO  
O Lord, my God, O Lord, my God, hear Thou the prayer Thy ser-vant pray - eth:

TENOR  
O Lord, my God, O Lord, my God, hear Thou the prayer Thy ser-vant pray - eth:

BASS  
O Lord, my God, O Lord, my God, hear Thou the prayer Thy ser - vant pray - eth:

*Adagio*

9 *cresc.*  
S. have Thou re - spect un - to his prayer, have Thou re - spect un - to his prayer.

A. *cresc.*  
have Thou re - spect un - to his prayer, have Thou re - spect un - to his prayer.

T. *cresc.*  
have Thou re - spect un - to his prayer, have Thou re - spect un - to his prayer.

B. *cresc.*  
have Thou re - spect un - to his prayer, have Thou re - spect un - to his prayer.

*cresc.*

The use of Latin text anthems has already been mentioned, but as the description of the music is in chronological order of the composers, rather than their introduction to the Canterbury repertoire, it is not sequential in terms of their first use in the Cathedral. The first Latin contribution entered the repertoire immediately after Palmer's appointment to Canterbury. It was the macaronic anthem, *In dulci jubilo*, by Robert Pearsall (1795-1856) and was included in the music lists of December 1908. There were no objections recorded in the Chapter minutes about the use of Latin, perhaps because of the combination of languages. It does earn, however, the status of the first Latin to be sung in Canterbury Cathedral since the Reformation. Latin anthems were added to the repertoire as follows:

1908	Pearsall:	1795-1856	In dulci jubilo
1912	Tye:	c1500-72	Laudate nomen Domini
	Novello:	1781-1861	In manus tuas
1913	Byrd:	c1538-1623	Justorum animae
	Haydn:	1732-1809	Insanae et vanae

From 1913 no more were added by Palmer, but there were almost always all five of these anthems sung in every year until 1936, (on the few occasions when there were only four it was the Pearsall that was omitted).<sup>177</sup>

The number of anthems chosen from the 18<sup>th</sup> century repertoire fell slowly, but steadily, throughout the period to 1936, as did those of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the latter chiefly accounted for by the reduction in Mendelssohn's contribution and removal of some from the early part of the century, which had possibly ceased to be fashionable. The increase in non-choral services on Fridays throughout this period will also have reduced the numbers of anthems required throughout each year.

Some composers, particularly from the 19<sup>th</sup> century, had substantial lists of anthems to their names. John Goss (1800-80) is such a person; between fifteen and nineteen different anthems composed by him were sung during each year of Palmer's tenure of office, and towards the end of the period in question the frequency of his anthems in the lists did not fall. His music was tuneful and serviceable for every day services that were not special celebrations. The following example demonstrates his word setting and the minimal use of independent organ accompaniment. It is written in ternary form with the first and last sections in triple time, with alterations in the pulse as in a hemiola, and a central section in quadruple time, alternating voices with the organ. It was in the repertoire in 1873 and continued to be used by successive Organists until 1961.

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<sup>177</sup> Mendelssohn's anthem *Da nobis pacem* was used for many years, but despite the Latin title it was always sung in English.

Musical Example 38 Goss O praise the Lord

*With animation*  $\text{♩} = 80$

**SOPRANO**  
O praise the Lord, laud— ye the Name of the Lord: praise

**ALTO**  
O praise the Lord, laud— ye the Name of the Lord: praise

**TENOR**  
O praise the Lord, laud— ye the Name of the Lord: praise

**BASS**  
O praise the Lord, laud— ye the Name of the Lord: praise

**7**

**S.**  
— it, O ye ser - vants— of the Lord.

**A.**  
— it, O ye ser - vants— of the Lord.

**T.**  
— it, O ye ser - vants— of the Lord. Ye that stand in the house of the

**B.**  
— it, O ye ser - vants— of the Lord. Ye that stand in the house of the

Mendelssohn was the most represented composer in the entire repertoire. In any year there were between thirty and forty five of his diverse and expressively composed music in use, most often from his oratorios *Elijah* and *St Paul*, but also from his motets. However, by 1936 the frequency with which his music was performed was beginning to decline, but only by comparison to the earlier level of use. It is possible that, as with Handel's music, it had been heard in Cathedral and concert hall for some years, and there was now a greater emphasis made upon music specifically composed for sacred purposes rather than entertainment. S. S. Wesley's church music was heard as often as the anthems of John Goss, and also with a continuing rise in popularity.

Henry Smart is barely remembered these days, but up to seven of his anthems were heard in each year under discussion, together with some of his service settings. Reference was made in the previous chapter to the two versions of *The Lord is my Shepherd*, that by Smart (1813-79) being preferred to the version by Schubert. Smart's initial arpeggiated accompaniment is reminiscent of many Victorian ballads, and also of the music of Spohr from the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Smart's anthem begins with a pretty solo for treble voice singing verses 1-3 from Psalm 23 with a brief recapitulation of the initial melody and words. Structurally it is set in sections, with no development, very much in the form of Goss's *The Wilderness* and Wesley's *Blessed be the God and Father*, but in miniature. Whilst it is attractive melodically it has little substance harmonically that would encourage its retention in a modern repertoire. The anthem was listed as being in the repertoire in 1892 and remained until 1941.

**Musical Example 39 Smart** *The Lord is my Shepherd*

The musical score is for Henry Smart's anthem "The Lord is my Shepherd". It is written for Soprano (S.), Alto (A.), Tenor (T.), Bass (B.), and Piano (P.). The tempo is marked "Andante moderato" and the key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The time signature is 3/4. The score begins with a piano introduction in the right hand of the piano, featuring an arpeggiated accompaniment. The Soprano part begins with a solo, marked "SOLO p", singing the words "The Lord is my". The piano accompaniment continues with a similar arpeggiated pattern. The Soprano part then continues with the lyrics "Shep-herd; I shall not want,". The Alto part enters with the lyrics "Yea, though I walk through the". The Tenor and Bass parts also enter with the lyrics "Yea, though I walk through the". The piano accompaniment continues with a similar arpeggiated pattern. The score is marked with measure numbers 7 and 46. The piano part includes a dynamic marking of "p" (piano).

48

S. yea, though I walk through the

A. val - ley of the sha - dow of death,

T. yea, though I walk through the

B. val - ley of the sha - dow of death,

*p*

Mendelssohn's substantial contribution to the 19<sup>th</sup> century repertoire has been mentioned previously. He was of German origin, but, in a short life, gave a great deal to the musical world of his day, although not to opera. Three other continental composers contributed to Canterbury's repertoire: Gounod (French), Brahms and Rheinberger, both German. Gounod's anthems were never as popular as those by Mendelssohn, but in each year between three and ten examples of his work were sung. While the anthems by Gounod<sup>178</sup> are not of particular musical interest to the church and Cathedral Organists today, they do contain one example of historical significance for Canterbury. His anthem *O Saving Victim* had been in the repertoire since at least 1892 and continued to be sung until 1926, although it was not listed from 1935. The text for this anthem is a translation by the Ecclesiologist, J. M. Neale, of the original words by Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274), the Italian scholastic philosopher and theologian. Whilst it is not the earliest non-Biblical text in use in this period, it is of note; words that were not from the Bible were still rare at this time in church music history. The plainchant for these words, in translation, had been included in the first edition of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* in 1861; Canterbury Cathedral adopted this hymnbook from May 1897.<sup>179</sup>

Longhurst (1819-1904) would have had little time or opportunity to travel and study away from Canterbury, but his compositions were not discarded rapidly. There were six of his anthems in the repertoire when Palmer was appointed and two remained in 1936. *Grant to us, Lord* is one of those two, and is a setting of a prayer, for four part choir, singing in note-for-syllable style. It is in two identical halves with a small group allocated

<sup>178</sup> Gounod had made a special study of the music of Palestrina and, although he was from Paris, he lived in England from 1870-1875 and composed several oratorios for the Birmingham and Norwich Festivals.

<sup>179</sup> CCA-DCC-CA/15, p87.

to the verse section, followed by full choir for the repeat. This anthem was sung in each recorded year from 1873-1939.

**Musical Example 40 Longhurst Grant to us Lord**

**Moderately slow**  
First time Verse, second time Chorus

SOPRANO  
Grant to us Lord we be-seech thee, the spi-rit to think and do al-ways

ALTO  
Grant to us Lord we be-seech thee, the spi-rit to think and do al-ways

TENOR  
Grant to us Lord we be-seech thee, the spi-rit to think and do al-ways

BASS  
Grant to us Lord we be-seech thee, the spi-rit to think and do al-ways

ORGAN  
**Moderately slow**

Some anthems were initially very popular, such as those by Ouseley and Barnby, (1838-96). Barnby's Sweet is Thy Mercy begins with a simple treble solo, rather hymn-like in style. The solo is both accompanied by, and answered by, the choir. The accompaniment supports the voices and uses a small measure of chromaticism, particularly in the first bar. The whole of the introductory accompaniment, which contains the initial solo melody, bars 1-3a, is repeated in the organ part below the closing repeated Amen, providing a form of symphonic closure. As can be seen from this example the organ has some independence and does not copy the voices, note for note. This anthem is reminiscent of Victorian hymns with rhyming line endings. Sweet is Thy Mercy was first listed in the existing records in 1899, but was not sung after 1936.

**Musical Example 41a. Barnby Sweet is Thy Mercy**

*Larghetto p* *cresc.* *dim. e rit.*

Tr. Solo  
Sweet is Thy mer-cy, Lord; Be-fore Thy mer-cy seat My soul a-dor-ing

*Larghetto*

*Molto legato. Sw. Diaps.*

♩ = 60

Musical Example 41b. Barnby Sweet is Thy Mercy

20

Tr. Solo

sweet. Lead Thou my wan-d'ring feet;

VERSE *a tempo.* *p* Light Thou our wea-ry way, our wan-d'ring feet; That

A. VERSE *p* Light Thou our wea-ry way, Lead Thou our wan-d'ring feet; That while we

T. VERSE *p* Light Thou our wea-ry way, Lead Thou our wan-d'ring feet; That

B. VERSE *p* Light Thou our wea-ry way, our wan-d'ring feet; That

*a tempo.* *add Reed.*

Sullivan, as a composer of church music, is better remembered for his light opera, but there were many anthems from composers who are unknown today. Francis Edward Gladstone, (1845-1928) is not to be confused with William Henry Gladstone (1840-91), an amateur musician and composer, son of the Prime Minister, who composed more than ten anthems. Francis Edward was an able English Organist and pupil of S. S. Wesley. He was a Doctor of Music and served at Llandaff, Chichester and Norwich Cathedrals and taught at the Royal College of Music. His anthem, Out of the deep, was used in Canterbury Cathedral from 1892-1926 and makes a significant contrast, harmonically, to the music of Longhurst, Smart and Barnby. As can be seen from the following musical example it begins with an atmospheric organ introduction, building upwards very quietly from a bottom F held on the pedal for six bars, the bass voices entering in the fifth bar. The music incorporates musical rhetoric to increase tension and reflect the dramatic meaning of the text; the organ contributes more than the vocal lines. The anthem is listed in the existing records for 1892 and remained until at least 1926.

Musical Example 42 Gladstone Out of the deep

**Adagio**  $\text{♩} = 50$

SOPRANO

ALTO

TENOR

BASS

ORGAN

Gt. 8 ft  
*legato*  
Ped.

FULL  
*p*

Out of the deep have I call-ed un-to thee, O

9

S.

A.

T.

B.

Lord: Lord, \_\_\_ hear my voice, Lord, \_\_\_ hear my voice, Out \_\_\_ of the deep \_\_\_

ORG.

Myles Birket Foster (1851-1922) is another unfamiliar composer to today's church musicians; he did not include himself in his book *Anthems and Anthem Composers*,<sup>180</sup> but his own anthem *O for a closer walk* was in Canterbury's repertoire from 1908 until at least 1926. Stanford's setting of those same words was in the lists from 1935 onwards. Because of the gap in the records it is not possible to be sure when Foster's setting was

<sup>180</sup> Foster, M. B. (1901) *Anthems and Anthem Composers: An Essay upon the Development of the Anthem*. London: Novello and Company Limited.



removed from the lists and the date Stanford's was added. Stanford's impeccably crafted anthem remains in the repertoire to this day.<sup>181</sup>

Parry's Evening Service in D was described in the previous chapter. His well known anthem, I was glad, was used in the Cathedral from 1924 and the hymn, Jerusalem, was listed as an anthem from 1926.

Reference has been made to the tenets of the Tractarian and Ecclesiological reformers. A theme of this study is the extent to which their ideas were taken up in the conduct and content of the services in Canterbury Cathedral. As has been shown in an earlier chapter there was a cautious re-introduction of sung communion services. There was no pure plainchant until November 1936, but there were several anthems that either referred to or included excerpts of plainchant melody. In addition to this aspect of early music, other concepts relating to texts were awakened. The Nicene Creed, used in the communion service, was adopted in 325AD; the Apostles Creed being a little later; both were included, as a profession of faith in the Roman Catholic then the Protestant Rites, but many early texts were ignored as the early Christian liturgy was being formulated. The Catholics increasingly took an interest in non-biblical expressions of worship, faith and wisdom, but through the post Reformation and Restoration periods of history, they had largely been disregarded by Protestant anthem composers; indeed there was relatively little from English composers using anything other than the Old Testament.<sup>182</sup> From the early 19<sup>th</sup> century words from the New Testament were increasingly used for anthems, but others were also drawn from ancient texts. Reference has already been made earlier in this chapter, to the setting by the French composer, Gounod, of text by Thomas Aquinas, (1225-1274). Similarly, the words Ave verum corpus are from a 14<sup>th</sup> century hymn, sometimes attributed to Pope Innocent VI;<sup>183</sup> it was first sung at Canterbury in English, in the Mozart setting, in 1912. The Latin version, by Byrd, was added in 1944; both settings remained in the repertoire thereafter. Many of the non-Biblical words had been carefully researched and translated by the Tractarian and Ecclesiological scholars. One of the texts was the Phos Hilaron which is described as ancient by St Basil the Great, who died in the year 379. It is said to be the earliest known hymn and was originally written in New

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<sup>181</sup> Dibble describes this setting of words by Cowper, taken from the Scottish Psalter, as follows: 'This is especially delectable in the last verse whose phrase "Calm and serene my frame" must be one of Stanford's most enchanting', (Dibble, J. (2004) Charles Villiers Stanford: Man and Musician. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (p393)

<sup>182</sup> This appears to be the result of the desire, of those who introduced the Reformation in England, to ignore (or their ignorance of) II Thessalonians 2:15, in which St Paul alludes to holding firm to the traditions, the early teaching before the Scriptures were actually written down. In the Reformation the proposals of sola Scriptura were put forward to the exclusion of Tradition for fear of Romanism.

<sup>183</sup> Dakers, L and J. Scott. 1998. Ash Wednesday to Easter for Choirs. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (p110)

Testament Greek.<sup>184</sup> The best known translation was by John Keble, published in 1834.<sup>185</sup> He paraphrased the text and it became known as Hail, gladdening Light. Archbishop Cranmer, in the early days of the Reformation, had preferred the Phos Hilaron, from ancient eastern liturgy, to hymns addressing the Virgin Mary and it is still a central aspect of Vespers in the Eastern Orthodox Church. John Stainer set the Keble words to an irregular Anglican chant, which was published in *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, in 1861. George Martin (1844-1916), however, created a particularly expressive and powerful anthem, with a four-part fugue for the final sentence, ‘Therefore in all the world thy glories, Lord, they own’. The initial examples show the organ introduction, then the bass melody repeated in harmony by full choir. Martin’s version of Hail, gladdening Light entered the repertoire in 1915 and was sung until 1936.

#### Musical Example 43a Martin Hail, gladdening Light

BASS

Maestoso  $\text{♩} = 88$

*f* Gt.

Ped.

#### Musical Example 43b

B.

*ff*

Hail, glad - d'ningLight, of His pure glo - ry pour'd,

<sup>184</sup> Wikipedia. Wikimedia Foundation. Phos Hilaron accessed 22.10.2010.

<sup>185</sup> This is the same John Keble from Oxford, that preached the Assize sermon in 1833 on National Apostacy, which motivated the formation of the Oxford Movement.

### Musical Example 43c

A FULL 18 *ff*

SOPRANO  
Hail, glad - d'ning Light of His pure glo - ry pour'd\_\_\_\_\_ 22

ALTO  
*ff*  
Hail, glad-d'ning Light of His pure glo - ry pour'd\_\_\_\_\_

TENOR  
*ff* *mf*  
Hail, glad-d'ning Light, of His pure glo - ry pour'd,\_\_\_\_\_ Who is the im

BASS  
*ff*  
Hail, glad-d'ning Light, of His pure glo - ry pour'd\_\_\_\_\_

*ff* *mf*

The following quotation is the first of the verse section entries. Altos are followed by sopranos, then tenors and lastly the basses, all accompanied by the organ using what is a virtually an orchestral accompaniment. The stop combinations are specified for the Organist. Note also the slurred pedal notes, which were rare performance indications at this time. Stanford comments on what he describes as ‘carefully bowed’ pedalling that he encountered in the playing of Robert Prescott Stewart (1825-1894), Organist of St Patrick’s Cathedral, Dublin, who was ‘practically the first organist...to phrase with his feet’.<sup>186</sup> This is a rare example of that technique found in the music examined for this study.

### Musical Example 43d

2 bars after F

96 *mf* *mf* 104 Soprano *mf*

ALTO  
The lights of eve-ning round us shine, The

ORGAN  
Man I  
Man II (Flutes 8 ft)

Pedals

<sup>186</sup> Stanford, C.V. (2010) Pages from an Unwritten Diary. General Books. (Originally published by E. Arnold in 1914). p26.

102

Tenor *mf*

lights of eve-ning round us shine, The lights of

ORG.

Ped.

Examples 43e and 43f show the theme of the final fugue, followed by its augmentation.

#### Musical Example 43e

156

BASS

There - fore in all the world Thy glo - - -

160

B.

- - - ries, Lord, they own...

#### Musical Example 43f

180

TENOR

there - fore in all the world Thy glo -

BASS

there - fore in all the world Thy glo -

187

T.

- ries, Thy glo - - - ries, Lord, they own.

B.

- ries, Thy glo - - - ries, Lord, they own.

As has already been mentioned there are no service lists for the years 1927-1934, inclusive, however, inside the back of a bound collection of anthems there are some handwritten choristers' names.<sup>187</sup> The three boys listed their roles in the choir from entering the choir school; the earliest dated September 1928, continuing until they entered 'The Ten', the last of the dates was September 1935. In addition to the usual index written in ink at the beginning of the collection, there is a pencilled list written in a youthful hand. The indications are that the contents of this abbreviated record are the anthems that were more frequently used from this book during these years and the boys, in the interests of speed, had made their own shortened index, as follows:

<sup>187</sup> W2/S-18-11.

Farrant	1530-80	Hide not thou thy face
Farrant	1530-80	<i>Lord, for thy tender mercy's sake</i> <sup>188</sup>
Creyghton	1640-1733	I will arise and go
Richardson	c1670-1729 <sup>189</sup>	O how amiable
Weldon	1676-1707	O praise God in his holiness
Weldon	1676-1707	O praise the Lord
Longhurst	1819-1904	Grant to us Lord
Longhurst	1819-1904	Great is the Lord

The fact that this shortened list was prepared indicates the boys' dedication to the music. Only the two attributed to Farrant are known today. (I will arise and go, by Creyghton is Musical Example 15; O praise God in his holiness by Weldon and Longhurst's Grant to us Lord are Examples 73 and 40 respectively).

All these composers lived and worked in England, their compositions rooted in the musical traditions of those around them, but in the two years 1935-36, following the gap in the service list records, there was a significant addition to the repertoire. This was Holy, holy, holy by Gretchaninoff (1864-1956), (from Passion Week Opus 58), sung in English rather than the original Slavonic Russian. This music had travelled the greatest distance out of the music sung at that time; it will be discussed in the section describing Hopkins' repertoire, as its entry to Palmer's music lists was late, and it was hardly used during the war years.

Stanford (1852-1924) had been born and brought up in Dublin and the music of another Irish composer of church music, born in Armagh, Charles Wood (1866-1926) would soon arrive in England, from that island. While Stanford's great strength was his ability to create and develop memorable melodic motives, Wood's lay in his interest in Gregorian and old church modes which he incorporated into his compositions, thematically. His music was to be another landmark in the church music repertoire, comparable to that of Stanford. At Canterbury his name entered the music lists at some point between 1926 and 1935.

By 1935 in Canterbury Cathedral there were three anthems by Wood: Expectans expectavi, God omnipotent reigneth and Hail, gladdening Light and an Evening Service setting, in the repertoire. His double choir, unaccompanied Hail, gladdening Light was an example of his interest in early non-biblical texts. Other anthems that, once introduced into the repertoire, proved to be of permanent value were: Save us, O Lord by Edward Bairstow (1874-1946); Thee Lord, before the closing of the day, (Te lucis ante terminum),

<sup>188</sup> It is now known that this anthem was composed by Hilton, and was listed as such in later years.

<sup>189</sup> Richardson's dates are recorded as c1670-1715 in the Ely list.

sung in English at this time, by Balfour Gardiner (1877-1950); *Eternal Ruler* by William Harris (1883-1973) and *Lo, round the throne* by Henry Ley (1887-1962). Stanford's setting of *O* for a closer walk was also included from 1935, as has already been mentioned. These anthems were important in that they were examples of the best late Victorian and Edwardian repertoire that had only just been shared by the mother church of the Anglican Communion. They were significant then and remain in the contemporary repertoire.

In Table 2 found in the Introductory Chapter and the section of Chapter One describing the parts of the communion service that were included in the Ordinary of the Book of Common Prayer of 1662, reference was made to the absence of the *Blessed is He that cometh* and *O Lamb of God*. Most worshippers in church and Cathedral would have known little about this, or the history behind it. The General Synod of the Church of England worked for many years to prepare a revised Book of Common Prayer, and many aspects previously clouded in history had to be examined, not least the fact that it did not contain several aspects of the First Prayer Book of King Edward VI, dated 1549. The *Benedictus qui venit* and *Agnus Dei*<sup>190</sup> had been excluded from his Second Prayer Book, dated 1552, and thereafter until the 1960s, when they became optional additions until they were included in the Alternative Service Book of 1980. They had been incorporated into the Alternative Service book of 1928, but that was not approved by the English Parliament.

However, academics were now taking an interest, in particular S. Royle Shore, who was Lecturer in Ecclesiastical Music at Birmingham Cathedral and Diocesan Instructor in Plainchant. Inside the front cover of Thomas Causton's *Communion Service in Ab* there is an introduction written by S. Royle Shore, dated September 16<sup>th</sup>, 1912. It contains these words,

‘To meet modern liturgical requirements the Communion Services will be complete, and include, besides “Benedictus” and “Agnus Dei”, the “Kyrie” proper in English and Greek...(which) exist in compositions of both Tallis...and Causton’.<sup>191</sup>

The use of the word ‘complete’ by Shore, spells out the fact that without the sections that had been omitted from the Communion Service since 1552, the service is ‘incomplete’. These sections of the service, although not approved for liturgical use, had been heard in Canterbury Cathedral since 1892, as anthems, in English, as was mentioned in the previous chapter.

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<sup>190</sup> *Benedictus qui venit* and *Agnus Dei* are referred to as freely as *Blessed is He that cometh* and *O Lamb of God* in musical scores and printed documents, and will be done so in this writing, as far as possible using the terms found in the originals.

<sup>191</sup> W2/T-2-11

There was only one setting, by Calkin, of the Agnus Dei, in use to 1908, but the list for the known years between 1908 and 1935 is considerably larger.<sup>192</sup>

Settings of Agnus Dei used as anthems during 1908-1936

1909 Calkin, Martin  
 1910 Calkin, Martin  
 1911 Calkin, Harwood  
 1912 Calkin, Garrett, Martin  
 1913 Garrett, Martin, Harwood  
 1914 Calkin, Harwood  
 1915 Calkin, Martin, Harwood  
 1916 Martin  
 1917 Calkin, Martin, Harwood  
 1918 Stainer, Bridge, Harwood  
 1919 Garrett, Harwood, Palmer  
 1920 Calkin, Harwood, Palmer  
 1921 Palmer  
 1924 Harwood, Palmer  
 1925 Palmer

John Baptiste Calkin was born in England, but worked as an Organist in Dublin, before returning to London as a member of staff at Trinity College of Music and the Guildhall School of Music. He is, like many church composers of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, no longer celebrated, but provided both services and anthems for church and Cathedral choirs for some years. The following example has been transcribed from the Communion Service in Bb found in the Cathedral Library.<sup>193</sup> The excluded sections of the contemporary liturgy were printed after the Gloria, not in their present order within the communion service according to the Alternative Service Book of 1980 or Common Worship 2000.

In many versions of this part of the communion service the repetition of text is musically identical to the original statement for the second phrase, with the final words being treated differently, rather like a Coda. In Calkin's setting each statement begins with the same rhythm, but is not melodically identical. The Coda slows the pace considerably in its request for peace.

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<sup>192</sup> For a list of Canterbury's use of the Benedictus qui venit and Agnus Dei see Appendix 6.

<sup>193</sup> W2/T-2-5

Musical Examples 44 Calkin in Bb O Lamb of God

Slow ♩ = 88

SOPRANO *p*  
O Lamb of God, that tak - est a - way the sins of the world, have

ALTO *p*  
O Lamb of God, that tak - est a - way the sins of the world, have

TENOR *p*  
O Lamb of God, that tak - est a - way the sins of the world, have

BASS *p*  
O Lamb of God, that tak - est a - way the sins of the world, have

ORGAN *p*  
Slow ♩ = 88

John Stainer had two versions of the Benedictus qui venit and Agnus Dei published in the key of Eb to accompany his Holy Communion office in that key, in 1899.<sup>194</sup> During the period 1873-1908 there were four versions of the Benedictus qui venit by Calkin, Garrett and Stainer, but from 1908-1936 there were eight, as follows:

Settings of Benedictus qui venit used as anthems during 1908-1936

- 1909 Garrett, Martin
- 1910 Garrett
- 1911 Garrett, Martin
- 1912 Palmer
- 1913 Harwood
- 1914 Calkin
- 1915 Garrett, Harwood, Palmer
- 1916 Calkin, Garrett, Martin
- 1917 Calkin, Garrett, Martin, Lloyd, Harwood, Palmer
- 1918 Calkin, Garrett, Bridge, Lloyd
- 1919 Calkin
- 1920 Calkin, Martin, Bridge, Lloyd, Harwood
- 1921 Calkin, Garrett
- 1922 Calkin, Harwood, Palmer
- 1923 Calkin, Garrett, Martin, Lloyd
- 1924 Calkin, Garrett, Martin, Palmer, Nicholson
- 1925 Calkin, Martin, Palmer Nicholson
- 1935 Palmer

<sup>194</sup> There is a Stainer setting of the Benedictus qui venit listed as an anthem during Longhurst's time, i.e. prior to the publication mentioned above. Jeremy Dibble quotes Stainer's comments to the King about his first Benedictus for the Service in A, of which he was particularly proud, 'I am very sorry that the St. Paul's Choir cannot use it, they would sing it so splendidly' (Dibble, J. (2007). John Stainer: A Life in Music. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press. p281).



The front cover of Harwood's Communion Service in Ab states that it includes the Benedictus qui venit and Agnus Dei, confirming the source of the anthem.

Palmer, as Organist, is not well known as a composer and is not mentioned in either Long's or Fellowes' books on Cathedral music, but his services in F were in Perrin's music lists in 1899 and 1901. From 1910 his Services in Eb for Matins, Evensong and Communion were used. They remained in the lists until his retirement in 1936. While his setting of Blessed is He that cometh was used as an anthem from 1912, the Agnus Dei was not listed until 1919, but the Communion Service in Eb, that remains in the Cathedral Library, contains the music for both of these parts of the Edward VI First Prayer Book Communion service, which also confirms that separate anthems for these words had not been written. The Benedictus qui venit was not only sung on Palm Sunday, it was increasingly used on other days in the church calendar.

Palmer's setting of the Benedictus qui venit begins in quiet contemplation, which would have been appropriate to its original place following the Sanctus within the Eucharistic prayer. The mood changes to rejoicing as Palmer uses a melodic motive for the word Hosanna, (seeming ecstatic) passed between the voices and the accompanying organ. None of the other settings of the text, from this historical period, uses a solo voice.

Musical Example 45 Palmer in Eb Blessed is He that cometh

$\text{♩} = 60$   
 Tenor Solo  
 SOPRANO  
 ALTO  
 TENOR  
 BASS  
 ORGAN  
 $\text{♩} = 60$   
*p*  
 Bless - ed. Bless - ed is He, that com - eth, that  
*p*  
 Bless - ed. Bless - ed is He, that com - eth, that  
*p*  
 Bless - ed. Bless - ed is He, that com - eth, that

7

T. Solo

S.

A.

T.

B.

ORG.

*pp* *mf* *pp* *pp* *pp*

Bless - ed is He that com - eth in the  
com - eth in the name of the Lord. Bless - ed is  
com - eth in the name of the Lord. Bless - ed is  
com - eth in the name of the Lord. Bless - ed is He, Bless -  
com - eth in the name of the Lord. Bless - ed is He, Bless -  
ed is He, Bless - ed is He, Bless - ed is He, Bless - ed is He.

### **3. The Choir**

#### **3.i. The Choristers and the Choir School**

The age of chorister admission had long been agreed as eight years, but a leaving age had not been fixed. Many boys still left the choir school and went straight into apprenticeships or employment if they did not transfer to another school when their voices broke. In 1934 it was stated by the Precentor that:

‘the older boys remain as soloists too long and I should be glad to say to the Organist that the younger boys should be made to sing solos in church at an earlier age’.

As a result of this statement Chapter resolved that:

‘Choristers should retire from the choir at the age of fifteen and a half years, except on special report from the Precentor and Organist’.<sup>195</sup>

#### **3.ii. The Lay Clerks**

It is acknowledged that a Cathedral choir needs to have twelve lay clerks, six each for the Decani (Dean’s) and Cantoris (Cantor’s) sides of the Choir, for a balanced presentation, especially in music requiring a double choir. Until 1915 the records indicate that there were between ten and twelve lay clerks,<sup>196</sup> although this was affected by war service. Information about the war years is incomplete, but in 1915<sup>197</sup> three were called up to go into the services, their places at Canterbury being retained for them, the following year

<sup>195</sup> DCC-CCa-CA/19, p637.

<sup>196</sup> 1908-1915 information from CCA-DCc-PB/15.

<sup>197</sup> 1915-1935 information from CCA-DCc-CA18- CCA-DCc-CA/19.

there were four on military service; so the numbers indicated during the war years are not representative of those who actually sang in the services. The difference between payments from the Cathedral stipend and military allowances was made up by the Cathedral, but no additional appointments were made to replace the absent singers. There is then the break in the detailed records, but from 1924 there were never more than nine lay clerks on the foundation of the Cathedral, and frequently there were no voluntary singers to fill the gaps. The added number indicates the voluntary singers, when they were available.

**Table 10 showing the numbers of Lay Clerks from 1908 to 1935.**

<b>1908</b>	<b>1909</b>	<b>1910</b>	<b>1911</b>	<b>1912</b>	<b>1913</b>	<b>1914</b>	<b>1915</b>	<b>1916</b>	<b>1919</b>	<b>1924</b>
11	12	10	11	11	12	12	12	?	8	7 + 3
<b>1925</b>	<b>1926</b>	<b>1927</b>	<b>1928</b>	<b>1929</b>	<b>1930</b>	<b>1931</b>	<b>1932</b>	<b>1933</b>	<b>1934</b>	<b>1935</b>
8 + 2	8 + 4	7	7 + 2	9	9	8	8	8	7	7

Retaining lay clerks of the best ability was a continuing problem; in 1913 one left to sing in Westminster Cathedral (the Mother church of the Roman Catholic communion, which had opened in 1903) and another went to Westminster Abbey. The following year an alto moved to St Paul's Cathedral. Whilst in 1913 and 1914 Canterbury lost three lay clerks to London, two other lay clerks were ill during 1914, one of whom was to be retired on pension. Sickness was provided for, but absence without permission was fined at the rate of one shilling. That money went into the Perdition Fund, which could be used to help lay clerks who found themselves in financial difficulties. The reduction in numbers of lay clerks and fewer suitable singers being available for deputy work, caused problems with staffing services. The Precentor enquired about a holiday for the lay clerks in 1916, but they chose to receive double pay for two weeks in each year, rather than have no choral services in the Cathedral for two weeks. Their remaining eleven days of holiday in a year had to be fitted in whenever possible. The wartime arrangements about lay clerk holidays had to be continued after the cessation of hostilities. Volunteers were used to fill vacancies on a temporary basis for those who had retired or resigned.

The incompleteness of the lay clerk section of the choir was brought to Chapter meeting formally by the Precentor and Organist jointly in 1927. They stated that there were seven lay clerks when twelve were necessary. A third alto was essential and the headmaster of the Choir School was recommended to fill that place. The Dean pointed out the fact John Reid was already over the retirement age for lay clerks. Other names were considered but a decision was deferred, records indicate that Reid was eventually appointed as a lay clerk

in 1929. He had been unsuccessful at auditions several times in the past, so either his voice had improved considerably or desperation had influenced the decision to include him in the lay clerk ranks. The lay clerks made a written application for an increase in their pay in late 1928. They explained that they were not in a whole-time occupation but had difficulty in finding other paid work that would accommodate their Cathedral commitments. They suggested changes to the times in services and Matins was moved to 9.15, but Evensong was not changed to 5.00. From 1929 there was a series of complaints about administration and financial matters, which included delayed pay cheques, problems of payment from the Perdition Fund and continued imposition of fines for absence. Their chief complaint was the way in which the Precentor had handled legitimate claims, saying he did not understand his relationship with them. In August 1930 it is recorded that the Dean had spent two hours with the lay clerks. As a result of this he agreed to ask that cheques should be sent out on the last day of the month, by post; the Perdition Fund should be suspended and discussed at the St Catherine's Audit in 1931, without prejudice. Finally Dean Sheppard was to ask that agreements made with Dean Bell should be sent to the lay clerks as soon as possible. The next reference to the Dean in the Chapter Minutes is the discussion of the Installation of Hewlett Johnson in April 1931. That lengthy discussion between the Dean and the lay clerks was therefore immediately following Dean Sheppard's return from protracted illness. The Rev'd R. Staple was appointed Precentor in January of 1931, which confirms the fact that the problems with the lay clerks were during the time of his predecessor, Rev'd Meredith, and the absentee Dean Sheppard.

In December 1931 Staple stated that the lay clerks attended regularly to their duties, and referred absences to him.

‘The singing is not as good as it ought to be owing to the fact that voices get worn and must be retained until the time comes for the retirement for age of the singers’.<sup>198</sup>

The following month the Dean was to draft the final conditions of service; this was followed by a formal statement about lay clerks' conditions, particularly referring to pension entitlements. Expulsion for misconduct would still entitle the receipt of a pension, and fines in the event of non-attendance were at last abolished. No reference was made to the fact that the fines had been paid into the Perdition Fund, which had, in turn, been used to help lay clerks in financial or health difficulties. In summary the lay clerks were constantly low in numbers, and also low in morale, which affected both the range of repertoire available for the choir to sing and quality of singing.

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<sup>198</sup> CCA-DCc-CA/18, p1165.

In 1935 compliment was paid to the choir, by Canon Crum, for its singing of the psalms during June and July, but in the following year a criticism was expressed about behaviour in the Cathedral. The expectation was expressed that choir men and boys should make a reverence to the altar on entrance and exit. The Dean said that the Archbishop had remarked on its neglect and had agreed to tell the choir. Dr Shirley, as Vice Dean, had observed behaviour in the choir that was ‘unseemly in quality and quantity’.<sup>199</sup>

#### **4. Cathedral Business**

##### **4.i. Frequency of services**

Reference has been made in the foregoing information to changes in the frequency of services. In Palmer’s early years communion was a full sung service on alternate Sundays, but, according to the records, by 1919 it had become only an Ante-Communion for those same Sundays. From the end of 1923 a Notice of Change was given, that a sung communion service was to be reinstated for the last Sunday in each month, together with all Festivals.

Over the years sung Matins has slowly but steadily been withdrawn from the weekly routine, see Table 28 in the concluding chapter showing the frequency of Matins from 1873-1988. Since the beginning of the century Friday was the Organist’s day off, and in some years there was no sung Evensong on that day, in other years Matins was not sung. From 1920 Matins was only sung on Sundays, Wednesdays and Thursdays and this became the weekly routine for the rest of the Palmer’s time as Organist. There was inevitably a reduction in the number of service settings used because of the less frequent matins and evensong offices, but this seems to have been handled by fewer repetitions, rather than limiting the repertoire.

##### **4.ii. Choir School**

There had also been changes in the choir school, as, in 1932, after almost forty three years of service as Grammar Master and lay clerk, John Reid asked to retire. A transformation of living and working arrangements for the choristers would be the provision of a house with boarding facilities suitable for a residential choir school. One such building became vacant within the Cathedral Precincts and in September 1936 a Chapter sub-committee recommended obtaining the services of the Revd J. H. Charles, to be appointed as Head of a combined Choir School and Choir House at some point between Christmas and Easter of 1937.

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<sup>199</sup> DCC-CCa-CA/19, p857.

#### **4.iii. The organ**

By comparison to the major works undertaken on the organ during William Longhurst's years as Organist, there is relatively little to report about the organ. The blower failed in July 1908 and in 1920 it was agreed that two monthly servicing of the organ machinery must revert to the original agreement of monthly maintenance. In 1926 a severe storm had driven in a window and rain had penetrated the organ, repairs cost £76. Thereafter there are comments about the electrical wiring and the purchase of a six volt starter.

#### **4.iv. The Cathedral**

It looked as if the Cathedral fabric would survive the First World War with relatively little damage. In 1917 the Cathedral was seen as a place of safety and members of the public were allowed to take refuge in the nave during daytime bombing raids. However, in January, 1918 a piece of high explosive shell weighing two and a half pounds in weight fell through the leaden roof of the Bell Harry Tower, during the air raid at the end of January.<sup>200</sup>

In 1932 the centenary of the formation of the Oxford Movement was held in the Cathedral, sadly, there is no information about the music that was used, as the records for that year are amongst those that are missing.

#### **4.v. Changes in Chapter**

Hewlett Johnson was appointed Dean in 1931 following the departure of Dean Sheppard, and in 1934 there were further changes which would affect the ethnology of Cathedral life for some years to come. They appeared initially to have no connection with the musical repertoire and life of the musicians, but time would reveal that this was not so.

In the Chapter meeting of October 27<sup>th</sup> 1934 it was noted that Canon Dr Claude Jenkins was to leave Canterbury to become Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford, leaving the First Canonry at Canterbury vacant. This, and the King's School financial situation were discussed in Chapter and on December 4<sup>th</sup> the Archdeacon of Canterbury submitted a recommendation, despite objections from some members of Chapter, that because of the:

‘serious financial position of King's School, Canterbury, it is resolved to petition the Prime Minister to suspend the canonry...for two or three years, and if consent is granted to approach the Cathedral Commissioners with a view to forming a scheme by which the income of the canonry during the period of suspension may be paid towards the maintenance of the School’.<sup>201</sup>

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<sup>200</sup> CCA-DCc-CA/16, pp362.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid, p631.

More information about the proposal is revealed in Edwards' book entitled, 'F. J. Shirley: An Extraordinary Headmaster'.<sup>202</sup> The vacancy presented the Dean and Chapter and the external school governors with an opportunity to persuade those who advise the Crown in the filling of senior Cathedral vacancies to appoint a new Canon, who could also be the school headmaster.

There are no records of Chapter discussions on this matter until May 25<sup>th</sup> 1935, but Dr Fred (as he was generally known) Shirley, then headmaster of Worksop College, was invited to visit Kings School, Canterbury, in January of 1935. He did not make his decision to accept until April.<sup>203</sup> This arrangement would free the school governors from the payment of a headmaster's salary and release the headmaster's house for other school purposes.

'By securing the headmaster a place on the Chapter, the new arrangement would emphasize personally the constitutional bond which ties the school to the Cathedral'.<sup>204</sup>

Chapter agreed that Shirley would be paid the first Canon's salary, plus expenses incurred in maintaining the canonical residence.<sup>205</sup> Shirley was welcomed at Chapter meeting on September 28<sup>th</sup> 1935. In November a long letter from him was received by Chapter, and contained the following statement,

'...I was appointed to the First Stall because of services rendered to education and the church, and not as it were bribed to undertake a secular task by the offer of an ecclesiastical "plum"'.<sup>206</sup>

Thus began a relationship between Cathedral and school that was difficult to balance, in view of the fact that the Senior Residentiary Canon was also the head of the school. Shirley's role in the Cathedral, and in particular his involvement with the musical repertoire, unfolded as the years passed. More information about Shirley's appointment was revealed when Dean Johnson's autobiography was published, posthumously, in 1968.

## **5. Conclusion**

It can be seen, from the foregoing information that Palmer's time as Organist in Canterbury Cathedral was rather mixed in terms of effectiveness. The implication of some of the information given by the Precentors about the planning of the music and services is that the ethnology of Cathedral life was neither easy nor straightforward and the fact that the First World War occurred during this period only served to add difficulties. Nonetheless services did continue on a planned and regular basis and despite

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<sup>202</sup> Edwards, D. L. (1969) *F. J. Shirley: An Extraordinary Headmaster*. London: SPCK

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid*, p46.

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid*, p42.

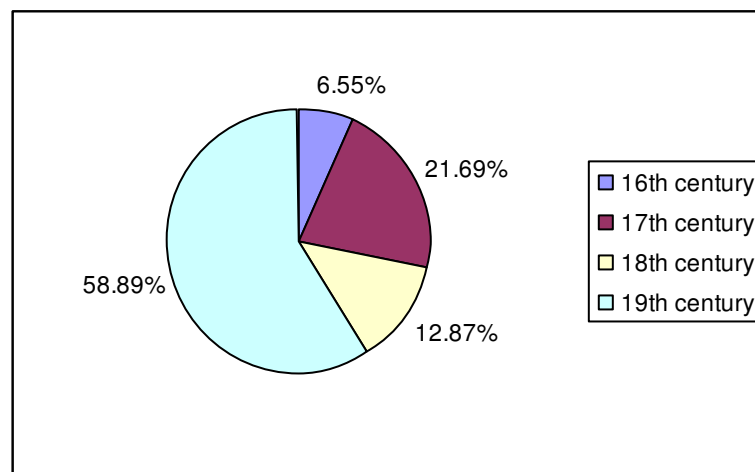
<sup>205</sup> DCC-CCa-CA/19 (pp735-736)

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid*, pp816-818.

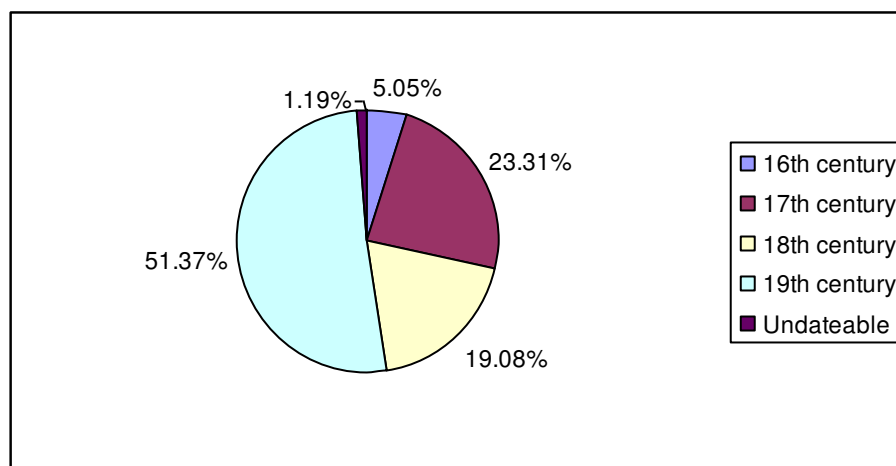
shortages of lay clerks the repertoire of existing music was maintained, despite the occasional reduction in the quality of musical performance.

One of the main aims of this study of the repertoire used in Canterbury Cathedral is charting the progress or changes throughout the period in question. Comparison of Figure 13 with Figure 6 clearly demonstrates the historical adjustments that had been made by 1936.

**Figure 13 showing percentages of Anthems for 1908-1936**



**Figure 6 showing percentages of Anthems for 1873-1908**



The increase in the 19<sup>th</sup> century music from a little over half to almost a third is explained by new music becoming available for the choir to sing, in the later period.<sup>207</sup> The rise in the early repertoire partly results from research undertaken by those involved in the revival of early music and subsequently increased availability of copies through the new

<sup>207</sup> The undateable compositions are generally from the Victorian period.



publishing companies. The important factor is that Canterbury Cathedral musicians were participants in the revival of early music, albeit to a small degree at this stage.

A brief observation of the music used in a sample week in 1909 compared and contrasted with the same week in the church calendar during 1936, may help this evaluation. Below the title of the service, the setting is named, and then the title of the anthem.

**Table 11 showing a week's repertoire in 1909 and 1936**

<b><u>1909</u></b>			
<b>Date</b>	<b>Matins</b>	<b>Ante-Communion</b>	<b>Evensong</b>
<b><u>Sunday January 31<sup>st</sup></u></b>			
	Garrett in D	Kyrie and Credo: Garrett in D	Lloyd in Eb
	Anthem: Rejoice ye with Jerusalem: Stainer		Great is the Lord: Ouseley
<b><u>Monday February 1<sup>st</sup></u></b>			
	Lloyd in Eb Praise the Lord: Wesley		Lloyd in Eb How lovely: Spohr
<b><u>Tuesday February 2<sup>nd</sup></u> <b>Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary</b></b>			
	Calkin in Bb The Lord hath all: Bach		Calkin in Bb There shall a star: Mendelssohn
<b><u>Wednesday February 3<sup>rd</sup></u></b>			
	Mendelssohn in A For ever blessed: Mendelssohn		Mendelssohn in Bb O come everyone: Mendelssohn
<b><u>Thursday February 4<sup>th</sup></u></b>			
	Nares in F My voice shalt thou: Wesley		Nares in F Behold now praise: Calkin
<b><u>Friday February 5<sup>th</sup></u></b>			
	No service		Ouseley in A Come unto me: Oakeley
<b><u>Saturday February 6<sup>th</sup></u></b>			
	Stanford in F One thing have I desired: Gilbert		Stanford in F Thee Lord, Thy creatures: Spohr
<b><u>1936</u></b>			
<b><u>Sunday 2<sup>nd</sup> February</u> <b>Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary</b></b>			
	Te Deum Noble in A/ Benedictus – chant When to the Temple: Eccard		Noble in B minor Beloved now are we: Keeton

<b><u>Monday 3<sup>rd</sup> February</u></b>			
			Farrant in G minor Happy is the man: Bridge
<b><u>Tuesday 4<sup>th</sup> February</u></b>			
			Goss in A The Lord preserveth: Hayes
<b><u>Wednesday 5<sup>th</sup> February</u></b>			
	Rogers in D All darkness flies: Bach		Rogers in D Hail, gladdening Light: Wood
<b><u>Thursday 6<sup>th</sup> February</u></b>			
	Palmer in Eb I have set God: Goldwin		Palmer in Eb Wherewithal shall: Elvey
<b><u>Friday 7<sup>th</sup> February</u></b>			
	no sung services		
<b><u>Saturday 7<sup>th</sup> February</u></b>			
	Stanford in F My God, I give myself: Bach		Stanford in F Rejoice in the Lord: Humphreys

In both weeks the practice of using Matins and Evensong from the same service settings is shown, where possible and if there were two services on the same day. During the week in 1909 the service settings are all from the 19<sup>th</sup> century except that by Nares, which has an 18<sup>th</sup> century date. The 1936 service settings have one evening service from the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Farrant) and one from the 17<sup>th</sup> (Rogers), the remainder are from the 19<sup>th</sup>, but none are new introductions. The anthems for 1909 are all from the 19<sup>th</sup> century except the Bach, which is a German import of the Baroque period, and an anthem by Spohr, another German composer, whose compositions date from the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Mendelssohn is represented during this week as a composer of both services and anthems, although these anthems were in fact choruses from oratorios. The list from 1936 does reveal progress, in that there is a 16<sup>th</sup> century anthem by Eccard, which has a text that is appropriate to the date in the church calendar. The celebration of the Purification of the Virgin Mary is also the same day as the Presentation of Jesus in the Temple, 2<sup>nd</sup> February. The two anthems by Humphreys and Goldwin were composed before that of Bach. William Hayes was born early in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, but the remainder of the composers were all from the 19<sup>th</sup> century. All of these anthems had been part of the repertoire for many years, but not Hail, gladdening Light. This is not the version by George Martin, quoted as Example 19, but the double choir a capella composition by Charles Wood, referred to earlier in this chapter, that continues to be sung today.

From these lists it can also be seen that there were changes in the frequency of sung services as has already been described. In the sample week for 1936 there is no sung communion, despite the fact that the Sunday was a Festal Day, as it was not a 4<sup>th</sup> Sunday in the month.

Over the whole period under discussion in this chapter, the historical range for service settings has only been extended at the more recent end, there was nothing earlier added. This is also evident for the non-liturgical music used in the services. Anthems by Weelkes and Tomkins had at last been added to the repertoire by the end of this period of study, but very little more from Europe. Many of the anthems were composed purely as church music, written as either unaccompanied or accompanied by the organ *colla voce*, but this type of accompaniment began to change. The repertoire also continued to include music that was designed for other purposes. As was explained earlier Haydn's *Insanae et vanae curae* was an adaptation of a larger work, with a text altered to be more suitable for use in a Cathedral service and with the orchestral accompaniment arranged for the organ. As in the previous period, described in Chapter 1, the music derived from Oratorios and Passions designed for concert use, by Bach, Handel, Haydn and Mendelssohn, continued to form a numerically significant proportion of the repertoire. It is notable that these four composers were born in Europe, but had, apart from Bach, a close association with English music for some time in their lives.

All the service settings during this period of history were from England, apart from one set by Mendelssohn (last used in 1920) and the Kyrie by Bach (used from 1911 to 1915). Hymn-like texts, with rhyming ends to the lines, such as Musical Example 41, by Joseph Barnby, had been utilised from early in the Victorian period. These words were not quotations of scripture but have a named author, who had devised devotional poems closely related to biblical teaching. As indicated in the discussion about Example 43, there was a noticeable increase in pre-Reformation texts that were discovered and translated by the Tractarian and Ecclesiological scholars. These non-Biblical texts were used, in translation, with considerable effect. The inclusion of non-Biblical words in settings by Gounod, Sullivan, Mozart and Martin, has already been mentioned. Those, plus another by Wood, in 1935, are an indication of the reduction in fear of being thought Roman or Papist, in the musical worship of the Cathedral, a confirmation that the poetry and Christian philosophy of the pre-Reformation Roman Catholic divines was increasingly accepted. While there was no significant increase in use of plainchant inspired anthems by comparison to that observed in the 1873-1908 period, there were the Faux Bourdon service settings by Tallis, Tomkins and Gibbons, in the 1935 service lists. These service settings, while being later in their development than pure plainchant, are rooted in plainsong and thus indicate a search for something early and more varied than

the 16<sup>th</sup> century services that had been used for so many years. The Faux Bourdon service settings were a very important development and addition to the service repertoire which returned the tenor voices to a position of vocal leadership at specified points in the music. This could be seen as a preparation for an increase in the use of plainchant in the future. At no time since the Reformation was there any use of unaccompanied plainchant in Canterbury Cathedral until late 1936. However, following the retirement of Palmer plainchant was listed, not in anthems, but as part of the service music, from 12<sup>th</sup> November 1936, on a weekly basis, until Christmas. This significant change in the music used in the services will be followed closely in subsequent chapters.

A list of the anthems that were sung in Latin in the Cathedral during the years 1908-1936 has already been given, following Example 37. These five Latin anthems were introduced into the repertoire up to, and including, 1915, but there were no additions until after Palmer's retirement; no objections were raised in Chapter meetings at the inclusion of these texts. In all cases, except the Haydn, *Insanae et vanae curae*, the music of the anthems was already known, together with their English translations, so no complaint could have been made about inability to understand what was being expressed in the words. The anthems by Palestrina and Victoria, in the repertoire for many years, were still sung in English translation, and no additional compositions by them, or others by their compatriots, were used. By 1936 there were nineteen non-English composers, but covering an even wider geographical range than in 1907, as Russia became included.

Much, although not all, of the music composed purely for church services used in Canterbury Cathedral, during this period, was homophonic, rather than contrapuntal, in compositional style. The melody was chiefly in the treble or highest voice, but in the Tudor and some contemporary compositions the other voices had a greater melodic contribution to make. Sadly much of the late 18<sup>th</sup> century and Victorian music had given voices other than the upper line, very little interest, many of the anthems were like hymns, and contemporary metronome marks indicate that the music was sung very slowly. While it is just possible to observe some redevelopment of melodic interest in the part singing of lower voices, significant changes to the role of the organ during this period can be found in the repertoire that was used. Initially, as has already been mentioned, the organ replicated the voices *colla voce*, but by the middle of the Victorian period in church choral music a brief introduction, interpolation or closing phrase began to be added. Earlier music, such as the Spohr and Clari and Leo anthems that were quoted in Chapter 1, included these features, but were not English in origin. The anthem *Hear, O heavens* by Pelham Humphreys, in this Chapter, contains a more interesting organ contribution than just the vocal parts, but he had studied with Lully, in France, so had

experienced the operatic genre there. The addition of an organ pedal note that does not repeat a vocal line, is evident in the service settings by Calkin and Chipp, together with introductions and interpolations such as were used by Palmer. Slowly, but steadily, more non-vocal notes were added to the organ part until it could stand independently without the voices, such as in the Example 31, by Gray. Some accompanied choral music represented in the later years of this study were to a certain extent revisiting an aspect of the composition style of the Tudor composers such as Gibbons, who, in music such as 'This is the record of John', used a parley of viols to complete the composition, not note for note but with considerable independence. In the later Victorian and Edwardian music the organ took the place of the early groups of instruments, as one mechanism produced a range of instrumental sounds, as exemplified in the Gladstone and Martin compositions. In this way Canterbury Cathedral's repertoire illustrates all the stages in the progress of the musical composition of accompanied sacred choral music up to the date of use in services of worship.

Throughout this period of 1908-1936 the organ and choir were not only involved in singing for services; organ recitals were provided for the troops during the war and performances of Elgar's oratorio, *The Apostles*, in 1922 and a music festival in 1929 raised money for Cathedral funds. In addition to these activities recordings by HMV are mentioned from 1929 onwards and there were careful negotiations about royalty payments. In 1935 a film was made of the clergy and choir by a Canterbury group, who paid fees for the privilege. The musical repertoire survived the reduction in services, staffing difficulties of the war years and the financial strictures of the Depression. The ordering of services was not commented upon at any time during Palmer's period of office, there was also nothing negative said in Chapter meetings about the music itself, although the reduced quality of performance was noted in Palmer's later years, prior to his retirement. There were from time to time complaints about financial matters made by lay clerks, specifically directed at the Precentor, and two named Precentors were clearly having difficulty in negotiating with the Organist, however, the removal of the penalty system for lay clerk absences, in 1930, produced better than expected results. The Organist continued to select the repertoire and no criticism was forthcoming from Chapter, even when five Latin anthems were introduced progressively from 1908. Similarly, no objections were raised at the gentle introduction of more early and polyphonic music. All the services continued to be sung in English, indeed they were all of English origin. There was a numerical reduction in the anthem repertoire, because of changes in the frequency of Matins. From 1911 sung communion was also only monthly, but from 1926 the communion service was sung in full; no longer an Ante-Communion Service; the neglected sections from the pre-Reformation Communion service, continued

to be included on more occasions in each year, and the 1928 Alternative Service Book was approved, albeit not by Parliament. Attitudes towards authenticity of text and music remained the same as in the past, but new editions were available, which produced no criticism from members of Chapter. Ancient texts, other than those of Biblical origin, were accepted, similarly without comment. No pure plainchant was used during Palmer's time, but between his retirement and the appointment of the new Organist plainsong was used weekly, initially during Advent, and thereafter.

Progress in musical composition, particularly in the use of the organ as more than an accompanying instrument, was very evident in the service music and anthems, revealing the range of sound and technique available on the Cathedral organ and the competency of the choir to sing their own parts.

The period during which Clement Charlton Palmer was responsible for the music in the Cathedral's life was about to come to an end, but with a recently appointed Dean, a new Precentor and dynamic First Canon, together with a Choir School, now with boarding facilities, anything could be possible. Additionally, the arrival of both a new Precentor and Organist in 1936 prepared for a fresh start for the singers in the Cathedral. They showed the promise of good things to come, which gave hope of better singing, and, therefore, further developments in the repertoire.

### **Chapter 3 A. Gerald Knight 1937-1952**

The Cathedral Chapter records give the impression that the last few years of Clement Charlton Palmer's period of office as Organist were not representative of his best. There were negative comments in the Chapter meeting records, both about relationships between the Organist and Precentor and the quality of the singing. Complaints were also recorded by the lay clerks about the handling of some of their business matters by the Precentors, during those years. The number of regular lay clerks was far from adequate, which would have restricted the choice of appropriate music, for the reduced numbers to sing. Nonetheless, the range of repertoire did not decline; in fact it grew with regard to the addition of earlier and more contemporary music. The evidence contained in the 1935 and 1936 lists indicates that Gerald Knight inherited a range of music, if not the number of adult singers, that could lead Canterbury's repertoire towards increasing inclusion of music that had been neglected for centuries, together with newly composed music that was skilfully crafted using texts that were neither trite nor bland, but expressive and spiritually uplifting.

Despite the progressive nature of the repertoire the period of 1937-1952 is most complex to describe, as life for everyone serving in Canterbury Cathedral was substantially affected by the Second World War.

#### **1.i. The Organist**

Knight (1908-1979) had been educated at Truro Cathedral School, and, in 1922, became articled as assistant Organist to H. S. Middleton there. He entered Peterhouse College, Cambridge, as a choral exhibitioner and continued his studies at the Royal College of Music. From 1931 to 1937 he was the Organist at St. Augustine's Church, Queensgate, in London, and tutor in plainsong at the College of St. Nicholas, Chislehurst, where the School of English Church Music was based. Knight came to Canterbury in 1937 with significant knowledge of the existing range of services and anthems and professional interest in early music that would widen and deepen the repertoire of the musicians. He retained his links with St. Nicholas College, becoming the Warden there. His fifteen years of valuable service to Canterbury Cathedral included a period in the Royal Air Force during the war. He was initially given reserved occupation status, but in 1942 became liable for military service. In due course he enlisted in the Royal Air Force, but retained as much of an active link with the Cathedral's music as was possible. In 1945 King George VI commanded that the name of the School of English Church Music should be changed to the Royal School of Church Music (RSCM). Knight remained as assistant-director and Canterbury Cathedral permitted the school to function within the precincts of

the Cathedral, where the College of St Nicholas was reopened in 1946. Eventually, Knight's appointment as Director of the RSCM necessitated his resignation as Organist of Canterbury Cathedral, in 1952. In 1954 the RSCM had to vacate its building within the Cathedral precincts and moved to Addington Palace, in Surrey.

W. T. Harvey is listed as assistant Organist in 1924; his name continues to appear each year in the Precentor's annual report until 1952. In 1940 Harvey was paid a tribute in a Chapter meeting for his 'unfailing skill and artistry'.<sup>208</sup> He was the acting Organist throughout the war years, when he had sole responsibility for playing the organ, working closely with the Precentor, Joseph Poole. Chapter records affirm that he showed the 'utmost skill', giving his services 'ungrudgingly'.<sup>209</sup> In 1944 he was given a tea-party to celebrate 'fifty years of service as probationer, chorister, assistant Organist and acting Organist'.<sup>210</sup> By the date of his actual retirement he had therefore served the Cathedral for fifty eight years, as in 1952 he was again asked to deputise for Knight until Douglas Hopkins took up his post as successor to Knight.<sup>211</sup>

### **1.ii. The Precentors**

Canon Joseph Weston Poole was in post as Precentor from 1936 to 1949, and his musicianship and skill in working with both the musicians and the Cathedral ethnology were significantly effective, particularly, but not solely, during the war years. He had not been a chorister in the Cathedral choir, but was educated at the Canterbury King's School, before university and ordination into the priesthood eventually brought him back to the Cathedral as both Minor Canon and Sacrist. It appears that he was appointed to the Cathedral staff as Precentor, rather than elected from the Minor Canons at a later date. His work in sustaining the music during the war years will be referred to frequently during this chapter. In an article in the monthly journal *Bygone Kent* Lois Lang Sims describes the daily:

'uninterrupted offering of beauty in worship... made possible by the efforts of two men: the Precentor, Joseph Poole, and Dean Hewlett Johnson'.<sup>212</sup>

There were no complaints from lay clerks about either Poole or his successor, Ludlow, registered in the minutes of Chapter meetings, during the entire period that Knight was Organist. That aspect of Cathedral ethnology seems to have been far more equable than during the preceding years.

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<sup>208</sup> CCA-DCc-CA/20, p427

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid*, p563.

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid*, p900.

<sup>211</sup> CCA-DCc-CA/21, p1095.

<sup>212</sup> Sims, L. L. (1980) *Canterbury Cathedral in World War II*. Tonbridge: Meresborough Books. p131.



## **2. The music**

It is of note that, having used relatively little plainchant, in Canterbury Cathedral's services, Chapter appointed Gerald Knight as Organist in 1937, with his professional involvement with plainsong. The plainchant that was heard in the Cathedral up to this time had been included within Victorian compositions, such as those by Stainer. Sadly the lacuna in the music lists from 1926 to 1935 means that the date(s) of the introduction of the Fauxbourdon Services of Tallis, Tomkins and Gibbons, listed in 1935, cannot be traced. Nevertheless, the fact that they were in use in 1935 displays an interest and acceptance of music rooted in pre-existing melodies so often having plainchant as their origin.

However, the first complete plainchant morning and evening services are listed in the last two months of 1936, sung on one day each week from 12<sup>th</sup> November onwards, following the departure of Palmer and before Knight arrived at Canterbury. No prior discussions are mentioned and no negative comments from Chapter are reported in the records of their meetings. It may have been the fact that problems with staffing the adult part of the choir necessitated an alternative to four part settings of the services, during the period immediately following Palmer's retirement. In the interregnum between Organists the Precentor would have had to make the decision about a musical idiom that had not been used in Canterbury Cathedral since before the Reformation. It was the norm, at that time, for the person selecting the music for the following month's services to place the list on the treasury table, for comment. Staple had just left and Poole was appointed in September 1936, so it must have been he who made this major step forward. The reintroduction of pure plainchant opened the way for a far older and wider range of music to be used in the Cathedral. Plainsong service settings were sung in the years 1937-1940<sup>213</sup> and thereafter from 1944.

There is no information about the repertoire used by the choir school in Cornwall so description of the music during the war years is that sung in Canterbury.

The following table shows the increase in use of 16<sup>th</sup> century service settings, together with the introduction of 20<sup>th</sup> century services, both balanced by the reduction in services from the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century. The low numbers for the years 1941 to 1944, inclusive, were clearly shaped by the life of the Cathedral during the war years, when bombing and constant night time air raids made life extremely difficult. More detail about the figures will be given in the context of the musical examples.

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<sup>213</sup> The choristers remaining at Canterbury, 1940-1944, were less likely to have been accustomed to singing plainsong; the most musically able boys were in Cornwall.

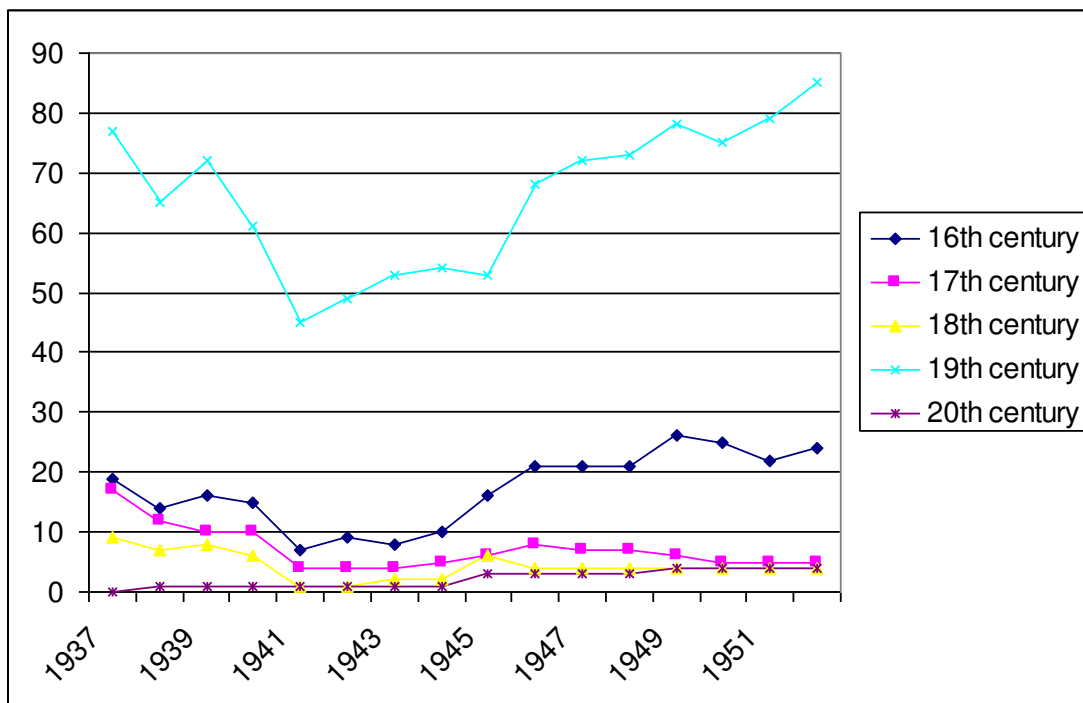
## 2.i. Matins and Evensong Services

**Table 12 showing numbers of Matins and Evensong Service settings**

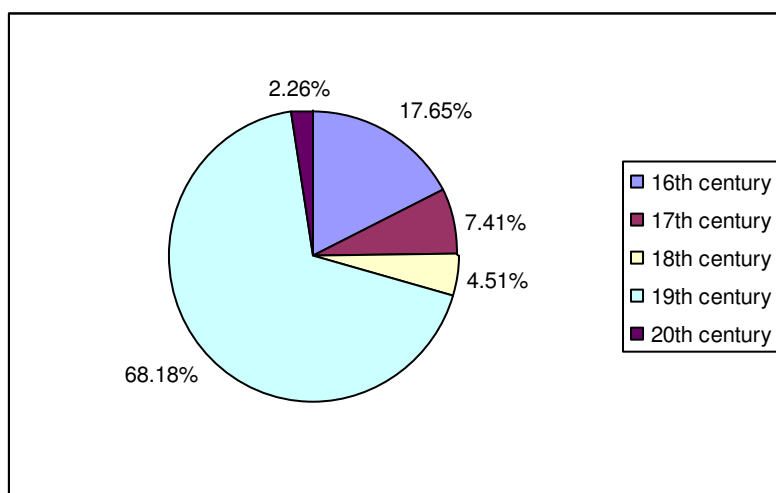
The rows indicate how many service settings composed in each century were in use for each year.

	1937	1939	1941	1943	1945	1947	1949	1951
Plainchant	yes	yes			yes	yes	yes	yes
16 <sup>th</sup> century	19	16	7	8	16	21	26	22
17 <sup>th</sup> century	17	10	4	4	6	7	6	5
18 <sup>th</sup> century	9	8	1	2	6	4	4	4
19 <sup>th</sup> century	77	72	45	53	53	72	78	79
20 <sup>th</sup> century	0	1	1	1	3	3	4	4
Total of named service settings	122	107	58	68	84	107	118	114

**Figure 14 showing numbers of Matins and Evensong service settings**



**Figure 15 showing percentages of Matins and Evensong service settings**



These percentages represent the whole of the period, including the war years, but, if compared to those of 1908-1936 shown in Figure 8, the significant progress to a more inclusive historical repertoire can be observed. The proportion of 16<sup>th</sup> century service settings, in particular, had increased from just over one twentieth to almost a fifth during the later period, at the same time that the 20<sup>th</sup> century music had been added.

The matins and evensong service settings from the 16<sup>th</sup> century used in 1937 are very similar to those of 1936. The composers represented in 1936 from this period were Tallis, Byrd, Gibbons, Pat(t)rick, Merbecke, Farrant, Causton and Tomkins; Day and Morley were added to this list in 1937. The Faux Bourdon evening services used in the earlier year continued to be sung in the later one, with the addition of that by Morley. However, the spread of services between these two particular years was rather different. In 1936 a larger number of morning services were in use, while in 1937 there were more for the evening. In 1945 two Faux Bourdon Evening services by Tomkins were added and yet another by Holmes in 1947. Weelkes' name was introduced to the list together with more Gibbons settings in 1949.

Little is known of the English composer, Nathaniel Patrick (c1569-1595), included in the list above. He married in 1593, three years after the date of his earliest known composition; he was, at that time, Master of the Choristers at Worcester Cathedral. There remain only three compositions that are known to be by him. His Communion Service in G minor had been used until 1875, during Longhurst's period of office at Canterbury, but was not listed again. Both of his Morning and Evening Services in G minor were in the repertoire from 1935 until 1937. Patrick's services were not included in the collections of sacred music made by John Barnard or William Boyce. His music was not, therefore,

contained in the major sources of repertoire used in Canterbury Cathedral for several hundred years. Samuel Arnold, however, did include it in his collection of Cathedral Music, dated 1790, but incorrectly attributed the settings to Richard Pat(t)rick, a lay clerk in Westminster Abbey, c1616,<sup>214</sup> rather than Nathaniel Patrick.<sup>215</sup> It was, however, published separately in 1906 by Novello in an edition by John E. West, this edition was used in the Cathedral in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>216</sup>

The following example from the final section of the Te Deum reveals Patrick's skills in word setting. It is unaccompanied, but he uses the two sections of the choir, Decani and Cantoris, to echo the music, whilst retaining the momentum of words. In this quotation, for example, the first phrase is sung by Decani without musical repetition but the second textual phrase is given to Cantoris with Decani immediately repeating the musical shape. The next phrase, beginning, 'Vouchsafe O Lord' is sung by Cantoris, with Decani immediately repeating the harmonic writing. The final few bars of this canticle are sung by full choir, to provide dynamic variety, with the words 'let me never be confounded' taken up by each voice in turn to a rhythmical motive that attracts the attention of the hearer. Whilst Patrick is not as well known as his Elizabethan contemporaries, it is probably because of the small repertoire that remains, rather than the quality of his compositional skills.

#### Musical Example 46 Patrick in G minor c1569-95 Te Deum

The musical score is for four voices: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The key signature is G minor (two flats) and the time signature is 4/4. The lyrics are: "Day by day we mag - ni - fy Thee: And we wor - ship Thy". Above the Soprano staff, "DEC" is written above the first measure and "CAN" above the second measure. The music consists of a single melodic line for each voice, with the lyrics written below the notes. The Soprano and Alto parts have a similar melodic contour, while the Tenor and Bass parts have a more stepwise, harmonic line.

<sup>214</sup> W2/S-12-1 in the Canterbury Cathedral Library, Arnold, S. (1790) Cathedral Music: a Collection in Score of the Most Valuable and Useful Compositions for that Service by the Several English Masters of the last 200 Years. Volume IV. London: Printed for the Editor.

<sup>215</sup> Bumpus, J. S. (1972) A History of English Cathedral Music: 1549-1889. Heppenheim: Gregg International Publishers. p53.

<sup>216</sup> W2/T-7-2.

5

DEC CAN

S. name e - ver world\_\_\_ with-out end. Vouch - safe O Lord, to keep us this day\_ with -

A. name e - ver world\_\_\_ with-out end. Vouch - safe O Lord, to keep us this day with -

T. name e - ver world\_\_\_ with-out end. Vouch - safe O Lord, to keep us this day with

B. name e - ver world\_\_\_ with-out end. Vouch - safe O Lord, to keep us this day with -

9

DEC CAN

S. out sin, O Lord have mer - cy up - on us, have mer - cy up - on us. O

A. out sin, O Lord have mer - cy up - on us, have mer - cy up - on us. O

T. out sin, O Lord have mer - cy up - on us, have mer - cy up - on us. O

B. out sin, O Lord have mer - cy up - on us, have mer - cy up - on us. O

Like many Matins services the Patrick in G minor was not listed after 1937. (In 1960, however, Campbell's music lists contain Patrick's Evening Service in A minor. It also appears in Wicks' lists in 1984; this is a transposition of that G minor service, according to the 1906 Novello Edition). It is possible that this Te Deum did not remain in the repertoire following 1937 because the plainsong settings had been introduced; there were very few early matins settings in use in these years. In 1937 Patrick's service was sung together with Tallis's Dorian and Gibbons in F. In the years until 1949 there were never more than two Renaissance services used in the mornings, most frequently the Tallis and Merbecke. At this time there were only three Matins services sung in each week, and most of them contained Victorian music.

During 1949 a slight increase in the early repertoire occurred, in that six settings of the morning offices were in use, by Tallis, Merbecke, Byrd, Tomkins and Gibbons, together with the newly introduced Weelkes Short Morning Service. The evening settings were by Tallis, Byrd, Causton, Farrant, Byrd, Day, Morley, Philips, Tomkins, Weelkes and Gibbons, which reflects the more frequent Evensong services.

The total number of service settings used during the war years fell considerably as staffing the choir became an increasing difficulty, especially for the lay clerks. The choristers that remained at Canterbury were initially less skilful than those that were

evacuated to Cornwall, so adjustments to the repertoire were necessary to permit the quality of performance to be retained, using a reduced level of difficulty in the music. Some services had to be cancelled because of bombing and occasionally the participants in a service hurried to the crypt for safety. It is not, therefore, possible to confirm that all service music listed in the registers actually took place on every occasion, but Chapter records indicate that every effort was made to ensure that wherever possible the normal routine of daily services was maintained. All the services in the winter were held in the crypt for warmth, as it was not possible to heat the main Cathedral.

The 17<sup>th</sup> century repertoire was gently modified in Knight's hands. The composers of morning and evening services settings from the century were identical in 1936 and 1937, but from 1938 Rogers, Aldrich and Kelway were omitted, whilst Michael Wise's Evening Service in E flat was added, and continued to be used throughout Knight's tenure of office. Services by Blow, Gates and King were rarely used during 1941-1944. Blow's Dorian service and those by King were reintroduced after the war. Fellowes describes the Morning and Evening Service in Bb major, by Thomas Kempton (1690-1762), Organist of Ely Cathedral, as 'one of the best of the 18<sup>th</sup> century Short Services'.<sup>217</sup> It was in the Matins Canterbury Cathedral repertoire from 1835 until 1949.<sup>218</sup>

#### Musical Example 47 Kempton in Bb Jubilate

The musical score is for 'Jubilate' by Thomas Kempton, in B-flat major and 2/2 time. It is marked 'FULL Moderato Alla capella'. The score includes parts for Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass, and Organ. The lyrics are: 'O be joy - ful in the Lord, all ye lands: serve the Lord with'. The organ part is marked 'Moderato Alla capella' and 'Gt' (Great). The organ part includes the instruction 'Con Ped' (Con Pedal) at the bottom.

<sup>217</sup> Fellowes, E. H. revised J. A. Westrup. (1973) English Cathedral Music. London: Methuen and Company. p211

<sup>218</sup> His Evening Service was still in the repertoire in 1973.

9

S. glad - ness, and come be - fore His pre - sence, His pre - sence with a song.

A. glad - ness, and come be - fore His pre - sence, His pre - sence with a song.

T. glad - ness, and come be - fore His pre - sence, His pre - sence with a song.

B. glad - ness, and come be - fore His pre - sence, His pre - sence with a song.

ORG.

The repertoire drawn from the 18<sup>th</sup> century also reduced during Knight's time. The compositions of Travers, Nares and Haigh were not used during the war years and did not reappear afterwards. However, although Boyce was not heard during 1940-1942, in 1943 the morning Service in A was listed; it was joined, in 1945, by the Service in C, and both remained until 1961, when the number of matins services was substantially reduced. The names of Arnold, Novello and, father and son Benjamin and Robert Cooke completed the list of 18<sup>th</sup> century composers, whose works were sung at this time. Both Benjamin (1734-93) and Robert (1768-1814) were Organists at Westminster Abbey and composed Evening Services, which were used at Canterbury. Neither was listed in 1835, but both appeared on the service sheets from 1873-1900.

The elder's Service in G was used during 1936-1939 and 1945-63. Whilst this setting is typical of the music from the 18<sup>th</sup> century in that the accompaniment is *colla voce*, in some sections there is imitation between pairs of voices, sometimes from full choir, at other times between Decani and Cantoris.

Cooke also uses musical rhetoric to support the meaning of the words in a similar fashion to Causton, quoted in the previous chapter, particularly in the setting of the word 'down', in the phrase 'He hath put down', in the Magnificat. The melody in each voice immediately rises by step for the words, 'and hath exalted' with louder dynamics, before falling to complete the phrase, 'the humble and meek'. In this way the attention of the hearer is drawn to the illustration of the text in the music.

## Musical Example 48a Benjamin Cooke Evening Service in G Magnificat

53 Dec. *mf* 56

S. He hath put down the migh - ty from their seat,

A. He hath put down the migh - ty from their seat,

T. down the migh - ty from their seat, from their seat, and hath ex -

B. down the migh - ty from their seat, from their seat, and hath ex -

ORG. *Gt. f*

57 *FULL*

S. and hath ex - alt - ed, ex - alt - ed the hum - ble and meek.

A. and hath ex - alt - ed, ex - alt - ed the hum - ble and meek.

T. alt - ed, ex - alt - ed the hum - ble and meek.

B. alt - ed, ex - alt - ed the hum - ble and meek.

ORG. *Gt.*

The extended contrapuntal Amen provides a very satisfying ending to the Gloria.



## Example 48b Amen

99 *ff* end. A - - - - -

end. *ff* A - - - - -

8 end. *ff* A - - - - -

end. *ff* A - - - - -

102 *rall.* men.

men.

men.

men.

*rall.*

As indicated in Table 11, the 19<sup>th</sup> century contribution to the repertoire is the largest during Knight's time. The composers Goss, S. S. Wesley, Smart, Walmisley, Lloyd, Stanford, Gray, Samuel Liddle, Edward Naylor, Wood, Noble, Walford Davies, Palmer, Vaughan William, Bairstow, Nicholson, Ireland, Littlejohn and Healey Willan were listed throughout Knight's period of office; Stanford's contribution always being the greatest in each year. The music of Garrett, Stainer and Somervell was not used during, or after, the war, whilst other names were added to the lists. In 1945, the Tones Services of the researcher into plainchant, J. H. Arnold, were added to the service lists, (they were still in use in 1985). The following year the services of Hylton Stewart and E. J. Moeran entered

the lists; one by William Harris was added in 1949. Sumsion in G (Evening) was used from 1941 with the Morning service added in 1943. All four composers were represented thereafter.

Many of the names just listed are still known today, but there is little information available about Charles Lee Williams (1853-1935). He is described as an English Organist and composer,<sup>219</sup> working successively at Winchester, Llandaff and Gloucester Cathedrals. At Canterbury his Evening Service in D entered the repertoire in 1922 and was used until 1937. It was sung again from 1941-1955. These were all years in which the lay clerk numbers were low, and the style of writing, including solos, for the canticle, Nunc Dimittis, would make it, together with the Magnificat, available for use on weekdays. It cannot be considered to be typical Cathedral music as the musical demands are not great. The simplicity of the initial solo attracts the listener's attention to the expression of the text, with effective collaboration between voice and organ, but the Gloria does not retain the same quality of writing.

#### Musical Example 49 Lee Williams in D Nunc Dimittis

The musical score is for a Nunc Dimittis in D major, 3/4 time, marked Largo with a tempo of 48 beats per minute. It is written for Tenor and Bass or Solo voice and Organ. The organ part is marked 'senza Ped' and 'pp'. The lyrics are 'Lord, now let-test Thou Thy ser-vant de-'. The score shows the first few measures of the piece, with the voice part starting on a whole note and the organ providing accompaniment.

The Gloria is sung by full choir, mainly doubled by the organ.

<sup>219</sup> <<http://arts.jrank.org/pages/28237/Charles-Lee-Williams.html>>Charles Lee Williams Biography - (b Winchester, 1853 ; d Gloucester, 1935 ) accessed 06.11.2010.

A little faster

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.

ORGAN  
Adagio = 69  
f  
Ped

Thomas Tertius Noble (1867-1953) is best known for his B minor Evening Service setting. At Canterbury it was first listed in 1912 and remains in the church choir repertoire today. He studied under Frederick Bridge and Stanford, and was successively assistant Organist at Trinity College, Cambridge, Organist at Ely Cathedral, then York Minster. In 1912 he moved to be Organist and set up the choir school at St. Thomas's Episcopal Church, Fifth Avenue, in New York.

His Morning Service in A was also used first in 1912 by Palmer and continued in the repertoire until 1957, with a gap from 1940-1944, possibly because of the smaller number of morning services sung during wartime. The Te Deum only was sung during 1956 and 1957, and thereafter the entire service setting was dropped as part of the reduction in matins services.

Whilst the service setting is in A major the example contains a section of the Te Deum written with the key signature of Db major. The dominant pedal note of Ab is evident in bars 151-156 and 163-172, before the return to A major is prepared. This pedal note proves that the section in Db is not a transposition and acts as evidence of Noble's interest in using keys that were not immediately related to the original key of a composition. Another example of this is found in the B minor Evening Service, when the section beginning with the words, 'He rememb'ring his mercy' in the Magnificat, is written in the key of F# major, and returns to the original key for the Gloria. This practice is both refreshing to the ear and provides a promise of more exciting key relationships still to come in church music. It has to be regretted that because of the reduction in Matins services, Noble in A could not be retained in the repertoire as was the Noble in B minor Evening service.

Musical Example 50 Noble in A major Te Deum

(Allegro ma non troppo)

SOPRANO  
We there-fore pray Thee, help Thy ser - vants whom\_ Thou hast re -

ALTO  
We there-fore pray Thee help Thy ser - vants whom\_ Thou hast re -

TENOR  
We there-fore\_ pray Thee help Thy ser - vants whom\_ Thou hast re -

BASS  
We there-fore pray Thee help Thy ser - vants whom\_ Thou hast re -

ORGAN  
(Allegro ma non troppo)

By bar 181 the music is well on its way back to the home key (of A major).

181

S. *cresc*  
Gov - ern them and lift them up for ev - - - er.

A. *cresc*  
Gov - ern them and lift them up for ev - - - er.

T. *cresc*  
Gov - ern them and lift them up for ev - - - er.

B. *cresc*  
Gov - ern Them and lift them up for ev - - - er.

ORG.

Reference was made in the previous chapter to music composed by members of the Cathedral staff; J. Pearson was a lay clerk at Canterbury from 1889 until his death, in service, in 1920. It is possible that he was the brother of Arthur Pearson, (born 1864) whose anthem O for a closer walk is in the Templeman Library.<sup>220</sup> If that is correct, J. Pearson is John Pearson, and his date of birth was 1868. No further information about him has been discovered. His chant setting of the canticles Benedicite and Benedictus was

<sup>220</sup> www.kent.ac.uk

in use from 1906-1942. It exists amongst the un-catalogued music in the library within a bound book entitled, Canterbury Cathedral Chant Book, dated 1928.<sup>221</sup>

The setting of the Canticles Benedicite and Benedictus does not demonstrate new compositional ideas or memorable melodies, but will have served a very useful purpose for Matins, during the periods of Lent and Advent, in each year.

### Musical Example 51 Pearson in Eb Benedicite and Benedictus

Verses 1-17

SOPRANO  
ALTO

TENOR  
BASS

O all ye works of the Lord Bless ye the Lord: Praise him, and mag - hi - ly

7

Verses 18-26

"verse 18 only"

S.  
A.

T.  
B.

him for e - ver. O let the earth bless ye the Lord, yea, let it

In 1938 the first of the services composed in the 20<sup>th</sup> century began to be used. Whitlock's Faux Bourdon Evening Service was to remain in the repertoire until 1956. Evening Services by Knight<sup>222</sup> and Long were added to the lists in 1945. That by Knight remained until 1963, while Long's, for boys' voices, continued until 1981. The Evening Service in C by Francis Jackson was added in 1949 and remained in use in 1988.

## 2.ii. Communion Services

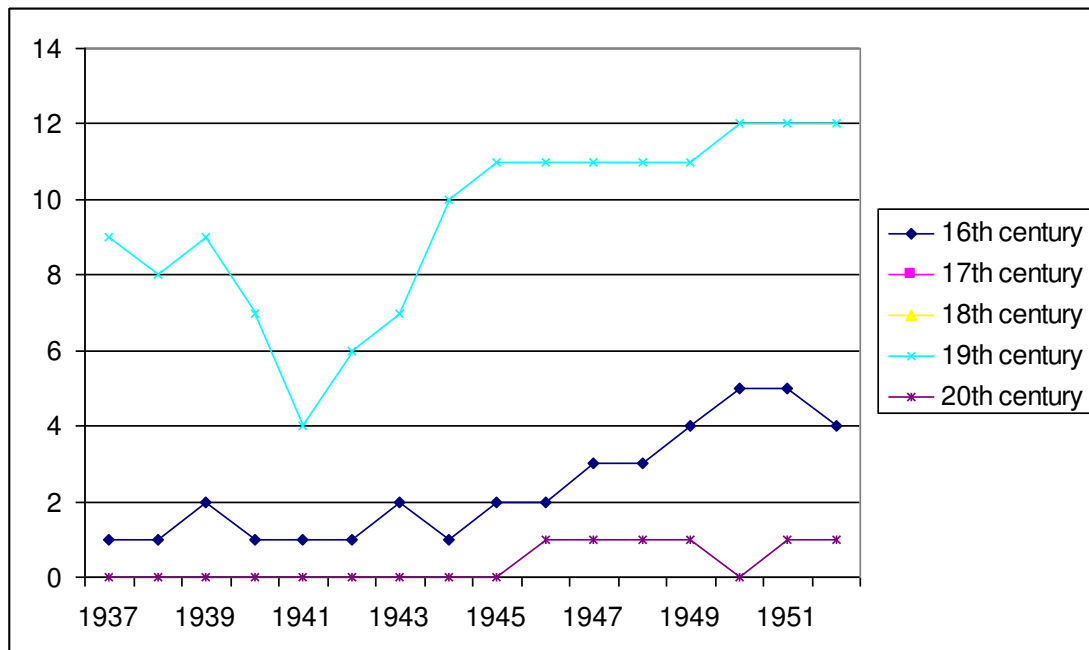
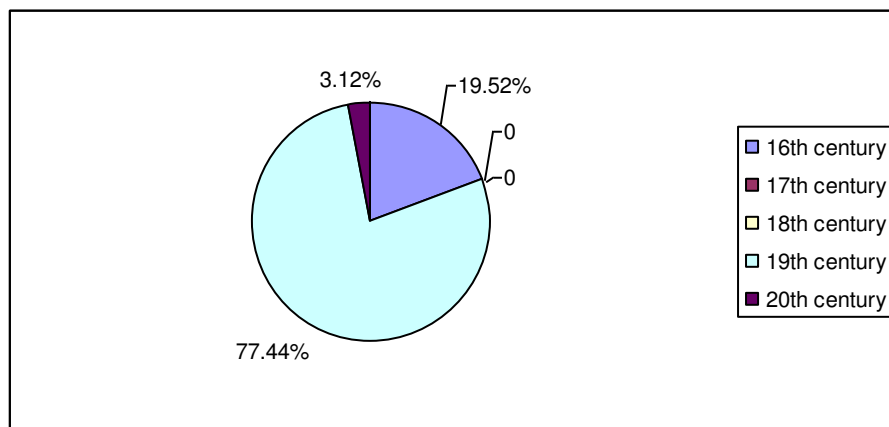
### Table 13 showing numbers of named Communion Service settings

The rows indicate the century in which the Communion service settings were composed. The columns show how many from each century were in use in the given year.

	1937	1939	1941	1943	1945	1947	1949	1951
Plainchant						Yes	Yes	Yes
16 <sup>th</sup> century	1	2	1	2	2	3	4	5
17 <sup>th</sup> century								
18 <sup>th</sup> century								
19 <sup>th</sup> century	9	9	4	7	11	11	11	12
20 <sup>th</sup> century						1	1	1
Totals	10	11	5	9	13	15	16	18

<sup>221</sup> W2/S-18-23

<sup>222</sup> CCA-DCc-MS/142.

**Figure 16 showing numbers of Communion Service settings****Figure 17 showing percentages of Communion Service settings**

In the previous chapters it was recorded that many of the communions were the partial Ante-Communion service, but from the beginning of 1925 all of the sung communion services were complete, according to the 1662 Book of Common Prayer; Ante-Communion was no longer a sung service.

Where there is a sole composer listed from the 16<sup>th</sup> century, for many of the years represented in this chapter, it is Merbecke (c1510-c1585). He had composed a service in plainsong style which was listed in the Canterbury repertoire from 1916 and sung, on a regular basis, for weekday communion services until 1978. The addition to the numbers

in 1943 is not a full service but the *Agnus Dei* from Causton's Communion Service. It is included in the communion lists as it was sung at the point in the communion service where the Edward VI First Prayer Book and 1928 Alternative Service Book place it. This is therefore a significant departure from the 1662 Book of Common Prayer. Another 16<sup>th</sup> century communion service used first in 1939 and from 1946-1952, is also of considerable importance. It was Palestrina's *Missa Aeterna Christi munera*, and as such was the first communion service setting deriving from the Roman Catholic Church, used in Canterbury Cathedral since the Reformation. It was joined by Palestrina's *Mass, Iste Confessor*, from 1947-1951. In 1949 and 1951-1952 Byrd's *Mass for Four Voices* was sung and Victoria's *Missa O Quam Gloriosum* was used from 1950-1952. These were all performed in English translation, but had never previously been sung liturgically in Canterbury Cathedral, in either English or Latin, because of their Catholic origins. These settings, therefore, represent a significant step forward in the use of early English music and early music from Italy (Palestrina) and Spain (Victoria), all of them having been set originally with Latin text.

There were no 17<sup>th</sup> or 18<sup>th</sup> century communion services in use during this period.

During the war years Stanford's services in Bb and C were sung almost every year and either one or two of Wood's communions were used, except 1941-1942. Bairstow's Service in Eb, listed for 'boys only', entered the repertoire in 1941, and was sung frequently in subsequent years. The total number of communion services used in the years 1941-1943 is inevitably not representative of those before or after the war, when the quantity and variety of settings was greater. Plainchant communion service settings were used in 1944 and every year from 1946 onwards, during Knight's period as Organist. These plainsong services are not to be confused with the setting by Merbecke, which is named separately on the lists; it has not been possible to identify which copies of the plainsong service were used at this time, if, indeed, they were published editions; it is possible that they were hand written. The fact that plainchant communion services were sung together with settings by composers such as Stanford, Wood, Palestrina and Ireland, and the Byrd Four Part Service from 1949 and Victoria *Missa O Quam Gloriosum* from the following year, shows the considerable value that was beginning to be attached to both well crafted and early music. The importance given to early music is demonstrated, for example, during 1950: a Plainsong Eucharist, Merbecke, two performances each of Palestrina *Missa Aeterna Christi munera* and *Missa Iste Confessor*, three performances of the Byrd Four Part Mass and three of Victoria's *O Quam Gloriosum*. This was at a time when communion was still only a sung service for the fourth Sunday in each month, plus the regular festivals of Epiphany, Easter Day, Ascension Day, Whitsunday, Trinity

Sunday, All Saints Day, Christmas Day, and the pre-Christmas Ordination, together with Saints' Days. The proportion of early services is far greater than ever before.

By 1952 the Victorian contribution was by Stanford, Wood and Bairstow, already mentioned, plus Nicholson, Ireland, Littlejohn, Willan, Oldroyd, Ley and Darke. Oldroyd (1886-1951), provided a plainchant-inspired, unaccompanied service, which was in the repertoire from 1937-1952 and 1955-56. The Sanctus is of interest, as it provides an illustration of the contemporary versions of early compositional styles in vogue in the second quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It was undemanding as far as vocal forces were concerned, as it was sung by full choir at all times. Although the setting includes a Benedictus qui venit and Agnus Dei there is no indication that they were used: those parts of the communion services were now specified on the service lists when sung on occasions in which a more celebratory setting was used, with organ.

#### Musical Example 52 Oldroyd in Mode III Sanctus

*Andante con moto*

The musical score is for a four-part vocal setting of the Sanctus. It is written in 4/2 time and marked *Andante con moto* and *mp*. The lyrics are: "Ho - - - ly, Ho - - - ly, Lord God of". The score is divided into two systems. The first system contains the vocal parts for Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The second system contains the vocal parts for Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The lyrics for the second system are: "ly, Ho - - - ly, Lord God of".

Ley's Communion in E minor survived in the repertoire until 1952. Darke's Service in F was introduced in 1937, but is still in use today.



The sole representative of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, during Knight's time, was Edmund Rubbra (1901-1986). His communion setting entered the repertoire in a remarkable manner, in 1946. In October 1943 Rubbra received a letter from the Precentor, Joseph Poole, who, as mentioned previously, was responsible for the choir in Canterbury during the war years. He asked Rubbra if he would be willing to compose a Mass setting for Canterbury Cathedral. Rubbra agreed in principle, but could not promise when the work would be undertaken, as he was in the army and had little time for quiet and consecutive work. In January 1945 came the news that the 'Mass for Canterbury is materialising. The Kyrie, Sanctus & Benedictus are finished', Rubbra expressed the hope that the work would be completed by the summer. The BBC had asked to include completed sections of the Mass in a series of broadcasts of New Church Music in April 1945, but the decision whether to accept this offer was given, by Rubbra, to Canterbury. He asked whether Poole wanted to see what was ready. Poole was delighted to agree to the recording, provided a copy was made for Canterbury. Rubbra composed much of the Sanctus, Benedictus and Gloria in the Cathedral music room, while he was stationed in Canterbury. Poole confirmed the need for the setting of the Responses to the Commandments, as the Nine-fold Kyrie was not used in all Cathedrals; he added that the Kyrie must be set to both Greek and English words. Rubbra said, of the key scheme of the Mass, 'each section begins on a central G', which is clarified on the Compact Disc notes, as follows, 'the Mass is centrally based on G, but is not in G'.<sup>223</sup> There followed an anxious time for Rubbra as he heard nothing from Poole for three and a half months despite a concerned enquiry if all was well. In late May 1945 Poole responded explaining that other matters had taken his time and attention; the death of the Archbishop, the return of the choir school from its exile in Cornwall, enthronement of the new Archbishop and the outbreak of peace in Europe. Plans for performance of the service then moved ahead rapidly. In June Poole received the news that Boosey and Hawkes were printing thirty six copies of the Kyrie and Credo (the latter is the only section with an organ part, which would have a manuscript copy for its first performance). There followed a National Gallery Concert on 12<sup>th</sup> July, 1945, when these two sections were included in the programme. The first complete London performance was given by Sadler's Wells Opera Chorus and conducted by Dr Alan Melville on June 20<sup>th</sup> 1946. A report from the Church Times of 21<sup>st</sup> June 1946, says,

"Much of it is written for Double Choir, and the style will not be familiar to singers accustomed to the ordinary sound of Victorian and 20<sup>th</sup> century music".<sup>224</sup>

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<sup>223</sup> E. Rubbra, liner note to Rubbra. (2007) Digitally remastered Compact disc. Chandos. CHAN 10423. (1976).

<sup>224</sup> Documents, containing the correspondence and reports, are all held within the Canterbury Cathedral Archive records, CCA – Add Ms/279, which contains no page numbers.

The reporter acknowledges the composer's inspiration from 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century polyphonic composers, and adds that it:

'has a distinctively modern flavour. It is to be hoped that other cathedrals beside Canterbury ... will take it up and encourage more of our leading young composers to write for the Church'.

A recital of English Church Music in Canterbury Cathedral, dated, July 20<sup>th</sup> 1946 included the whole Missa Cantuariensis.

The Mass reveals significant sensitivity to the words of the communion service. It is, like the Oldroyd, a contemporary setting, in harmonic terms, moving onwards, but in the context of the past.

**Musical Example 53 Rubbra Sanctus from Missa Cantuariensis**

The musical score is for the Sanctus from Rubbra's Missa Cantuariensis. It is in 4/4 time with a key signature of three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat). The tempo is marked 'Adagio' with a metronome marking of quarter note = 54 circa. The score is divided into two systems of vocal parts.

**System 1:**

- SOPRANO:** Melody with lyrics 'Ho - ly, Ho - ly,'. Dynamics: *mf*.
- ALTO:** Melody with lyrics 'Ho - ly, Ho - ly,'. Dynamics: *mf*.
- DECANI:** Melody with lyrics 'Ho - ly, Ho - ly,'. Dynamics: *mf*.
- TENOR:** Rest.
- BASS:** Rest.

**System 2:**

- Soprano:** Melody with lyrics 'Ho - ly, Ho - ly,'. Dynamics: *pp*.
- Alto:** Melody with lyrics 'Ho - ly, Ho - ly, Ho - ly,'. Dynamics: *pp*.
- CANTORIS Tenor:** Rest.
- Bass:** Rest.

The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, accents, and dynamic markings (*mf*, *pp*) to guide performance.

5

S. Ho - ly, Ho - ly, Lord God of Hosts. Heav'n\_ *f* *Doppio movimento*

A. Ho - ly, Heav'n\_ *f*

T. Ho - ly, Ho - ly, Ho - ly, Lord God of hosts. *f*

B. Lord God of hosts. *mf* *f*

S. Heav'n\_ *f* *Doppio movimento*

A. ly, Heav'n\_ *f*

T. Ho - ly, Ho - ly, Lord God of Hosts. *pp* *f*

B. *f*

A comment, 'Amen, to be sung when Benedictus does not follow' printed below the final bass entry, refers to the fact that the Benedictus qui venit was still only used for specific services at Canterbury, and Rubbra had provided for that contingency. It was a considerable asset to the Cathedral's repertoire and continued to be used liturgically thereafter; more will be said about this service setting in chapter 4.

### 2.iii. Anthems

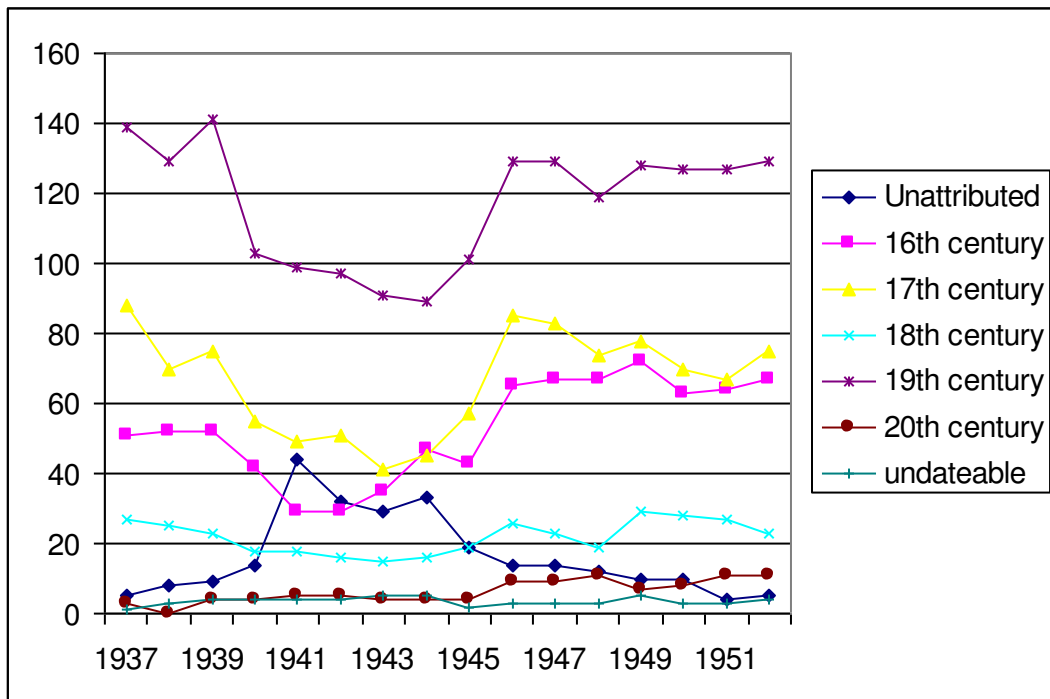
**Table 14 showing numbers of anthems**

The rows indicate the century in which the anthems were composed.

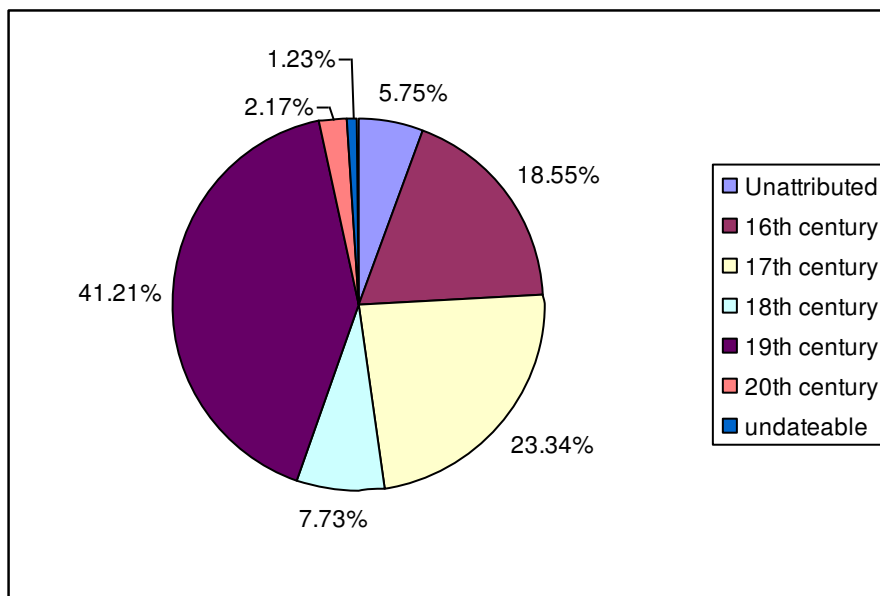
The columns show how many from each century were in use in the given year.

	1937	1939	1941	1943	1945	1947	1949	1951
Unattributed	5	9	44	29	19	14	10	4
13 <sup>th</sup> century			(1)					
16 <sup>th</sup> century	51	52	29	35	43	67	72	64
17 <sup>th</sup> century	88	75	49	41	57	83	78	67
18 <sup>th</sup> century	27	23	18+1	15	19	23	29	27
19 <sup>th</sup> century	139	141	99	91	101	129	128	127
20 <sup>th</sup> century	3	4	5	4	4	9	7	11
Dates unknown	1	4	4	5	2	3	5	3
Total of attributable anthems	309	299	205	191	226	314	319	299

**Figure 18 showing numbers of anthems**



**Figure 19 showing percentages of Anthems**



The total number of anthems for 1936 is almost the same i.e. three hundred and six, as that for 1937, when the number was three hundred and nine, but the components of these figures are rather different.

1937 saw the introduction of a new group of anthems to the lists, included in the Table as ‘Unattributed’. They represent, in the main, the evidence of research into historical collections, and national and traditional sacred songs, including Christmas carols. Many are to be found in the hymnals, Ancient and Modern and English Hymnal, used in

Anglican churches and Cathedrals of the day. In 1939 the first pieces from Europe were included from the Trier Gesangbuch, together with an arranged Rouen melody. The following year there were items from Geistliche Lieder dated 1539. The list for 1941 was far longer, adding more music from the Piae Cantiones of 1582 and arrangements of melodies from Wales, Scotland and Ireland, the Low Countries, France, Germany, the Basque area between Spain and France, together with the Russian Contakion from Kiev, and plainchant. These choral pieces were less demanding to sing by the reduced number of singers in the Cathedral choir, but also added a variety of styles. Many dated from the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, but those rooted in plainchant were medieval in origin.

There were more 16<sup>th</sup> century anthems in 1937 than in previous years, but fewer from the following centuries, although three anthems from the 20<sup>th</sup> century were now included. As shown on the chart the total number of anthems in 1952 is, by chance, identical to that of 1937, but the contribution from the 16<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries had increased, while that from the 17<sup>th</sup> had fallen slightly; the repertoire from the 18<sup>th</sup> century had been reduced most noticeably.

The anthem entitled Captains of the saintly band appears in the service register for 1941. It is attributed, in the list, to the composer, Peter de Corbeil, which would make this music the earliest composition to date. There was a person of that name who died in 1222, but he was a Canon Theologian of Notre Dame Cathedral, in Paris, not a composer. In the English Hymnal, in use at Canterbury during this time, the hymn Captains of the saintly band is listed as having a text by Jean-Baptiste Santeuil (1630-1697). The music set to the translation in this hymnbook is by a Georgian composer, B. Milgrove (1721-1810), and consists of conventional four-part harmony. Sir Henry Williams Baker (1821-1877), an Anglican priest, is given as the translator of the Latin text. This, then, is evidence of a translated early text, rather than of early music. (The list of hymns translated by Baker<sup>225</sup> includes Jesu, grant me this, I pray, by Orlando Gibbons). A setting by Bourgeois (c1510-c1561) of O gladsome Light with harmony by Claude Goudimel, 1551, entered the repertoire from 1937, using a Robert Bridges translation.<sup>226</sup> The fifty one anthems listed for the 16<sup>th</sup> century repertoire of 1937 included six in Latin, compared to one in the previous year. Byrd's *Justorum animae* had been in the repertoire for some years; two others: Tallis's *Te lucis ante terminum* and Bramston's *Recordare, Domine* were sung in their English versions earlier in the year, in the same way that

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<sup>225</sup> Baker's translation of early texts indicates an interest that was very similar to that of his contemporary, Rev'd John Mason Neale, the Ecclesiologist.

<sup>226</sup> There seems to be an anachronism here, as Bourgeois was a 16<sup>th</sup> century composer and the text he is said to have set is dated 1899. It appears possible that Bourgeois had discovered the *Phos Hilaron* and set his anthem to the original Greek words. Alternatively Bridges may have applied his translation to the Bourgeois' melody, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Byrd's anthem had been introduced first in English, then in Latin. Tallis's *Salvator mundi*, Shepherd's *Alleluia*, *confitemini* and Philips' *Cantantibus*, organists completed the list.

The anthem *Give ear unto my prayer* by Jacob Arcadelt (c1514-1568) appears to be an adaptation of the text of the *Ave Maria*, in English. He was a Flemish composer attached to St. Peter's and the Sistine Chapel, in Rome, before moving to Paris. Closer examination reveals that while the original Latin text is an *Ave Maria*, the English version is a setting of Psalm 55: 1-2. Therefore, when this anthem was introduced in 1912, an opportunity to introduce the first version of an *Ave Maria* sung in Canterbury Cathedral, albeit in English, since the accession of Edward VI, was not taken.<sup>227</sup> The music is homophonic with the melody in the uppermost voice, and is gently prayerful. It filled a useful place in the repertoire, being unaccompanied and technically undemanding. It continued to be sung until 1956.

#### Musical Example 54 Arcadelt *Give ear unto my prayer*

The musical score is presented in four staves, one for each voice part: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The music is in common time (C) and D minor. The lyrics are: "Give ear un-to my pray'r, O Lord, my God; And hide not Thy-self from my sup- pli - ca - tion. At - tend to me, and hear me: I mourn in my com - plaint, and make a". The score includes a measure rest at the beginning of the second system, marked with the number 8.

The words of the anthem *O Thou the Central Orb*, listed as being by Orlando Gibbons (1583-1625), are also not those originally set, a thanksgiving for the recovery of King

<sup>227</sup> The first *Ave Maria* was not sung in the Cathedral until 1961, when Wicks introduced the version by Mozart, which became a regular part of the repertoire. Other settings, by composers including Stravinsky and Parsons, were added in later years.

Edward VI. The edition used in Canterbury Cathedral was edited and arranged by Ouseley, and exists in the Cathedral Library's un-catalogued stock. It is a collection of Gibbons vocal compositions, which contains the original text of this anthem, as an appendix.<sup>228</sup> The front cover of the copy is missing so there is no publication date, but the words O Thou the Central Orb, used in this edition, were written by Rev'd Henry Ramsden Bramley (1833-1917), who had worked closely with John Stainer on a collection of carols published from the 1860s to 1878.<sup>229</sup>

The Gibbons anthem is composed in verse form, and the instrumental parts are written in the vocal staves, in addition to an organ part, which is a reduction of the voices and accompanying instruments, for the purpose of performance with an organ. For ease of reference to the vocal line, only the organ staves are quoted here. That earlier edition has since been reprinted and the anthem forms part of the standard repertoire.

Musical Example 55 Gibbons 1583-1625 O Thou the Central Orb

The musical score is for the anthem 'O Thou the Central Orb' by William Byrd. It is written in G minor (two flats) and 4/4 time. The score includes five vocal staves: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass, and an Organ part. The lyrics are: "O Thou, the cen - tral orb of righ - teous love, Pure". The organ part is a reduction of the vocal lines. The score is marked with a 'VERSE' above the first staff.

<sup>228</sup> W2/S-18-13

<sup>229</sup> Charles Wood made a setting of the same text, which has remained in the Cathedral repertoire since 1937. Wood also arranged 'a tune' by Bourgeois to words translated from the German "Songs of Syon" by G. R. Woodward, entitled O Thou sweetest source of gladness, which entered the repertoire in 1945.

6

S.

A.

A.

T.

B.

ORG.

beam of the Most High, e - ter-nal Light of this our bleak world, where Thy ra diance

Neither the copy in the Cathedral Library nor the 1964 edition indicate what instruments were employed originally, but it is likely that they will have been viols, as the compositional style is very similar to that used by Gibbons for *This is the Record of John*, in which viols are specified.

Over the period 1937-1952 there was a significant increase in the 16<sup>th</sup> century repertoire, with noteworthy names added, year by year. Philips was listed first in 1937, with two more anthems added in 1948, both in Latin. The names of Händl, Dering, Schütz and Allegri were included, the latter's *Miserere* was first heard, in English, in 1946. Lassus was sung from 1948 and by 1952 there were five of his anthems in the repertoire, all of them in Latin. The wartime choir still sang in Latin, Byrd's *Non nobis Domine* in 1941, Tallis's *Salvator Mundi* in 1942, and Byrd's *Iustorum animae* in 1943, (see Appendix 7 for the full list). Once the choir school had returned to Canterbury following their wartime evacuation the Latin repertoire increased until there were nineteen anthems sung in their original language from the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Many of them were by Continental composers, and English musicians who absented themselves from their homeland as a result of the restrictions and dangers of Reformation England.

The 17<sup>th</sup> century contribution to the repertoire changed relatively little from 1936 to 1937. The anthem *Faithful Cross* by John of Portugal was included in the Holy Week repertoire from 1937, and three compositions by Matthew Locke were added to the lists; otherwise the names remained the same. The long list of Handel's compositions reduced, and Bach's increased. Although the numbers of compositions by these two composers rose following the end of the war, the proportions continued in Bach's favour, using a blend of



solos for the choristers, with chorales, excerpts from the Passions and shorter cantatas for the entire choir; more of Bach's vocal music had been composed for worship rather than concert use, compared to that of Handel.

The 18<sup>th</sup> century repertoire also remained fairly constant during the period in question, apart from the war years. One anthem each by J. C. Bach and S. Wesley was added in 1938, the former being a son of J. S. Bach and the latter the father of S. S. Wesley.

The repertoire from the 19<sup>th</sup> century grew during the period, but was reduced over all by the increase in the 16<sup>th</sup> century contribution. Anthems by the composers Goss, Mendelssohn and S. S. Wesley born early in the century, were still listed, but in slightly reduced numbers. The names of Darke, Bullock, Middleton and Moeran were added.

The brothers Stephen and George Elvey (1816-1893) had been well known in Canterbury Cathedral circles as they had been born in the city, were choristers in the Cathedral choir and studied with the Organist, Highmore Skeats (Senior).

George went on to be Organist at St. George's Chapel, Windsor. He is described by Fellowes,<sup>230</sup> as an early Victorian with conservative ideas, this being a polite way of saying that his music was out of date even when new. The anthem *The Souls of the Righteous* was last sung in 1945; it is entirely understandable that, once the wartime limitations for adult singers abated, this anthem should be discarded from the repertoire. It had served its purpose in the repertoire between 1926 and 1935, but Byrd's setting of these words could more than fill the Saints' days for which it was an appropriate text, together with that by Nares. In 1952 Stanford's expressive version in Latin, *Justorum animae* was included in the repertoire for the first time.

#### Musical Example 56 G. Elvey *The Souls of the Righteous*

Andante ♩ = 72

SOPRANO *p* *cresc.* *f*  
The souls of the right-eous are in the hand of God, are in the hand of God, and there shall

ALTO *p* *cresc.* *f*  
The souls of the right-eous are in the hand of God, are in the hand of God, and there shall

TENOR *p* *cresc.* *f*  
The souls of the right-eous are in the hand of God, are in the hand of God, and there shall

BASS *p* *cresc.* *f*  
The souls of the right-eous are in the hand of God, are in the hand of God, and there shall

<sup>230</sup> Fellowes, E. H. (1948) *English Cathedral Musical: From Edward VI to Edward VII*. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd. p202.

7

S. no tor - ment touch them, and there shall no tor - ment touch them. The souls of the right-eous are

A. no tor - ment touch them, and there shall no tor - ment touch them. The souls of the right-eous are

T. no tor - ment touch them, and there shall no tor - ment touch them. The souls of the right-eous are

B. no tor - ment touch them, and there shall no tor - ment touch them. The souls of the right-eous are

Anthems by Stainer and Sullivan remained in Palmer's repertoire, but their popularity would change in the future. Stainer's list of seven anthems in 1936 was reduced in 1937 to *How beautiful upon the mountains* and *God so loved the world*, both of which appeared in the repertoire for many years to come. Sullivan's contribution in 1936, however, was eleven anthems, they too were reduced to two in 1937, one or other of which was sung until 1940, but not thereafter.

Reference has already been made to the well known *Miserere* by Allegri (1582-1652) composed originally for use solely in the Sistine Chapel; John Stainer also set the same words in English, which were used at Canterbury on Ash Wednesday and Good Friday during 1942-1947. In 1946 and 1947 both the Stainer and Allegri versions were sung, but thereafter the more demanding Allegri setting was retained for the repertoire. It is likely that the Allegri setting was sung in English translation, initially, but no copies remain in the Cathedral library for clarification.<sup>231</sup> Versions of the Allegri have earned an international reputation, with small choir sections contrasted with full choir. It was inevitable that once the musicians and listeners had accustomed themselves to the high treble tessitura and expressiveness of the Allegri, the more intimate, less dramatic Stainer would not be used any more, but the Stainer was an eminently practical choice for the wartime Cathedral choir. The example shows the pattern of plainsong-style solos, sung by the Priest, using the *Tonus Regalis* based on the original *Tonus Peregrinus*,<sup>232</sup> alternating with four-part harmonisation of that melody.

<sup>231</sup> The Cathedral choir library has contemporary copies as it remains in the repertoire.

<sup>232</sup> Dibble, J. (2007) *John Stainer: a Life in Music*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press. p179.

**Musical Example 57 Stainer 1840-1901 Miserere**

**Priest**

BASS  Have mer - cy upon me, O God, after Thy great good - ness

5

B.  according to the multitude of Thy mercies, do a - way mine of - fen - ces.

SOPRANO  
ALTO  *p* Wash me through - ly from my wick - ed -

TENOR  
BASS 

S.  
A.  ness *pp* and cleanse me from my sin.

T.  
B. 

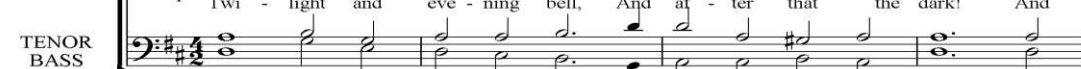
BASS  For I ac - know - ledge my faults:


B.  and my sin is e - ver be - fore me.

Charles Hubert Parry (1848-1918) is best known by church congregations for his setting of Blake's Jerusalem, but is also celebrated by choirs for his Songs of Farewell, I was glad and Blest Pair of Sirens. However, the hymn-like setting of Tennyson's words, Sunset and Evening Star, also known as Crossing the Bar, is far less well known. The sentiments contained in the words are intimate and reassuring, which is probably the reason it came into the Cathedral repertoire from 1936-1948, during the troubled times in Europe and the United Kingdom, before, during and following the war.

**Musical Example 58 Parry 1848-1918 Sunset and Evening Star**

SOPRANO  
ALTO  *p* Sun - set and eve - ning star, And one clear call for me! And  
Twilight and eve - ning bell, And af - ter that the dark! And

TENOR  
BASS 

S.  
A.  5  
may there be no moan - ing of the bar, When I put out to sea, But  
may there be no sad - ness of fare - well, When I em - bark; For,

T.  
B. 

When the dangers and fears of wartime were past it was inevitable that this setting of Tennyson's words would be replaced. *Sunset and Evening Star* demonstrates how much of the 19<sup>th</sup> century war time repertoire was less demanding than that used before and after the war years, because of the reduced number of lay clerks and less musically experienced choristers. In 1946, the Precentor's Choir report stated that the wartime choir music had been of sub-cathedral standard regarding difficulty, although not the quality. He was entirely confident that it would not be many months before Canterbury would have a set of boys of whom they could be proud, and make the choir one of the finest in the country.<sup>233</sup>

Poole did not intend that the repertoire should be static during the war years, and early in 1943, the same year as he had begun negotiations with Rubbra, he wrote to William Walton, asking whether he would be prepared to compose some music for use in the Liturgy, for example a Mass. This request was unsuccessful, but Poole was not to be discouraged, and later in the same year he approached Michael Tippett, through Marion Scott, via *The Listener*. Scott, a violinist and musicologist who championed the cause of contemporary music whenever she could, encouraged direct contact with Tippett, and so began a series of letters between Poole and Tippett, beginning in October 1943, which resulted in the composition of the anthem *Plebs Angelica*.

In the first letter, written on behalf of both himself and Gerald Knight, Poole requested a composition such as a Mass or Motet. He added the suggestion that there might be some passages for Alfred Deller's voice (more will be said later, about Deller's presence as a lay clerk in the choir at this time), saying,

'Deller is unique, and...you must so arrange your score that his solo passages can be sung in other less fortunate Cathedrals by boys' voices'.

The reply from Tippett indicates that the letter had been delivered by Deller, in person.<sup>234</sup>

At this time Tippett did not feel able to write something for the liturgy, but was very much interested in setting a poem from Helen Waddell's book of *Medieval Latin Lyrics*, published in 1929. By December the text of the *Plebs Angelica* had been agreed upon, although it had to be accepted that Latin was to be used, with an English translation inside the front cover.<sup>235</sup>

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<sup>233</sup> CCA-DCC-CA/20, p1249.

<sup>234</sup> CCA-Add Ms/279.

<sup>235</sup> In May 1944 thirty six copies had been ordered for performance. Copies were to be sent to many Cathedral Organists, including William Harris, as Organist at St. George's, Windsor. Rev'd C. V. Taylor, assistant to the Head of Religious Broadcasting Department at the BBC, welcomed the anthem and indicated his hope to include it in a series of new music for worship. Sydney Nicholson, on the other hand, called it 'an interesting effort', but criticised the use of Latin text. He expressed doubt 'that it would create the right atmosphere for a Cathedral service', Poole wrote 'Oh!' three times in the margin of this letter.

The first performance was to be in London by the Fleet Street Choir, who evidently did not initially appreciate the blend of music that was ‘traditional and yet in some way new’, in rehearsal. The motet’s first performance in Canterbury Cathedral was on August 6<sup>th</sup>, 1944, the celebration of the Transfiguration of Christ. Poole’s letter to Tippett, at the end of that month, was realistic about the issues involved:

‘You must expect criticism of the text on two grounds...It is in Latin, where the English Rite is in English. It is an invocation of the Saints, which is a doctrine not in conformity with the mind of the English Church...If the Canons of Lincoln object to the text on theological grounds, they are within their rights, and they must not be written off as stuffy or obscurantist because they stick to their principles. But you can say that the anthem has been sung at a Sunday Evensong, the congregation having in their hands the English translation as well as the Latin text, and that I hope and expect it will be sung again’.

It was performed with one man per part and five boys per part in each choir.

‘It was hard work, and the music is not given the proper chance. The full choir of twelve men and sixteen boys would easily do it justice...One of our Canons, after hearing our performance remarked to me, “It is ethereal music, isn’t it? It really does go beyond the rim”. This is the truth, and this is the value of your anthem in the scheme of worship’.

All the correspondence remains in the Cathedral Archives.<sup>236</sup> In the minutes of the St. Catherine’s Audit and Chapter meeting, dated November 25<sup>th</sup> 1944, the invitation to compose, and first performance of, *Plebs Angelica* was referred to. The Fleet Street Choir had included it in a programme of notable English Church music, held in the Nave of the Cathedral on September 16<sup>th</sup>, 1944.<sup>237</sup> The following July the Chapter minutes reported a request that:

‘in future any invitations to composers should be made by the Dean and Chapter after representations from Precentor and Organist’.<sup>238</sup>

Tippett was paid a fee for the composition, but *Plebs Angelica* was not heard again until 1962. There was no other discussion about the anthem in the Chapter Book minutes. The fact that it was not included in the repertoire for some years to come may have been because it was in Latin; alternatively, as it was composed in a style that was very much in advance of most of the Cathedral music of this time, it could be considered beyond the comprehension and appreciation of most of the members of Chapter. *Plebs Angelica* will, however, be discussed in the chapter describing the music heard in the Cathedral during the time of Allan Wicks, who would not permit it to be excluded from his choral repertoire.

The next musical example is linked to the Tippett by virtue of its initiation as a composition. While William Harris was born during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, therefore chronologically before Tippett, his composition, *Strengthen ye the Weak Hands* was not

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<sup>236</sup> CCA-Add Ms/279.

<sup>237</sup> CCA-DCC-CA/20, p891.

<sup>238</sup> *Ibid*, p974.

composed until after Plebs Angelica. An example of the music is therefore included in relation to the date of its composition.

Harris (1883-1973) studied composition with Stanford and was Organist at St George's Chapel, Windsor 1933-1961.<sup>239</sup> One of his anthems, Eternal Ruler, was in the repertoire at Canterbury in 1935. More were added and by 1939 there were five, including Lead, Kindly Light, with verses by the Tractarian, John Henry Newman; O what their Joy, a text by the 12<sup>th</sup> century priest, Pierre Abélard, taken from the Paris Antiphoner of 1681 and Most Glorious Lord, with words by Edmund Spenser (1552-1599). As such they form part of the growing list of anthems with texts taken other than from the Bible. No additional anthems by Harris were sung until 1948, when Faire is the Heaven, with words also by Spenser, was introduced, for unaccompanied double choir. The following year the very first performance of Strengthen ye the Weak Hands was heard<sup>240</sup>. It had been composed particularly for Canterbury and remains in the repertoire. It was sung chiefly as the anthem for St. Luke's Day, 18<sup>th</sup> October.<sup>241</sup> It was written for four part choir, with tenor soloist and organ accompaniment. The choral text is from Isaiah Chapter 35, while the tenor solo, written in the form of a recitative, uses words from Ecclesiasticus: 38 (found in the Apocrypha).

#### Musical Example 59 Harris Strengthen ye the Weak Hands

Andante ♩ = 72

Tenor Solo

ORGAN

T. Solo

ORG.

The Lord hath cre-a-ted med-i-cines out of the

earth; and he that is wise will not ab - hor them. And he hath giv'n men

<sup>239</sup> He was Sidney Campbell's immediate predecessor there.

<sup>240</sup> CCA-DCC-MusicMS/116 Music manuscripts 1949

<sup>241</sup> St. Luke's day is a traditionally the day that emphasises the church's ministry of healing by showing concern for hospitals and nursing homes, for doctors and nurses.

9

T. Solo

skill, that he might be hon - our'd in his mar - vel-lous works. —

ORG.

*mf*

The tenor recitative is followed by full trebles who introduce the main theme of the anthem. Full choir enters with a repetition of the text, in bar 31:

FULL

SOPRANO

Strength-en ye the weak hands, and con - firm the fee-ble knees. Say to them that are of a

ALTO

Say to them that are of a

TENOR

Strength-en ye the weak hands, and con - firm the fee-ble knees. Say to them that are of a

BASS

Strength-en ye the weak hands, and con - firm the fee-ble knees. Say to them that are of a

ORGAN

*p* Gt.

Ped.

The organ accompaniment makes appropriate use of the instrument, with a skilfully crafted part of its own to play; the anthem formed a significant part of the new post war repertoire.

As well as these commissioned additions to the Canterbury repertoire, during 1937-1953 period, there were additions that became a permanent and special part of the anthem music. The newly introduced early music has already been referred to, but the more recent Walford Davies: 'God be in my head' and Ireland: 'Greater Love' both joined the lists in 1938, with Vaughan Williams: 'Sweet baby, sleep' in 1939. This anthem by Vaughan Williams was the first of many to be added, including the setting of 'Valiant for truth,' from Bunyan's, *Pilgrim's Progress*, with Deller taking the alto recitative section on each of three occasions including Battle of Britain Sunday, in its first year, 1943.

#### 2.iv. The Litany

Matins, Evensong, Communion services and anthems are known aspects of worship, but other music has been sung in the Cathedral throughout the years, such as the Litany. The

word 'litany' means supplication; it has been used as an extended prayer, since the earliest times, either on its own, or as a part of another service, often in procession, and particularly in periods of trouble. The first English text litany was prepared by Archbishop Thomas Cranmer in 1544. Despite the historical emphasis placed on the desire of Henry VIII to be head of an Anglican Church and ensure that the people understood the words of the service, Cranmer's Litany was the only sung service produced in English during his reign.

In Canterbury Cathedral there were no sung litanies listed between 1835, when the records began, and 1937, when the Ferial, Sarum and Tallis versions were used. Evidence that the litany had not been sung, had appeared in a Chapter record for 3<sup>rd</sup> September 1892, when a request to resume singing the litany was refused. It was not referred to in any of the minutes of Chapter meetings during Palmer's time as Organist. Although the three sung litanies are in the service lists from 1937 there is no reference to its use in the Chapter meeting minutes, until 1939, when a sung litany in procession was planned as part of the Good Friday liturgy.

The Tallis setting is a blend of intoned lines of text and harmonised plainchant melodies, similar to Versicles and Responses.

#### Musical Example 60 Tallis Litany

Musical score for Tallis Litany, showing staves for Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The Tenor part includes the lyrics: "O God the Fa-ther of heav'n: have mer-cy up-on us mi-ser-a-ble sin-ners."



4

S. O God the Fa - ther of heav'n have mer - cy up - on us mi - ser -

A. O God the Fa - ther of heav'n have mer - cy up - on us mi - ser - a -

A. O God the Fa - ther of heav'n have mer - cy up - on us mi - ser -

T. O God the Fa - ther of heav'n have mer - cy up - on us mi - ser -

B. O God the Fa - ther of heav'n have mer - cy up - on us mi - ser -

8

S. a - ble sin - - ners.

A. ble sin - - ners.

A. a - ble sin - - ners.

T. a - ble sin - - ners. O God the Son, Re - dee - mer of the world:

B. a - ble sin - - ners.

The use of the sung litany is yet another example of the slow, but steady, inclusion of early music, throughout the period under investigation, from 1936; in 1940 settings by Byrd, Day, Loosemore and Wanless were added. This was now a time of war, so it was entirely appropriate that the litany should be sung, often in procession. In 1942 Cranmer's Litany was added, to make a total of eight, all of them early in date. No more were added to this list, but the sung litany became a regular service on Sunday evenings in addition to Rogation Day processions, until the end of Hopkins' time as Organist. There were, however, complaints in 1947 about the length of the service when the litany was used, and it was agreed that the Canon in Residence should preach a shorter sermon on these occasions.<sup>242</sup> This was not the end of the matter, as in October of that year, the Vice Dean, Canon Shirley, was in the chair, in the absence of Dean Hewlett Johnson, and there was extensive revision of the occasions when litanies were to be used. The litany was to be said or sung on Wednesdays and Fridays, on the first Sunday in the month at 3.00 pm, as well as the fourth Sunday in the month, as a prelude to Holy Communion. This latter use of the litany was to be the abbreviated version, and take a shortened route around the

<sup>242</sup> CCA-DCC-CA/21 p69.

Cathedral; the litany was thereafter to be discontinued as part of Sunday Matins and the 6.30 Evensong.

The 1928 Alternative Service book had not been approved by Parliament, but it was permissible for the changes included in it to be used, with approval of a Cathedral Chapter. In the Chapter meeting of September 24<sup>th</sup> 1938 Poole, as Precentor, recommended that Invitatory Antiphons should be used for a period of six months; their inclusion was maintained for some time afterwards.

While reinstatement of a sung litany and Invitatory Antiphons was successful; other attempts to reintroduce earlier musical practices were not as welcome. During the Good Friday service of 1939 the Gospel was sung by three ministers to plainchant with choruses by Victoria. The Chapter meeting minutes records,

‘This service expressed with austere reserve the solemnities of the Passion’.<sup>243</sup>

In November of that year the St. Catherine’s Audit contains the comment,

‘it was pointed out that the singing of the Gospel by three ministers on Good Friday was not to be taken as a precedent’.<sup>244</sup>

The request, made in 1946, for plainsong singing of the Gospel by three priests on Good Friday, received the response that it ‘was postponed for this year’.<sup>245</sup> No further reference to this practice is mentioned.

## **2.v. Liturgical changes**

Three significant sections of the Eucharistic liturgy that were excluded by Archbishop Cranmer, upon the advice of Martin Bucer,<sup>246</sup> from the 1552 Second Prayer Book of Edward VI, were reinstated as options in the 1928 Alternative Service Book, as previously mentioned. They were the Ninefold Kyrie, instead of the Kyries for the Commandments, the Benedictus qui venit and Agnus Dei. On May 16<sup>th</sup> 1941 the Organist successfully recommended to Chapter that the Eucharist should be sung on every weekday Holy Day, and the Ninefold Kyrie should be sung on these occasions.<sup>247</sup> However, the Chapter meeting minutes of April 24<sup>th</sup> 1944 record that Canon Macnutt pointed out that on Easter Sunday the Ninefold Kyrie was sung in Greek (Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison), contrary to Chapter orders. Reference was made to the meeting of May 16<sup>th</sup> 1941 when it was agreed that it could be sung in English at sung

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<sup>243</sup> Ibid, p218.

<sup>244</sup> Ibid, p221.

<sup>245</sup> Ibid, p1085.

<sup>246</sup> Martin Bucer (1491-1551), a refugee from Germany and Strasburg, having failed to obtain reconciliation between the views of the supporters of Luther and Zwingli, came to live in England and was strongly influential, together with Peter Martyr, in Cranmer’s attitude to reformation. (Cuming, G. J. (1969) A History of Anglican Liturgy. London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd. Chapter 5).

<sup>247</sup> CCA-DCc, CA/20, p468.

Eucharists on weekdays only, never in Greek or Latin, except on some special occasion and then only by permission of the Dean and Chapter.<sup>248</sup> It has already been mentioned in chapter one that musical settings of the Benedictus qui venit and Agnus Dei were used as anthems from 1892 onwards. Evidence in Chapter book records of December 15<sup>th</sup> 1945 that these parts of the liturgy were occasionally reinstated in the service in their liturgical place; on this occasion the choir were to sing Agnus Dei kneeling.<sup>249</sup> The following January's records show that the ruling was altered to permit the choir to stand to sing the Agnus Dei.<sup>250</sup> This record confirms that it had been returned to its Edward VI First Prayer Book and pre-Reformation role in the communion service, although there is no record of the date when it had been reinstated. In November 1946 there is the confirmation that 'Chapter allowed permissive use of the Ninefold Kyrie in English, when the music requires it'.<sup>251</sup>

### **3. The Choir**

#### **3.i. Choristers**

From Wednesday September 28<sup>th</sup> 1940 until about December 20<sup>th</sup> 1944, the choir school was evacuated away from Canterbury. All of the boarders, together with four of the day boys, went to St Blazey, in Cornwall, together with the Organist and choir school headmaster, Rev'd Clive Pare. Cornwall was the selected location for evacuation as Pare had grown up in that area. The boys in Cornwall sang evensong daily in local churches and on Sundays they took part in Matins and Holy Communion wherever possible, and continued to practise daily and give regular recitals in the area. The boys were educated with King's Canterbury Junior School in return for the teaching services of Gerald Knight and Clive Pare, as assistant masters in the King's School. An article by Grayston Burgess, a Canterbury Cathedral chorister during the war years, is to be found on the Internet. It is called A Chorister at War, and describes his life as an evacuee chorister and his return to Canterbury.<sup>252</sup>

The day boys of the choir school remained at Canterbury together with the assistant Organist, Mr W. T. Harvey. Miss Skinner and Mr Hart were their school teachers and all worked under the direction of the Precentor. Their lessons took place in the Deanery, the home of the Dean, for some of the time, more day boys auditioned for the choir, without

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<sup>248</sup> Ibid, p837.

<sup>249</sup> Ibid, p1046.

<sup>250</sup> Ibid, p1060.

<sup>251</sup> Ibid, p1250.

<sup>252</sup> Burgess, G. (1999) A Chorister at War. <http://www.mvdaily.com/articles/1999/06/burgess.htm> Accessed 08/12/2008. Burgess, in later years, pursued a career as professional counter tenor and musical director.

advertisement, as the war years went on. In October 1940 two elderly ladies were reported as saying, 'How comforting to hear Evensong going', and again during the terrible days of the blitz of June 1942, someone, who was clearing away the ruins, remarked they were cheered by hearing the choirboys practising.<sup>253</sup>

As mentioned above Pare was treated as assistant master in the King's School, Canterbury, in Cornwall, while the music for the choristers was cared for by George Sage, until they returned just in time to sing the Christmas music of 1944, to resume their Canterbury musical and educational lives. The King's School did not return until the following year.

### 3.ii. Lay Clerks

In 1938 there were seven lay clerks, one of whom resigned that year, and the same number in 1939, when one of the altos was Pare, jointly a Minor Canon and headmaster of the Choir School. The Precentor's report in the St Catherine's Audit of 1938 contains the information that on several occasions Pare, with 'charming alto voice' had had to sing tenor Versicles, as the cantor, then answer himself with alto response, as a lay clerk, being the sole alto.<sup>254</sup> In the following year's audit, the Precentor said, 'To make a good choir we need not less than nine really able lay clerks'.<sup>255</sup> Sadly by this time the war had begun and numbers would not improve for some years. However, although the numbers were not increased, Poole was able to gain the excellent services of Alfred Deller; his appointment dated 1<sup>st</sup> March 1940. Forty singers had attended the voice trial for four vacancies, no tenors were appointed, but a bass and alto were successful. Deller had failed to be admitted to the choirs of other Cathedrals that he had applied to, as they did not appreciate his singular vocal qualities; Deller's voice was that of a true counter tenor, with beautiful and pure tone, not a falsetto, and was accompanied by sound musicianship. He was to be a great asset to Canterbury Cathedral's music, and, in the course of time, to early music, internationally. Much of Deller's musical life is recorded in the book *Alfred Deller: A Singularity of Voice*.<sup>256</sup> The Precentor's records of November 1941 state that there were then two basses, one tenor and two altos. The tenor had resigned and was about to leave and Deller's alto partner was near to retirement. Deputies were used whenever possible, and vacancies were eventually filled, made easier when Matins ceased to be sung during the week, except for major festivals, such as Epiphany and Ascension Day. A major change in the organisation of the choir was to be undertaken in 1945, to

<sup>253</sup> Author unknown. (1946). *An Appeal for Canterbury Cathedral* (Canterbury Cathedral U224/1).

<sup>254</sup> CCA-DCC-CA/20, p38.

<sup>255</sup> *Ibid*, p217.

<sup>256</sup> Hardwick, M and M. (1980) *Alfred Deller: A Singularity of Voice*. London: Proteus (Publishing) Limited.

facilitate lay clerk attendance for services. On some occasions in the past the Decani and Cantoris sides of the choir had alternated their attendances, but from Tuesday 13<sup>th</sup> February the choir was split into two sections, called: Tallis and Gibbons. This made the daily service commitments slightly easier to meet if the lay clerks were fully staffed. Full choir sang the weekend services and those of importance, but services during the weekdays were sung on an alternate basis, by the two sections of the choir.

#### **4. Cathedral business**

##### **4.i. The Dean and Chapter**

The problems, with which Hewlett Johnson was greeted upon appointment as Dean of Canterbury Cathedral in 1931, were described in Chapter 2. The joint appointment of Rev'd John Shirley, as both headmaster of King's School and First Residentiary Canon of the Cathedral was to resolve one of those issues most effectively, but there were others that were to affect every day life within the Cathedral for some years to come.

The relationship between the Dean and his Chapter was part of the ethnological picture. It soon became evident that Dean Johnson's socialist leanings were going to continue to draw him to overseas visits, which included Spain and Russia in 1937.<sup>257</sup> There was always a political trend evident in the Dean's Sunday evening sermons, couched in a biblical context. These sermons, his connections and writings, provoked bitter indignation at:

‘the Dean's predilection for Soviet Russia and its institutions...many prominent citizens boycott Cathedral services at which Dr. Johnson officiates’.<sup>258</sup>

Johnson was aware of the problems caused by his affiliations and he began a fight for tolerance and understanding. This, however, was met by a letter from the Residentiary Canons of Canterbury Cathedral sent to The Times newspaper and published on 13<sup>th</sup> March, 1940, aimed at dissociating themselves from the political views of the Dean. They supported his Christian duty to further social and economic reform, but believed it to be a dangerous illusion to expect change in the Soviet regime. The letter was signed by Canons Crum, Shirley and MacNutt and Archdeacons Sopwith (Canterbury) and Sargent (Maidstone). The Dean's replies to The Times and the News Chronicle defended his political stance and intentions, but contained neither penitence nor regret. He gave political explanations, and defence against any possible charge of neglect of duty, saying, ‘I took care to keep my full attendances at the Cathedral’ and would avoid missing any engagements or services. In subsequent years he said,

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<sup>257</sup> Johnson, H. (1968) *Searching for Light: an Autobiography*. London: Michael Joseph, p126.

<sup>258</sup> Sunday Dispatch 31<sup>st</sup> December 1939, quoted in: Johnson, H. 1968, *Searching for Light*. London: Michael Joseph, p157.

‘On my later journeys to China, Russia, America, Canada, Australia or Europe, I would bank my holidays...and I never broke the statutes on that score’.<sup>259</sup>

He seemed unable to see the position in which he was placing the Church of England, as a whole, and Canterbury Cathedral in particular. Canon Crum became so involved in the fractured relationships within the Cathedral precincts that in 1943 he resigned his Canonry.

#### **4.ii. The Cathedral during the war years**

It has to be said in defence of the Dean that during the war years he revealed a kindly and efficient grasp on the life, work and care of the Cathedral and the people within its precincts and city of Canterbury. The Cathedral roof was painted dark green, fire watchers were organised and the crypt was sandbagged inside and out against indirect bomb damage. The Dean proposed that no earth was to be placed on the floor of the Choir, only the ambulatories on either side. Archbishop Lang supported this view and wanted the ‘full beauty of the Choir and especially of the Corona’ to be visible.<sup>260</sup> Worship of God was maintained with as much quiet, dignity and security as was possible. Precincts residents and neighbours were welcomed to seek refuge in the crypt, providing they brought their own bedding. Services were continued as far as was possible and rules were clarified as to conduct if an air raid occurred immediately before or during a service. Local people expressed pleasure at hearing the music, as a symbol of normality. Air raids were severe in June and October of 1942; on Saturday October 31<sup>st</sup> the raid began during the early evening and went on all night. The next morning all the lay clerks and eight of the twelve boys took their places and sang the music appointed for All Saints Day, as though nothing untoward had taken place.

In 1943 there were fewer air raids, but many warnings. As the new boys made progress, much of the music, left unsung when the boarders were evacuated to Cornwall, was able to be taken back into the repertoire. Morale in the choir in 1943 was good and despite no choir trial advertisements, candidates still offered themselves for auditions. Choir School lessons had to be moved from the choir room in the Cathedral to 18 The Precincts from November, the front doorstep of the Deanery having been bombed in October 1940, shattering ceilings and walls, and thereby becoming unsafe for the choristers’ classes, although the Dean remained in residence.<sup>261</sup> There were now twenty four boys, made up of four choristers, eight singing boys and twelve probationers. Mr and Mrs Deller were invited to occupy part of the same building as the caretaker and Mrs Deller was asked to

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<sup>259</sup> Johnson, 1968, p164.

<sup>260</sup> CCA-DCC-CA/20, p178.

<sup>261</sup> Lang-Sims, L. (1980) Canterbury Cathedral in World War II in Bygone Kent. Volume One Number Three. Tonbridge: Meresborough Books, p130.

act as Matron to the boys. In 1944 the Precentor's report confirmed that there were still eight services sung in each week, held in the Eastern Crypt during the winter months and in the Choir from the end of April to early November. There is evidence that the crypt was still being used for services during the winter months in 1948 as heating the Cathedral remained a problem.

#### **4.iii. The Cathedral in the post-war years: Chapter and the Music**

Description of the repertoire and how it was used in Canterbury Cathedral following 1937 tells only part of the story. The discussions about the singing of plainsong by three priests on Good Friday, 1939, had been a pre-war example of complaint. The music and musicians were rarely discussed, in negative terms, in the Chapter records of the war years, as if the enemy was a known one, an external one, which diverted attention away from the internal irritations.<sup>262</sup> Once there was peace in Europe and a semblance of normality returned to daily routine in the Cathedral, in addition to problems relating to the Dean's political views, complaints and criticisms were frequently levelled at the music and musicians, and recorded in the Chapter record books.

In December 1945 Chapter stated that 'there shall be no conducting of any description in future during the services'.<sup>263</sup> The following month recorded an amendment, when they:

'emphatically reaffirm their wish that conducting of the choir be reduced to the absolute minimum and that it be much less conspicuous'.

The suspension of the earlier minute was made 'for the present'.<sup>264</sup>

In 1936 it was considered sufficient notice for service lists to be submitted monthly but in late 1945 the music lists were requested to be submitted weekly, fortnightly lists to be suspended, the draft music list to be placed on the Treasury table on Tuesday morning for twenty four hours.<sup>265</sup> By March 1946 the Archdeacon of Canterbury, Alexander Sargent, (an ex King's School pupil) who was Vice Dean at that time, was required to 'scrutinise carefully' the hymns and tunes, so that popular hymns were selected during the summer months, this was Dr Shirley's suggestion. At the same meeting, in response to a question by Dr Shirley, it was agreed that the Vice Dean should make suggestions for the choice of anthems to be sung during his residence.<sup>266</sup>

These matters all indicate the desire of Chapter to control the musical choices more closely; inevitably the use of Latin for anthems would be scrutinised again. Latin text has

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<sup>262</sup> The chief complainant was not resident in Canterbury during most of the war years.

<sup>263</sup> CCA-DCC-CA/20, p1051.

<sup>264</sup> Ibid, p1060.

<sup>265</sup> Ibid, p1061.

<sup>266</sup> Ibid, p1103.

already been discussed in connection the setting by Tippett for *Plebs Angelica*. Consent for the singing of approved anthems in Latin had been granted during Palmer's time; there were four anthems sung in Latin in 1935 and ten in 1937. Of these ten, six were from the 16<sup>th</sup> century, one from the 17<sup>th</sup> and three from the 18<sup>th</sup>. By the end of Knight's time in office there were twenty four in total. Nineteen of these were composed during the 16<sup>th</sup> century; five of them by Lassus, heard for the first time in 1948. Exactly half of this Latin music came from composers living on the Continent: the Low Countries, Germany, Italy and Spain. The remainder were from the 17<sup>th</sup> (two), 18<sup>th</sup> (one) and two by Stanford from the 19<sup>th</sup> century. As mentioned previously *Plebs Angelica* by Tippett was only heard once during this period. This was a significant increase in use of original languages and in the performance of early music, which can be seen as progress in authenticity of performance, and very much in keeping with the practices of other Cathedrals at that time, however, some members of Chapter did not view the matter in the same fashion, and wished to control more closely the choice of early anthems and use of Latin, which was to be an increasing cause of difficulty in future years.

#### **4.iv. Visits from other Protestant Dignitaries**

As peace in Europe approached in early 1945, Johnson visited the Soviet Union, via Egypt and Iraq;<sup>267</sup> he was in Russia and other Eastern European countries for more than three months. He returned to Canterbury and welcomed a delegation from the Russian Orthodox Church on June 13<sup>th</sup> 1945 (the Bishop of Dover was dressed in cope and mitre). The choir sang *Ton Despotin*, a traditional greeting in all Orthodox Churches to a Bishop, with the anthem *Holy, holy, Holy* by Tchaikovsky, in procession, the *Ton Despotin* being sung again at Evensong, after the Blessing. In September of that year the Archbishop of Canterbury and Archbishop of Damaskinos of Athens, Regent of Greece attended Eucharist together in Canterbury Cathedral.<sup>268</sup>

#### **4.v. The Organ**

The organ had been substantially rebuilt during Longhurst's time, but only routine maintenance was undertaken during the occupancy of Palmer. In 1938 Knight stated that the mechanism of the 1886 electrical apparatus of the Cathedral organ was virtually defunct; it needed to be rebuilt again. The Friends of Canterbury Cathedral accepted

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<sup>267</sup> He had interviews with both Stalin and Molotov to discuss many questions including: institutional religion, interchange of visits and 'personal contacts of peoples with peoples' and whether Russia still needed medical aid, (Johnson, 1968, p227).

<sup>268</sup> The visit of Archbishop Damaskinos to London was reported in *Time* magazine, and his face appears on the front cover of the October 1<sup>st</sup> 1945 magazine, but no reference was made to his attendance at an Anglican Communion service in Canterbury Cathedral.



financial responsibility for this project and the parts needing renovation were duly removed to Willis's workshop in Brixton. The remaining organ was dismantled and stored in various parts of the Cathedral upon the outbreak of war. Additional problems arose, not least the bombing and destruction of Willis's factory, which contained Canterbury's organ console, parts of the organ that had been stored in the Triforium had been damaged by exposure to weather and war damage, and in March of 1944 it was decided to advise the police that certain parts of the Hammond organ were missing, so there was now no large playable instrument for services in the nave. Matters became urgent in 1945, as the enthronement of Archbishop Geoffrey Fisher approached, for which Willis supplied a temporary console. There were discussions as to the location of the rebuilt organ console, now with three manuals, but in the event it was placed on the screen together with the Hammond organ. It was not until 1949 that the final account for rebuilding the Cathedral organ was received and authorised for payment.

## **5. Conclusion**

During Knight's time as Organist much was achieved in the expansion of the repertoire. By the end of his period in office, plainchant, folksong and traditional song from Europe and the United Kingdom, together with music from collections, such as 1582 Piae Cantiones and the Trier Gesangbuch, had been added to the repertoire and were in regular use mainly for the Advent, Christmas and Epiphany season, all sung in English. Added to this music, much of which was non-English in origin, by 1952 the geographical range for named overseas anthem composers had increased further to twenty two, not including Philips and Dering, who had spent much of their sixteenth-century working life in, or around, Brussels.

The communion services now included settings by Palestrina & Victoria, plus Byrd's settings, sung in English. Knight, together with Poole during the war years, held the music together for sixteen very difficult years, part of this spent in Cornwall, but frequently using his Royal Air Force off-duty time in Canterbury, consulting closely with Poole. When peace was declared and life was expected to be quieter, there were difficulties with Chapter, before Knight moved on to become head of the Royal School of Church Music.

There had been a long practice of new works being composed for use in the Cathedral, but, in general these were parochial and were eventually supplanted by other compositions. During Knight's time three major works, two anthems and a service setting, that are still in performance, were composed especially for Canterbury Cathedral. Two of them were prepared as a result of the Precentor's imaginative approaches, during the war years. Poole, having held the music together both as musical director and

Precentor, throughout the war years, indicated his need of some health respite in 1947 and he was granted two months leave of absence. Upon his return the Dean thanked him 'for all the work he had accomplished for the Cathedral'. Two years later, he accepted a living in Surrey and in 1969 he was the Precentor of the newly dedicated Coventry Cathedral, built beside the ruins of St Michael's, which had been devastated in the bombing of 1940. In 1940, a letter was sent to the Times newspaper, from members of Chapter, complaining about the political affiliations of the Dean. He defended himself and continued to fulfil his duties to the best of his abilities. In his letter of defence the Dean quoted the Archbishop of Canterbury and many others as acknowledging that 'the order, dignity and frequency of its service and music have greatly improved and increased'.<sup>269</sup> One of the chief signatories of that letter was granted leave of absence in the same year, in order to fulfil his role as Headmaster of the King's School, in evacuation in Cornwall, and in 1941 another Canon undertook his residentiary duties. Later in 1941 the Archbishop could no longer approve these absences and confirmed that his Cathedral commitments had to be as agreed originally. The general amiability and supportive behaviour of Chapter during the later war years was during the period when that member of the Residentiary Canons was frequently absent. Nonetheless, the management of Cathedral life and music during the war years was impressive considering the austerity and difficulties caused by bombing and air raids. From the end of the war the Dean was absent on visits around the world, including Russia, but he did his best to fulfil his duties.

Canterbury Cathedral also shared in a great step forward in the career of a lay clerk, Alfred Deller. He, in the course of time, would revive the counter tenor voice, and, through his singing, the renaissance of Purcell's vocal music would arise, in this he was an inspiration to Benjamin Britten and his compositions. Deller, through his musicianship and skill in the performance of early music, would be a substantial part of the progress of early music revival, initially in the United Kingdom, and eventually worldwide. He left Canterbury Cathedral on Christmas Day 1946, to move to St. Paul's Cathedral. The appointment of his elder son, Mark, as a Canterbury Cathedral chorister, was recorded in the Chapter minutes of March 21<sup>st</sup> 1951,<sup>270</sup> and so began another musical career in both Cathedral choral music and early repertoire, in which Mark continued his father's work with the Deller Consort and Stour Early Music Festival.

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<sup>269</sup> Johnson, H. (1968) *Searching for Light: An Autobiography*. London: Michael Joseph. pp159-60.

<sup>270</sup> CCA-DCC-CA21, 831.

There having been no complaints about the music during the war years, in 1945 the Organist was required to have the hymn lists scrutinised by Canon Shirley, the following year he asked to approve the anthem selections. No negative comments were made about the music, but the introduction of conducting the choir from the floor of the Choir brought criticism in both 1945 and 1946. The service settings continued to be sung in English, regardless of their origin, but the anthem repertoire sung in Latin increased, post war, to twenty four. This latter development produced criticism from certain members of Chapter. One of the new Latin anthems was among the newly commissioned compositions, especially prepared for the Cathedral, during and immediately following the war years.

Attempts to include more plainsong in the services were not completely successful, in that on Good Friday of 1939 three priests sang the Gospel to plainsong, with general commendations at the time,<sup>271</sup> but Chapter stipulated that it should not be taken as a precedent, and it was not approved for the following year, by which time the war was under way and many changes had to be made; however, plainsong communions were used from 1947. The use of the full pre-Reformation Communion Service words and music continued to increase in frequency.

This had been a time of significant change in the daily life of the Cathedral, movement and absence of staff, together with the substantial removal of the Choir School during much of the war years. However, it was a period in which there was great progress in the development of the repertoire that supported the services.

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<sup>271</sup> CCA-DCC-CA20, p221.

### **Chapter 3 B. The contribution of Douglas Hopkins:**

#### **1953-1955**

#### **1. The Organist**

Upon the departure of Gerald Knight to be Director of the Royal School of Church Music, in 1952, Douglas Hopkins was appointed as Organist at Canterbury Cathedral from 1<sup>st</sup> February 1953. Hopkins (1902-1992) was educated at St. Paul's Cathedral School, the Guildhall School of Music and the Royal Academy of Music, and was successively sub-Organist at St Paul's Cathedral from 1927-1946 and Master of the Music, at Peterborough Cathedral (1946-1952) before coming to Canterbury.

#### **2. The music**

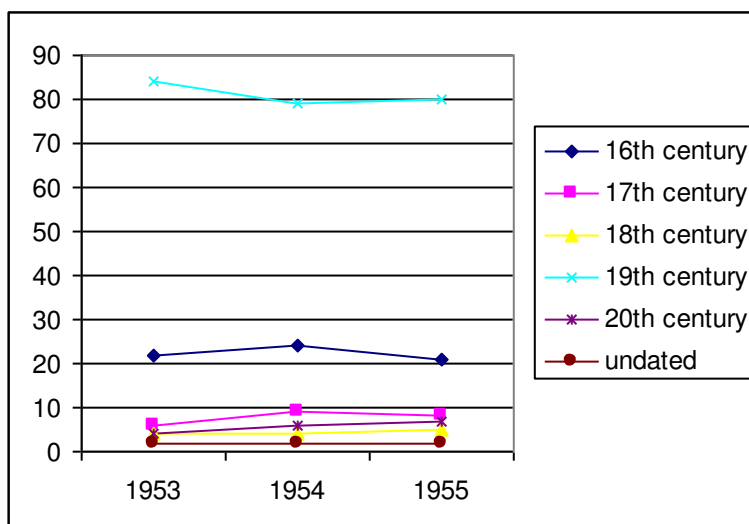
##### **2.i. Matins and Evensong Services:**

**Table 15 showing numbers of Matins and Evensong Service settings**

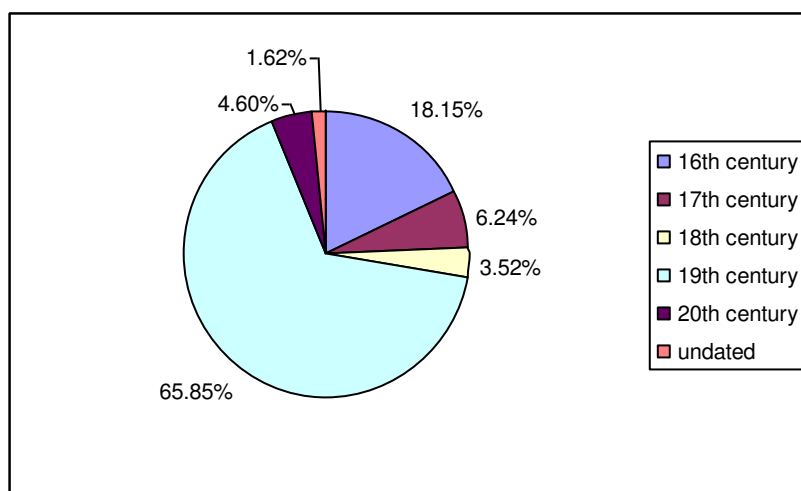
The rows indicate how many service settings composed in each century were in use for each year  
The line in blue is Knight's final full year, for comparison

	1952	1953	1954	1955
Plainchant	2	2	2	2
16 <sup>th</sup> century	24	22	24	21
17 <sup>th</sup> century	6	6	9	8
18 <sup>th</sup> century	4	4	4	5
19 <sup>th</sup> century	83	84	79	80
20 <sup>th</sup> century	4	4	6	7
Undated	2	2	2	2
TOTALS	125	124	126	125

**Figure 20 showing numbers of Matins and Evensong Service Settings**



**Figure 21 showing percentages of Matins and Evensong Service settings**



Hopkins maintained Knight's use of plainchant services, one each for Matins and Evensong in each year.

The numbers of service settings from each century was almost identical from 1952 (Knight's final full year) to 1953, and varied little to 1955; as can be seen from this chart, the contribution from the 20<sup>th</sup> century increased by only three over the whole period.

Tallis, Byrd, Day, Tomkins, Weelkes and Gibbons were sung in each year. Wise, Blow, Henry and Daniel Purcell's Evening Services were sung. King's morning service music was also used, and Kempton's Evening Service was revived.

William Croft (1678-1727) had worked at the Chapel Royal from 1707 then the following year he was appointed both Master of the Children and composer to the Chapel Royal, and, simultaneously, Organist at Westminster Abbey. He had collaborated with Blow and others in Ayres for the Harpsichord or Spinnet, but is best known for his music for the Burial Service. Many of his anthems were in the repertoire in 1835, and are still in use today. Croft's Morning Service in A was in Canterbury's repertoire in 1835 and continued to be listed every year until 1926. It has not been possible to trace the edition sung in the Cathedral in these earlier years, but, in 1900, Novello & Co issued a new edition, edited by George C. Martin. It included an Evening Service in A by Stephen Elvey, which had been composed to partner Croft's Morning Service. It is to be regretted that this service setting was not reintroduced into the repertoire before 1954, as it is very effectively crafted, with imitation between voices and interaction between Cantoris and Decani sections of the choir and full choir. In this example it can be seen how the music illustrates the exhortation to be 'joyful in the Lord'. Sadly, because of the reduction in Matins services the service was only sung in that one year.

Musical Example 61 Croft Morning Service in A Jubilate

FULL Moderato  $\text{♩} = 108$

SOPRANO  
O be joy - ful in the Lord, all, all ye lands;

ALTO  
O be joy - ful in the Lord, all, all ye lands; serve

TENOR  
O be joy - ful in the Lord, all, all ye lands; serve

BASS  
O be joy - ful in the Lord, all, all ye lands; serve

ORGAN

5

S.  
serve the Lord with glad - ness, the Lord with

A.  
the Lord with glad - ness, and come be - fore His pre - sence

T.  
the Lord with glad - ness, and come be - fore His pre - sence,

B.  
the Lord with glad - ness, serve the Lord with glad - ness and come be - fore His

ORG.

Hopkins' 18<sup>th</sup> century repertoire was virtually identical to that used by Knight: two Morning Services by William Boyce, and Evening Services by Benjamin Cooke and Samuel Arnold.

The number of service settings from the 19<sup>th</sup> century was slightly reduced as those composed in earlier years increased.

Henry Smart (1813-1879) was a church Organist, and highly valued as a composer by his contemporaries. His Morning and Evening Services in F were listed in the Cathedral repertoire in 1873, together with those in the key of G. Both Morning and Evening services continued to be used, but from 1943 neither of the Evening Services was in the

lists. The Morning settings in both keys were used again in 1952 and 1953, but only that in F was listed for the two following years; they ceased to be in the repertoire thereafter. In the past Smart in F had been a useful service for weekdays, but it had become dated, and had there not been a reduction in Matins services it would probably have been displaced by more contemporary settings.

In this excerpt, the Decani section of the choir sings, followed by the Cantoris singers, before full choir support the growing crescendo. All the voices are in unison above the organ with its own stepping pedal part.

### Musical Example 62 Smart Morning Service in F Te Deum

The musical score is divided into two systems. The first system (measures 61-64) features four vocal parts (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and an Organ part. The vocal parts are marked 'DEC.' and sing in unison: 'When Thou took-est up - on Thee to de - liv - er man, Thou'. The organ part begins with a piano (*p*) dynamic and features a stepping pedal part in the bass register. The second system (measures 71-74) features four vocal parts (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and an Organ part. The vocal parts sing in unison: 'didst not ab - hor the Vir - gin's womb.'. The organ part continues with the same accompaniment style.

**System 1 (Measures 61-64):**

- SOPRANO:** DEC. When Thou took-est up - on Thee to de - liv - er man, Thou
- ALTO:** DEC. When Thou took-est up - on Thee to de - liv - er man, Thou
- TENOR:** DEC. When Thou took-est up - on Thee to de - liv - er man, Thou
- BASS:** DEC. When Thou took-est up - on Thee to de - liv - er man, Thou
- ORGAN:** *p* (Stepping pedal part)

**System 2 (Measures 71-74):**

- S.:** didst not ab - hor the Vir - gin's womb.
- A.:** didst not ab - hor the Vir - gin's womb.
- T.:** didst not ab - hor the Vir - gin's womb.
- B.:** didst not ab - hor the Vir - gin's womb.
- ORG.:** (Continuation of organ accompaniment)

75

S. CAN.  
When Thou hadst o - ver-come the sharp ness of death, Thou didst

A. CAN.  
When Thou hadst o - ver-come the sharp - ness of death, Thou didst

T. CAN.  
When Thou hadst o - ver-come the sharp - ness of death, Thou didst

B. CAN.  
When Thou hadst o - ver-come the sharp - ness of death, Thou didst

ORG.  
CANT.

Croft and Smart were English but Charles Stewart Macpherson (1870-1927) was born in Edinburgh, an Organist and composer who attended the Royal Academy of Music and taught there from 1896. He should not be confused with an English Organist, conductor, and teacher, also at the Royal Academy of Music, with an identical name, but born in Liverpool in 1865.

The Scottish Macpherson became Martin's assistant at St. Paul's Cathedral and succeeded him as Organist in 1916. Canterbury Cathedral choir has sung both his Evening Service settings in the keys of A and G. That in A, for double choir, with organ (*ad libitum*), has continued in use since 1946. The two choirs are often set in imitation of each other and the vocal range is wide.

The single choir setting of the service in G, however, was introduced in 1951 and lasted in the repertoire only until 1955. The Magnificat is marked 'Dignified, but with freedom of movement'. As can be seen from this extract it has a flexibility of metre, the time signatures are included in this example for information only. The vocal lines of the first two phrases are in unison and thereafter the melody is consistently in the treble voice. Throughout both the Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis a plainsong style has been used, but the melodic lines do not conform exactly to any particular mode. As such it is an example of the use of more recent compositions written in an earlier style. It met the needs of the Cathedral at a particular time in history, very effectively, but would be seen as more appropriate as church music, rather than Cathedral repertoire, in the future. There is no copy of this service in the Cathedral Archives or Library, but one has been traced in a



Congregational Anthem Book with copyright belonging to Novello and Company Limited, dated 1920.<sup>272</sup>

**Musical Example 63 Macpherson Evening Service in G Magnificat**

Dignified, but with freedom of movement

SOPRANO  
My soul doth mag - ni - fy the Lord, and my

ALTO  
My soul doth mag - ni - fy the Lord, and my

TENOR  
My soul doth mag - ni - fy the Lord, and my

BASS  
My soul doth mag - ni - fy the Lord, and my

ORGAN  
Dignified, but with freedom of movement  
Ped.

6

S.  
spi - rit hath re - joic - ed in God my Sa - viour. For

A.  
spi - rit hath re - joic - ed in God my Sa - viour. For

T.  
spi - rit hath re - joic - ed in God my Sa - viour. For

B.  
spi - rit hath re - joic - ed in God my Sa - viour. For

ORG.  
mf

Douglas Hopkins composed an Evening Service in Bb which was introduced in 1954 and used again the following year. This appears to be the only new Matins and Evensong music introduced by Hopkins, but it did not survive into Campbell's repertoire, and no copy has been found in the Cathedral Archives.

<sup>272</sup> No editor, (n.d.) Congregational Anthem Book. London: Independent Press Ltd. p406.

Gerald Knight had composed an Evening Service in G major for boys' voices, during the war years. It was dedicated to 'Canterbury Cathedral choristers exiled to Cornwall 1940-1945'. The Magnificat was completed in 1944 and the Nunc Dimittis in 1945. It was sung successively in Knight's repertoire from 1945, and maintained throughout the music lists of Hopkins, Campbell and Wicks until 1963.<sup>273</sup>

### 2.ii. Versicles and Responses

One significant change noticeable in the service lists in 1954 is the introduction of Versicles and Responses by named composers. Prior to this time only Ferial Responses were listed, but from this year those by Byrd, Morley, and Tomkins were added. These additions to the service music were maintained in 1955 and thereafter.

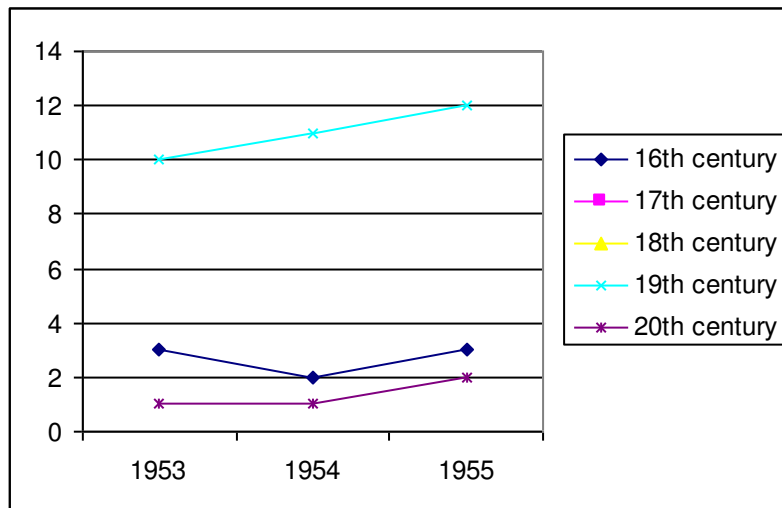
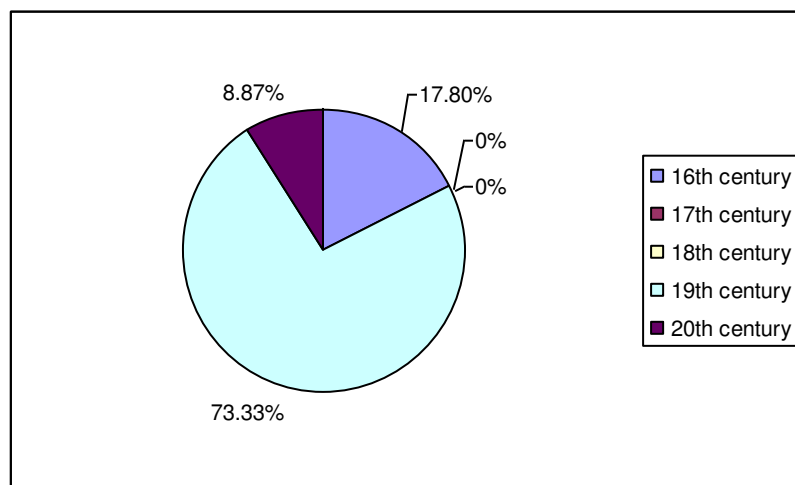
### 2.iii. Communion Services

#### **Table 16 showing numbers of Communion Service settings**

The rows indicate the century in which the Communion service settings were composed.  
The columns show how many from each century were in use in the given year.  
The column in blue shows Knight's Communion repertoire in 1952.

	1952	1953	1954	1955
Plainchant	1	1		
16 <sup>th</sup> century	4	3	2	3
17 <sup>th</sup> century				
18 <sup>th</sup> century				
19 <sup>th</sup> century	12	10	11	12
20 <sup>th</sup> century	1	1	1	2
TOTALS	18	15	14	17

<sup>273</sup> CCA-DCc-MS/142.

**Figure 22 showing numbers of Communion Service Settings****Figure 23 showing percentages of Communion Service settings**

Hopkins began his time as Organist with communion services by Merbecke, Palestrina and Byrd (Mass for Four Voices), from the 16<sup>th</sup> century. There was no Palestrina in 1954, but all three were heard the following year. Figure 23 confirms the absence of communion services from either the 17<sup>th</sup> or 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. The repertoire from the 19<sup>th</sup> century was identical to that of Knight apart from the absence of Oldroyd's Mode III service for 1953 and 1954, and Ley's Service in E minor was not used at all. The 20<sup>th</sup> century Missa Cantuariensis by Rubbra was joined by Jackson in G, in 1955.

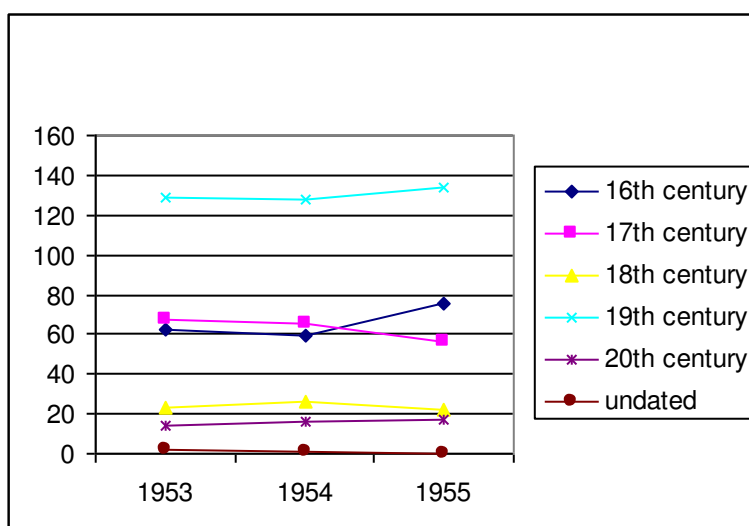
## 2.iv. Anthems

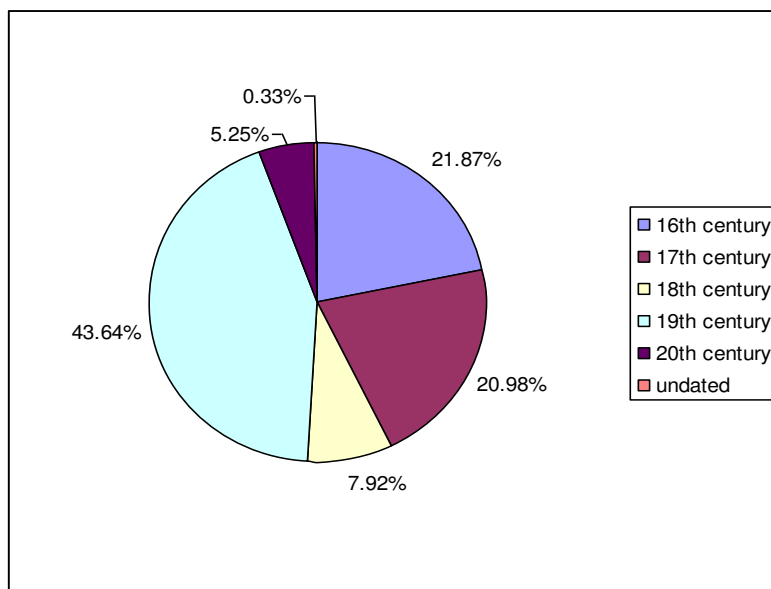
**Table 17 showing numbers of anthems**

The rows indicate the century in which the anthems were composed.  
The columns show how many from each century were in use in the given year.  
The column in blue shows Knight's Anthem repertoire in 1952.

	1952	1953	1954	1955
Unattributed	5	4	8	6
16 <sup>th</sup> century	67	62	59	75
17 <sup>th</sup> century	75	67	65	56
18 <sup>th</sup> century	23	23	26	22
19 <sup>th</sup> century	129	129	128	134
20 <sup>th</sup> century	11	14	16	17
Dates unknown	4	2	1	
TOTAL of attributable anthems	309	297	295	304

**Figure 24 showing numbers of anthems**



**Figure 25 showing percentages of anthems 1953-1955**

Comparison of Figure 25 with Figure 19, a record of Knight's anthems, indicates an increase in 19<sup>th</sup> century music, together with more from the 20<sup>th</sup> in Hopkins' lists. Knight's early repertoire together with the unattributed early music is a little larger than that of Hopkins, except in Hopkins' final year. Similarly Knight's 17<sup>th</sup> century music is greater in proportion, numerically, than found under Hopkins. It is possible that this is evidence of personal preferences, but in view of the prejudice that was revealed in chapter records during Campbell's time in office, it is likely that Hopkins had reduced the proportion of early music in favour of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup>.

A few of the traditional songs, with no named composers, continued in the repertoire from Knight's time through each of Hopkins' years as Organist. There were four of these traditional seasonal songs in 1953, eight in 1954 and six in 1955.

There were fewer performances of Bach and Handel's music by 1955 and no new composers of significance were added to the lists. There were, however some noticeable changes in the list of Latin anthems, which will be discussed later.

Haydn Keeton (1847-1921) was a pupil of George Elvey. For more than half a century he was the Organist at Peterborough Cathedral. His anthem, Beloved now are we the sons of God, entered Palmer's repertoire in 1912 and was sung each year until his retirement in 1936, retained by Knight until 1939, reintroduced by Hopkins in 1954 and sung until discarded by Campbell in 1958. It consists of a recitative and chorus, as if from an oratorio. The recitative is a setting of words from I John 3: 2-3 and II Corinthians 3: 18. The verse section of the anthem is Matthew 5: 8 sung between the quotations from those

Epistles. The sentiments of the text, providing reassurance and encouragement, are part of the essential Christian teaching of the Cathedral, and the musical setting served a useful purpose at that time.

Musical Example 64 Keeton Beloved now are we

BASS *Bass solo recit*  
Be - lov - ed, now are we the sons of God, and it

ORGAN *Gt org. soft Open Diap. coupled to Sw*

4  
B. doth not yet ap - pear what we shall be, but we know

ORG.

The example continues from bar thirteen.

S. *p*  
Bless - ed are the pure in heart,

A. *p*  
Bless - ed are the pure in heart,

T. *p*  
Bless - ed are the pure in heart,

B. *p*  
Bless - ed are the pure in heart,

ORG. *Sw P*

All of the musical examples quoted in this section, so far, have come from the United Kingdom. Indeed the largest part of Canterbury's repertoire was British with a small, although significant, contribution from Italy, Germany and Austria, until 1906 when anthems by Victoria brought Spain to Canterbury. That remained the extent of the geographical range of its musical world until 1935, when music from Russia was

included. Tchaikovsky was not to be the first composer introduced from that continent, but the lesser known Gretchaninoff (1864-1956), who studied in Moscow with Rimsky Korsakov. He remained in Russia, following the revolution, until 1925, but emigrated from France, in 1939, to the United States.<sup>274</sup> The Cherubic Hymn (Hymn to the Trinity), Opus 29, was sung in Canterbury Cathedral from 1935-1940 and 1945-1955. It is likely that it was not sung during the war years because of the divided alto, tenor and bass parts, which would have created difficulties for the reduced lay clerk numbers. It says a great deal about the vocal qualities of the basses in the Canterbury Cathedral choir during the period this piece was performed, that they could sing an anthem, with such a typically low Russian vocal range. The only copy at Canterbury, which exists in the Cathedral Library un-catalogued collection,<sup>275</sup> was published in 1917, which indicates that it was composed while Gretchaninoff was still living in Russia.

It is difficult to understand why this anthem was not used after Hopkins' departure as Organist, as it evokes a very reverential atmosphere, with text very similar to that of the liturgical Sanctus. It is an expressive setting of these words deriving from a different section of the Protestant international communion. It is, of course, possible that its origins in Eastern Orthodoxy might have cause difficulties for some people, although no negative comments are recorded about it. Reference to Saints and Martyrs should not, in the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century, have caused offence as being Popish; the words 'Ye holy Twelve, ye Martyrs strong, All Saints triumphant, raise the song Alleluya', from the hymn entitled 'We watchers and ye holy ones' had been in the English Hymnal edition of 1933.

#### Musical Example 65 Gretchaninoff Holy, holy, holy

The musical score is for a four-part vocal setting of 'Holy, holy, holy' by Alexander Gretchaninoff. It is in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The tempo is 'Lento e misterioso' with a metronome marking of 80-84. The score is written for Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The Soprano part begins with a piano (*p*) dynamic and the lyrics 'Ho - ly, Ho - ly, Ho - ly, ev - er - bless - ed Lord God Al - migh - ty,'. The Alto part also begins with a piano (*p*) dynamic and the lyrics 'Ho - ly, Ho - ly, Ho - ly, ev - er - bless - ed Lord, O Ho - ly,'. The Tenor part begins with a piano (*p*) dynamic and the lyrics 'Ho - ly, Ho - ly, ev - er - bless - ed Lord God Al - migh - ty,'. The Bass part begins with a mezzo-forte (*mf*) dynamic and the lyrics 'Ho - ly, Ho - ly, bless - ed Lord,'. The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, ties, and dynamic markings.

<sup>274</sup> His best known sacred music today is that composed for Holy Week, Opus 58, the first section of which also contains a setting of the words Holy, Holy, Holy.

<sup>275</sup> W2/T-M2.

8

S. Ho - ly, Ho - ly God, in Three Per - sons: bless - ed Trin - it - y.

A. Ho - ly, Ho - ly God, in Three Per - sons: bless - ed Trin - it - y.

T. Ho - ly, Ho - ly, Ho - ly, O Ho - ly, bless - ed Trin - it - y.

B. Ho - ly, Ho - ly God, in Three Per - sons: bless - ed Trin - it - y.

Tchaikovsky's setting of similar text together with the Gretchaninoff, became the two anthems that had travelled the furthest to be sung in the Cathedral. The Tchaikovsky was sung from 1938-1945 and 1948-55, with a solitary performance in 1963. It remains in many collections of anthems, in English translation, while the Gretchaninoff is no longer published in English.

Geoffrey Shaw (1879-1943) was the younger brother of Martin Shaw, both being very much part of the English church music scene.<sup>276</sup> Geoffrey was a chorister in St. Paul's Cathedral under George Martin and, as an organ scholar at Cambridge, studied with Stanford and Charles Wood. Shaw was interested both in the folk idiom and in the restoration of dignity in church music. Like the setting by Martin, quoted in the Chapter referring to Palmer's repertoire, the text of Shaw's Hail Gladdening Light is an English translation, by John Keble, of Phos Hilaron. This setting of the ancient Christian hymn is far less elaborate than that by Martin. The first verse of the anthem is for four part choir with a second verse for trebles, who repeat the Dorian mode melody as the organ plays an obbligato part, in duet, in the treble clef, on manuals only. It has a refreshing simplicity and is therefore not particularly characteristic of Cathedral anthems composed in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. It was used in 1954 and from 1959-1961.

<sup>276</sup> Both he and his brother contributed substantially to hymnals, with Vaughan Williams and Percy Dearmer. Together they had significant influence upon 20<sup>th</sup> century ecclesiastical music.



**Musical Example 66 G. Shaw Hail, gladdening Light**

*Moderato*

SOPRANO *mf* Hail, glad 'ning Light, of His pure glo - ry poured, Who is the Im - mor-tal Fa-ther, Heav'n - ly,

ALTO *mf* Hail, glad 'ning Light of His pure glo - ry poured, Who is the Im - mor-tal Fa-ther, Heav'n - ly

TENOR *mf* Hail, glad 'ning Light of His pure glo - ry poured, who is the Im - mor-tal Fa-ther, Heav'n - ly

BASS *mf* Hail, glad 'ning Light of His pure glo - ry poured, who is the Im - mor-tal Fa-ther, Heav'n - ly

Organ *Moderato* *mf*

8 *p* Blest, Ho - li - est of ho - lies, Je - sus Christ, our Lord. Now we are come to the sun's hour of

*p* Blest, Ho - li - est of ho - lies, Je - sus Christ, our Lord.

*p* Blest, Ho - li - est of ho - lies, Je - sus Christ, our Lord.

*p* Blest, Ho - li - est of ho - lies, Je - sus Christ, our Lord.

In 1953 there were two other settings of the words Hail, gladdening Light, sung by the choir, the best known was, and remains, by Charles Wood, for unaccompanied double choir, the third was by Douglas Hopkins, the Organist, which has not been traced.

George Oldroyd (1886-1951) has previously been referred to as the composer of a plainchant-inspired Communion Service in Mode III. Oldroyd's anthem Jhesu, since Thou me made, in Phrygian Mode and text by Richard Rolle (1300-1349), was heard in most years from 1938-1951 together with The Flower of Jesus. The slightly less popular There is no rose, was added in 1945. Jhesu, since Thou me made, listed under its alternative title as Prayer to Jesus, was used by Hopkins and Campbell, together with The Flower of Jesus, until 1956.

**Musical Example 67 Oldroyd Jhesu, since Thou me made**

Poco lento, ma con moto poco rit.

ORGAN *pp*

Simply, yet expressively  
SOLO OR FULL TREBLES

Jhe - su, since Thou me made\_\_\_ and bought, Be Thou my love\_\_\_ and all my  
10  
thought, And help that I\_\_\_ may to\_\_\_ Thee be brought, With-out-en Thee\_\_\_ I may do\_\_ nought.

FULL

SOPRANO  
ALTO

Jhe - su, since Thou must do Thy will, And nae-thing is \_\_\_ that

TENOR  
BASS

During the years that Hopkins was Organist, the Precentor provided Chapter meetings with information about services on a monthly basis, but there is little reported about the music. Amongst a relatively small quantity of new music are a few compositions that would remain in perpetuity, these include anthems by 16<sup>th</sup> century composers, plus ‘O taste and see’ by Vaughan Williams and ‘God is gone up’ by Finzi; most were in English, but a few were in Latin. The following table of Latin text anthems shows that Chapter did not inhibit their use, even if they attempted to do so.

**Table 18 showing list of Latin text anthems**

The following table reveals the use of Latin text anthems, indicated by an x, making a comparison between Knight’s final year, 1952, marked in blue, and the three full years that Hopkins was in post.

<u>Composer</u>	<u>Title of anthem</u>	<u>1952</u>	<u>1953</u>	<u>1954</u>	<u>1955</u>
Tye	Laudate nomen Domini			x	x
Tallis	In jejunio et fletu	x		x	x
Tallis	Salvator mundi	x	x	x	x
Tallis	Te lucis ante terminum			x	x
Palestrina	Adoramus te Christe				new
Palestrina	Jesu, Rex admirabilis	x	x	x	x
Palestrina	Tua Jesu dilectio				new

Lassus	Adoramus te	x	x	x	x
Lassus	Agimus tibi gratias	x	x	x	x
Lassus	Christe qui lux es		new	x	
Lassus	Expandi manu	x	x	x	x
Lassus	Hodie apparuit				new
Lassus	In pace in idipsum	x			
Lassus	Ipsa te cogat		x	x	x
Lassus	Oculus non vidit	x	x	x	x
Lassus	Sancti mei		new		
Byrd	Ave verum	x		x	x
Byrd	Christe qui lux es	x		x	x
Byrd	Exsurge			x	x
Byrd	Justorum animae		x	x	x
Byrd	Senex puerum portabat	x	x	x	x
Victoria	Accende lumen sensibus	x	x	x	x
Victoria	Jesu, dulcis memoria			new	x
Victoria	O sacrum convivium	x	x	x	x
Victoria	O vos omnes				new
Morley	Nolo mortem			x	x
Philips	Ascendit Deus	x	x	x	x
Philips	Cantantibus organis	x	x		
Philips	Surgens Jesse	x	x		
Constantini	Confitemini Domino	x			x
Sweelinck	Gaudete omnes				new
Kirbye	Vox in Rama	x	x	x	x
Schütz	Cantate Domino	x			
Blow	Salvator mundi	x	x	x	x
Purcell	Jehova, quam multi sunt	x			
Haydn	Insanae et vanae curae	x		x	x
Pearsall	In dulci jubilo		x		
Stanford	Beati quorum	x	x	x	x
Stanford	Justorum animae	x	x	x	x
TOTALS		24	21	26	31

Every effort has been made to eliminate anthems with Latin titles that were sung with English text. Nolo mortem by Morley and Pearsall's In dulci jubilo are macaronic, and are

therefore included because of their partial Latin text. Whilst it is not expected that the same anthems would be sung every year, one can observe the progress in Hopkins' use of this part of the repertoire. While no comments were recorded in Chapter records about the increase in numbers, year on year, the situation was not to remain without comment in the future.

### **2.v. Special performances**

There were no commissions of new music during this time, but the choir sang in several high profile performances during 1954 and 1955. Choristers were involved in the very successful opera, 'Children of the Chapel' in the Cathedral Chapter House, in June 1954. In December of that year they took part in 'The Man from Tuscany' at the Royal Festival Hall, which was repeated for the Cheltenham Arts Festival in July 1955. The choir recorded a BBC Overseas broadcast on 27<sup>th</sup> May 1955 and Choral Evensong recordings took place on October 5<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> 1955. The TV broadcast postponed because of the Coronation was rescheduled for 22<sup>nd</sup> December 1955.

## **3. The Choir**

### **3.i. The Choristers**

Mark Deller's name, as a chorister, was mentioned in the section describing Knight's period as Organist. Amongst the chorister names listed in the Chapter books for Hopkins' time as Organist are others who also proceeded into musical careers. Deller's younger brother, Simon, was a chorister from December 1954, and has combined a teaching career with professional singing as a baritone. Christopher Seaman was appointed a chorister at Canterbury in early 1954. Upon leaving King's School, Canterbury, he studied at King's College, Cambridge and the Guildhall College of Music to prepare for a rising musical career in the United Kingdom, before moving to America in 1987. His versatility saw him take the post as principal percussionist for the London Philharmonic Orchestra, before becoming assistant, then chief conductor to the BBC Scottish Symphony Orchestra (BBCSSO). During that period, on several occasions he conducted the BBCSSO at the Henry Wood Promenade Concerts, including the Last Night of the Proms. He is currently conductor of the Rochester Philharmonic Orchestra, New York, as part of his continuing international career. Another chorister, who joined the Canterbury Cathedral choir in 1953, aged seven, was Trevor Pinnock. He has had a prestigious musical career as a harpsichordist and conductor both in the United Kingdom and worldwide. A major aim in his life has been to promote historically informed performance practices, using original editions, wherever possible. Roger Vignoles was a chorister from 1953-1958; he, too, went on to be an international musician, accompanying many of the world's most

celebrated singers and instrumentalists, together with teaching the new generations about the role of the accompanist..

#### **4. Conclusion**

The Chapter records for Hopkins' time as Organist contain very little reference to comments about the ordering of services, attitudes towards his use, or choice, of music, whether traditional or early, behaviour, negative or positive, and Clergy and Choir attendance. He increased the quantity of polyphonic music and plainsong services, with more Elizabethan Preces included in the Matins and Evensong services; he also added new music to the repertoire. All the services were still sung in English regardless of their original language, there was an increase in Latin anthems to thirty one, by 1955. It appears to have been a peaceable time for all concerned in the provision of choral services. Hopkins succeeded in maintaining the range of repertoire in services for Matins, Evensong and Holy Communion. He extended the anthem repertoire and supported opportunities for the choristers to take part in public musical performances in addition to services. His work in widening the repertoire will be seen in perspective in Figures 32-34, at the conclusion of this chapter, with its description of the music used by Knight, Hopkins and Campbell.

In late November 1955, Hopkins gave up Cathedral work and became a teacher, examiner and adjudicator at musical festivals.

### Chapter 3 C. Sidney Campbell: 1956-1961

#### 1. The Organist and his Assistants

Canterbury was the third Cathedral appointment as Organist for Sidney Campbell (1919-1973). He was at Ely from 1949-1953 and Southwark for the following two years. He had studied with Sir Ernest Bullock and Dr Harold Darke, and in 1947 he was appointed Sub-Warden of the Royal School of Church Music, which was then based at Canterbury. He later became Director of Music Studies for the RSCM. He was an adept composer, with an interest in French organ music; his choral compositions were used in the Cathedral services; one of his anthems had been in Knight's repertoire from 1952, and several remain in the current choral repertoire.

At Canterbury the Organist's post was advertised in October 1955 and by the end of December Sidney Campbell had been offered the position. He took up his duties in March 1956.

In April of that year Gwilym Isaac was appointed to be assistant Organist and tenor lay clerk, upon Campbell's recommendation. Isaac's dual appointment was the last of its kind; thereafter the two roles were separated.

The repertoire listed in 1956 covers the period when Malcolm Tyler was assistant Organist and from March 26<sup>th</sup>, when Campbell took up his duties; the column is headed 1956 ?/C as it has not been possible to clarify who selected the music prior to Campbell's arrival.

#### 2. The Music

##### 2.i. Matins and Evensong Services:

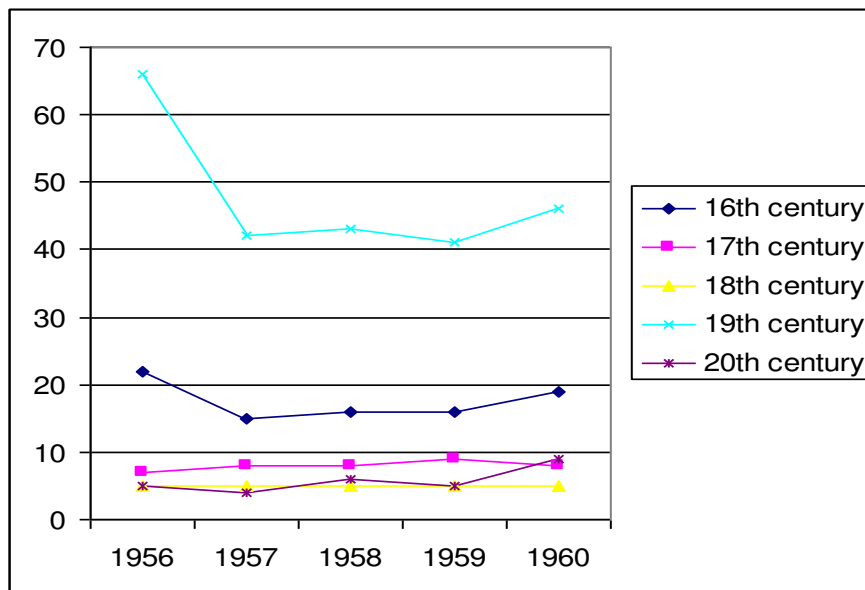
##### Table 19 showing numbers of Matins and Evensong Service Settings

The rows indicate how many service settings composed in each century were in use for each year.

	1956 ?/C	1957	1958	1959	1960
Plainchant	2 named	yes	yes	yes	yes
16 <sup>th</sup> century	22	15	16	16	19
17 <sup>th</sup> century	7	8	8	9	8
18 <sup>th</sup> century	5	5	5	5	5
19 <sup>th</sup> century	66	42	43	41	46
20 <sup>th</sup> century	5	4	6	5	9
Undated	1		1		1
Totals	106	74	79	76	88

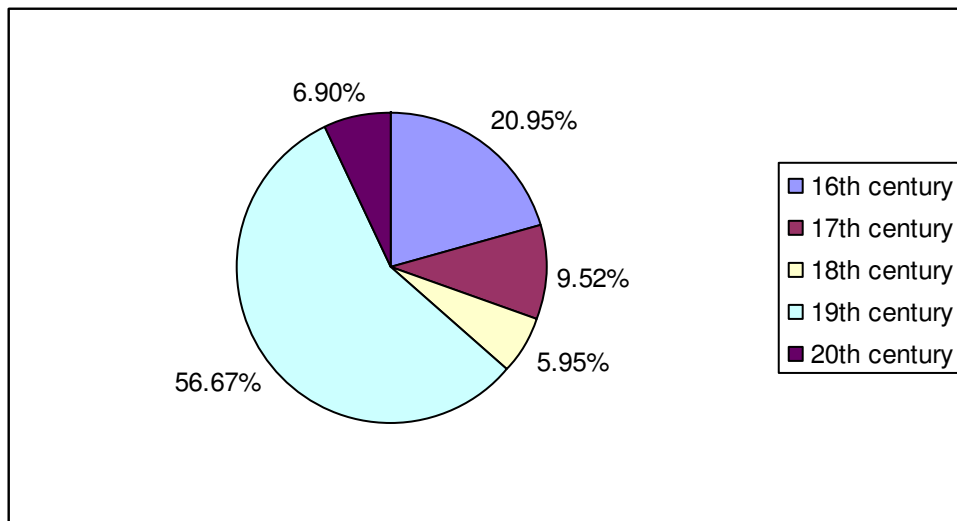
**Figure 26 showing numbers of Matins and Evensong service settings**

The vertical axis shows how many service settings composed in each century were used in each of the years.



As in previous chapters the services for Matins are counted separately from those used for Evensong.

**Figure 27 showing percentages of Matins and Evensong Service settings**



This chart shows that the largest part of the Matins and Evensong repertoire during the period 1956-1960 continued to be Victorian in origin. Comparison with similar charts for previous Organists and the Organist still to follow, reveal the slow but steady change in proportions. These comparative charts will be shown in the final chapter to make changes easier to trace.

In the years during which Campbell served, Matins was sung every Sunday and Thursday, and either Tuesday or Wednesday, of each week. The Thursday Matins was sung by all the boys, both choristers and probationers.

The 16<sup>th</sup> century Matins and Evensong repertoire for 1956 includes exactly the same composers as that for 1955, when Hopkins was still in post. In 1957 there was nothing by Morley, but more settings by Byrd were added, although nothing entirely new from this period was added, this aspect of early music was maintained.

Similarly the 17<sup>th</sup> century repertoire remained approximately the same. Throughout Campbell's time as Organist three settings by John Blow (1648-1708) were sung, consisting of the Evening Services in F, the Dorian Mode and G. Blow was one of the first choristers to sing in the Chapel Royal choir following the Restoration; to become Organist at Westminster Abbey, but stepping down for his pupil, Henry Purcell, to take his place, and upon Purcell's premature death, taking up the post once again.

The next musical quotation contains an example of authentic performance practice, which was becoming popular in academic musical circles. The part of a polysyllabic word using the letters 'ation' would be given three notes (a-ti-on), as set by the composer, rather than the Georgian and Victorian practice of condensing the syllables to two. This practice is shown in bar 6, taken from the Watkin Shaw edition dated 1941, (transposed into the key of G major from A major for performance). More will be said about this aspect of a contemporary attitude to authenticity of performance, later in the chapter. Blow in G was introduced to the repertoire by Hopkins in 1954 and remained until 1962: it was used again by Wicks in 1978.

#### Musical Example 68 Blow Evening Service in G Nunc Dimittis

The musical score for Musical Example 68, Blow's Evening Service in G, Nunc Dimittis, is presented for Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass, and Organ (if desired). The score is in G major (one sharp) and 6/8 time. The organ part is marked *p* (piano) and 'if desired'. The vocal parts are marked *p* (piano) and 'FULL'. The lyrics are: 'Lord now let - test thou thy ser - vant de - part in peace, ac -' for Soprano, 'Lord now let - test thou thy ser - vant de-part in peace,' for Alto, 'Lord now let - test thou thy ser - vant de - part in peace,' for Tenor, and 'Lord now let - test thou thy ser - vant de- part in peace,' for Bass. The score shows the first six bars of the piece, with the organ part providing a harmonic accompaniment. The vocal parts are in a homophonic setting, with the lyrics clearly articulated. The organ part is a simple accompaniment, with a steady bass line and a melodic line in the right hand.



4

S. cord - ing to thy word. For mine eyes have

A. ac - cord - ing to thy word. For mine eyes

T. ac - cord - ing to thy word. For mine eyes have

B. ac - cord - ing to thy word. For mine eyes have

ORG.

6

S. seen thy sal - va - ti - on.

A. have seen thy sal - va - ti - on.

T. seen thy sal - va - ti - on.

B. seen thy sal - va - ti on.

ORG.

The 18<sup>th</sup> century repertoire consisted of evening services by Travers, Benjamin Cooke and Samuel Arnold, and two morning services, in A and C, by William Boyce. One or both of Boyce's services had been included in the standard repertoire since the records were begun in 1835, and remained in use until the reduction in weekday Matins services caused their removal.

The 19<sup>th</sup> century music for Matins and Evensong services also remained very much the same as in previous years, with either five or six services by Stanford and five services by Wood being sung in each of Campbell's years. Vaughan Williams, Ireland and Sumsion were represented by three services each, (morning and evening settings in the same key being counted as two services). Most other Victorian church composers were represented

by one or two services. The Evening Service in A<sup>277</sup> by Stephen Elvey (1805-1860) was composed specifically to partner Croft's Morning Service in A.<sup>278</sup> They were both in use from 1836 to 1926. Elvey in A was then sung in 1937-1939, 1945-1955 and 1959-1962.

Musical Example 69 S. Elvey Evening Service in A Magnificat

96

S. hath ex - alt - ed, and

A. hath ex - alt - ed, and hath ex - alt -

T. and hath ex - alt - ed, and hath ex - alt - ed, -

B. hath ex - alt - ed, and hath ex - alt -

ORG.

103

S. hath ex - alt - ed, ex - alt - ed the hum - ble and meek.

A. - ed, and hath ex - alt - ed the hum - ble and meek.

T. and hath ex - alt - ed the hum - ble and meek.

B. - ed, and hath ex - alt - ed the hum - ble and meek.

ORG.

<sup>277</sup> The explanation regarding the composition of Elvey in A is inserted into the score ref: BL E.605.g.(23.)

<sup>278</sup> Example 61, quoted in the section describing Hopkins' repertoire.

Like John Blow, Charles Lloyd (1849-1919) served as Organist for the Chapel Royal. His time there followed service as Organist in Gloucester Cathedral, Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford and Eton College, whilst teaching organ and composition at the Royal College of Music.

In Canterbury Cathedral his Morning and Evening services in Eb were used by Campbell, in 1956. The compositional style of both this service and that by Elvey shows no independence between voices and organ.

#### Musical Example 70 Lloyd Morning Service in Eb Te Deum

DEC. *Poco piu lento, e legato*

SOPRANO  
When Thou took - est up - on Thee to de - liv - er man, Thou

ALTO  
When Thou took - est up - on Thee to de - liv - er man, Thou

TENOR  
When Thou took - est up - on Thee to de - liv - er man, Thou

BASS  
When Thou took - est up - on Thee to de - liv - er man, Thou didst.

ORGAN  
*Poco piu lento, e legato*  
*p*  
*Man.* *Ped.*

Born only shortly after Lloyd, Alan Gray (1855-1935) wrote for voices and organ which are independent of each other. The Morning Service in A by Alan Gray (1855-1935) was in the repertoire from 1919-1956.

#### Musical Example 71 Gray Morning Service in A Jubilate

SOPRANO  
**Allegro vivace**  
*P*  
For the Lord is gra - cious, His mer - cy is

ORGAN  
**Allegro vivace**  
*P*  
*Ped.*

48

S. e - ver - last - ing, and His truth en - dur - eth

The full choir enters in two part canon in bar 61, as follows:

S. tion. Glo - ry be to the Fa - ther, and to the Son

A. Glo - ry be to the Fa - ther and to the Son

T. Glo - ry be to the Fa - ther, and to the Son and to the

B. Glo - ry be to the Fa - ther, and to the Son and to the

ORG. Ped

Services by George Martin, Basil Harwood, Healey Willan, Geoffrey Shaw and Stanley Marchant were also used by Campbell in 1956, only. The Canticle, Benedictus, from Palmer's Service in A, together with Vaughan Williams Services in C and in G, was reintroduced in 1958. The only completely new introductions were by Bernard Rose (1916-1996), an Evening Service in E (sung in 1958 and 1960), and Campbell's own Evening Service in D, which was sung by boys alone, apart from 1958 when it was performed by full choir.

## 2.ii. Versicles and Responses

Hopkins had added Versicles and Responses<sup>279</sup> by Byrd, Morley, Tomkins and William Smith to the longstanding Ferial Responses. In the 1956 service lists three sets of early music Responses: Ferial, Sarum and Canterbury Use were included, and those by Tallis were also sung in 1957. The Sarum set cannot be dated, but are known to be of ancient

<sup>279</sup> Also called Preces: the plural of the Latin word *prex*, meaning 'prayer'. This form of prayer, shared between leader and congregation, is one of the oldest in Christianity, deriving from the pre-Christian Hebrew prayers of the Psalms in Temple Worship.

pre-Reformation origin.<sup>280</sup> The origins of Canterbury Use responses are also not known, but there is a copy in the uncatalogued section of the Cathedral Archives. It is contained in a collection entitled *The Choral Responses and Litanies of the United Churches of England and Ireland: Collected from Authentic Sources*. The editor was John Jebb and volume I is dated 1847, volume II was published a year later.<sup>281</sup> In volume II there is a list of Ancient Services, almost all of which date from the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Then follows a list of Unisonal Services, in Common Use, the Cathedrals named include Salisbury, Lincoln and Durham. The next list of Harmonised Services, in Common Use is headed by Canterbury. Handwritten at the head of the page is this information – ‘Re-introduced into Canterbury in time of Dr Campbell, Organist’; there is also a scrap of a service list, inserted into the page, which is dated 1962. (Allan Wicks also used this set of Responses). They are not exciting, and lack the compositional and melodic qualities of those by Tallis, Byrd or Morley, which were not listed as being sung at this time, but all of whose settings are available in the Jebb collection.

#### Musical Example 75 Canterbury Use Responses

The musical score consists of two systems, each with a treble and bass staff. The first system begins with a treble staff containing a whole rest, followed by a 4/4 time signature change. The bass staff contains a whole rest, followed by a 4/4 time signature change. The lyrics for the first system are: "Sentences, Exhorts, Confession, Absolution. Our Father etc. A - men. O Lord, open Thou our lips". The second system begins with a treble staff containing a whole rest, followed by a 4/4 time signature change. The bass staff contains a whole rest, followed by a 4/4 time signature change. The lyrics for the second system are: "And our mouths shall shew forth thy praise. O Lord, make haste to".

The Canterbury Use setting includes an additional version of ‘The Lord’s name be praised’. It is described, above bar 17, as *The Ancient Mode*. It is in outline a unison version of the melody line found in the *Ferial Responses*, thus indicating that they pre-

<sup>280</sup> In document CCA-DCc-W2/T-2-9 there is a note pencilled in the Index. It refers to pages 34 and 50, headed Canterbury Cathedral, and is entitled ‘Responses as used 1920 and before’; the Responses have been identified as *Ferial Responses*. There is an additional note about changes of Responses in 1938, but that reference has not been able to be explained. The *Preces* and Responses used throughout the periods of responsibility of Longhurst, Perrin and Palmer appear to have been *Ferial*.

<sup>281</sup> W2/S-15-2. The two volumes of Responses and Litanies contain the name of The Revd F. J. O. Helmore, who came to the Cathedral as a Minor Canon in 1878, appointed Precentor in 1883, so this collection of music was available for copying if it had been desired. There is no information about when some alternative Responses were introduced, but Volume II contains the name P. J. Baker, Decani Tenor, 1920-1947. It is therefore possible that other responses than *Ferial* were in use, but there is no record of this until 1955.

date this Canterbury Use setting. (The bar has been quoted here at the same pitch as found in Jebb’s transcription and, as can be seen, bears no tonal relationship with the bars before or after, and is tonally incorrect).

14 (The ancient mode) Unison.  
 The Lord's name be prai - sed. The Lord's name be praised.  
 Praise ye the Lord. The Lord's name be prai - sed. The Lord's name be praised.

18  
 I believe etc. A - men. The Lord be with you And with thy spi - rit.

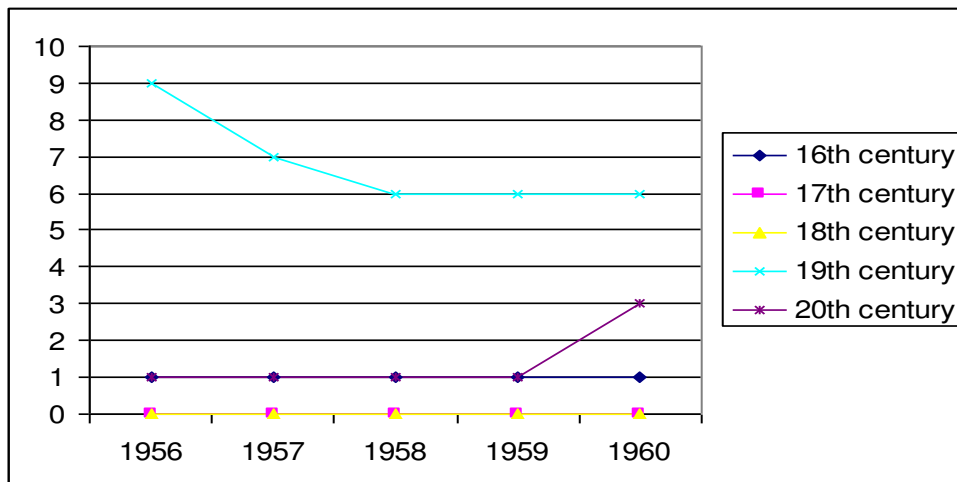
**2.iii. Communion Services**

**Table 20 showing numbers of Communion Service settings**

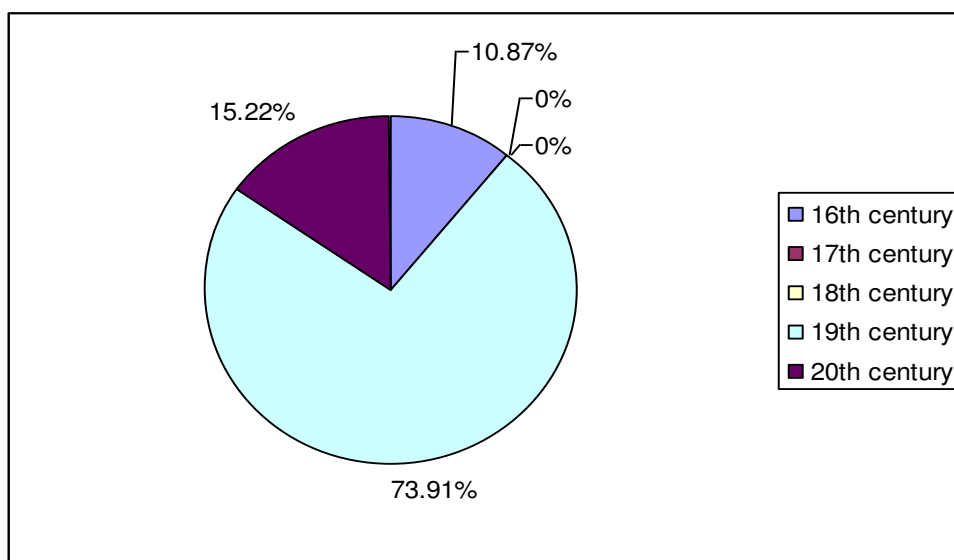
The rows indicate the century in which the Communion service settings were composed. The columns show how many from each century were in use in the given year.

	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960
16 <sup>th</sup> century	1	1	1	1	1
17 <sup>th</sup> century					
18 <sup>th</sup> century					
19 <sup>th</sup> century	9	7	6	6	6
20 <sup>th</sup> century	1	1	1	1	3
Totals	11	9	8	8	10

**Figure 28 showing numbers of Communion Service settings**



**Figure 29 showing percentages of Communion Service settings**



Although little variation in Matins and Evensong services can be observed in Campbell's repertoire, compared to that of his predecessors, a constriction in the historical range is evident when the Communion service settings are examined. The fact that there were no early services, apart from Merbecke, could have been the result of a Chapter decision not to have Tudor music in the communion service, but this is not stated specifically in the Chapter records. Knight had added the settings of Palestrina, Byrd and Victoria from the same period. They represented music from Europe and private compositions of Catholic England (Byrd) during the Reformation; Hopkins had used all of these except the Victoria.

The 19<sup>th</sup> century repertoire was also reduced during Campbell's period in office, even where Stanford's services were concerned. This, again, is unexplained in the Chapter records. Stanford's Service in Bb was only used in 1956 and the Service in C not at all. Wood's Phrygian Mode setting remained until 1957, as did Willan's St Hugh Service; Oldroyd's Mode III service fared the same as Stanford in Bb.

Two services that were used throughout Campbell's time, in addition to Merbecke, were those for boys' voices, i.e. Bairstow in Eb and Nicholson Missa Choristarum. Littlejohn in C, Darke in F and Sumsion in F were also heard each year; Jackson in G had been added to the repertoire in 1955 and Campbell retained it; Rubbra's Missa Cantuariensis was sung in 1960; Ireland in C was used in 1959 and 1960. The sole piece of new music for the Communion was a Kyrie by Benjamin Britten, used in 1960 and 1961, (no key is given). There were twelve different services in total sung during the entire period 1956-1960, compared to seventeen in Hopkins' best single year, and nineteen in 1951, Knight's penultimate year.

Further investigation indicates that Campbell's restricted repertoire did not reflect his personal preferences. In his comparable repertoire, for 1963, at St George's Chapel, Windsor,<sup>282</sup> all three of Byrd's Communion services were sung several times, although the Byrd settings had not been included in the lists prior to Campbell's arrival at Windsor. No Byrd Masses had been sung in Canterbury Cathedral since 1955, when the Four Part service was used. Whilst the evidence of the strength of the interference by Chapter in the communion service repertoire, during the 1950s, is circumstantial rather than specific, the constraint upon the use of early music is evident in the records.

#### 2.iv. Anthems

**Table 21 showing numbers of anthems**

The first column contains the century in which the anthems were composed. The rows show the number of anthems from each century that was performed in each year.

	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960
Early undated	1	12	9	7	8
15 <sup>th</sup> century	1	1	1	1	1
16 <sup>th</sup> century	58	53	51	48	48
17 <sup>th</sup> century	30	23	25	26	46
18 <sup>th</sup> century	22	19	17	18	24
19 <sup>th</sup> century	80	60	58	66	66
20 <sup>th</sup> century	18	13	11	14	15
Undateable		1	4	4	2
Totals	210	164	167	184	210

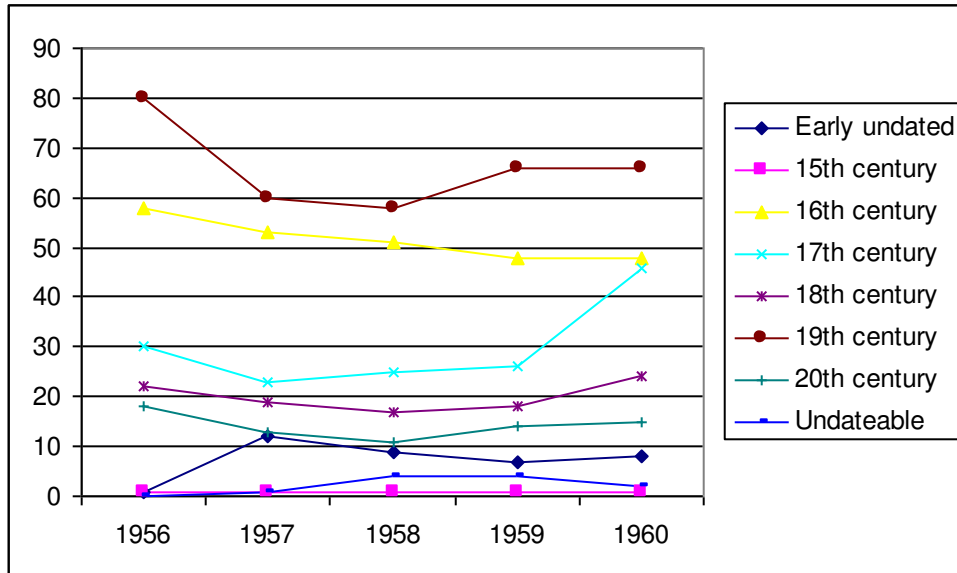
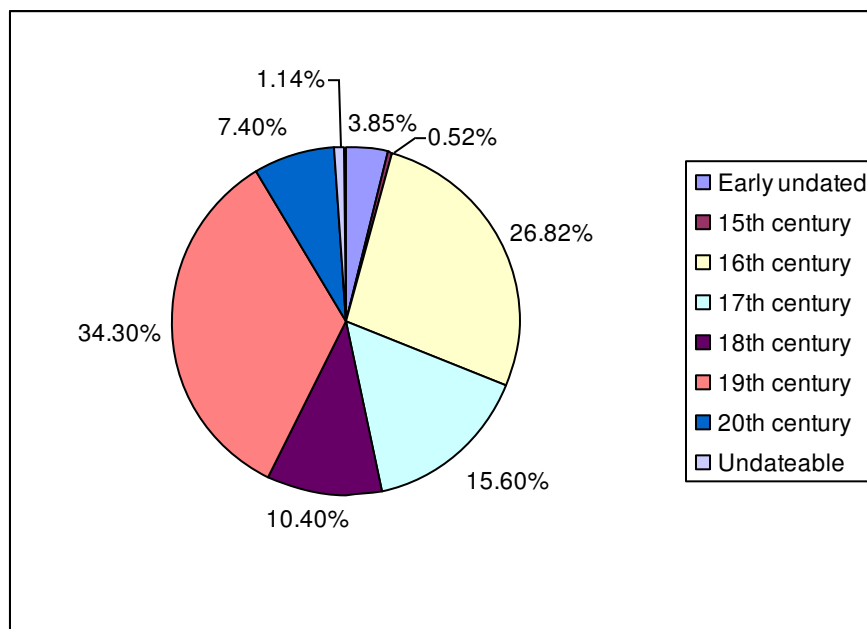
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<sup>282</sup> SGC M.8999/9



**Figure 30 showing numbers of Anthems**

The vertical axis on the left of the chart indicates the number of anthems from each historical period, for each year.

**Figure 31 showing percentages of Anthems**

The Exsurge by Cranmer is the earliest anthem attributable to a composer; it was used in Procession to the Martyrdom on December 29<sup>th</sup> each year, to celebrate the Martyrdom of St Thomas Becket. The words for Exsurge are taken from a section of the Litany, beginning O Lord, arise, help us. It will have been sung in English as Cranmer's Litany was the only part of the Liturgy that was produced in the vernacular during Henry VIII Reformation. The setting of these same words by Byrd was also used in later years. There was virtually no new repertoire from the 16<sup>th</sup> century during Campbell's time and, in the 17<sup>th</sup> century anthems there were no new composers. There was a reduction in the

quantity of music by both Bach and Handel, with seventeen Bach anthems throughout the whole period, and only eight by Handel.<sup>283</sup> This change in the quantity of Bach and Handel music over the period in question is not necessarily a bad thing. Specific titles had been used on certain dates in the church calendar without fail, for many years, and a more varied repertoire would have been welcomed. However, the lack of new 16<sup>th</sup> century repertoire is unexplained in the records, apart from evidence of personal preferences of individual members of Chapter, which will be discussed later.

John Weldon (1676-1736) was an Organist in several London churches and New College, Oxford, also a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal and a composer, having studied with Purcell. His anthems, in the 1835 Cathedral repertoire, when the records first began, included Weldon's O praise God in His holiness. Perrin and Palmer used Weldon's anthems also, but not that particular title, which was reintroduced by Knight, in 1937, and replaced the previously more popular Hear my crying and In Thee, O Lord. It was then used until 1940, and once in 1949, until reintroduced by Campbell in 1956; Wicks retained it until 1962. It is written in homophonic style, with the melody in the treble, but rhetorical decorations of the words 'trumpet' and 'dances' for treble and tenor voices can be seen in the quotation.

Musical Example 72 Weldon O praise God in His holiness

17

S. sound of the trum - pet, praise Him up - on the lute and harp. Praise Him in the cym-bals and dan - ces,

A. sound of the trum - pet, praise Him up - on the lute and harp. Praise Him in the cym-bals and dan - ces,

T. sound of the trum - pet, praise Him up - on the lute and harp. Praise Him in the cym-bals and dan - ces,

B. sound of the trum - pet, praise Him up - on the lute and harp. Praise Him in the cym-bals and dan - ces,

The anthem Give ear unto me by Benedetto Marcello (1686-1739) was also, like the Weldon anthem, listed in 1835 and used by Longhurst in 1873, (Longhurst had included it, and As the hart panteth in his Second Collection of Short Anthems).<sup>284</sup> Both of Marcello's anthems were listed in 1948 and thereafter one or both were heard in most

<sup>283</sup> In the year 1935, there had been twenty one by Bach and nineteen by Handel. In 1947 under Knight's direction, there seems to have been the highest number of Bach anthems, when forty two choruses, chorales and solos were sung. For many of the years from 1899-1926 there had been anything up to twenty four Handel anthems in each year.

<sup>284</sup> W2/T-3-1.

years, until 1960. As indicated in the example it is a Verse Anthem for two tenors or two trebles, with organ accompaniment.

**Musical Example 73 Marcello Give ear unto me**

**Lento**  
VERSE ANTHEM FOR TWO TENOR OR TWO TREBLE VOICES

TENOR

TENOR

ORGAN

Lord, I be

Give ear un - to me

12

T.

seech Thee, for I have walk - ed

Give ear un - to me,

T.

in Thy com - mand - ments: Lord, I be -

ORG.

20

T.

for I have walk - ed in Thy com - mand - ments, Thy com - mand - ments:

T.

seechThee, for I have walk - ed in Thy com - mand - ments, Thy com - mand - ments:

ORG.

Composers from the 18<sup>th</sup> century in Campbell's repertoire were almost identical to those used by Hopkins. None were added and a few were discarded altogether.

The early 19<sup>th</sup> century repertoire also changed little, apart from a substantial reduction in the music of Mendelssohn. Goss, S. S. Wesley, Walmisley and Ouseley were as well represented as they had been during Hopkins' time. Campbell, however, introduced the anthem, Hallelujah! O Praise Ye, by Franck, and the Pie Jesu from Fauré's Requiem

Mass. Stanford's anthems remained as popular as in the past, including the Latin motets *Beati quorum via* and *Iustorum animae*, but Elgar was not heard after 1956.

The Evening Service in G by Macpherson (1870-1927) was quoted in the section describing Hopkins' repertoire. Macpherson also composed anthems, heard in Canterbury Cathedral from 1937 onwards. *Thou, O God, art praised* was sung every year, up to, and including 1965.

**Musical Example 74 Macpherson *Thou, O God, art praised***

**Allegro maestoso** ♩ = 108

SOPRANO  
 Thou, O God, art prais - ed, art prais -

ALTO  
 Thou, O God, art prais - ed, art prais -

TENOR  
 Thou, O God, art prais - ed, art prais -

BASS  
 Thou, O God, art prais - ed, art prais -

ORGAN  
*Gt. f*  
*mf*  
 Ch. (Sw.coupd.)

8

S.  
 - ed in Si - on, shall the

A.  
 - ed in Si - on, and un - to Thee shall the

T.  
 - ed in Si - on, and un - to Thee, un - to Thee shall the

B.  
 - ed in Si - on, and un - to Thee, un - to Thee shall the

ORG.

The music of Vaughan Williams remained as popular as it had since its introduction in 1939, as did that of Bairstow, Harris and Bullock. Additions to the repertoire were *Like a hart* and *O pray for the peace* by Howells and *Balulalow* by Warlock, both from 1959

onwards. In 1958 Poulenc's *Hodie Christus natus est* was introduced; a motet, composed by a French composer, sung in Latin, during the Christmas period.

The 20<sup>th</sup> century repertoire in Campbell's hands was not greatly different to that of Hopkins, but he added Elizabeth Poston's *Laudate Dominum*, in 1958, although it was sung in English from 1960. Two other single additions were Fricker's *When Christ was born* and *O Lord the Maker* by Joubert (from 1958). Campbell increased his own anthems from one, under Hopkins, to seven, several of which remain in church repertoires today. More significantly he introduced five anthems by Benjamin Britten in 1956, including two from *The Ceremony of Carols*, which remained in the repertoire thereafter, and a *Benedictus qui venit* (in 1960).

### **2.v. The Litany**

The increased number of settings of the Litany, referred to in the section describing Knight's repertoire, was maintained by both Douglas Hopkins, (who has used the Sarum setting far more than Knight) and Sidney Campbell.

## **3. Cathedral business**

### **3.i. Music and Chapter**

There is little reference to the content or quality of the musical contribution to services in the Chapter Book records during the period that Hopkins was Organist, but this was not a situation that continued. Hopkins was released from duty on November 30<sup>th</sup> 1955 and Malcolm Tyler was appointed to be acting Organist during the interregnum. On December 10<sup>th</sup> 1955 Chapter agreed that

‘a directive be issued that no Latin Anthems should be sung without previous reference to the Chapter’.<sup>285</sup>

Members of Chapter present were the Dean, Canon Shirley, the Archdeacons of Canterbury and Maidstone and Canon Standen.

The record of December 31<sup>st</sup> meeting acknowledged a memorandum from the Precentor, and Chapter confirmed their willingness

‘to consider the singing of anthems in Latin if suggested to them by the Precentor beforehand,’<sup>286</sup>

the Dean, both Archdeacons and Canon Standen were all present, but Canon Shirley was not. Campbell would take up his duties as Organist from March 26<sup>th</sup> 1956, but no comment about these decisions was made at Chapter meetings during 1956; examination

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<sup>285</sup> CCA-DCc-CA22, p284.

<sup>286</sup> *Ibid*, p293.

of the repertoire reveals the initial effects of the rulings, which must have been conveyed to Campbell.

On January 1<sup>st</sup> 1956 Victoria's *Jesu, dulcis memoria* was a permitted text, but two days later *Hodie apparuit* by Lassus evidently was unacceptable as it was not used again. *Ipsa te cogat* (used on Holy Tuesday) and *Expandi manus*, also by Lassus, were similarly not allowed and anthems by Lassus were not sung again until 1965. Palestrina's *Jesu, Rex admirabilis* was sung on Maundy Thursday, 1956, but it was not in the approved list, and was not heard again during Campbell's time. *Ascendit Deus*, by Philips, was sung appropriately on Ascension Day, and *Gaudet in coelis*, also by Philips, was used for days observing St Mary Magdalene, Saints Simon and Jude, St Andrew and St Thomas. Victoria's *O quam gloriosum*, sung on All Saints Day, was not on the accepted list, although the same text by Byrd, was. Byrd's settings of *Justorum animae* and *O quam gloriosum* (or the Victoria version of this text) were used successively or alternatively on November 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup>, observing the season of All Soul's. The choice of accepted and rejected texts does not appear entirely consistent, but specific texts were appropriate for certain occasions: for example: Byrd: *Non vos relinquam* was acceptable to be sung on Whitsunday in 1956, in the presence of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Sweelinck's anthems, *Gaudete omnes* and *Hodie Christus natus est* were acceptable for the Christmas season. In the service that followed the Litany in Procession for Thomas Becket on December 29<sup>th</sup>, Byrd's *Justorum animae*, was used again. Dering's *Quem vidistis* was sung in Latin on December 30<sup>th</sup>, having been performed in English earlier in the year.

There was silence about Latin text anthems in the Chapter Book minutes for eighteen months until June 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1957, when the following was reported,

‘after attention had been drawn to the number of Latin anthems which had been sung recently the Chapter agreed that a copy of the Minute of 10<sup>th</sup> December 1955 be again sent to the Precentor’.<sup>287</sup>

It is noticeable that the minute referred to is not the one expressing ‘willingness to consider the singing of anthems in Latin’ if suggestion had been made through the Precentor, but the negative directive about using Latin anthems without prior permission from Chapter. The unconstructive approach was reinforced again; a subtle, but significant, reminder that progress was restricted.

In July 1957 permission was requested for the choir to sing John Blow's *Salvator mundi* at Evensong on Saturday, August 10<sup>th</sup>, although it had been in the repertoire since Palmer's time, and not previously objected to. The meeting on October 12<sup>th</sup>, 1957 provided approval for the Latin texts for:

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<sup>287</sup> Ibid, p482.

O how glorious (O quam gloriosum)  
 Glorious in heaven (Gaudent in coelis)  
 The souls of the righteous (Justorum animae)<sup>288</sup>

Finally, on November 30<sup>th</sup>, 1957, permission was granted for the following:

Christmas	Hodie, Christus natus est	Sweelinck
	Gaudete omnes	Sweelinck
	Jesu, dulcis memoria	Victoria
Ash Wednesday	In jejunio et fletu	Tallis
Passiontide	Salvator mundi	Blow
Maundy Thursday	Ave, verum corpus	Byrd
Ascension Day	Ascendit Deus	Philips
Whitsuntide	Non vos relinquam orphanos	Byrd
	O quam gloriosum	Byrd
Saints Days	Gaudent in coelis	Philips
	Justorum animae	Byrd
	Beati quorum	Stanford

From 1957 onwards *Te lucis ante terminum*, by Tallis, was omitted by Campbell and there was no Palestrina or Lassus at all; both composers were missing from the approved lists. *Cantate Domino* by Pitoni (17<sup>th</sup> century) was not sung after 1957; Haydn's *Insanae et vanae curae* and Stanford's *Justorum animae* were totally absent, they, too, were omitted from the list dated November 30<sup>th</sup> 1957. The following chart shows the Latin repertoire existing in 1955, under Hopkins, and the years in which Campbell was responsible for the music. Campbell moved to St George's Chapel, Windsor in August 1961, and Wicks took up his post in November of that year.

The asterisks indicate the two years when Campbell was only partially responsible for the music.

**Table 22 showing Anthems with Latin titles, in the repertoire from 1955-1961, and the language in which they were sung**

The column in blue shows Hopkins' final year. L indicates the anthem sung in Latin, E indicates English. L indicates the anthem was sung after Wicks' appointment.

Composer	Title of anthem	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961
			*					*
Tye	Laudate nomen Domini	L						
Tallis	In jejunio et fletu	L		L	L	L	L	L

<sup>288</sup> The Latin texts were not included in the Chapter minute book.

Tallis	Salvator mundi	L			L	L	L	L
Tallis	Te lucis ante terminum	L						
Palestrina	Adoramus te Christe	L						
Palestrina	Jesu, Rex admirabilis	L	L					
Palestrina	Tua Jesu dilectio	L						
Lassus	Adoramus te	L						
Lassus	Agimus tibi gratias	L						
Lassus	Expandi manu	L	L					
Lassus	Hodie apparuit	L	L					
Lassus	Ipse te cogat	L	L					
Lassus	Oculus non vidit	L						
Byrd	Ave verum	L	L	L	L	L	L	L
Byrd	Beata virgo				L			
Byrd	Christe qui lux es	L	L	L	L	L	L	
Byrd	Exsurge	L						
Byrd	Haec dies					L	L	
Byrd	Justorum animae	L	L	L	L	L		L L
Byrd	Senex puerum portabat	L	E	L				
Victoria	Accende lumen	L						
Victoria	Jesu, dulcis memoria	L	L	L		L	L	
Victoria	O quam gloriosum		L		L	L	L	L L
Victoria	O sacrum convivium	L						
Victoria	O vos omnes	L						
Morley	Nolo mortem	L		L	L	L	L	
Croce	Et resurrexit		L					
Philips	Ascendit Deus	L	L	L	L	L	L	L
Constantini	Confitemini Domino	L						
Sweelinck	Gaudete omnes	L	L	L	L	L	L	L
Sweelinck	Hodie Christus natus	E	L	L	L		L	
Kirbye	Vox in Rama	L						
Dering	Factum est silentium					L		
Dering	Quem vidistis		L & E					
Blow	Salvator mundi	L	L	L	L	L	L	L
Pitoni	Cantate Domino		L	L				
Haydn	Insanae et vanae curae	L						
Mozart	Ave verum	E	E	E	E & L	L	E & L	E & L
Mozart	Ave Maria							L
S. Wesley	In exitu Israel							L
Pearsall	In dulci jubilo		L	L	L	L	L	L
Fauré	Pie Jesu			L	L	L	L	
Stanford	Beati quorum	L	L	L	L	L	L	L L
Stanford	Justorum animae	L						
Poulenc	Hodie Christus natus				L	L	L	
Rubbra	Dormi, Jesu						L	
Poston	Laudate Dominum				L	L		E



It can be seen from the list, above, that Campbell did not follow the restrictions to the letter. He included some anthems that were new, several that were not listed by Chapter, but had been used in the past; and others with the same text as an approved anthem, but by a different composer.

### **3.ii. Cathedral ethnology**

Discussion about restricting the number of Latin anthems was not the sum total of negatives recorded in the Chapter Book minutes. In the meeting of October 26<sup>th</sup> 1957 English pronunciation was commented upon. The Precentor was to be informed that ‘all archaic pronunciations are to be omitted, and modern ones used’.<sup>289</sup> This reveals an ignorance of the growing desire for authenticity in the performance of early music, amongst researchers and performers throughout the musically educated world. No name has been attributed to this comment in the Chapter records, but a sermon belonging to Canon Shirley exists which reveals the originator of the comment about archaic pronunciations; it is specifically referred to in the sermon.<sup>290</sup> There is no date on the typewritten sermon but the comment about archaic pronunciation in the Chapter records provides a good approximation of its delivery in the Cathedral. It may have resulted from the performance of Blow’s Evening Service in *G Nunc Dimittis*, Musical Example 68, in which the word *salvation* is set by Blow with four syllables.

The views of the Senior Residentiary Canon affected the efficient and amiable relationship between Chapter and the musicians. Whilst Canon Shirley’s right to hold his personal opinions must be respected, this sermon seems to be a breach of loyalty to the inner workings of Cathedral life, and an abuse of his position as Senior Residentiary Canon in the Cathedral, in that his individual views were aired publicly in a service of worship, rather than discussed privately.

The Organists and Precentors that provided the repertoire, during this particular period in Cathedral life, were subjected to criticism, but nonetheless retained their own quiet and hard-working demeanour. Choristers from Sidney Campbell’s time have talked of their pleasure at all the music in which they participated; they clearly knew nothing of the politics that were making the Organist’s life unpleasant,

‘Sidney Campbell was revered by us all I believe, and his choice of music constantly refreshing and challenging as I remember it... I personally saw Sidney Campbell as a saviour. He was one of the few who seemed genuinely concerned in the welfare of the choristers at a time when I think it’s fair to say the school was going through a difficult period’.<sup>291</sup>

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<sup>289</sup> CCA-DCC-CA/22, p512.

<sup>290</sup> Shirley, J. F. undated. *Canterbury: Cathedral Worship*. Unpublished: (Autograph in private ownership. LCS.)

<sup>291</sup> White, chorister: 1956-1959.

Chapter was described variously as ‘eccentric’,<sup>292</sup> and ‘difficult’.<sup>293</sup> Charles Powell had been a Cathedral chorister, and then a King’s School pupil; he is quoted as saying about Canon Shirley,

‘We choirboys saw him as an imposing remote and rather sinister Residentiary Canon, the most redoubtable member of a somewhat eccentric Chapter, headed by Dean Hewlett Johnson...During my middle and later years at King’s I went to see him quite frequently...usually it turned out to be an opportunity for him to talk about the awfulness of the other Canons’.<sup>294</sup>

In all that has been written both about, and by, Shirley it becomes clear that his musical preference was for Victorian music and opera, which is totally acceptable for a private individual, but neither of which, arguably, could provide a balanced or interesting diet for services in a Cathedral. The above quotation from a chorister indicates the opinions of youth to Canon Shirley, and Isaac’s comment comes from the assistant Organist of the day. Trevor Beeson, retired Canon of Westminster Abbey and Dean of Winchester, included John Shirley in his book entitled *The Canons*. The title of the chapter, about Canon Shirley, is entitled *The Extraordinary Headmaster*. It pays tribute to his valuable work in reviving King’s School, and the fact that he secured a grant from the Wolfson Foundation to enlarge the Cathedral library, but nothing is said about the contribution he made to the Cathedral’s spiritual life, either positive or negative;<sup>295</sup> there is no reference to his substantive input into musical activities.

Shirley’s personal prejudices meant that he failed to value the many positive and constructive experiences of his time in the Cathedral. Others did appreciate the many good things happening on a day to day basis, and Campbell’s expertise at extemporisation is described in the book *Swarm in May*, for example: he began to ‘jubilate on the organ’ as the acoustical effect of his organ playing resonated around the Cathedral,<sup>296</sup> there are more references to extemporisation, together with rhetorical psalm accompaniments:

‘Dr Sunderland (Campbell) played a soft wandering tune before service: he played quietly now, because he wanted to be heard later on, during the first psalm, 65, where he had the raging of the sea, and the noise of his waves, and the madness of the people to play with, as well as drops of rain to make the earth soft, and the valleys standing so thick with corn that they laughed and sang’.<sup>297</sup>

Cathedral Wednesday similarly contains references to his rhetorical extemporisations:

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<sup>292</sup> Powell, quoted in Pittman, R. ed. (1997) *Fred Remembered: Recollections of John Shirley Headmaster and Canon of Canterbury*. Saxmundham: John Catt Educational Ltd. (p128).

<sup>293</sup> Isaac, G. (2009) Letter. Unpublished. (p7) (Autograph in private ownership, LCS).

<sup>294</sup> Powell quoted in Pittman, R. ed. 1997. *Fred Remembered: Recollections of John Shirley Headmaster and Canon of Canterbury*. Saxmundham: John Catt Educational Ltd. (pp128-129).

<sup>295</sup> Beeson, T. (2006) *The Canons*. London: SCM Press.

<sup>296</sup> Mayne, W. (1997) *A Swarm in May*. London: Hodder Children’s Books. (p24)

<sup>297</sup> *Ibid*, pp50-51.

‘Hymn 477 followed by the blessing...Dr Sunderland had begun to hate the hymn, because it was sung every Sunday evening. He had a series of improvisations on it. “If they want cinema tunes...they must expect cinema...music,” he said...“Today he put in such harmonies that the men gave up singing their parts and sang the tune instead... he blew them all into the cold night...You in a hurry?” said Dr Sunderland, releasing the thunder of frightful terrestrial night with his right foot and hiding it again with his left, and bringing on flutes with his left thumb on a button below the keys. “Canaries,” he said, and brought out some harsh rooks on the swell manual, and flung a brass sunrise over them all’.<sup>298</sup>

These books are two, of many, written by William Mayne, (1928-2010) a Canterbury Cathedral chorister 1937-1942. He left school at the age of fourteen, when his time in the Choir School ended, half of it having been spent in evacuation in Cornwall. He returned to Canterbury Cathedral and stayed in the Choir School for several months in 1955 and again in Sidney Campbell’s time in subsequent years. In a further book, entitled *A Swarm in May* choristers practising their plainsong singing, was mentioned.<sup>299</sup> Similarly in *Choristers Cake* a voice test of four verses from a plainsong Magnificat was set.<sup>300</sup> Chorister White recalls that the choristers did not sing plainchant in their services on Thursdays, but used a service setting. However, The Sixteen, the most capable of the choristers, sang plainchant for Vespers regularly in the Crypt. They had prepared their studies of the plainchant neumes before the services, and very soon were able to sing them from memory.

In Mayne’s book *Cathedral Wednesday*, Canon Fredley (Shirley) was described as forgetting to stop reading the lesson at the correct place, thus making the last hymn overrun a BBC broadcast. Dr Sunderland (Campbell) had written a special accompaniment to the last verse, which was thus not included in the broadcast.<sup>301</sup> He illustrates the scene,

‘Now that they were off the air Dr Sunderland put in ideas of his own before the last verse, peopling Heaven loudly with Apostles, Prophets and Martyrs in verse three, and making a pun on the “glorious band” in the last line by sounding a brass band, so that the people who understood smiled...’

A chorister entered the organ loft and:

‘Dr Sunderland was fuming his way through the voluntary, muttering about Canon Fredley, but he blew his mood out trampling the repetitive bass of a passacaglia with his feet, and got off the organ-stool short of breath. “Well sung,” he said, “Very nice.” He crumpled up the paper with the hymn tune harmony and put it in his pocket.’<sup>302</sup>

Whether this is a factual incident has not been confirmed, but Mayne perceived the situation sufficiently to want to record something about Campbell’s musical demeanour in an unsatisfactory situation.

<sup>298</sup> Mayne, W. (1960) *Cathedral Wednesday*. Leicester: Brockhampton Press Limited. (pp15-16)

<sup>299</sup> Mayne, W. (1997) *A Swarm in May*. London: Hodder Children’s Books. (p61)

<sup>300</sup> Mayne, W. (1990) *Choristers Cake*. Haslemere: Jade Publishers. (p126)

<sup>301</sup> Mayne, W. (1960) *Cathedral Wednesday*. Leicester: Brockhampton Press Limited. (p157)

<sup>302</sup> *Ibid*, (p158)

In October 1959 Chapter decided that there were to be no anthems sung during communion, devotional hymns were to be used instead. The Agnus Dei, too, was to be sung before the communion, immediately following the Prayer of Consecration, not during the communion, in the place of an anthem.<sup>303</sup> It is possible that the comment, dated November 1959,<sup>304</sup> about the singing of Agnus Dei during Communion is a misunderstood example of use of this text as an anthem. If this is so, Campbell did attempt to use Agnus Dei as an anthem, during a time when Chapter wanted to use hymns at that point in the service.

A directive was sent from Chapter in July 1960 to remind the Organist that introductory music must finish by the time the choir is in position in the stalls. Whilst this is a perfectly reasonable request, one wonders whether the tensions between Chapter and the Organist were becoming audible to congregations. Added to this comment was a reminder of the instructions about the singing of Latin anthems.<sup>305</sup>

#### **4. Conclusion**

Campbell's time as Organist was one in which the quality of musical performance was excellent in the eyes and ears of those who enjoyed the repertoire of his predecessors. However, there was an element within Chapter who seemed determined to find fault, even in public.

A sermon preached by a senior member of Chapter, in 1957, criticised the repertoire and the performance of the music, in specific detail, thereby undermining the authority of the Organist.<sup>306</sup> In the sermon, singing in Latin was equated with charismatic singing, quite regardless of the fact that translations were available in the service papers, and the service music continued to be in English whatever its original nationality. There was consequently a fall in number of Latin anthems to twenty five, compared to thirty one under Hopkins' direction. There were comments about 'archaic' pronunciation, also repeated at a Chapter Meeting;<sup>307</sup> despite international contemporary progress in musical and linguistic accuracy and publication of new editions based on extensive research, movement towards authenticity of language and text was hindered. Elsewhere Tudor

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<sup>303</sup> This is in fact the correct place for the Agnus Dei, according to the Edward VI First Prayer Book, the 1928 Alternative Prayer Book and the Alternative Service Book, but this was prior to the introduction of the Alternative Service Book, so was not a change made on Liturgical grounds. However all Campbell's predecessors from 1892 and successor had used Agnus Dei during the Communion service as an anthem, on occasions, with no comment.

<sup>304</sup> CCA-DCC-CA/22 p794.

<sup>305</sup> Ibid p878.

<sup>306</sup> Shirley, J. F. undated. Canterbury: Cathedral Worship. Unpublished: (Autograph in private ownership. LCS.)

<sup>307</sup> CCA-DCC-CA/22, p512.

Church music was described, by Canon Shirley, as ‘belly aching’.<sup>308</sup> He seemed to seek a return to the days of purely note-for-syllable music, sung in English, as encouraged by Cranmer and the Puritans, although he liked Victorian music and opera; there was consequently a reduction in contrapuntal and early music in the repertoire. The sermon, delivered to a congregation attending a service of worship, was, in the opinion of the writer, an abuse of his position as First Residentiary Canon of the Cathedral. While he was entitled to a viewpoint, no-one was free to respond to him, as in a debate, in relation to these personal reflections, delivered in this fashion. The preacher did not appear to have realised that he was expressing personal points of view, for which he had criticised Dean Hewlett Johnson, in 1940.

From 1959, other choral matters were raised in Chapter, including the use of ‘becks and nods’ between choristers,<sup>309</sup> they ensured that both sides of the choir were singing exactly together. It was decided that no anthems were to be sung during Communion; a conductor not being permitted.<sup>310</sup> Frequency of Matins services had not reduced since Hopkins left, but the number of Campbell’s anthems sung in each year, were between one hundred and sixty four and two hundred and ten, by contrast to Hopkins’ average of three hundred. There was also a reduction in the number of Communion Service settings; the only early service was the simple, plainsong-style setting by Merbecke. All the variety gained by Knight was lost.

By 1961 there were only eleven non-English composers represented in the anthem lists. There was, however, an increase in the number of settings of *Preces*, and some important new music, by composers such as Britten, was added; all in English.

However much or little the members of Chapter valued Sidney Campbell’s contribution to the worship in the Cathedral it is very clear that his choristers appreciated and benefitted from all that he did. The fact that Trevor Pinnock (chorister 1956-1959), Mark Elder (1957-1960), Roger Vignoles (1953-1958) and Stephen Varcoe (1959-1962) went on to become musicians of international repute says a great deal about their early musical education under Campbell. Campbell took the opportunity to remove himself from what must have been very uncongenial working conditions, as soon as the vacancy at St. George’s Chapel, Windsor presented itself, in 1961; Canterbury Cathedral was the loser. As previously mentioned Campbell, once in post at St. George’s Chapel, introduced the three Byrd Masses, also the Stanford Communion in C and F, containing the *Benedictus qui venit* and *Agnus Dei*, and they were sung repeatedly in 1963, and thereafter, together with anthems by Lassus and Palestrina. The indications are that the absence of this music

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<sup>308</sup> Edwards, D. L. (1969). *F. J. Shirley: An Extraordinary Headmaster*. London: SPCK. p88.

<sup>309</sup> CCA-DCC-CA/22, p787.

<sup>310</sup> CCA-DCC-CA/22, p794.

from the Canterbury Cathedral repertoire during Campbell's time was not his personal choice.

### **5. Summary of the progress of the repertoire during 1936-1960**

The following tables and figures reveal the development of the repertoire during the years of Gerald Knight, Douglas Hopkins and Sidney Campbell. Separate figures are added in italics to show the wartime limitations of 1941-1944, and also the year in which Sidney Campbell was appointed, as he did not become involved in choosing the repertoire until March 1956.

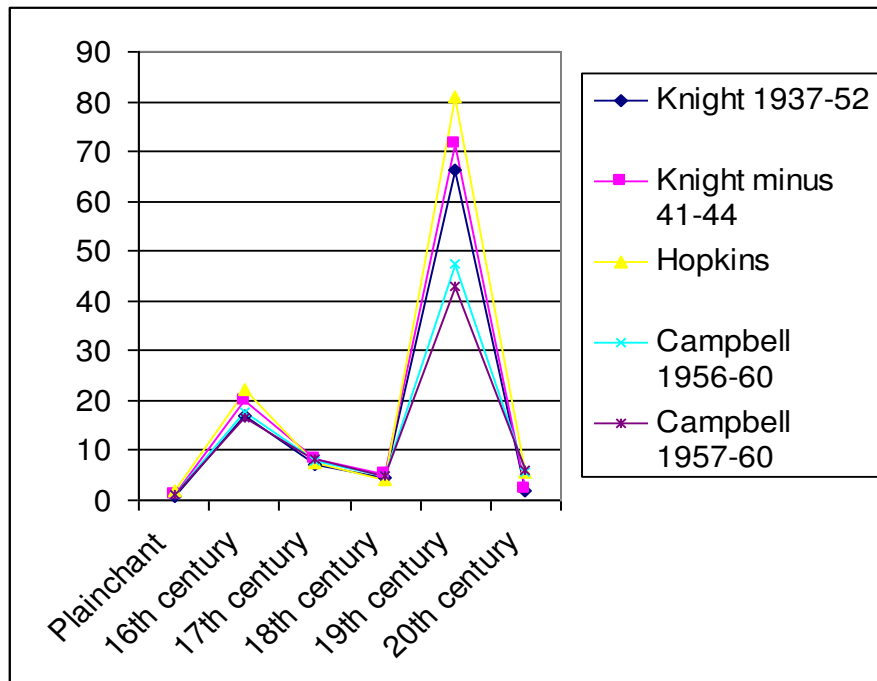
**Table 23 showing average numbers of Matins and Evensong Services sung in each year in relation to the periods in office of each Organist from 1937-1960**

	<b>Knight 1937- 1952</b>	Knight without 1941- 1944	<b>Hopkins 1953-1955</b>	Campbell <sup>311</sup> 1956-1960	<b>Campbell 1957-1960</b>
Plainchant	<b>.81</b>	1	<b>2</b>	1.2	<b>1</b>
16 <sup>th</sup> century	<b>17.13</b>	20	<b>22.33</b>	17.6	<b>16.5</b>
17 <sup>th</sup> century	<b>7.19</b>	8.17	<b>7.67</b>	8	<b>8.25</b>
18 <sup>th</sup> century	<b>4.38</b>	5.33	<b>4.33</b>	5	<b>5</b>
19 <sup>th</sup> century	<b>66.13</b>	71.5	<b>81</b>	47.6	<b>43</b>
20 <sup>th</sup> century	<b>1.94</b>	2.25	<b>5.67</b>	5.8	<b>6</b>

The services listed as plainchant, were liturgical texts set in English to the Gregorian tones. It is not possible to quantify them in the same way as service settings, as so much variety was possible. The variations in numbers shown above relate partially to the frequency of services. Although Matins was sung on Sundays, Wednesdays and Thursdays throughout the whole of this period, it was irregular during the war years. The greatest use of plainchant morning and evening services appears to have been during the time of Hopkins. Similarly the greatest number of 16<sup>th</sup> century service settings was used during Hopkins' period in office. There was a fall in numbers of 19<sup>th</sup> century service settings during Campbell's time, with a slight increase in numbers of 17<sup>th</sup> century, 18<sup>th</sup> century, and newly composed 20<sup>th</sup> century music.

The following figure illustrates the numerical table in a different fashion.

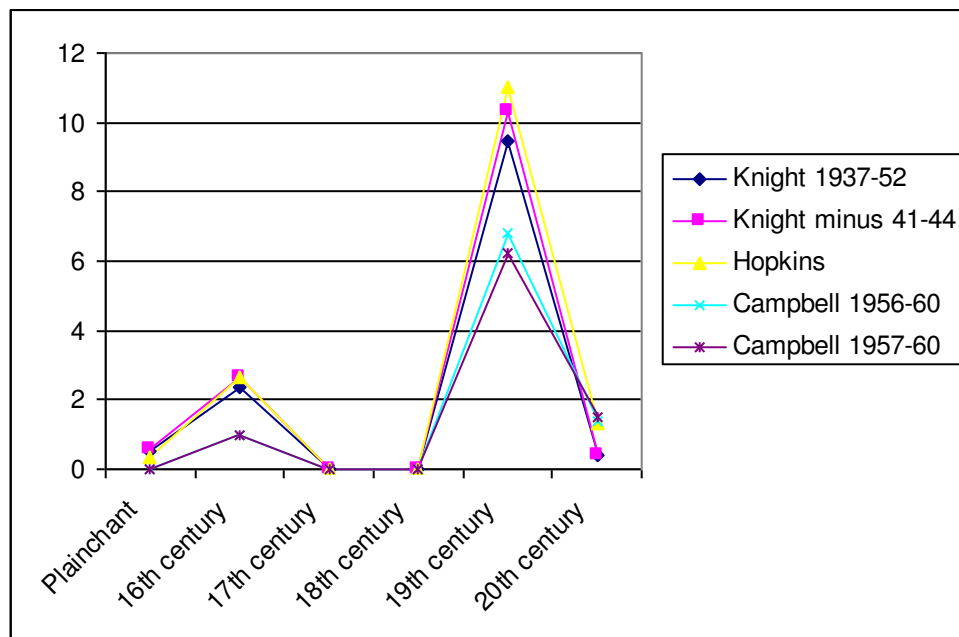
<sup>311</sup> Campbell was in post from March 1956, so someone else selected the music for the first two months in that year.

**Figure 32 showing average numbers of Matins and Evensong Service settings****Table 24 showing average numbers of Communion Services sung in each year in relation to the periods in office of each Organist from 1937-1960**

	<b>Knight 1937- 1952</b>	Knight without 1941- 1944	<b>Hopkins 1953-1955</b>	Campbell 1956-1960	<b>Campbell 1957-1960</b>
Plainchant	<b>.5</b>	.58	<b>.33</b>	0	<b>0</b>
16 <sup>th</sup> century	<b>2.38</b>	2.67	<b>2.67</b>	1	<b>1</b>
17 <sup>th</sup> century	<b>0</b>	0	<b>0</b>	0	<b>0</b>
18 <sup>th</sup> century	<b>0</b>	0	<b>0</b>	0	<b>0</b>
19 <sup>th</sup> century	<b>9.44</b>	10.33	<b>11</b>	6.8	<b>6.25</b>
20 <sup>th</sup> century	<b>.38</b>	.38	<b>1.33</b>	1.4	<b>1.5</b>

The plainchant Communion services listed here were described as Anglican Plainchant, most were in use during Knight's non-war years; none were used during Campbell's time. Communion services in English translation, by Palestrina, Byrd and Victoria were included in Knight's non-wartime repertoire, Palestrina and Byrd were used by Hopkins, but only Merbecke's setting survived throughout the entire period. As can be seen 19<sup>th</sup> century communion services increased until they peaked in Hopkins' time, but the numbers fell during Campbell's period in office. It is not possible to explain this in any way other than to suggest more frequent repetition of the same settings.

**Figure 33 showing average numbers of Communion Service settings sung in each year in relation to periods in office**

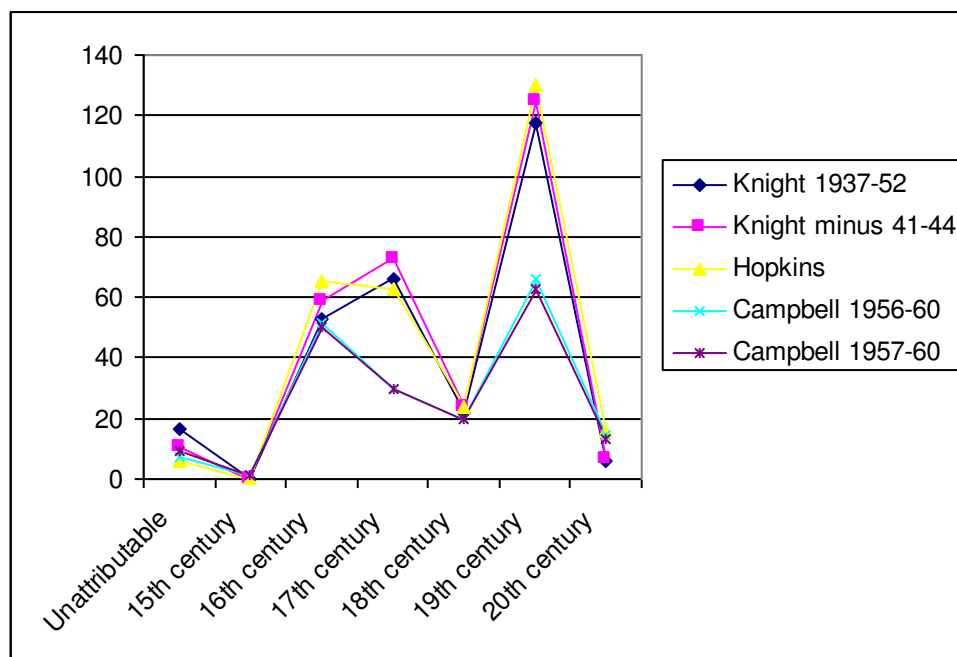


**Table 25 showing average numbers of Anthems sung in each year in relation to the periods in office of each Organist from 1937-1960**

	<b>Knight 1937- 1952</b>	Knight without 1941- 1944	<b>Hopkins 1953-1955</b>	Campbell 1956-1960	<b>Campbell 1957-1960</b>
Unattributable	<b>16.38</b>	10.33	<b>6</b>	7.4	<b>9</b>
15 <sup>th</sup> century	<b>0</b>	0	<b>0</b>	1	<b>1</b>
16 <sup>th</sup> century	<b>52.81</b>	58.75	<b>65.33</b>	51.6	<b>50</b>
17 <sup>th</sup> century	<b>66.31</b>	72.92	<b>62.67</b>	30	<b>30</b>
18 <sup>th</sup> century	<b>22</b>	23.92	<b>23.67</b>	20	<b>19.5</b>
19 <sup>th</sup> century	<b>117.38</b>	125.08	<b>130.33</b>	66	<b>62.5</b>
20 <sup>th</sup> century	<b>6.19</b>	6.75	<b>15.67</b>	14.2	<b>13.25</b>
Latin text	<b>10.69</b>	13.25	<b>24</b>	22.2	<b>16.75</b>



**Figure 34 showing average numbers of Anthems sung in each year in relation to the periods in office of each organist from 1937-1960**



The unattributable music is, in the main, known as traditional, deriving from Welsh, Irish, Scottish, English, Basque and Dutch melodies, together with Lutheran music from Northern Germany. The earliest dated collection, *Melodiae Prudentianae*, is 1533, followed very closely by *Geistliche Lieder*, 1539 and *Piae Cantiones* dated 1582. There was also some plainchant set to Tones, from the medieval period, which cannot be given an exact date. This music was very useful during the war years, as the demands made on the singers were not great. Many of these anthems were drawn from the hymnals available at that time; *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, *English Hymnal* and a few from *Songs of Praise* and the *Oxford Carol Book*. Much of this music is for the Christmas season, but not all. As the Cathedral choir increased in numbers and expertise this type of repertoire was less needed, but during Campbell's time he widened the range and found less well-known pieces such as the 15<sup>th</sup> century *Eya martyr Stephane* which was sung in 1959, 1960 and 1961 to celebrate St Stephens' Day.

The sole attributable entry from the 15<sup>th</sup> century is Cranmer's *Exsurge*. It is strictly part of the Litany and therefore liturgical music, but it was used from 1956-1964, (into Wicks' time), as an anthem separated from the rest of the Litany, as a part of the procession to the Martyrdom of St Thomas Becket, on 29<sup>th</sup> December. The average performance of the 16<sup>th</sup> century repertoire was greatest in Hopkins' time and the lowest during Campbell's period of office 1957-1960. The 18<sup>th</sup> century repertoire was spread in a similar fashion but the 17<sup>th</sup> century music was at its greatest under Knight, particularly during the war years.

Table 25 shows that Campbell's choir sang less than half of the number of 19<sup>th</sup> century anthems that were performed by Hopkins' singers.

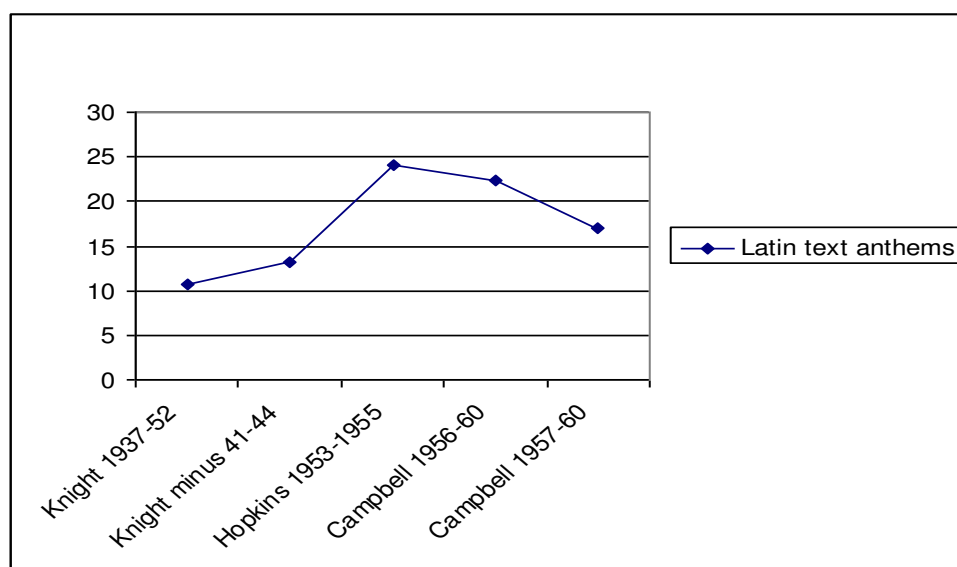
The 20<sup>th</sup> century repertoire increased over the period 1937-1960, being at their greatest during Hopkins' time, but the later Campbell lists continued to see the inclusion of newly composed 20<sup>th</sup> century music; including the Christmas anthem *Hodie Christus natus est* by Poulenc and Rubbra's *Dormi, Jesu*, both sung in Latin; a number of compositions by Campbell, himself, and new music by Britten.

**Table 26 showing average numbers of Latin anthems sung in each year in relation to the periods in office of each organist from 1937-1960**

	<b>Knight 1937-1952</b>	Knight without 1941-1944	<b>Hopkins 1953-1955</b>	Campbell 1956-1960	<b>Campbell 1957-1960</b>
Latin text	<b>10.69</b>	13.25	<b>24</b>	22.2	<b>16.75</b>

Table 26, illustrated in line chart 35, to follow, shows that the use of Latin text anthems was at its greatest under Hopkins and reduced during Campbell's period in office, but whose contribution was still greater than that under Knight, and a significant advance upon Palmer's time.

**Figure 35 showing average numbers of Latin anthems sung in each year in relation to the periods in office of each organist from 1937-1960**



Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury Cathedral 1931-1963, gave an informative summary of his perceptions of Choir School activities in his book, *Searching for Light*. In 1948 it had been recognised by the Ministry of Education and was also a member of the Independent Association of Preparatory Schools. Scholarships had been achieved by ex-

choristers to public schools such as King's School, Canterbury, Malvern, Cheltenham, Marlborough and many went on to Grammar or Technical Schools. Over a period of twenty years about one ex-chorister in every six gained a place at Oxford or Cambridge.

'The complexity of Cathedral music is first-rate mental discipline, calling for a high standard of concentration and alertness when a member of a skilled team...The Choir School was an outstandingly happy Christian community...The period of 1955 to 1962 was one in which there was a build-up of academic and musical scholarships'.<sup>312</sup>

This was high praise indeed from a Dean who fundamentally objected to the system of 'so-called' Public Schools.

The numerical records of the repertoire over the years 1936-1961 tell a story of measured progress achieved at a considerable price. Knight's enlarged early repertoire was significantly increased by Hopkins, and Vaughan Williams was now an important part of the contemporary repertoire; Hopkins also added Finzi. In Campbell's time the quality appears to have been a distillation of that heard in the earlier periods, with new vision in the music of Poulenc, Howells, Fricker, Joubert, Warlock and Britten.

In addition, the musical contribution of the choristers to the life of the Cathedral and the education that they received indicates that in no way was progress limited. The following Canterbury Cathedral choristers from this time in the choir's history went on to become professional musicians of national and international standing.

Grayston Burgess chorister 1940-1946

Mark Deller chorister 1946-1952

Simon Deller chorister 1951-1955

Christopher Seaman chorister 1952-1955

Roger Vignoles chorister 1953-1958

Trevor Pinnock chorister 1953-1959

Mark Elder chorister 1956-1961

Stephen Varcoe chorister 1958-1962

(Burgess, Mark Deller and Pinnock made careers significantly arising from their interest in early music).

These, and the many other choristers and lay clerks, had been able to contribute to the praise of God during one of the most difficult periods in the Cathedral's history, and it changed their lives, and those of people who heard them.

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<sup>312</sup> Johnson, H. (1968) Searching for Light. London: Michael Joseph. (pp344-345).

## Chapter 4

### Allan Wicks 1961-1988

The progress in expanding the choral repertoire, between 1937 and 1961, was clearly evident in the Cathedral services, but it was achieved at a price. Development both in range and variety was slowed by the effects upon the Cathedral musicians of both the Second World War, and individuals within a Chapter who were not entirely supportive. The repertoire had been enlarged to include music from Europe and non-English texts, but there was little from before the 16<sup>th</sup> century and difficulties continued with Chapter when further development was attempted.

#### 1. The Organist and Assistants

Allan Wicks was born into a clerical family in Yorkshire. His father was an Anglo-Catholic priest and encouraged his son to pursue his interests in music, particularly as a keyboard player. Wicks was appointed organ scholar at Christ Church, Oxford in 1941, did his war service in the 14<sup>th</sup> Punjab Regiment in India and returned to Oxford in 1946 to complete an English degree. In 1947 he became assistant Organist to Francis Jackson at York Minster, progressed to Manchester as Organist, coming to Canterbury in 1961. By then Wicks was already both an experienced choral director, particularly working with choristers, and well established as an Organist of repute.<sup>313</sup> The reference to his 'drive, imagination and courageous programmes' in the footnote, just cited, was borne out throughout Wicks' time at Canterbury Cathedral.

At Canterbury, Wicks retained the services of the assistant Organist, Isaac, until he went to America. His successor, Stephen Crisp, was the first to be appointed just to that role and not also as a lay clerk. Not only did Crisp, Philip Moore, Stephen Darlington, David Flood and Michael Harris, play for services on a regular basis, they also took the probationers for practice most mornings and the choristers on Wicks' day off. Wicks discussed repertoire with the assistants and listened to their suggestions.

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<sup>313</sup> In May 1962 he gave the first performance of Joubert's Passacaglia and Fugue in the Hyde Park Chapel for the London Association of Organists. It was reported upon in the Musical Times, as was his March recital at the Royal Festival Hall, when he played Messiaen and Bach. The critic said, 'Allan Wicks is an unusually capable recitalist whose drive, imagination and courageous programmes are still all too rare amongst his fellow players', (Ramsey, B. (1962) 1431: p342, Recent Events. Musical Times. London: Musical Times Publications Ltd).

## 2. The Music

The records of services during Wicks' time as Organist are not complete. There are no lists available for 1969-1977, the account that follows attempts to give a representative view from what is available.

### **2.i. Matins and Evensong Services:**

**Table 27 showing numbers of Matins and Evensong Service settings**

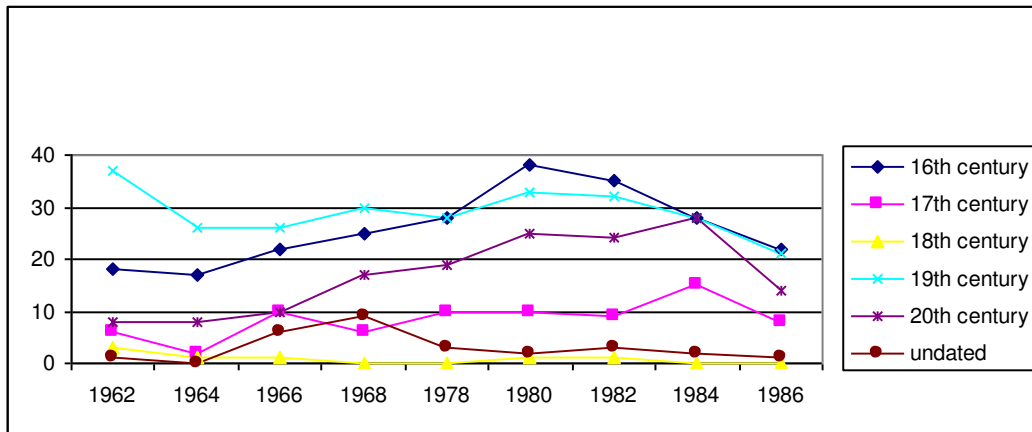
The rows indicate how many service settings composed in each century were in use for each year.

1986\* indicates an incomplete record.

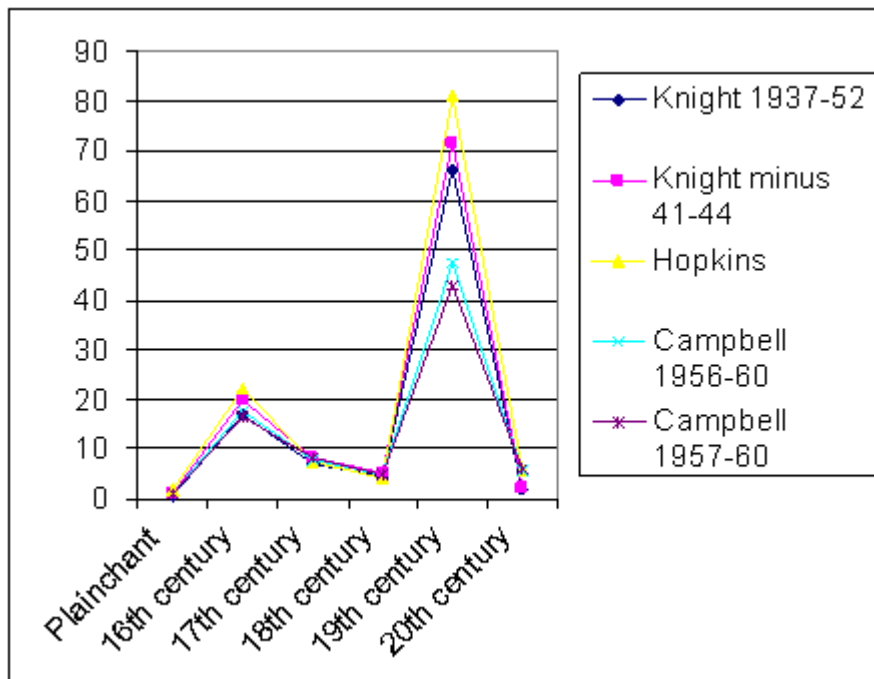
	1960	1962	1964	1966	1968	1978	1980	1982	1984	1986*
<b>Plainchant</b>	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
<b>16<sup>th</sup> century</b>	19	18	17	22	25	28	38	35	28	22
<b>17<sup>th</sup> century</b>	8	6	2	10	6	10	10	9	15	8
<b>18<sup>th</sup> century</b>	5	3	1	1			1	1		
<b>19<sup>th</sup> century</b>	46	37	26	26	30	28	33	32	28	21
<b>20<sup>th</sup> century</b>	9	8	8	10	17	19	25	24	28	14
<b>undated</b>	1	1		6	9	2+2	2	3	2	1
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>104</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>66</b>

The column in blue shows the numbers of services used during Campbell's final full year of service for comparison with Wicks' repertoire. It is relevant that there was a reduction in Matins services from 1962, from three per week, to just Sundays and Thursdays (choristers only). In 1977 further reduction was made so that Matins was only sung three times a year: Easter, Pentecost and Christmas. These changes inevitably reduced the number of service settings needed, however the totals of services sung in each of these years, having fallen after the first change, gradually increased to a larger total than those used by Campbell, as shown in 1978-1984.

**Figure 36 showing numbers of Matins and Evensong Service settings**

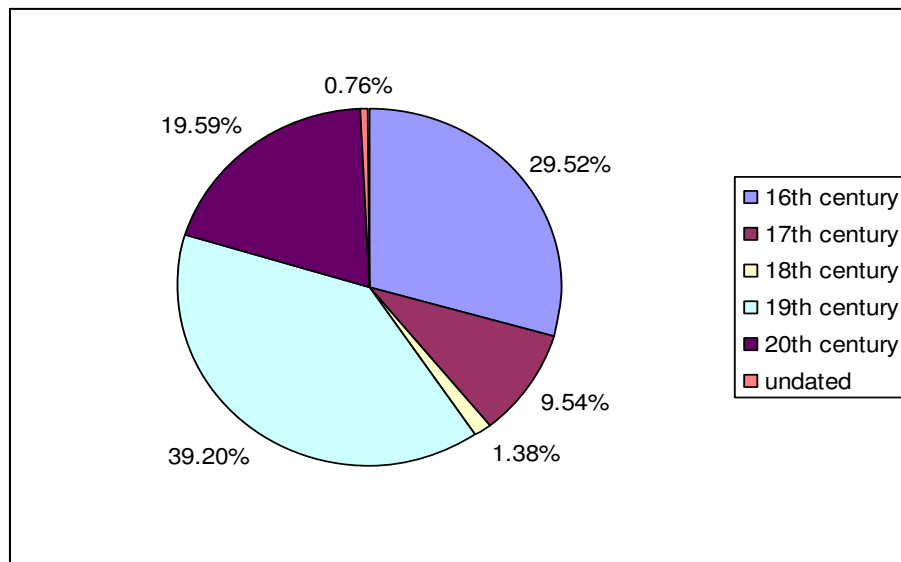


**Figure 32 showing average numbers of Matins and Evensong Service settings  
for each Organist: 1937-1961**



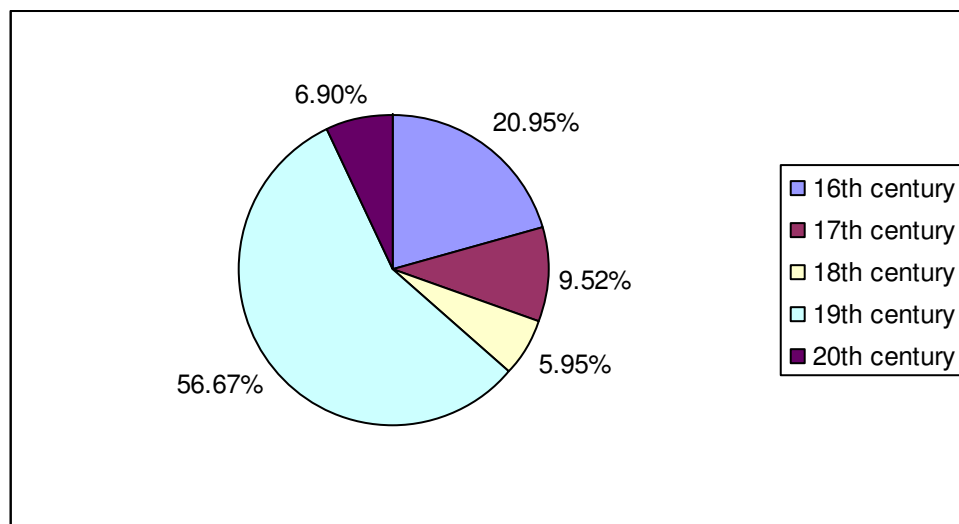
The line chart, Figure 36, showing the annual numbers of Wicks' Matins and Evensong repertoire, indicates the progress that was made upon the historical range of music, when compared with the average used by Knight, Hopkins and Campbell, shown in Figure 32. From 1978 music from the 19<sup>th</sup> century no longer significantly dominated the repertoire in the later period.

**Figure 37 showing percentages of Matins and Service settings used during 1961-1988**



Figures 37 and 27 cover music from the same five centuries, but the percentages, illustrating Campbell's Matins and Evensong services, in Figure 27, are very different to those showing Wicks repertoire. Figure 37 shows that the 19<sup>th</sup> century repertoire for 1961-1988 is somewhat less than half of the whole, while for the period 1956-1960 it is much more than half. The 16<sup>th</sup> century repertoire continued to increase; in Wicks repertoire it is almost a third of the whole, while in Campbell's time it was about a fifth. Inevitably, with the passing of time, and Wicks' enthusiasm for contemporary music, the 20<sup>th</sup> century contribution rose, from less than a tenth (Campbell) to almost a fifth (Wicks).

**Figure 27 showing percentages of Matins and Evensong Service settings used during 1956-1960**



It has not been possible to quantify the plainsong contribution to the services, but Wicks

continued the use of plainchant Tones introduced just prior to the appointment of Knight, in 1936. To this aspect of the repertoire were added other services, rooted in plainsong, by composers such as Byrd, Morley, Willan, J. H. Arnold, Wicks, Burgon and Moore. These compositions represent the incorporation of plainchant into composer-crafted music from the 16<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, or, alternatively viewed, composed music enfolding pre-existing plainchant.

Wicks' 16<sup>th</sup> century repertoire for every year that is available for examination shows that there were always services by Tallis, Byrd, Morley, Weelkes and Gibbons; settings by Tomkins were sung in all but 1963. These services included the Faux Bourdon settings used in previous years, but music by sixteen other early composers was also sung, revealing Wicks' zeal for the reintroduction of early music and settings that had previously been neglected. These included the Hooper Verse and Short Services, a three part service by William Mundy, several additional settings by William Byrd, and the Bevin Evening Canticles that had been included in Boyce's Cathedral Music volume 1, so were available to Canterbury Cathedral choir to sing for many years, but had lain, unused, until 1966. As can be seen from Figure 37 music from the 16<sup>th</sup> century was the next to largest proportion and for the first time almost equalled that from the 19<sup>th</sup>.

The 17<sup>th</sup> century repertoire chiefly represents music by Wise, Blow, Henry Purcell and his brother, Daniel. Whilst there were up to four services by Blow and Henry Purcell sung in any year, there was only one by Daniel Purcell, (c1660-1717), in the version transcribed by Stainer, copyright 1900, from the organ part. This service setting was used in Canterbury Cathedral from 1922 onwards, including throughout the war years. The fact that it has endured in Canterbury's repertoire for so many years is a tribute to the value which the musicians placed upon it. The Magnificat is set with four part choir for the beginning of the Canticle, followed by a series of three part verse sections. The first of these is for divided trebles and tenor voices.



Musical Example 76 Daniel Purcell in E minor Magnificat

VERSE  
*A little slower*

SOPRANO  
*mf* For be - hold from hence - forth all

SOPRANO  
*mf* For be - hold from hence - forth all

TENOR  
*A little slower* = 88  
*mf* For be - hold from hence - - forth all

ORGAN  
*mf*

25  
*cresc.*  
 S. gen - er - a - tions shall call me bless - ed.

S. *cresc.*  
 gen - er - a - tions shall call me bless - ed.

T. *cresc.*  
 gen - er - a - tions shall call me bless - ed.

ORG. *cresc.*

The choral layout is then changed and basses take the place of the tenors from bar 28.

Musical Example 76b D. Purcell

SOPRANO  
*f* For He that is might - y hath mag - ni - fied

SOPRANO  
*f* For He that is might - y hath mag - ni - fied

BASS  
*f* For He that is might - y hath mag - ni - fied

ORGAN  
*mf*

33

S. *p rall* me, and ho - ly, *Slower dim* ho - ly is *pp* His Name.

S. *p rall* me, and ho - ly, *Slower dim* ho - ly is *pp* His Name.

B. *p rall* me, and ho - ly, *Slower dim* ho - ly is *pp* His Name.

ORG. *p rall* *Slower*

The third variation of voices is for tenors and divided basses.

Musical Example 76c D. Purcell

TENOR *mf* And His mer - cy is on them that fear Him through - out

BASS *mf* And His mer - cy is on them that fear Him through - out all

BASS *mf* And His mer - cy is on them that fear Him through - out

ORGAN *mf*

43

T. all ge - - ner - ra - - tions.

B. gen - - ne - ra - - tions.

B. all ge - - ne - ra - - tions.

ORG.

47 *f*

T. He hath shew - ed strength with His arm,

B. *f* He hath shew - ed strength with His arm,

B. *f* He hath shew - ed strength with His arm,

ORG. *f*

Then follows a trio for altos, tenors and basses, before the full choir sings, ‘he hath put down the mighty from their seat’, each voice entering separately from the highest voice downwards, an example of musical rhetoric representing the mighty being put down. A further short three part Verse section for alto, tenor and bass completes the canticle before the four part Gloria. The whole setting provides a refreshing blend of variety and unity.

There were a few services from the 18<sup>th</sup> century in use during this time, including one each by Travers and Samuel Wesley, an Evening Service in G by Benjamin Cooke sung during two years, see Example 48, and a Te Deum in A by Boyce (1710-1779), used in 1962.<sup>314</sup> Another Te Deum set by Boyce, taken from the Service in C, was sung in four different years. None of Boyce’s music was included in his three volume collection of Cathedral Music, all was published separately. When the frequency of Matins services was reduced to only three per year neither of the Boyce settings were sung, but they were among the last of the Matins sets to be used, other than for special occasions.

#### Musical Example 77 Boyce in C Te Deum

FULL

SOPRANO Day by day we mag-ni - fy thee and we wor - ship thy name e - ver world with -

ALTO Day by day we mag-ni - fy thee and we wor - ship thy name e - ver world with -

TENOR Day by day we mag-ni - fy thee and we wor - ship thy name e - ver world with -

BASS Day by day we mag-ni - fy thee and we wor - ship thy name e - ver world with -

<sup>314</sup> In 1962 it was sung with a chanted Benedictus and the Canterbury Use Responses, quoted as Example 72.

S.  
out end. Vouch - safe, O Lord, to keep us this day with - out sin. O

A.  
out end. Vouch - safe, O Lord, to keep us this day with - out sin. O

T.  
out end. Vouch - sage, O Lord, to keep us this day with - out sin. O

B.  
out end. Vouch - safe, O Lord, to keep us this day with - out sin. O

The son of Benjamin Cooke, mentioned above, was Robert (1768-1814), he succeeded his father as Organist at both St Martin's in the Field and Westminster Abbey. Robert's Evening Service in C, a Verse Service, appears in the music lists intermittently throughout the period of study from 1873-1982.<sup>315</sup> This service is the sole 18<sup>th</sup> century entry in Table 27 for 1964-1966 and 1980-1982.

The Service begins with full choir, while this section is given to divided trebles and tenors.

#### Musical Example 78 R. Cooke in C Nunc Dimittis

VERSE  
SOPRANO  
To be a light to light - en the Gen - tiles, and to be the

VERSE  
SOPRANO  
To be a light to light - en the Gen - tiles, and to

VERSE  
TENOR  
To be a light to light - en the Gen - tiles, and to be the

Organ

<sup>315</sup> 1873-1900, 1920-1926, 1935-1940, 1945, 1955, 1962-1966 and 1980-82.

glo - ry of Thy peo - ple Is - ra - el. to be the glo - -  
 be the glo - ry of Thy peo - ple Is - ra - el, the glo - ry  
 glo - - ry of Thy peo - ple Is - rael, to be the glo - -

When looking through a chronological list of composers of Cathedral music the first name encountered in the 19<sup>th</sup> century is usually John Goss (1800-1880). He was a mainstay in the repertoire for many years, his music is well crafted, but its presence in the repertoire at Canterbury was about to come to an end, as it was replaced by settings that were either earlier in date or more contemporary. His Evening Service in E was sung in 1873-1940, 1945-1963 and 1965-1966. It moves between full choir and contrasting sections for Decani and Cantoris sides of the Choir.

#### Musical Example 79 Goss in E Nunc Dimittis

FULL  
 SOPRANO Lord, now let - test Thou Thy ser - vant de - part in peace, ac - cord -  
 ALTO Lord, now let - test Thou Thy ser - vant de - part in peace, ac -  
 TENOR Lord, now let - test Thou Thy ser - vant de - part in peace, ac -  
 BASS Lord, now let - test Thou thy ser - vant de - part in peace, ac -  
 ORGAN Full org.

6

S. - ing to Thy word. For mine eyes, mine eyes have

A. cord - ing to Thy word, mine eyes have seen, have

T. cord - ing to Thy word, mine eyes have seen, have

B. cord - ing to Thy word,

ORG.

Of the remainder of 19<sup>th</sup> century repertoire, services by Walmisley, Stanford, Wood, Harris, Howells and Sumsion were sung every year and Noble, Vaughan Williams, Bairstow and Dyson in most years.

The 20<sup>th</sup> century music for Matins and Evensong was far more plentiful than with previous Organists, chiefly because of Wicks' relationships with contemporary composers and his encouragement of potential in choristers and lay clerks. 20<sup>th</sup> century services by Tippett, Murrill, Britten, Jackson and Long were used in almost every recorded year; others, having been introduced, remained consistently in the repertoire. These included Rubbra in Ab, Hunt Short Service, together with several services by Ridout, Moore and Piccolo. More will be said about Moore and Piccolo in the section describing the Communion services and anthems. Ridout (1934-1996) was not on the Cathedral staff, but became so closely associated with its music, that he was effectively composer in residence for much of Wicks' time. His Evening Service in E became part of the repertoire in 1964. To this was added Duodecim tonorum, Services in F and C, in the next three years. In 1968 Monodies and Faux Bourdon was included, and following the lacuna in the records, the 1978 repertoire shows that the Evening Service in Bb had been introduced<sup>316</sup> and remained until Wicks' retirement, in several years all four Evensong sets of canticles were sung. Ridout in Bb is set for three part male voices; the copy is headed, '*For the men of Canterbury Cathedral choir*'. There is an attractive simplicity in the plainsong-inspired vocal lines, together with gently moving flexibility of pulse.

<sup>316</sup> The music copyright date is 1970.

## Musical Example 80 Ridout in Bb Magnificat

**Leggiero e ritmico** ♩. = c. 80

ALTO  
TENOR  
BASS

*f* My soul doth mag - ni - fy the Lord: and my spi-rit hath re - joiced in  
God my Say - iour.  
For he hath re - gard - ed the low - li - ness of his hānd-maid - en.

The three part sections are interspersed successively by choral basses, as above, then tenors and altos. The voices that follow are chiefly in unison at the octave leading to this attractively rhythmical passage.

57 *mf*  
He hath filled the hun gry with good things: and the rich he hath sent emp - ty a -  
hun - gry with good things: he sent emp - ty a -  
67 *mf*  
way. He re - mem b'ring his mer - cy hath hol - pen his ser - vant Is - ra - el:  
way. He re - mem - br'ing

The Gloria to both the Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis begins with identical music to that used for 'My soul doth magnify the Lord'. The Nunc Dimittis is given to solo tenor voice, but is pitched so that an alto could sing it, an approved variation by Ridout.

Wicks' interest in encouraging youthful enthusiasm for composition was shown in the use of Service Settings by choristers: Barlow in F (sung in 1967-1968), Seers in D minor, (1980) and Jackson in C, (1981). Jackson in C was composed by Gabriel, not Francis, Jackson. It is possible that they were in use for more than these years, but the missing records do not permit confirmation. There is a minute in the records of December 12<sup>th</sup> 1975, in which members of Chapter placed on record their appreciation of the settings for the Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis by Gabriel Jackson, born 1962.<sup>317</sup>

<sup>317</sup> CCA-DCc-CA/24, p807.

## 2.ii. Versicles and Responses

The list of Versicles and Responses in use by Campbell increased under Wicks' direction. He continued to use Ferial, Sarum, Canterbury Use, Tallis, Byrd, Morley, Tomkins and Smith, but added Kent Responses c616, a second set by Tallis and another by Darke, in 1962. Eventually the list grew to include Rose, Bullock, Ridout, Clucas, Gibbons and Barnard, Ayleward, Bright, Howells, Holmes and Reading, by 1969. The number for 1978 is even greater, all of those just mentioned were present plus: Lumsden, Leighton, Lloyd, Moore, Rutter, Darlington, Piccolo and Greening; in 1979 a set composed by the chorister Jonathan Seers was sung. All of these settings of Preces are either early or virtually contemporary, but in 1981 a version from the 18<sup>th</sup> century, by Ebdon, was included, together with a second 20<sup>th</sup> century setting by Moore and a further set composed by a chorister, Peter Vignoles. 1983 heard the first performance in Canterbury Cathedral of Preces by Leighton-Jones, which made a total of forty two sets compared to the single option of Ferial Responses in 1920. This range of alternatives has proved to be both an inspiration and an education to all who have heard them sung in Canterbury Cathedral. Visitors to the services have taken away the memory of the variety available and introduced their own parishes to them.

## 2.iii. Communion Services

### Table 28 showing numbers of Communion Service Settings

The rows indicate the century in which the Communion service settings were composed.

The columns show how many from each century were in use in the given year.

The numbers in blue represent the services sung during 1960, Campbell's last complete year, 1986\* indicates an incomplete record.

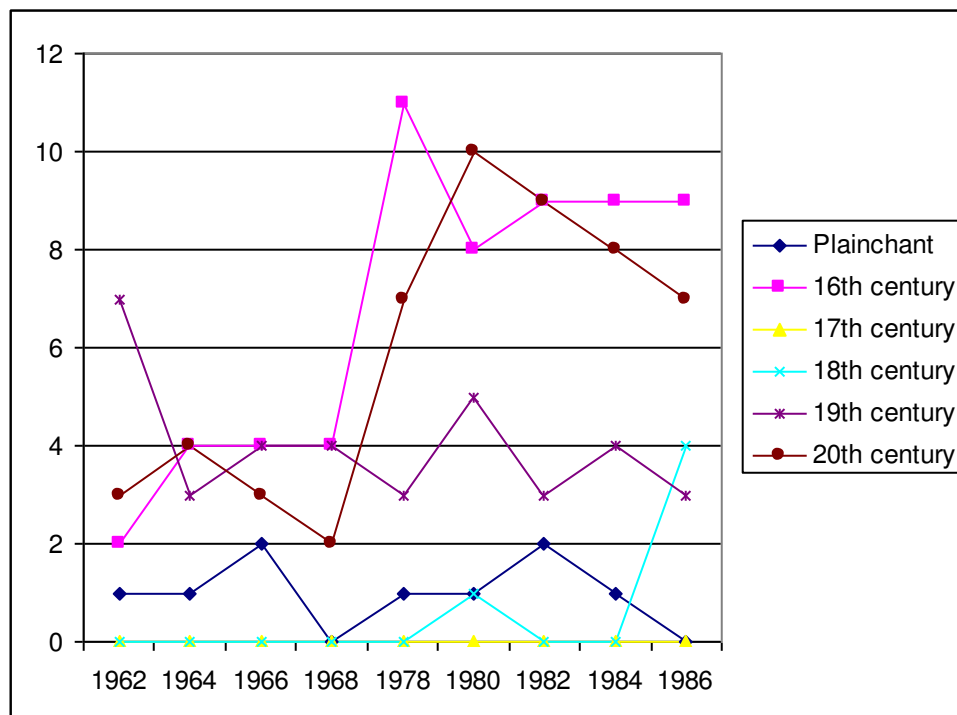
	1960	1962	1964	1966	1968	1978	1980	1982	1984	1986*
<b>Plainchant</b>		1	1	2		2	2	3	2	
<b>16<sup>th</sup> century</b>	1	2	4	4	4	11	8	9	6	9
<b>17<sup>th</sup> century</b>										
<b>18<sup>th</sup> century</b>							1			4
<b>19<sup>th</sup> century</b>	6	7	3	4	4	3	5	3	4	3
<b>20<sup>th</sup> century</b>	3	3	4	3	2	6	9	8	5	7
<b>TOTALS</b>	10	13	12	13	10	22	19	23	17	23

1968 was the last year for which records are available in which a sung communion was celebrated only on the last Sunday of each month, which explains the difference between the ten service settings used in that year and the twenty two ten years later, when the records are available. This is an indication of the increased repertoire needed for weekly Sunday communion services, unless settings were frequently repeated, (a rarity at this time in the musical history of Canterbury Cathedral).



During Wicks' time in office there were seventy three different communion services, according to the available records. Three of them were early plainchant settings, Orbis Factor, Missa de Angelis and Lux et Origo. Eighteen 16<sup>th</sup> century services were in use, and 18<sup>th</sup> century Viennese settings were entirely new introductions, always sung in their original Latin. There were fourteen 19<sup>th</sup> century services in use, but Wicks' interest in contemporary music shows in his use of twenty three 20<sup>th</sup> century settings.

**Figure 38 showing Communion Service settings for 1962-1986**

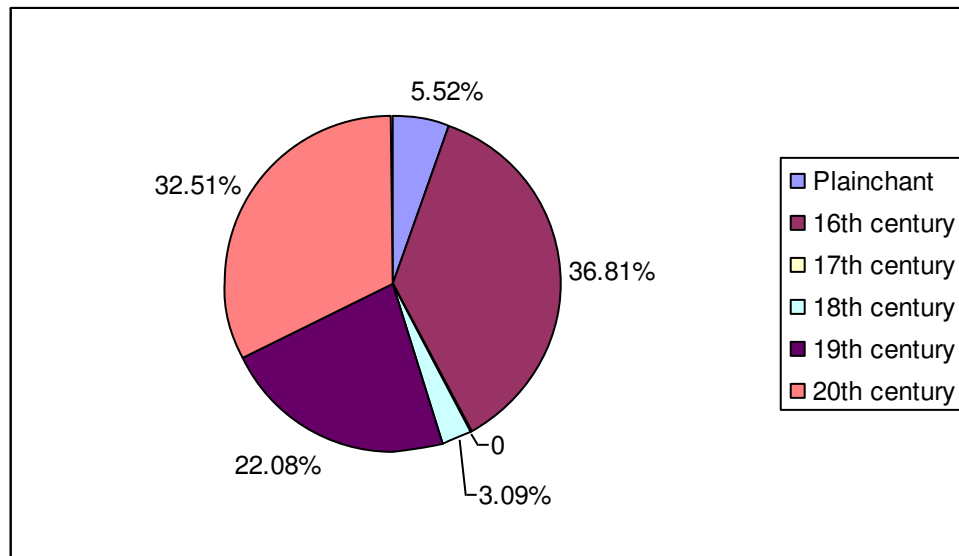


The information in Figure 38, showing the communion services in use during 1961-1988, is substantially more scattered than that for 1956-1960, when Campbell's Communion service repertoire was restricted, see Figure 28 in the previous chapter. The possible reasons for the apparent limitations were considered in Chapter 3C, describing Campbell's repertoire. In the much enlarged repertoire used by Wicks the 19<sup>th</sup> century repertoire was greatest in 1962, while in 1978, 1984 and 1986 the 16<sup>th</sup> century settings had risen to a position above the rest of the services. Plainchant services were sufficiently numerous to be shown on the chart and from 1978 onwards 18<sup>th</sup> century settings made a welcome addition to the music. In 1980 the 20<sup>th</sup> century music dominated the scene for the first time, as the repertoire from that period was now so much larger.

Figure 39 shows the historical spread of the source of Communion services for the entire period that Wicks was responsible for the music, which confirms the numerical record, Table 28, with the 16<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century services' domination of the total, but the

inclusion, for the first time in many years, of music from the 18<sup>th</sup> century. This latter repertoire is not, however, a re-introduction, it is new music to the Cathedral.

**Figure 39 showing percentages of Communion Service settings for 1961-1988**



While the numbers of communion services used from 1978 is noticeably greater than those sung in the years when Campbell was responsible for selecting the music, it is worthwhile making a comparison of the percentages.

There was a quantifiable number of plainsong communion services in 1961-1988; but not prior to that. 16<sup>th</sup> century services for Wicks amounted to more than a third compared to a little over a tenth under Campbell. There were no 17<sup>th</sup> or 18<sup>th</sup> century services under Campbell, but Wicks introduced the lively Viennese settings by Mozart, Haydn and Schubert to give a contribution from the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The largest proportion of services under Campbell was almost three quarters - representing the 19<sup>th</sup> century repertoire, and this reduced to just over a fifth under Wicks. The 20<sup>th</sup> century contribution is inevitably greater under Wicks; almost a third compared to about half of that amount chosen by Campbell.

Over the period from at least 1978-1988 three different Communion Service settings by Palestrina, were used: his *Missa Brevis*, (every year from 1978-1987 except 1983)<sup>318</sup> sung first in English then in Latin, *Missa Aeterna Christe munera* (every year from 1978 onwards) and *Assumpta est Maria* (1979, 1981-1982). Not one of these had been sung in Canterbury Cathedral since 1953. Two Masses by Lassus were new to the Cathedral: *Missa Bella amfitrit altera* and *Missa Laudate Dominum de coelis*: sung from 1981

<sup>318</sup> The dates quoted are the years in which the respective service was known to have been sung, but cannot include the years 1968-1978 for which records are missing.

onwards. William Byrd was now represented by his Four part, Five part, Three Minims and Three part male voice service. All of these settings, together with the *Missa O Quam Gloriosa* and *Missa Ascendens Christus* by Victoria were sung in their original Latin at least from 1978. The Gibbons Short Service was set in English and was used in 1978. It could have ceased to be usable from 1980 onwards, unless a Book of Common Prayer Communion Service was celebrated, as the Gibbons did not contain the *Benedictus qui venit* and *Agnus Dei*. However, Wicks returned to the practice observable during the Victorian years and supplemented, from another service setting, any parts that were missing. This he did in 1987, but sadly the contribution from the other setting cannot be named, because of incomplete records.

There were no settings from the 17<sup>th</sup> century, but in 1980 the first Viennese service, Schubert's *Mass in G*, from the 18<sup>th</sup> century was heard. It was joined by Haydn's *Little Organ Mass* and *Missa Sancti Johannis de Deo*, and Mozart's *Missa Brevis* and *Coronation Mass (Krönungsmesse)* in 1986; a third by Mozart, untitled in the lists, was added in the following year. These were chiefly used for occasions when less solemnity was needed, such as *Mothering Sunday*, and all were sung in their original Latin language.

Almost all of the 19<sup>th</sup> century communion services would have been sung in English as that was their original language, apart from the Stravinsky (1979, 1984 and 1987) and Poulenc (1982-1983) *Masses*, which were sung in Latin.

It is inevitable that over the period of twenty seven years, during which Wicks was Organist at Canterbury Cathedral, an increased number of 20<sup>th</sup> century communion services would have been sung. As can be seen from Table 28 above, there were between two and nine contemporary settings sung in each year. Figure 37, showing percentages, indicates a larger proportion from this century than from the 19<sup>th</sup>. Most of these 20<sup>th</sup> century settings were English in origin and were set in English: the George Malcolm *Missa ad Praesepe* was also listed as *Mass at the Crib* (1964-1965, 1967, 1981), the Latin text copies for which have the English written into them. Duruflé *Missa Cum Jubilo* (1981-1982) and two services by Langlais: *Messe Solenelle* (1965, 1980, 1982, 1985-1986) and *Missa in Simplicitate* (1984, 1986) for unison choir, being French in origin, were sung in Latin. The English services included Walton's *Coronation Mass*, Berkeley's *Missa Brevis*, Britten's *Missa Brevis* and *Mass in C*, Rose's *Missa Choristarum* and Wicks' *Tones viii* (1978, 1980, 1982, 1984 and 1985).

Initially, the inclusion of the *Benedictus qui venit* and *Agnus Dei* was named on the service sheet, for example they were listed for a service in a 1964 performance of Byrd's

Five part Mass<sup>319</sup> and in 1967 the Vaughan Williams Service in G minor was sung in its entirety for a service of Ordination in the presence of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Those elements of the liturgy were included at the time of composition of the communion service, but Stanford was one of the church musicians who composed a setting in F, which could be included in services when his earlier settings were in use. On the occasion of the farewell to Archbishop Coggan Stanford in Bb, C and F, in 1980, were listed; the parts in F would have been the Benedictus qui venit and Agnus Dei.

In his Tones viii Service Wicks set a very short Sanctus which leads immediately into the Benedictus qui venit. It was composed at a time when the latter was permitted by the Alternative Service rubrics, but not yet in use in many churches. It is included in the service lists for 1978, but as there is no date of composition on the hand-written manuscript, without the complete records it is not possible to determine exactly when it came into the repertoire; it was used thereafter. It has a flexible rhythm in the style of plainchant, and is for unaccompanied four part choir. It has no repetitions of text and each syllable is set to one note, thus the words are eminently audible.<sup>320</sup> Because of its brevity it is possible to quote it in its entirety.

#### Musical Example 81 Wicks Tones viii Sanctus

SOPRANO  
Ho - ly, Ho - ly, Ho - ly Lord

ALTO  
Ho - ly, Ho - ly, Ho - ly Lord

TENOR  
God of pow-er and might, Heav-en and earth are full of your glo - ry.

BASS  
God of pow-er and might, Heav-en and earth are full of your glo - ry

<sup>319</sup> Once the Alternative Service Book was published in 1980, they were no longer specified in the service sheets. For a complete chart of Liturgical changes from 1549 onwards, see Appendix 3.

<sup>320</sup> It therefore conformed to the guidelines of the Reformation, should that have been required at this time.

5

S. *ff* Ho - san - na in the high - est.

A. *ff* Ho - san - na in the high - est. *p* Bless - ed is he that

T. *ff* Ho - san - na in the high - est. *p* Bless - ed is he that

B. *ff* Ho - san - na in the high - est. *p* Bless - ed is he that

7

S. *f* Ho - san - na in the high - est.

A. *f* comes in the name of the Lord. *f* Ho - san - na in the high - est.

T. *f* comes in the name of the Lord. *f* Ho - san - na in the high - est.

B. *f* comes in the name of the Lord. *f* Ho - san - na in the high - est.

Also in the repertoire were Leighton's *Missa Sancti Thomae*, Ridout's *Canterbury Mass* and *Missa Angelorum Saltantium*, Ferguson's *Kent Mass*, Moore's two communion settings and Piccolo's *Canterbury Mass*.

By comparison to the conciseness of the Wicks setting, the Sanctus, alone, from the *Canterbury Mass* by Philip Moore (1943- ), is forty seven bars long. This double choir setting of the Rite A Order of Service, was composed in 1982, marked 'For Allan Wicks and the Choir of Canterbury Cathedral'.<sup>321</sup> Blessed is He who comes in the name of the Lord, follows the Sanctus, but is set separately with a slower metronome marking. The *Canterbury Mass* was still in use at the end of Wicks' time as Organist in the Cathedral. Its calm, homophonic introduction, in a reverential mood, is overlapped by the contrapuntal setting of the words, 'Heaven and earth are full of your glory'. This section starts quietly and rises in pitch and dynamic into the 'Hosanna, in the highest', which then fades into a homophonic ending.

<sup>321</sup> CCA-DCC-MS/124.

## Musical Example 82 Moore Canterbury Mass Sanctus

**Con moto, ma tranquillo** ♩ = 108

1  
Ho - ly, Ho - ly, Ho - ly, Lord.  
might. Heav'n and earth are full of your glo - ry.

2  
Ho - ly, Ho - ly, Ho - ly, Lord.  
Heav'n and earth are full if your  
Heav'n and earth are full of your glo - ry.

1  
Po - wer and might.  
Ho - ly, Ho - ly. Heav'n and earth are

2  
Ho - ly, Ho - ly, Lord. Heav'n and earth  
Ho - ly. Heav'n and earth are full of your glo - ry.

Ho - ly, Ho - ly, Ho - ly, Lord.

Moore<sup>322</sup> composed a Canterbury Service for Series 3 Communion Rite,<sup>323</sup> also dedicated to Allan Wicks and the Choir of Canterbury Cathedral. It was published in 1978, while the Canterbury Mass remains in use, but in manuscript form.

Anthony Piccolo came to Canterbury Cathedral from America in 1976 and remained as a tenor lay clerk until 1981. His name appears in the service lists in 1978 (there being no

<sup>322</sup> Moore was Wicks' assistant Organist from 1967-1974, following graduation from the Royal College of Music, and two and a half years of teaching at Eton. From Canterbury he moved to Guildford Cathedral as Organist and Master of the Choristers. In 1983 he took the same role at York Minster, where he remained until his retirement in 2008. Since then he has devoted his time to organ recitals and composition of church and instrumental music. He returned to Kent to play for Wicks' funeral at Wye Parish Church, in 2010.

<sup>323</sup> CCA-DCc-MS/139.

lists in existence for 1970-1977) as composer of three evening services, a Canterbury Mass, two sets of Responses, a Litany, a Venite (sung in 1985) and several anthems, one of which will be discussed as Musical Example 88.

#### 2.iv. Advent Antiphons

In the preparation of the 1549 Boke of Common Praier Advent Antiphons<sup>324</sup> had been banned, as were Anthems and Invitatories, (described as ‘vain repetitions’) as it was considered that they broke the continuity of the reading of Scripture.<sup>325</sup> Knight, Hopkins and Campbell used Invitatories<sup>326</sup> for Advent, Christmas, Epiphany, Easter and Whitsun, but no mention is made of Antiphons. The Antiphons are, however, included in the lists from Advent 1961, when Wicks had just been appointed, and appear on the fortnightly registers thereafter; but not the Invitatories.

#### 2.v. Anthems

**Table 29 showing numbers of anthems**

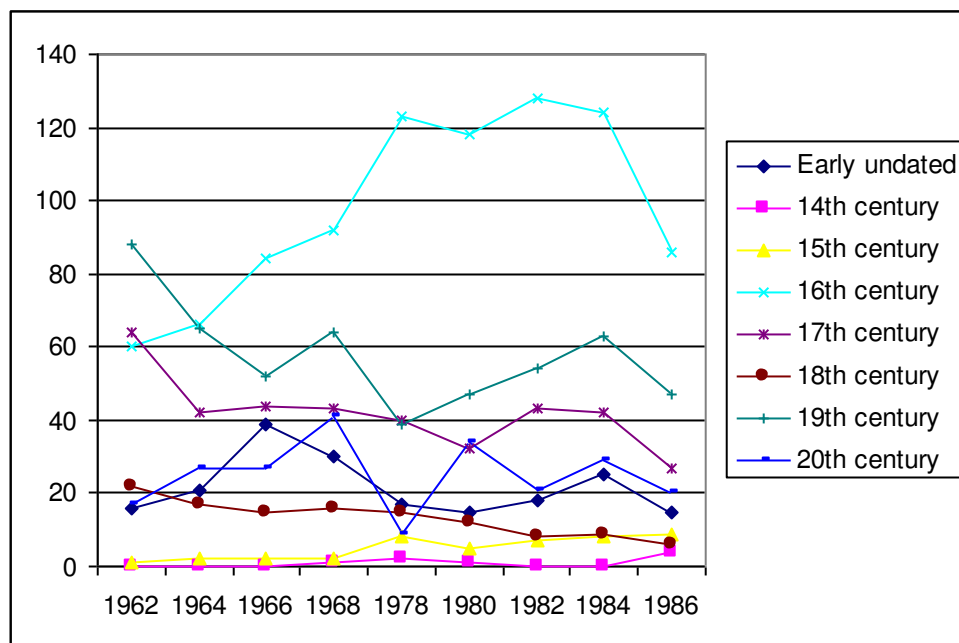
The rows indicate the century in which the anthems were composed.  
The columns show how many from each century were in use in the given year.  
The numbers in blue represent the services sung during Campbell’s last complete year,  
1986\* indicates an incomplete record.

	1960	1962	1964	1966	1968	1978	1980	1982	1984	1986*
Early undated	8	16	21	39	30	17	15	18	25	15
14 <sup>th</sup> century					1	2	1		1	4
15 <sup>th</sup> century	1	1	2	2	1	8	3	7	6	8
16 <sup>th</sup> century	48	60	66	84	92	123	118	128	124	86
17 <sup>th</sup> century	46	64	42	44	43	40	32	43	42	27
18 <sup>th</sup> century	24	22	17	15	16	15	12	8	9	6
19 <sup>th</sup> century	66	88	65	52	64	39	47	54	63	47
20 <sup>th</sup> century	15	17	27	27	41	9	34	21	29	20
undated	2	1	1			1		1		
TOTALS	210	269	241	263	288	253	262	280	299	213

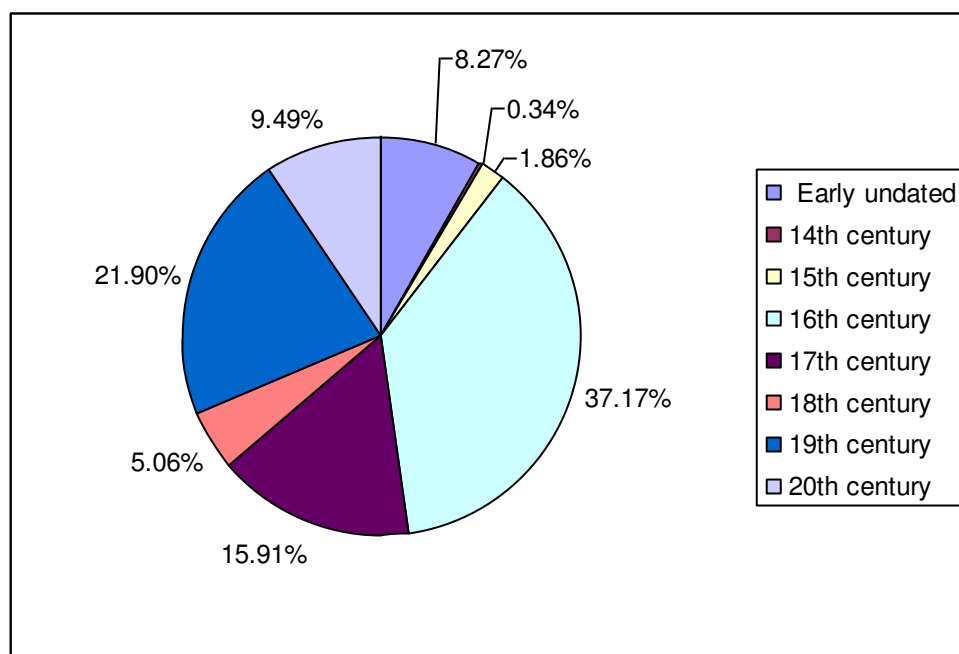
<sup>324</sup> O Adonai, O Clavis David, O Emmanuel, O Oriens, O Rex Gentium, O Sapientia, O Virgo Virginum.

<sup>325</sup> Phillips, C.H. (1979) *The Singing Church*. London: Mowbrays. p66.

<sup>326</sup> Invitatory Antiphons were recommended by Poole in the Chapter Meeting of September 24<sup>th</sup> 1938. This was agreed, initially, for six months, for Holy Days and Sundays, CCA-DCC-CA/29, p11.

**Figure 40 showing numbers of Anthems for 1961-1988**

Campbell's anthem repertoire, Figures 30 and 31, shown in the previous chapter, makes an interesting comparison with that of Wicks. One of the major differences is that under Campbell the 19<sup>th</sup> century list is greatest throughout the whole of his time at Canterbury, while with Wicks from 1964 onwards the 16<sup>th</sup> century anthems are greatest in number and the 19<sup>th</sup> century music falls, over all. One possible reason for the reduction in 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century repertoire in 1978 is considered in the section describing problems with the organ.

**Figure 41 showing percentages of Anthems for 1961-1988**



The largest portion, in Figure 41, is the 16<sup>th</sup> century, at just over a third; while the comparably sized section in Campbell's repertoire was 19<sup>th</sup> century music. There is nothing from the 14<sup>th</sup> century and only half of one percent for the 15<sup>th</sup> in Campbell's repertoire, while Wicks' music from these two periods amounts to more than two percent, it is small, but indicates significant ventures into the past.

Knight had introduced the practice of using traditional music from early sources, but without known composers, it was therefore impossible to date them; many were suited to the Advent and Christmas season. Wicks continued to do this, with numbers of songs varying from sixteen in 1962 and 1986 to thirty nine in 1966. The 13<sup>th</sup> century Anglo-Latin English melody for the Annunciation, *Angelus ad Virginem*, was referred to in chapter 1. The first line of that song was incorporated, by Stanford, into his anthem: *Blessed are the dead*. In 1965 Wicks included the original dance-like music in his traditional and folk repertoire. In addition to this, and other, early music with no known composer, Wicks was the first Organist at Canterbury Cathedral to introduce compositions drawn from the 14<sup>th</sup> century, with named composers, since the Reformation. In a post-retirement recorded interview with Cathy Dew Allan Wicks talked about his involvement in the post war (1940s) York Mystery play in York Minster. He had been asked to provide music to set the scene for the play, but chose contemporary music because it simply did not cross his mind to use medieval.

“Utterly unversed we all were apart from specialists. No big mass of medieval music available to us – no CDs – very little of it played”.<sup>327</sup>

He did, nonetheless, include the early hymn, *Pange lingua*, in the play. This occurrence indicates the great progress that had been made in setting an authentic musical scene since that York Mystery play.

Wicks' total anthem repertoire covered a period of almost six centuries using the dates of birth of composers, Power (c1375/80) and Seers (1954), not including the early music that cannot be dated. Campbell's repertoire spread from 1489 (date of birth of Cranmer) to 1927 (date of birth of Joubert), less than four and a half centuries, again this does not include the early music with no known composer.

From 1964 onwards there were pre-16<sup>th</sup> century compositions introduced to the repertoire: first Ockeghem (c1430-c1495), then Josquin Dèpres (c1440-1521) from 1966, Dufay (c1400-1474) and Dunstable (c1385-1453) both from 1967. At this point Dunstable, with his innovative use of thirds and sixths, to add variety to perfect fourths and fifths,<sup>328</sup> was the earliest composer, but Power (c1375-1445) joined the lists from

<sup>327</sup> [www.yorkmysteryplays.org](http://www.yorkmysteryplays.org)

<sup>328</sup> Wikipedia. Oxford Music Online: John Dunstable (accessed 7.6.2011).

1978 and took his place. Then music by Mouton (c1459-1522) and John Benet (c1380-c1458) both from 1984 and Thomas Damett (1389-1436) from 1986, completed the 14<sup>th</sup> century list. Several of these very early texts were about the Virgin Mary, two welcoming the coming of the Creator and the Holy Spirit, respectively, and the Benet was an *Agnus Dei*.

In 1978 and 1985 Power's *Beata Progenies* was sung, but in 1986 and 1987 it was his *Ave Regina Coelorum*. *A Century of Cathedral Music 1898-1998*, by John Patton<sup>329</sup> includes both anthems in its lists drawing upon repertoire sung in seventy five choral foundations. There were only four entries, nationally, for *Ave Regina Coelorum*, in 1986, one of which must have been that sung at Canterbury. The single *Beata Progenies* was sadly not from Canterbury, but Power is the earliest dated composer in the book's lists, just as he is the earliest composer to whom anthems are attributed in the Canterbury records.<sup>330</sup> Although Canterbury Cathedral cannot claim the credit for the single performance of that anthem, in 1986, had the survey covered the previous year the story might have been different because *Beata Progenies* was sung at Canterbury in 1985. Nonetheless, no other choral foundation in the United Kingdom is listed as singing anything, with a named composer, earlier, to 1986, or indeed to 1998, when the Patton study ends.

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, Power directed a choir of boys at Christ Church Priory. He had retired to Canterbury from service as a court musician to the household of Thomas, Duke of Clarence; the brother of King Henry V. He came out of retirement and was appointed by John of Salisbury, the Prior, to form a choir of boys to sing the daily Lady Mass in the morning and a Marian Votive anthem each evening in the Lady Chapel.<sup>331</sup>

In 1978 *Beata Progenies* was heard at Evensong, sung by the lay clerks, at the beginning of September, before the choristers had returned from their holiday. It was included in a service which consisted of Sarum Versicles and Responses, and evening canticles sung to Tones vii (Solemn) and i, thus all the choral music came from the same medieval timescale.

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<sup>329</sup> Patton, J. and S. Taylor. (2000) *A Century of Cathedral Music: 1898-1998*. Winchester. Privately published.

<sup>330</sup> Power's date of death is given in Patten's book, as his date of birth, incorrectly. See the chapter about Power in Bowers, R. (1999) *English Church Polyphony: Singers and Sources from the 14<sup>th</sup> to the 17<sup>th</sup> Century*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

<sup>331</sup> The successors to these singers were to be the choristers of the choir of the New Foundation Cathedral of Christ Church, Canterbury as the first Dean was appointed in 1542, following the dissolution of the monastery in 1540.

Musical Example 83 Power Beata Progenies

Alto  
Be - a - - ta - - pro - ge - ni - es un -

Tenor  
Be - a - - ta - - pro - ge - ni - es un -

Bass  
Be - a - - ta - - pro - ge - ni - es un -

12  
A.  
de Chri - stus - - na - tus - - est. Quam glo - ri -

T.  
de Chri - stus - - na - tus - - est. Quam glo - ri -

B.  
de Chri - stus - - na - tus - - est. Quam glo - ri -

23  
A.  
- o - - - sa - - est - Vir - go quae cae -

T.  
- o - - - sa - - est - Vir - - go quae cae -

B.  
- o - - - sa - - est - Vir - - go quae cae -

34  
A.  
- li - re - gem - ge - nu - it.

T.  
- li - re - gem - ge - - nu - - it.

B.  
- li - re - gem - ge - - nu - - it.

The 15<sup>th</sup> century repertoire under Campbell was solely the Exsurge by Cranmer, but during Wicks' time as Organist, twenty seven anthems by thirteen composers were steadily added. Cornysh, Cranmer and Taverner were English, the remainder, including Dufay, Ockeghem, Josquin and Isaac, came from Europe, being chiefly Franco-Flemish or French in origin.

The large 16<sup>th</sup> century repertoire included all the composers that had been used by previous Organists. The following list provides an idea of the larger contributions from this century to the repertoire.

Tallis:	15 anthems, 7 of them in Latin
Palestrina:	23 anthems, all in Latin
Lassus:	16 anthems, 14 of them in Latin
Byrd:	57 anthems, 39 in Latin, one sung in English and Latin
Victoria:	20 anthems, all but two in Latin
Händl:	8 anthems, all but one in Latin
Morley:	7 anthems, 3 of them in Latin
Philips:	10 anthems, 8 sung in Latin
Tomkins:	18 anthems, 2 sung in Latin
Weelkes:	9 anthems, all in English
Dering:	7 anthems, only 1 in English
Gibbons	21 anthems, all in English
Schütz:	10 anthems, 2 in English, 5 in Latin, 3 in German
Batten:	11 anthems, all in English

Palestrina and Lassus had not been included during Campbell's time, but were reinstated by Wicks.

As can be seen from this list, in addition to a remarkable number of anthems sung in Latin, the language of German was now added at least from 1978.

In addition to the list above of larger composer contributions, from 1978 new names in the anthems list drawn from the 16<sup>th</sup> century, were Gombert: Lugebat David Absalom, Morales, Clemens non Papa, Philipp de Monte, Guerrero: Canite tuba, Parsons: Ave Maria, Lorenzo Donati: Non vos relinquam orphanos, White: several anthems, including *Christe qui lux es et dies*, Ferrabosco: *Fuerunt mihi lacrimae*, Villanueva, A. Gabrieli, G. Gabrieli, Hassler, Monteverdi: five Latin anthems, from 1968, Amner and Schein (one anthem sung in 1966 and 1968 in English and thereafter in German). Much of this repertoire would be readily used in contemporary concert programmes, but were new to the Cathedral services at Canterbury. This repertoire was listed as sung from 1978, or later, except the White: *Christe qui lux es et dies* (which was used from 1968 onwards) and two anthems by Giovanni Gabrieli, which were introduced in 1964. However, G. Gabrieli's *Exultet jam angelica* was a special addition to be sung on May 29<sup>th</sup> 1982, at the Celebration of Faith in the presence of Pope John Paul II.

The 17<sup>th</sup> century list of anthems began very much the same under Wicks as in Campbell's repertoire, with contributions by Childe, Locke, Humfrey(s), Wise and Blow, but there were choice introductions, such as the motet, *O mysterium ineffabile* by Lallouette (1651-1728). Jean Baptiste François Lallouette had been a chorister at St Eustache, Paris, and studied composition with Lully. He composed his church music for use in the Roman Catholic services of the day and this motet is a most attractive setting for boys' voices.

Records of a concert in Versailles, entitled ‘Chapelle royale du château de Versailles dated Dimanche 17 Novembre 2002’, of music by Choirmasters of French Cathedrals, include the information that the text is by Pierre Portes: from *Cantique pour les principales festes de l’année*, dated 1685.<sup>332</sup> It was listed as part of the repertoire of Canterbury Cathedral choristers in 1978, 1980 and 1982.

#### Musical Example 84 Lallouette O Mysterium Ineffabile

Andante cantabile molto espressivo  $\text{♩} = 52$   
*mp*  
 Voice O my - ste - ri - um in - ef - fa - bi - le! O char - ri - ta - tis sa - cra  
 ORG. \* *p*

7  
 Voice men - tum ad - mi - ra - bi - le! O bo - ni - ta - tis pro - di - gi - um! O  
 ORG.

12  
 Voice — pi - e - ta - tis mi - ra - cu - lum!  
 ORG. *tr*

There were eleven anthems by Purcell in use during Campbell’s time, but under Wicks that increased to twenty seven, including *Jehovah quam multi sunt*, sung in Latin. Bach’s list of thirty alternatives under Campbell increased to fifty four, and several of those, including three of his motets, were sung in German. Handel options also increased from thirteen to a total of twenty six, but most were not new introductions; they were taken from oratorios, both solo arias and choruses that had been in the repertoire in the past. Two additions were sung in Italian, both performed in 1980, the remainder were all in English.

<sup>332</sup> Information from <http://philidor.cmbv.fr/jlbweb> accessed 24.08.2010.

\* Below the word ORG. is the word ‘editorial’.

The 18<sup>th</sup> century repertoire was broadly the same under both Organists, but Wicks' interest in music of the past caused him to revive compositions that had not been heard for centuries. Such was the Jubilate by Samuel Porter, (1722-1810) which was used as an anthem at Evensong, in the absence of a Matins service in which it could have been sung as a canticle. Porter was a predecessor of Wicks, having been the Organist of the Cathedral from 1757-1803. O be joyful in the Lord was sung in 1986 and included in a recording, made by the Cathedral Choir, in that year.<sup>333</sup> It creates a cheerful and convincing picture of the text, using choir, organ and two groups of solo voices.

Musical Example 85 Porter O be joyful in the Lord

The musical score is written for four voices: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The key signature is one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is 3/2. The lyrics are as follows:

SOPRANO: O be joy - ful in God all ye lands, serve the

ALTO: O be joy - ful in God all ye lands, serve the Lord with

TENOR: O be joy - ful in God all ye lands, serve the Lord, the

BASS: O be joy - ful in God in ye lands, serve the

6

S. Lord with glad - - - ness and come be -

A. glad - - - - - ness and come be -

T. Lord with glad - - - ness and

B. Lord with glad - - - ness and

<sup>333</sup> A Canterbury Celebration. Allan Wicks, The Canterbury Cathedral choir, Accompanist Michael Harris. Converted to CD. (1996) Guild Music Ltd. GMCD 7116.

11

S.  
fore his pre - sence, his pre - sence with a song.

A.  
fore his pre - - - - sence with a song.

T.  
come be - fore his pre - sence with a song.

B.  
come be - fore his pre - sence with a song.

The 19th century repertoire was modified by Wicks, slowly, but continually. By 1982 five motets by Bruckner had been added, all of them sung in Latin. The Brahms repertoire was increased, and, from 1980, included two anthems in German: *Warum ist das Licht gegeben* and *Wenn ein starker gewappnetter*. The third of Stanford's Latin motets, *Coelos ascendit*, was added to *Beati quorum*, which was sung almost every year, and *Iustorum animae*. The list of Vaughan Williams' music increased significantly from six compositions, under Campbell, to twenty one during Wicks' years. Both an *Ave Maria* (from 1968) and a *Pater Noster* (1984-1986) by Stravinsky are recorded as being sung. Anthems by Howells increased in number from two to eleven. Finally the valuable contribution made by Poulenc to sacred music was acknowledged in Canterbury Cathedral. *Hodie Christus natus est* had been sung every Christmas since 1958, with Campbell, but by 1986 there were ten of his motets in use, including *Tout puissant, très saint*, sung in French in 1982. The full set of *Quatre petites prières* was listed in 1986 for Evensong on 27<sup>th</sup> July, and again for the City Festival Evensong on 28<sup>th</sup> September.<sup>334</sup> Sacred song was now heard almost always in its original language, whether English, Latin, German or French.

Campbell used anthems by twenty seven 20th century composers, but Wicks had fifty five, ranging from Copland, (1900-1990) to Jonathan Seers, a chorister born in 1954.

Changes in the communion service liturgy over the centuries have already been referred to in earlier chapters; the practice of including sections of the communion service as anthems is evident from 1892, but it did not continue during the period when Hopkins was in post, a possible attempt to do so by Campbell in 1956 produced negative comment, although periodically the *Ninefold Kyries* and *Agnus Dei* were included in the communion services, according to the 1928 *Alternative Service Book*, by Knight, Hopkins and Campbell.

<sup>334</sup> On this latter occasion the Introit was Poulenc: *Exsultate Deo*, Responses were by Reading and the service Purcell in G minor.

Wicks included the Kyries, Benedictus qui venit and Agnus Dei in the correct places of the communion liturgy until they were adopted in the official Alternative Series I Service in late 1961, but he also reintroduced the practice of using these sections of the services as anthems.

The second composer in the 20<sup>th</sup> century anthem list is Rubbra (1901-1986). His *Missa Cantuariensis*, composed for the choir of Canterbury Cathedral in 1945, was referred to in the section describing Knight's service music. It became a regular part of the communion service repertoire, thereafter. Rubbra was specifically asked to set the text of the English Rites of both 1662 and 1928, when he composed it in 1944-1945, hence the inclusion of the Ninefold Kyries, the Benedictus qui venit and Agnus Dei. The Rubbra Agnus Dei was used by Knight as an anthem in 1948, as did Wicks in 1966 and 1968, in addition to its regular part in the full communion service.

Rubbra's Agnus Dei, is, like all but the Credo, written for unaccompanied double choir. Each voice enters separately in canon; the voices coming together for the words 'have mercy upon us', and 'grant us Thy peace'. The whole movement is quietly reflective of the text.

#### Musical Example 86 Rubbra Agnus Dei

The musical score for Rubbra's Agnus Dei is presented for a double choir. It consists of seven staves, each representing a different voice part: Alto, Tenor, Bass, Treble, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The tempo is marked 'Adagio' with a metronome marking of 60. The key signature is one sharp (F#). The lyrics are: 'O Lamb of God that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us, grant us Thy peace.' The score shows the vocal lines for each part, with lyrics written below the notes. The music is written in a simple, reflective style, with long notes and a slow pace.

Rubbra's gentle anthem *Dormi Jesu* was also used frequently during Wicks' time as Organist.



Two Latin anthems by Duruflé were introduced from 1980 onwards together with some of the spirituals from *Child of our Time* by Tippett (1905-1998). Having just completed this oratorio, Tippett had composed some precious music for Canterbury Cathedral. The motet *Plebs Angelica*, and the circumstances of its conception in 1943-1944, was discussed in the chapter describing Knight's time as Organist, although it was the Precentor, Poole, who initiated its composition. It was sung only once in 1944 and was probably musically in advance of the language that could be appreciated at that time. Wicks, however, was pleased to reintroduce the skilfully crafted and expressive description of angelic peoples, set for unaccompanied double choir; it became a regular part of the repertoire. Rhythmical flexibility supports the word underlay in a similar way to Tudor musical setting, rather than making the text fit the music. Each choir is given a line of text, which draws to a cadence as the other choir enters, introducing the next set of words.

Musical Example 87a Tippett *Plebs Angelica*

The musical score for *Plebs Angelica* is presented in a system of ten staves. The first five staves are for individual voices: SOPRANO, ALTO, Decani, TENOR, and BASS. The last five staves are for a combined choir: Soprano, Alto, Cantoris, Tenor, and Bass. The music is in 4/4 time and begins with a tempo marking of *Moderato*, which changes to *Con moto*. Dynamics include *p* (piano), *mf* (mezzo-forte), and *f* (forte). The lyrics for the first part are: "Plebs an - gel - i - ca, an - gel - i - ca." The lyrics for the second part are: "pha- lanx".

From bar 41 the choirs combine as each of the eight voices enters, but with no silence until the final cadence. The whole appears to be continuous, but has places where the momentum eases, rather than stopping.

## Musical Example 87b Tippett Plebs Angelica

47

S. - si co-las.

A. *p* trans -fert - e nos -

T. *mf* trans fert - e nos -

B. *p* trans -fert - e nos - *mf* trans -

S. *mf* trans fert - e nos in Par - a - di - si - co - las. *p* trans -fert -

A. *mf* trans -fert - e nos in Par - a - di - si - co - las. *p*

T. *p* nos in Par - a - di - si - co - las. *mf* *p*

B. *mf* trans -fert - e nos trans -fert - e

Poole's concern, in 1944, about Latin text has to be acknowledged as being relevant at that time. Wicks, however, was far more interested in the effect of the music and its sentiments, and the vocal score, copyrighted in the year of its composition, contains a translation by Miss Helen Waddell, who had contributed this comment: 'The weak endings and inner rhymes of the Latin poem make it inadvisable to sing the anthem except in that language'.<sup>335</sup>

Wicks' expertise in performing music by Messiaen on the organ, has already been mentioned, he also included the expressive choral motet, *O sacrum convivium*, composed in 1937, in the Canterbury repertoire, but not until 1986.

The Rubbra *Agnus Dei* is not the only section of a 20<sup>th</sup> century communion service used by Wicks in his anthem repertoire. There were also settings of the same words by Walton (1966) and Britten (1968, 1980 and 1984), together with Britten's *Kyrie eleison* in both 1964 and 1966 (key unknown), and the *Kyrie in C* in 1962-1963 (before using the *Missa Brevis in D*, as a full communion service in 1964-1965 and intermittently until 1986). The *Sanctus* from the *Missa Brevis* was also used in 1964 as an anthem. The list of twenty

<sup>335</sup> The reference made in 1944, by a member of Chapter, describing the anthem as an 'invocation to the Saints', is not entirely accurate, the call is to the 'angelic hosts', all of whom are included, with many more, in the hymn *Ye watchers and ye holy ones* which was in the 1933 edition of the *English Hymnal*, in use in Canterbury Cathedral at that time and still today in its new edition.

compositions by Britten, in Wicks' repertoire, was the longest of any from the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

A few of the anthems and motets were used only once, but most were sung many times throughout the years. Another large contribution by one composer was that of Ridout, already referred to in the section describing service settings. His music was first heard in 1964, when there were three of his anthems in the repertoire, but by the end of Wicks' time at Canterbury there were eighteen in total.

In 1975, Anthony Piccolo (1953- ) came from America to the United Kingdom and sang for a year in Lichfield Cathedral. The following year he joined the Canterbury Cathedral lay clerks as a tenor. Wicks rapidly took advantage of Piccolo's creative skills and many new compositions followed, which were used on a regular basis in the Cathedral. He composed a Canterbury Mass which was first sung in 1980, two sets of Preces, including one called Accession Responses, and two Evensong Services as well as three anthems: I look from afar, Jesus Walking on the Waves and Wonder.

Jesus Walking on the Waves is performed as an anthem, but Piccolo created it as a cantata with four contrasting sections. It is written as a dramatisation of the Gospel story; the part of Peter sung by a treble and that of Jesus, by a tenor. It entered the repertoire in 1980 and was recorded by the Canterbury Cathedral choir in 1989, but is not yet in publication.

#### Musical Example 88a Piccolo Jesus Walking on the Waves

Slow ♩ = 63

SOPRANO

ALTO

TENOR

BASS

Rough seas bat-ter'd our boat In the blast-brimm'd storm When we left our Lord and

Rough seas bat-ter'd our boat In the blast-brimm'd storm

6

S. *mp* In one with God our Je - sus knelt in prayer,

A. *mp* In one with God our Je - sus knelt in prayer,

T. *pp* While we strug-g'l'd

B. *pp* crossed to the o - ther side. *f* while we strug-g'l'd

**Musical Example 88b Piccolo Jesus Walking on the Waves**

43 ♩ = 58 *f* desperate *ff*

PETER Save me, Lord, *ff* save me!

JESUS *f* (near) How lit - tle is your faith! I will

S. *mp* ah *mf* ah *mp* ah *mf* ah

A. *mf* ah *mf* ah *mf* ah

T. *mf* ah *mf* ah *mf* ah

B. *mf* ah *mp* ah *mf* ah

**Musical Example 88c Piccolo Jesus Walking on the Waves**

PETER

S. *mp* and on our lips, we sang, *ff* Tru - ly you are the Son of God!

A. *mp* and on our lips, we sang, *ff* Tru - ly you are the Son of God!

T. *mp* and on our lips, we sang, *ff* Tru - ly you are the Son of God!

B. *mp* and on our lips, we sang, *ff* Tru - ly you are the Son of God!

68 Strictly in time

PETER *mp*

S. *mp* The

Tru - ly you are the Son of God!

A. *mp*

Tru - ly you are the Son of God!

T. *mp*

Tru - ly you are the Son of God!

B. *mp*

Tru - ly you are the Son of God!

70

PETER

Son of God!

S. *> pp*

n.

A. *> pp*

n.

T. *> pp*

n.

B. *> pp*

n.

The choristers sang Piccolo's specially written anthem, *Wonder*, on their North American tour in 1987, in addition to using it in the Cathedral.

## 2.vi. The Litany

In 1966, the Sarum Litany was sung in procession on Remembrance Sunday; the following year processional litanies were used on Ash Wednesday, Good Friday and Rogation Sunday, the latter after Evensong. This practice was continued to 1969, but following the lacuna in the records to 1978, there is no mention of sung litanies. The Litany has been a basic part of the Christian liturgy for centuries, but, because of its length, has not always been popular. One of its original uses was a processional aspect of supplication, particularly in times of war. Because fear of war reduced during the later 20<sup>th</sup> century, a sung litany would not have seemed as necessary as in earlier times.

## 2.vii. Languages

The Chapter book records indicate that attempts to control the repertoire, that had been so evident during Campbell's time, continued after Wicks was appointed, in particular

regarding the use of Latin for anthems. In August 1962, the list of three approved Latin text anthems agreed in 1957 was sent to the Organist for any suggested revisions.<sup>336</sup> In April of the following year the following appears in the Chapter meeting records: ‘Attention was drawn to the words of a Latin Anthem sung at Evensong on March 24<sup>th</sup>, 1963’, it was Allegri’s Miserere.<sup>337</sup> At that same Chapter meeting permission was given for the following anthems to be sung in Latin,

‘but agreed that a directive be issued that no other Latin anthems should be sung without previous reference to the Dean, or in his absence, to the Vice Dean’.<sup>338</sup>

Christmas	Hodie, Christus natus est	Sweelinck
	Gaudete, omnes	Sweelinck
	Jesu, dulcis memoria	Vittoria
Ash Wednesday	In jejunio et fletu	Tallis
Passiontide	Salvator mundi	Blow
Maundy Thursday	Ave verum corpus	Byrd
Ascension Day	Ascendit Deus	Philips
Saints Days	O quam gloriosum	Byrd
	Gaudent in coelis	Philips
	Justorum animae	Byrd
	Beati quorum	Stanford

This is an identical list to that issued on October 12<sup>th</sup> 1957, omitting Byrd’s Non vos relinquam orphanos, for Whitsunday, possibly in error. Effectively no progress had been made at all in widening the approved repertoire in almost six years, to include music from the past, if it was in Latin. The continued desire of individuals within Chapter to control and restrict the repertoire is evident in this action in the early 1960s. Prejudice against Tudor polyphony is confirmed, together with a resistance to the aim for greater authenticity in the performance of all music. Oral evidence indicates that the repertoire was less restricted during the time of assistant Organist, Philip Moore, 1967-1974, but the original languages were not consistently used. However, David Flood, assistant Organist,

<sup>336</sup> CCA-DCC-CA/22, p510.

<sup>337</sup> As such it is simply Psalm 51 sung with Allegri’s original Latin text. It is possible that until that time it had been sung in English translation, which would mean that even if the congregation did not follow the words in their prayer books, they would still be very familiar with the sense of the text.

Stephen Varcoe, now an international baritone soloist, was a chorister with Campbell and remained under Wicks until 1963. ‘Allan Wicks came in 1961 when I was 12, and therefore already quite senior in the system...he took us through lots of vocal and breathing exercises... Within a matter of weeks I became [a] soloist, doing Brahms’ Requiem, Allegri’s Miserere, Mendelssohn’s Hear my Prayer.’ (Varcoe, 30.11.08). It is therefore possible that Varcoe was singing the first treble line in the Allegri that was complained about, because of its Latin text.

<sup>338</sup> CCA-DCC-CA/23, p19

1978-1986, has said that by the time he arrived at the Cathedral most of the repertoire was sung in the original language in which it had been composed.

Much has been said about the use of Latin for anthems, and then, later, services sung in Latin, but Wicks included other languages, for anthems and motets, in his aim for authenticity of performance, as listed first in the section describing 16<sup>th</sup> century anthems. German texts were used from 1978, (the lacuna in the records immediately precedes this date, so it is possible that the first dates were a little earlier): the list is as follows:

Schütz: Die mit Tränen säen 1978

Schütz: Jauchzet dem Herren alle Welt 1984

Schütz: Selig sind die Toten 1978, 1980

Schein: Die mit Tränen säen (1966-1969 listed in English) 1980-86 in German

Bach: Dem wir das Heilig 1980, 1985

Bach: Nun danket alle Gott 1984.

Bach: O Gott, du frommer Gott 1985

Bach: *Ob sich's anliess* 1985

Bach: Was Gott tut, das is wohl getan, 1980.

From 1981 three of Bach's Motets were included in the repertoire. Komm, Jesu, komm, was sung on three occasions in that same year, one of them a BBC radio broadcast. Lobet den Herrn, alle Heiden, was performed in 1985 and that would have seemed to be sufficient, as far as motet length was concerned, for a service in an Anglican cathedral. However, the double choir setting of Singet dem Herren ein neues Lied, which is far longer, and more demanding, although exhilarating, to sing, was heard in 1985. The longest of the motets Jesus, meine Freude, was not used in its entirety, but the initial chorale was listed as Jesus, priceless treasure in English in 1964, having been in the repertoire since at least 1935.

Three other motets were listed as sung in German:

J. C. Bach: Die gute Gottes 1980

Brahms: Warum ist das Licht gegeben 1980

Brahms: Wenn ein starker gewapnetter 1980, 1984

In 1980 two treble solos were sung in their original Italian language. They were *Dulcis amor*, *Jesu care* and *Silete venti* by Handel.

1982 was the year in which the first French motet was heard. It was the second of Poulenc's *Quatre petites prières*: *Tout puissant, très saint*. Four years later, in 1986, the complete set for four part men's voices was listed.

The use of these original languages for motets and anthems is another confirmation that Wicks would not be deterred, permanently, from authenticity of performance.

### **3. Cathedral business**

#### **3.i. Music and Chapter**

Reference was made in the previous chapter about the restricted service repertoire. Comparisons with that used for communion services, by Campbell in 1963, at St George's Chapel, Windsor are of interest. In that year in addition to the three Byrd Masses, there were four performances of Stanford in C and F, and, on one occasion, Stanford in Bb and F, both of which were missing from Wicks' repertoire at Canterbury at that time. The sections in the key of F were the Benedictus qui venit and the Agnus Dei in the version set by Stanford to be added to several of his services, which were not used in Canterbury Cathedral for some years to come. Wicks reintroduced the Byrd Mass in Three Parts for men's voices at Canterbury in 1962 (it was Friday 24<sup>th</sup> August, during the school holidays, when the chief protagonist against early music was absent from the Cathedral). It was used again, in 1964, as a part of a Procession and Eucharist attended by Archbishops and Metropolitan of the Anglican Communion, (again it was during school holidays). For an Ordination by the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the same year, the Byrd Five Part Mass was also sung. It was specified in the service lists that the Benedictus qui venit and Agnus Dei were sung in that performance, although in all of these early services the Kyrie, Creed and Gloria were sung to either the Missa de Angelis or Merbecke settings. No mention of these matters was made in the Chapter Book at the time, but music was listed as a subject for discussion at Chapter meetings twice in January 1965 and the following month; but each time it was marked 'deferred'.<sup>339</sup> There is no record of any discussion taking place on this subject, but in the August 19<sup>th</sup> 1966, meeting:

'Dr Shirley drew attention to the number of occasions upon which the questions of conducting and the singing of anthems in Latin had been raised at Chapter meetings in the past. Some members expressed considerable disquiet at certain aspects of music in the Cathedral and it was agreed that these matters should be considered at a future meeting'.<sup>340</sup>

Canon Shirley had retired from teaching in 1962 at the age of 72, but became more intimately involved in the Cathedral's daily activities until ill health took its toll. He is recorded as being 'tired and weak'<sup>341</sup> at this time, and had perhaps lost some of his combative spirit, but remained a member of the Cathedral staff until his death, still in office, in 1967. The next record of a reference to Latin anthems in Chapter Book 23 was in June 1974, and the matter was not raised thereafter.

The changes in Chapter did not entirely remove the pressure upon the musicians to conform to what has to be seen as non-musical influence. In later years an Archdeacon of

<sup>339</sup> CCA-DCC-CA/23, pp205, 208, 214.

<sup>340</sup> Ibid, p413.

<sup>341</sup> Edwards, D. L. (1969) F. J. Shirley: An Extraordinary Headmaster. London: SPCK.



Canterbury, asked that music should be sung in English when he was in residence, not because of prejudice against Latin, but because he had been working with the Vatican II Council, in Rome, for some years. Pawley did a great deal to foster Anglican/Roman Catholic relationships at the time when the Catholic Church was aiming for greater accessibility to the congregations regarding language.<sup>342</sup> His mindset would therefore seem disposed towards immediate comprehension of text, as a new venture, rather than antipathy towards the Latin.

As indicated in the quotation above, dated August, 19<sup>th</sup>, 1966, the repertoire was not the only musical matter to be raised in Chapter meetings, choral direction came under scrutiny also. ‘Conducting’ was raised in October 1965.<sup>343</sup> A letter from the conductor, Sir Adrian Boult, had been sent to the editor of the RSCM News. A copy of this letter was read to members of Chapter and it was agreed that the Dean should draw the attention of the Organist to it; the minutes of the St Catherine’s Audit dated December 2<sup>nd</sup>, contained further information. It was decided that the use of a conductor’s stand in the middle of the Choir should be discontinued. Chapter requested that conducting be ‘cut to the minimum’.<sup>344</sup> It is clear from this discussion that the mechanics of producing music for the services were required to be as remote as was at all possible, preferably invisible. Stephen Varcoe recalls Campbell conducting the choir from beside the stalls, when he was first a chorister in the Cathedral, if no accompaniment was required, so conducting was not completely novel. Prior to the departure of Isaac from his post as assistant Organist and lay clerk, the Organist always played the organ for any music that required accompaniment. Stephen Crisp became Wicks’ assistant Organist in 1964, and from that time it became possible for the Organist to direct the choir from the floor of the Choir rather than by remote control from the organ on the pulpitum, as the assistant or organ scholar played the organ, before, during and after services. In the course of time the sight of the Organist conducting the choir, from a stand beside the Cantoris choir, became so ordinary that it drew no attention away from the conduct of the services.

### **3.ii. Change in Ecumenical relationships and its effect upon the repertoire**

The avoidance of anything hinting at Roman Catholic practices, such as prayer to the Virgin Mary or adoration of Saints such as occur in the Eastern and Russian Orthodox churches, had been carefully avoided for centuries, but, little by little, musicians became less wary. Changes in attitude towards different Christian denominations were evident,

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<sup>342</sup> Pawley, B. (1962) *Looking at the Vatican Council*. London: SCM Press Ltd.

<sup>343</sup> CCA-DCc-CA/23, p288. This is by contrast to a comment in 1959 when Dr Shirley agreed to speak to the Precentor about the choirboys using ‘becks and nods’ to convey the beat of the music across the Choir, in the absence of a conductor (CCA-DCc-CA/22 p787).

<sup>344</sup> *Ibid*, p307.

through the years from 1966, in particular, but the approach was indirect, initially. Archbishop Ramsey had a regular ecumenical dialogue both with Cardinal Heenan, Archbishop of Westminster, and also the Chief Rabbi of the Jewish Church. In each of the three years 1966-1968 there were visits from Archbishops from the Eastern Orthodox Church present at Evensong: the Lord Archbishop of his Beatitude of Rumania, His Grace the Lord Archbishop of His All Holiness the Oecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople and Lord Archbishop of His Beatitude German, Serbian Orthodox Patriarch of Belgrade. It is possible that these, or similar, ecumenical visits were repeated, but the missing records cannot confirm it. In 1970 a Roman Catholic Mass was planned in the Cathedral Precincts, as part of the Thomas Becket Commemoration. There were many objections to the plans, but Dean Ian White Thomson and Chapter maintained their support of the celebrations. Members of the Roman Catholic pilgrimage, which included the Bishop of Chartres, were granted permission for priests to robe and sit in the Choir at Evensong. Afterwards, a letter from the Queen Mother's secretary was received, congratulating the Dean and Chapter for the service, together with a formal expression of satisfaction from the Archbishop of Canterbury for the success of the Roman Catholic Service and 'gratitude to the Chapter for its firm stand in this matter'.<sup>345</sup> Another of the significant days in the Cathedral's ecumenical life, since the Reformation, was 28<sup>th</sup> May, 1978, when a Benedictine Mass was sung in the Crypt in the morning, and Monastic Vespers were sung in Latin with Cardinal Hume as preacher. By this time Archbishop Ramsey had retired and Donald Coggan had been appointed in his stead. His interest in intensifying ecclesiastical relationships did not change from that of his immediate predecessors; there was no withdrawal of contact, but a continued welcoming of ecumenical associations. It was in May 1982, while Robert Runcie was Archbishop of Canterbury, that Pope John Paul II made his visit to the Cathedral; the first Pontiff ever to do so. The following year, the Patriarch of Antioch attended Evensong in the Cathedral.<sup>346</sup>

These visits by senior members of other Christian Communion were not the first to take place in Canterbury Cathedral. Dean Hewlett Johnson had invited a delegation from the Russian Orthodox Church to visit in 1945. Later that year, the Archbishop of Canterbury and Archbishop of Damaskinos of Athens, Regent of Greece attended Eucharist together in the Cathedral. Sadly, those visits were tainted by the naivety, spiritual pride and political affiliations of Johnson,<sup>347</sup> so the ecumenical outreach from the Mother Church of

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<sup>345</sup> CCA-DCC-CA/23, p1107.

<sup>346</sup> According to church tradition, this ancient Patriarchate was founded by the [Apostle Saint Peter](#), (see Acts 11:26). As such the Patriarch had been the traditional overseer since the formation of the first gentile Christian community.

<sup>347</sup> Beeson, T. (2004) *The Deans*. London: SCM Press Ltd. p167.

the Anglican Communion, at that time, cannot be seen in the same light as the occasions during the 1970s and 1980s, but it was a beginning to dialogue.

The softening attitude towards Roman Catholic tenets shows in the repertoire. Detailed study of service lists from 1961 onwards, reveals, for example, use of the Ave Maria text, during Wicks' time as Organist. Reference was made to the anthem Give ear by Arcadelt, Musical Example 54, in Knight's repertoire, as an unfulfilled opportunity to sing an English translation of an Ave Maria. The Ave Maria text speaks to the Virgin Mary and asks for her prayers, a concept that could raise questions regarding its churchmanship. The first setting in Canterbury Cathedral since the Reformation, sung in 1961, was by Mozart (1756-1791), followed, in 1962, by the Hail Blessed Virgin Mary: Corona di Sacre Canzoni, in its arrangement by Wood, sung in English. Others, sung in Latin, were to follow: in 1968 by Mouton (c1459-1522) and Stravinsky (1882-1971). More were added: Parsons (c1528-1572) and Cornysh (c1465-1523) from 1978 and Monteverdi (1567-1643) from 1981, Byrd (c1538-1623) from 1982, Verdonck (1563-1625) in 1983, with Victoria (c1548-1611) and Bruckner (1824-1896) both introduced in 1986. There were other texts also addressed to the Virgin Mary, such as those mentioned in connection with the anthem Beata Progenies by Power, Example 83. Sadly, the gap in the records from 1969-1977 means that the list might be incomplete, there were, however, thirteen identifiable settings of the Ave Maria in the repertoire by the time Wicks retired in 1988, dating from the 15<sup>th</sup> century to the almost contemporary Stravinsky.

The text of the anthem: O Mysterium Ineffabile Musical Example 84, by Lallouette, merits brief examination. It was sung in Latin, the text is dated 1685, and is a song of love for the Eucharist, a veritable paean of praise and affection; it is therefore a rarity.

O mysterium ineffabile!	O unspeakable mystery!
O charitatis sacramentum admirabile!	O wonderful sacrament of love!
O bonitatis prodigium!	O marvel of goodness!
O pietatis miraculum!	O miracle of holiness!
O amor! O pietas!	O love! O holiness!
O epularum jucunditas!	O joy of Feasts!
O convivarum felicitas!	O happiness of fellowship! <sup>348</sup>

The words are so unlike those that would have been used describing the communion service in earlier Anglican years. Sung communions were very infrequent services until 1890, then were celebrated chorally only once or twice a month until 1977, when they became weekly; approximately the time this anthem began to be used. A text, such as O mysterium ineffabile, would have been totally unacceptable in the years when the

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<sup>348</sup> English translation provided in: Lallouette, J. F. edited Lindley, S. (1979) O Mysterium ineffabile. Dorking: Royal School of Church Music.

approach was Puritan in its ethos; fear of being considered ‘Popish’ would have prohibited the use of such emotive words until the last quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. As such their use is evidence of greater respect for ecumenicalism in Canterbury Cathedral, in addition to welcome for early and non-English music and the reinstatement of the Eucharist as the central part of the Cathedral worship.

### **3.iii. Choir School/Choir House**

Until the late nineteen thirties the choristers were all day boys, either living with family or guardians near to the Cathedral. In November 1936 Canon Shirley had successfully persuaded the Dean to move the Choir School to 12 The Precincts, but in 1937, 18 The Precincts, was chosen to be its new location. The necessary building and furnishing work was completed for number 18 to become a day and boarding school.<sup>349</sup> After the war, life in the Choir School went well, until 1972, when recruiting success exerted pressure on the buildings. Both the Choir School headmaster and Wicks required that the pupils be provided with a full education, including Sciences and Physical Education, (which Wicks took himself) in addition to the basic subjects. Attempts were made to resolve issues of staffing, classrooms and facilities for the full curriculum but in April 1965 Wicks expressed his fear that boys might be lost to other schools.<sup>350</sup> In October 1966 the headmaster married the school matron, but because of Chapter’s continuing requirement that Choir School headmasters should be unmarried, they both had to resign, leaving vacancies both for headmaster and matron.<sup>351</sup> At this time it was not at all uncommon for lay clerks to be additionally employed as teachers in the Choir School, and Canon Marriott’s successor was such, but could clearly not combine the posts. The vacancy was advertised but it took some months to fill the headmaster’s post and the appointee left in 1969, creating another vacancy.<sup>352</sup> The combined need to maintain a large number of boys in the Choir School and House, which included musical, but non-singing boys, to support the finances of the school,<sup>353</sup> had required larger accommodation than could be provided within the Precincts. A number of schools were then approached with a view to the choristers receiving their education outside the Precincts, but none proved viable,<sup>354</sup> until 1971, when a satisfactory solution was found. Consultants suggested, in confidence, that the Dean should see the Headmaster of St Edmund’s School, Canterbury, with a view

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<sup>349</sup> Sparks, M. (2007) *Canterbury Cathedral Precincts: A Historical Survey*. Canterbury: Dean and Chapter of Canterbury.

<sup>350</sup> *Ibid*, p427.

<sup>351</sup> *Ibid*, p436.

<sup>352</sup> *Ibid*, p869.

<sup>353</sup> Mould, A. (2007) *The English Chorister: A History*. London: Hambledon Continuum Books. (p254)

<sup>354</sup> Both Milner Court School and Archbishop’s School were considered.

to forming an association regarding the education of the Choir School boys. The decision was made on September 24<sup>th</sup>, 1971, to proceed towards provision of education at St Edmund's School, but to retain the existing Choir School premises as Choir House, with an age span of 9-13.<sup>355</sup> A last minute attempt to make the links with King's School came to nothing, and the plans for changes in the Cathedral Precincts and beginnings at St Edmund's School, Canterbury, were made during the remainder of the school year. From July 28<sup>th</sup> 1972 Choir House was referred to in the Chapter meeting minutes, not Choir School.<sup>356</sup> The intentions of 1937, when the Choir School for day boys had become a boarding school for the Cathedral choir boys, were modified and 18 The Precincts became the Choir House.

Notwithstanding all the daily round of services sung by the choir together with recordings for records and broadcasts, overseas visits were undertaken too. In 1981, a long weekend was spent in Rheims, when they sang High Mass in the Cathedral. Two years later they made a tour of East Germany in the company of the choir of Rochester Cathedral. The following year they accompanied the Archbishop of Canterbury in the American Cathedral, in Paris, and sang the Eucharist. They also gave a recital in St Germain and choral Evensong at Notre Dame.

During their three week tour of the United States of America, in 1987, the choir included some of Piccolo's music, in his own country.

### **3.iv. Liturgical changes**

Following the failure of the 1928 revision of the Book of Common Prayer in Parliament, the desire for change, of many churchmen, did not disappear. The reasons for lack of success were examined and, in the most part, accepted. It was clear to the members of the first Liturgical Commission of the Anglican Church, appointed in 1955, that there had been two irreconcilable elements: the conservative evangelicals on the one side and the supporters of High Churchmanship on the other. The Scottish Anglicans had readily accepted the 1928 Rites and the Alcuin Club, amongst other English churchmen, strongly supported its use; their views were expressed in 1934 and again in 1935, but with conciliatory tone. A semi-official Shorter Prayer Book was issued in 1947, and proved a best seller. A Liturgical Commission's Review was set up by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York in 1955, when they acknowledged the value of the 1928 Alternatives. This 1928 prayer book was now to be used as a working document for drawing up a schedule of variations to be used for an experimental period of seven years. By 1959, the Archbishop of Canterbury had changed his mind on various points and

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<sup>355</sup> CCA-DCc-CA/24, p118.

<sup>356</sup> Ibid, p266a.

nothing more was undertaken until 1964-1965.<sup>357</sup> By this time the Archbishop had retired and the initial Prayer Book (Alternative and other Services) had been passed both by Church Assembly and Parliament. In December 1966 Canterbury Cathedral's Chapter Book records acknowledge discussions at a higher level, and consider Liturgical practices in the Cathedral, specifically in relation to the Alternative Communion Service.<sup>358</sup> Plans to prepare a printed service and an introduction to Series II rites, by the Dean, were in progress in November 1968. The first sung service listed in the Service records as being a Series II Eucharist, is dated Wednesday, 9<sup>th</sup> April, 1969; possibly regarded as a 'trial run', it is not mentioned in the Chapter Book records. In March 1971 it was agreed in Chapter that Series II Communion was to be used at the said 8.00am service on Wednesdays and Saturdays, and would be sung in the Cathedral nave on the '4<sup>th</sup> Sunday of May, June, July and August, if there were no obstacles'.<sup>359</sup> 1973 saw the introduction of discussions about the use of Series III, which was to be used in the Nave on Maundy Thursday and a series of Sundays thereafter. In 1980 the Alternative Service Book was issued and continued as a supplement to, but not a replacement for, the 1662 Book of Common Prayer.<sup>360</sup> The results of the liturgical changes, in relation to the service settings, had long been anticipated. The Matins and Evensong settings needed no alterations as the Book of Common Prayer continued to be used for those services beyond 1980, it was the Alternative Communion Service that required some additional music, and changes in the wording. As already mentioned from chapter 1 onwards, the addition of the now legal Benedictus qui venit and Agnus Dei had been foreseen and many composers had made the necessary provision, which Wicks and his predecessors had taken up since the late 1930s in Occasional communion services. The Ninefold Kyries, Creed and Gloria were provided by the contemporary composers with relevant texts and they already existed in the European service settings that had come from the Roman Catholic part of the Christian Church, which were sung in their original Latin language from at least 1978, so needed no revision.

### **3.v. The Organ**

In 1964, a report was received by Chapter, from Mander Organs, the company that was maintaining the health of the Cathedral organ. The Organist was requested to obtain a further report from Willis and Sons, who had completed the rebuilding of the organ in 1949 at a cost of £16, 729. The following month a statement was received from F. H.

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<sup>357</sup> Gray, D. (2006) *The 1927-28 Prayer Book Crisis: 2*. London: The Alcuin Club and The Group for Renewal of Worship. (pp42-51)

<sup>358</sup> CCA-DCc-CA/23, p517.

<sup>359</sup> CCA-DCc-CA/24, p41.

<sup>360</sup> An overview of Liturgical changes is included as Appendix 3.

Browne and Company, a locally based organ building and repair firm, but no response had arrived from Willis. In 1965 Wicks said that parts of the organ were no longer working and Browne and Company was asked to make temporary repairs and provide a quotation for installing a new blower,<sup>361</sup> later that year there were discussions about either rebuilding the Grand Organ or purchasing a new one. Early in 1966, Dr Gerald Knight visited and made a report upon the state of the organ and a short while later, a letter from Sidney Campbell was noted by Chapter, although the contents are not included in the records. In May, it was decided that the organ should be given a thorough overhaul and the Hammond Organ was to be retained for services in the nave. It is clear from the Chapter book records that the existing Hammond organ was not a popular instrument, and a replacement upon the screen would not be welcomed.<sup>362</sup> Chapter supported Wicks in his desire for the Willis organ to be restored, and the estimate of £18, 287 was accepted. The request for a newly designed console, which would be invisible from the Nave and Choir levels was considered and eventually agreed, discussions continued and appeals were launched to raise the funds.

An example of musical resourcefulness in difficult circumstances was shown when, for the 1975 Enthronement of Archbishop Donald Coggan, Stephen Darlington, the assistant Organist, and Wicks played the Willis and Mander organs simultaneously in the organ loft, as neither instruments had sufficient power at that time, to meet the demands of a particular piece of music. This was a major feat of concentration and musicianship as both instruments speak at slightly different speeds, and with significantly different timbres. This is an example of the condition of the organ and the time it took to return it to a fully functioning part of the Cathedral services, being relevant to the repertoire, particularly of anthems. Table 29 shows that a similar number of anthems were sung from 1962-1980, but the historical spread changed. In 1962, 77 anthems were early in origin, while 105 were from the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, most of the latter requiring organ accompaniment. In 1968, 124 early anthems/motets were sung, very few of them needing the organ to accompany them, while there were 105 from the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century, the same number as in 1962. The early unaccompanied repertoire had increased noticeably. In 1978 the changes that relate to organ accompaniment are even more evident, 150 anthems/motets in the early, mainly unaccompanied, group and only 48 in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century range, which could have needed the organ. 1978 shows up as the year<sup>363</sup> in

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<sup>361</sup> CCA-DCC-CA/23, p222.

<sup>362</sup> *Ibid*, p375.

<sup>363</sup> The National Organ Register states that the organ was rebuilt by N. P. Mander Holdings Ltd, during this year, 1978, and reduced to three manuals. (The British Institute of Organ Studies 2005, accessed 31.03.2011). The refurbishment of the organ was completed in 1979. (Liner note to Sounds of Canterbury. 1989. Compact disc. DDD 68.26. York CD 107).

which the repertoire was most significantly affected by the lack of a large sound from the organ.<sup>364</sup>

#### **4. Conclusion**

When he was first appointed Wicks knew there were elements within Chapter who did not approve of the Tudor polyphony and Latin text that he required in the range of repertoire he considered appropriate for a British Cathedral. It clearly caused him concern, but did not consider that being personally agreed with was as important as his duty to God and music. In 1962 a request was made that any Introits sung for services should be hymns,<sup>365</sup> but there were no further criticisms about the use of music, the historical range of the repertoire, or authenticity of performance from 1967, onwards. The main complainant was no longer in a position to speak, and quite rapidly it was possible for new editions, and Latin text, even German, French and Spanish text to be used much more frequently in the anthems (with English translations provided in the service sheet), and, more significantly, by 1978, the service settings were sung in their original language, whether English or Latin.

The Matins and Evensong repertoire was, as always, restricted in its ability to include music that was composed earlier than the 16<sup>th</sup> century, as those services were created from the pre-Reformation monastic offices and did not exist before the Reformation. However, the authentic plainsong settings were maintained during Wicks' time as Organist, and listed in the service records according to the Tones that were used. More Faux Bourdon settings were added; the available list includes: Tallis, Causton, Byrd, Morley, Gibbons, Holmes, Arnold, Willan and Moore. There was also an increased number of plainsong inspired versions, by Tallis, Bevin, Morley, Causton, Holmes, Tomkins, Blow, Willan, Stewart and Ridout. The number of Matins and Evensong services in the repertoire shown in Table 27 is not a full illustration of the significant increase in alternatives between that of Campbell and Wicks because there were so few Matins services taking place in the latter Organist's time. For example: in 1960 there were 88 services listed, but only 69 Evensong settings sung; while in 1980 there were 109 services listed and 106 of them were for Evensong. Contemporary service settings were included as were new discoveries of early compositions and revivals of services from the Restoration period. The new settings included some by choristers, such as Stephen Barlow, Jonathan Seers and Gabriel Jackson, who were always encouraged by Wicks to

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<sup>364</sup> Sadly the absence of service records for 1969-1977 makes it impossible to demonstrate the evidence to support this theory for the intervening years. The difference between 1968 and 1978 is clear, and in 1980 the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century repertoire increased again, indicating that the organ could be used much more effectively, once more.

<sup>365</sup> CCA-DCC- CA/22, p1137.



develop their compositional skills. Members of staff, such as Moore, Darlington and Piccolo were also welcomed to make their offerings to Cathedral worship, together with Ridout. Wicks was never complacent about his repertoire and continued to seek new and well crafted service settings.

The significant increase in communion services was shown in Table 28, when the total of ten settings in Campbell's 1960 repertoire was compared with the number sung in each of the Wicks listed years. Wicks' total of seventy three different communion service settings according to the available records, embracing plainchant services, early English settings, Viennese services, together with the best from the Victorian period and newly composed music, reveals a thriving Cathedral, celebrating the reinstatement of weekly sung Communion as the central act of worship from 1977. Campbell's repertoire may have appeared smaller simply because he repeated the same music, year upon year, as practised during 1873-1936, when some service settings and anthems were sung several times in a year; this was not replicated during 1961-1988. As already stated, from at least 1978 service settings were sung in their original language, whether English or Latin, which was a great step towards authenticity of language for settings of the Anglican Church liturgy, with its English Rite, for which, since the 1549 First Prayer Book of Edward VI onwards, the language had to be English, regardless of origin.<sup>366</sup> The wording, sequencing and music of the pre-Reformation service of Communion was confirmed in the nineteen-sixties as an alternative, and the full Alternative Service Book was published in 1980, becoming the approved rite, together with the 1662 Book of Common Prayer.

Even greater progress was made during Wicks' time in relation to his anthem repertoire. In addition to the increase in historical spread for anthems and motets, Wicks' choir had a far larger repertoire than could be used in just one year, or even alternate years, and far greater variety of compositional styles and textual interpretation was possible. His repertoire ranged from the medieval to the contemporary of the nineteen sixties and seventies. Similarly, anthems and motets were now performed in as authentic manner as was possible in any of the languages: English, Latin, German, French, Italian and just once in Spanish. There were forty non-English composers listed in 1987, and this does not include the traditional music that cannot be attributed to named composers, which represents considerable progress in the expansion of the sources of anthem repertoire. The range of musical styles was varied, no longer were note-for-syllable settings the chief

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<sup>366</sup> Only the places of worship associated with the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, where Latin, Greek and Hebrew were understood, could use those languages for public services, 'but when men say Matins and Euen-song priuatlye, they maye saie the same in any language that they themselues do understande' (The First and Second Prayer Books of Edward VI. Reprinted 1964. London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd, p5).

diet: exciting contrapuntal music was included. There were eventually forty two different sets of Preces available for the choir to sing at Matins and Evensong, compared to just one prior to the Second World War.

The only negative comments about the ordering of services, thereafter, were made in 1965, a repetition of complaints about the conducting of the choir from the floor of the Choir, made possible because there was now an assistant Organist, who played for services while the Organist was free to direct the singers. Later in the same year it was agreed, reluctantly, that this could continue, providing the music stand was at the side of the aisle; so the musical director could now co-ordinate the singers in a more efficient manner.

Sadly, after many years of improved Lay Clerk attendance, in 1976 one had to be discharged, as he had such difficulties in balancing a busy musical life outside the Cathedral with his singing commitments there. His place was readily taken, there being no difficulties with recruitment any more.

When he was first appointed Wicks knew there were elements within Chapter who did not approve of Tudor polyphony and Latin text that he required in the range of repertoire he considered appropriate for a British Cathedral. It clearly caused him concern, but he did not consider that being personally agreed with was as important as his duty to God and music. In the course of time he was proved to be right, and the Cathedral and international music benefitted from his vision, he constantly reviewed his repertoire and revitalised music that had been performed in earlier periods, but he also sought out both liturgical and non-liturgical music that was new in, and to, the United Kingdom, also British music that was unknown to Canterbury Cathedral and newly composed creations, in addition to music from overseas. Some of the new music was heard only once, but other compositions, once introduced, were included with the best crafted services and anthems that have been the lifeblood of Cathedral music for many years. He inspired his singers to such an extent that many continued their musical studies after leaving the choir and made music their careers. Among their numbers were Stephen Varcoe, (international baritone soloist), Stephen Barlow and Jonathan Seers (international musical directors), Gabriel Jackson (composer and musical director, recently appointed to the BBC Singers) and Harry Christophers, director of the internationally renowned early music group, The Sixteen, also, more recently, Principal Guest Conductor of both the Granada Symphony Orchestra and the Orquesta de la Comunidad de Madrid, as well as having a special partnership with the BBC Philharmonic.

One of Wicks' choristers<sup>367</sup> has described him as a maverick, and he knew him and his work with great affection; some may have considered him an enfant terrible, but while he did not conform to a stereotype of a Cathedral Organist, he was not the latter, in the negative meaning of those words; he was a visionary and his repertoire revealed that. He left a great legacy of repertoire which helped to place Canterbury Cathedral amongst the ranks of the best in the world. His music drew together the daily life of the building and people of the Cathedral and proved that its restoration and sustenance had been successful. In a private conversation with the writer, he said,

‘I was sometimes very afraid about what I was doing with the music in the Cathedral, but I had to do what I saw as right for God’.<sup>368</sup>

The rebuilding of the organ was effectively completed, despite all the musical difficulties the task required. Because the Choir School brought in such a large number of choristers and non-musical pupils, it outgrew the premises available. The necessary change from a residential Choir School to a Choir House was completed, reluctantly, but successfully, and the choristers found a new educational home. The respect and affection with which Wicks was held as a person and the value placed on all the repertoire, encompassing the new and ancient, that he so passionately loved and promoted, were exemplified, by past and present friends and Canterbury Cathedral musicians, at both his funeral and memorial services in 2010; see Appendix 5. The historical and stylistic range of music used in these two services demonstrated how Wicks had so effectively represented both the performance of the music and the repertoire itself at one and the same time, through his musicians.

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<sup>367</sup> Harry Christophers described him thus, in a private conversation with the writer. It was said with great warmth and respect. Christophers had brought his choir The Sixteen to sing at the Stour Festival of Music in East Kent, founded by Alfred Deller, now directed by Mark Deller. It was one of the last Stour Festivals that Wicks was able to attend.

<sup>368</sup> This was 12<sup>th</sup> October, 2008, following a service celebrating the music and life of Ralph Vaughan Williams. Wicks was very animated by what he had heard, but did not explain what he meant. He clearly wanted to express his thoughts and motivate the writer to continue examining his contribution to the musical life of Canterbury Cathedral.

## Conclusion

The significant progress in the restoration and growth of worship in Canterbury Cathedral over the period 1873-1988 has been clearly demonstrated in the slow but persistent onward movement from the neglect of the early music heritage and poor standards of worship, to the re-establishment of reverence in the conduct of services and the incorporation of an extensive repertoire, covering more than seven centuries of composition. The relationship between musicians and clergy has been fragile at times, but on balance, has grown stronger during the whole period in question.

### 1.i. The Organists and Assistants

Over the course of the study period Organists and their assistants experienced changes in their duties and had increasing influence over the musical repertoire sung in the Cathedral.

The first Organist discussed in this study, William Longhurst, appointed in 1873, had previously been a chorister, lay clerk and then assistant Organist, and worked in no other place than Canterbury Cathedral. His successor, Harry Crane Perrin had served, both as assistant and Organist, in a number of different churches, and St Michael's (Old) Cathedral, Coventry, and left Canterbury Cathedral to take up a University position at McGill, Montreal, where he headed a new music department. His successor, Clement Charlton Palmer, had also served in other Cathedrals and made significant progress in developing the repertoire at Canterbury. He remained in post until 1936, after serving as Organist for 27 years. Gerald Knight, who came to Canterbury Cathedral in 1937, with an established interest in early music, succeeded in directing a secure musical provision of daily services and developing a broad historical range despite the practical problems of World War II. His transfer into full-time work with the Royal School of Church Music necessitated the appointment of another experienced Cathedral musician, Douglas Hopkins, who was only a short while in post, to be succeeded by Sidney Campbell in 1956. Campbell was much valued by his choristers, was renowned for his extemporisations, but moved to St George's Chapel, Windsor, in 1960. Allan Wicks, who had been assistant Organist in York Minster and Organist for Manchester Cathedral, was appointed to Canterbury in 1961. He was already well established as a concert Organist, particularly in the music of Messiaen and his personality and musical skills enabled him to persist in widening the repertoire to the greatest extent possible.

Assistant Organists, until Wicks was Organist, were appointed as lay clerks and played the organ on the Organists' day off. However, from the departure of Isaac in 1964 the assistant shared in teaching the choristers and probationers and was fully involved in

organ-playing, together with organ scholars, while the Organist directed the singers. In this way the musicians were directed by fully involved musicians, rather than by priests who had been appointed as Minor Canons and were elected annually, as Precentors. The title of the Director of Music, in Canterbury Cathedral, remains Organist and Master of the Choristers, while in some Cathedrals the roles have now been separated.

### **1.ii. The Precentors**

The Precentor, historically chosen from the Minor Canons (ordained priests), had received a vocal audition upon appointment. Although not members of the Cathedral Chapter, they were invited to attend meetings, and gave annual reports about choir matters at the St. Catherine's Audit in November of each year. They chose the musical repertoire, sometimes in discussion with the Organist, although this was not as a matter of routine. During the time that Perrin was Organist, this latter practice began to change, and responsibility for selecting the music was transferred to the Organist, who was then able to make his own choices for the services, according to the lectionary. The Organist was required to put his suggestions forward for approval from Chapter, which should not have caused any difficulties. This matter will be discussed later, in the section describing Cathedral Ethnology.

The most memorable of the Precentors, during the period of study, was Rev'd Canon Joseph Weston Poole. When the Organist, with the boarding choristers, was evacuated to Cornwall, Poole, remaining in Canterbury, took responsibility for selecting the music, teaching the remaining day choristers and directing the choir during the years 1940-1944. This he did with great efficiency and enthusiasm, in addition to his clerical duties. He also commissioned new music that proved to be of great value to the repertoire, both in the short and long term. He worked closely with Knight, while the assistant Organist, who had been preparing for retirement, remained in Canterbury and played for the services.

## **2. The Music**

This study has been an examination of choral music in Canterbury Cathedral from 1873 to 1988. It has found that the Service Settings and Anthems were deeply imbedded in the regeneration, preservation and sustenance of Cathedral worship. The primary investigation has enabled listing, analysis and distillation of the information about service settings and anthems sung in Canterbury Cathedral during the years in question, where documentation has been available. The repertoire has been examined and related to the tenets of the Oxford Movement and Cambridge Ecclesiologists, in the context of their aim for the rediscovery of lost and early music and pre-Reformation writings, with a

value for antiquarian authenticity, and also the ideas of S. S. Wesley and proved that Canterbury Cathedral was, slowly but persistently, able to develop an extensive historical and international range of music and texts.

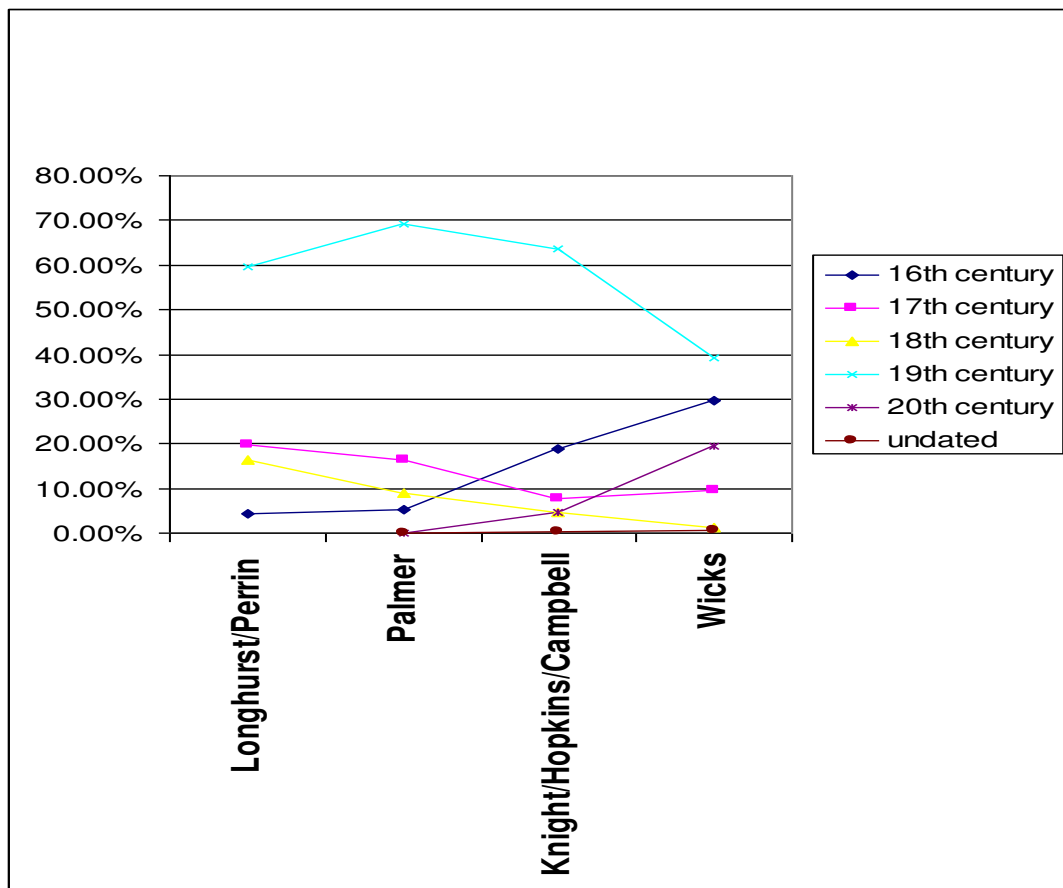
### **Matins and Evensong**

Charts listing the longevity of the most significant service settings and anthems are contained in Appendix 4, which separates Matins from Evensong and also from Communion Service settings.

The historical proportions of the music used in Matins and Evensong services have been modified throughout the period, to include more contemporary compositions. The number of service settings drawn from the 19th century were largest under the direction of Palmer, from 1909-1936, but that century's music has dominated services from other centuries throughout. However, as the following figure shows, there were changes in the contribution of music from other centuries. The number from the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> has slowly fallen in its share of the repertoire, and, during Wicks' time as Organist, they were less in use than the 16<sup>th</sup> century music. Music from the 20<sup>th</sup> century entered the repertoire during Palmer's time but was always smaller in quantity than that from the 16<sup>th</sup>. This reveals clearly that the early music repertoire slowly, but steadily, rose in significance, and that is without the inclusion of services sung to plainchant and Anglican chant, from the time of Knight, which cannot be quantified because they were not named settings.

The following figure summarises the evidence shown in earlier chapters.

**Figure 42 showing the changing percentages over the whole period of Matins and Evensong Services for each Organist stage**



## 2.i. Matins

There have been changes in the frequency of some of the services throughout the one hundred and fifteen years from 1873-1988. Matins has, in particular, been celebrated less frequently over the years, as shown in Table 30.

There is an overlap between 1920 and 1963, as the weekday Matins services did not conform to a regular pattern, although there were never more than three in each week. It is necessary to clarify the reduction in frequency of these services as the Matins repertoire has been significantly affected by these changes and, therefore, the over all repertoire,<sup>369</sup> it will, therefore, be summarised separately from that of Evensong.

<sup>369</sup> See Appendix 4 for a detailed list of the longevity of significant Matins service settings.

**Table 30 showing the frequency of Matins services from 1873-1988**

	Daily Except Holy Week	Daily	Daily Except Fridays	Sundays Wednesdays Thursdays	Sundays Wednesdays Thursdays / Sundays Tuesdays Thursdays	Sundays Thursdays (boys only)	Easter, Whit Sunday Christmas
1873-1876							
1876-1891	No records available						
1891-1895							
No records available but 1896-1899 is likely to have been the same as years before and after							
1899-1909							
1910-1919							
1920-1963							
1949-1963							
1962-1968							
No records available							
1977-1988							

The historical picture of the Matins repertoire is not particularly orderly, because of the reduction in the frequency of the services, but over the whole period the historical range was c1505 to 1913, using the birth dates of Tallis and Britten, both of them being significant composers in English musical history.

### 2.ii. Evensong

There is a degree of similarity in the historical range of the Evensong settings, but the frequency of the service was not significantly altered, as with Matins. The birth date of the earliest composer, Tye, is approximately five years before that of Tallis and the most recent composer is Gabriel Jackson, born in 1962. Throughout the entire period of study there has been a constant flow of new, and newly discovered, service music, which has been included into the repertoire, to its benefit. Services that had become wearisome or dated were discretely discarded, to make room for the new and more effectively crafted compositions.

The music listed in Appendix 4 is not the sum total of canticles in use in the Cathedral during 1873-1988, but represents the best known at the time of the performance and



today's comparable repertoire. A full list would be too large and inappropriate in a study of the range of repertoire for so many years.<sup>370</sup>

### 2.iii. Communion Services

Throughout this study reference has been made to the state of the Anglican Church during the early part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which was a cause for considerable concern to a group of clerics associated, initially, with Oxford University. The services were often disorderly and the frequency of the celebration of Holy Communion was very low. Action following John Keble's 1833 sermon on National Apostasy prompted slow, but significant change, in Canterbury Cathedral. Sung Ante-Communion services slowly increased in frequency with occasional full services from around 1873, and from 1924 full sung communions were celebrated monthly, by 1977 choral communions were weekly, and included pure plainsong and plainchant-inspired compositions.

**Table 31 showing variations in the frequency of Communion Services 1873-1988**

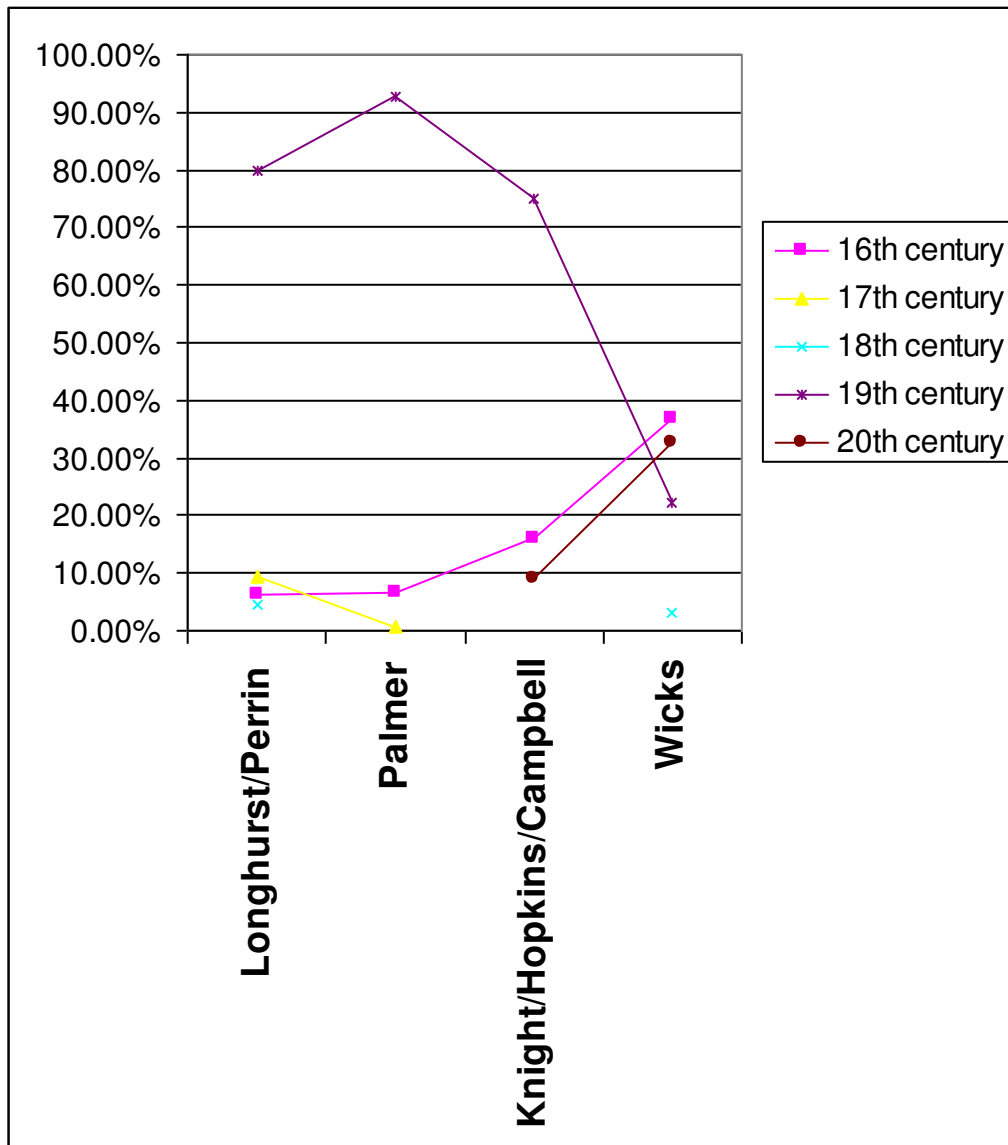
AC/C indicates sung Ante-Communion services that may or may not have been continued to a full choral Communion. Comm. Indicates a full Communion.

	<u>C/AC</u> Every Sunday and Festivals	<u>C/AC</u> Easter and Christmas	<u>C/AC</u> Third Sundays and Festivals	<u>C/AC</u> First Sundays and Festivals	<u>C/AC</u> First and Third Sundays and Festivals	<u>C/AC</u> Last Sundays and Festivals	<u>Comm</u> Last Sundays and Festivals	<u>Comm</u> every Sunday and Festivals
1873-1876								
1876-1884	No records available							
1884-1890								
1891								
1892-1895								
1895-1911								
1911-1924								
1924-1968								
1968-1977	No records available							
1977-1988								

<sup>370</sup> See, also, Appendix 1 (the full list of Musical Examples).

Table 31 provided information about the variable frequency of communion services, throughout the years 1873-1988, while Figure 43 shows the historical aspects of the repertoire for communion services in use during those same years.

**Figure 43 showing the changing percentages over whole period covering Communion Services for each organist stage**



The historical range of communion services over the entire period is from Tallis (c1505-85) to Piccolo, (1953- ), plus the early, undateable plainsong services and Missa de Angelis, Lux et Origo and Orbis Factor services. This is confirmation of significant progress, as these services were drawn eventually from an international heritage from England, Europe, Russia and America, as well as a spacious timescale.

Since the Reformation revisions have been made to the Communion Service Liturgy which affected the music sung in those services. Full information about those alterations

is included as Appendix 3. The historical changes in use of the Benedictus qui venit and Agnus Dei have been discovered to be of significance in the repertoire of Canterbury Cathedral. Dibble quotes Stainer's comments relating to his first Benedictus qui venit and Agnus Dei, written specifically for the Communion Service in A. Stainer was particularly proud of this setting and regretted that the St Paul's Choir would not ever sing it,<sup>371</sup> neither sections from the liturgy of the Edward VI First Prayer Book, were legal from 1552 until 1966. No other reference to the absence of this part of the liturgy has been found in comparable textbooks, although it is referred to in music copies, by academics such as S. Royle Shore and composers of some communion service settings, as referred to in the Chapter discussing Palmer's repertoire. More will be said in the section relating to liturgical change as these parts of the Communion Service had an effect on the repertoire to be used in Canterbury Cathedral.

#### **2.iv. Anthems**

The range of the dateable anthem repertoire was similar to that of the services, c1500-contemporary, until 1956, when Cranmer's 15<sup>th</sup> century Exsurge was added, but the spread was eventually from the 14<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries of dateable compositions,<sup>372</sup> plus early music that cannot be attributed to a named composer, including medieval plainchant, traditional songs and folksong, first introduced by Knight in 1937.

Several themes have arisen from the study of this aspect of the repertoire: the historical implication of the dates of composers, ecumenical issues relating to the historical use of the texts, also the language of the original texts, to be summarised in section 2.ix. and, finally, liturgical considerations of the purpose of the texts. This latter aspect will be discussed in section 2.x.

The historical dating has been relatively straightforward to ascertain, but the ecumenical issues, such as those relating to the use of texts dedicated to the Virgin Mary have proved both challenging and enlightening. The use of the original languages, when not in English, caused controversy for the musicians in charge of the selection of the repertoire, and will be discussed separately.<sup>373</sup> The liturgical considerations, relating to the use of the Benedictus qui venit and Agnus Dei, which were part of the 1549 Prayer Book of Edward VII, but not a legal part of the communion service from 1552 until the 20<sup>th</sup> century, were referred to in the section describing progress in the Communion Service repertoire; in the

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<sup>371</sup> Dibble, J. (2007) *John Stainer: A Life in Music*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press. p281.

<sup>372</sup> Appendix 4 provides more detail about the longevity of significant composers of Anthems.

<sup>373</sup> Section 3.i. in this chapter on Cathedral ethnology will summarise this aspect.

same section their use in the anthem repertoire, from 1892 onwards, was also mentioned.<sup>374</sup>

By the time Wicks had reached retirement he had gathered an impressive repertoire drawn from more than seven centuries. There were several anthem options available for each special day in the church calendar, where in the past the same, appropriately worded, composition had to be repeated annually.

Before showing a summary of the whole of the Canterbury Cathedral anthem repertoire it is worthwhile considering a statement, made by Charles Villiers Stanford, when he took up his Organist position at Trinity College, Cambridge.

‘In the department of Church Music it was not possible to effect much at Cambridge either in the way of reviving the best of the old or of producing the best of the new. Sporadically an old masterpiece of Gibbons or Purcell would creep in, but the hum-drum policy of deep-set conservatism stood as a brick wall to keep out progress in one direction and education in the other’.<sup>375</sup>

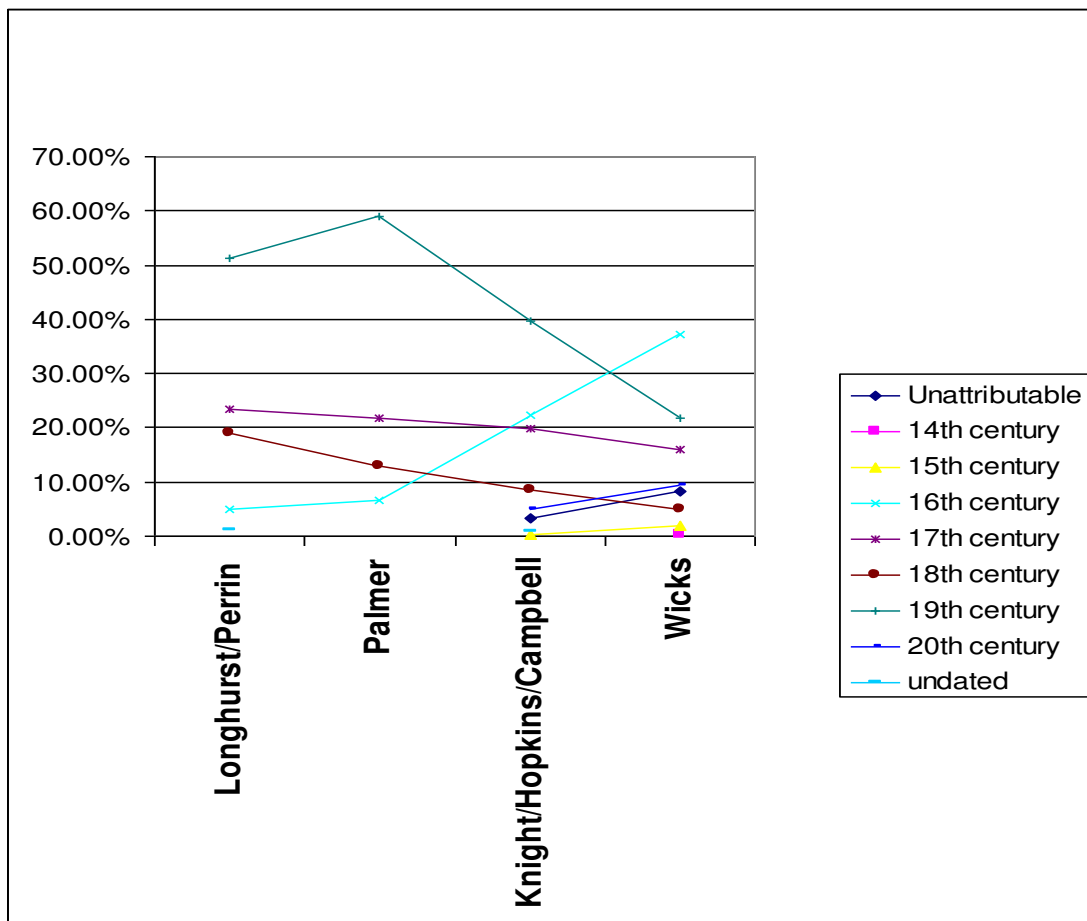
The remark is not dated, but Stanford was Organist of Trinity College, 1873-92 and Professor of Music at Cambridge 1887-1924. These comments therefore refer to a period during which the choral music in Canterbury is discussed in this study; that of Longhurst, Perrin and Palmer. Stanford’s use of the words ‘deep-set conservatism’ cannot be said about Canterbury, the contemporary repertoire at Canterbury Cathedral, as shown in Figure 42, does not conform to Stanford’s description; it was far more progressive in its incorporation of early and more contemporary music, whilst not discarding the ‘old masterpiece(s) of Gibbons or Purcell’.

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<sup>374</sup> See Appendix 6 for fuller detail about the parts of settings that were used in this way.

<sup>375</sup> Stanford, C. V. (2010) Pages From an Unwritten Diary. General Books. [www.General-Books.net](http://www.General-Books.net). p123.

**Figure 44 showing the changing percentages over the whole period of anthems for each Organist stage**



Music from the 19<sup>th</sup> century had been taken up by the musicians at Canterbury Cathedral once copies became available and flourished in the repertoire throughout the years to 1936. However, after that date some was displaced by the addition of early music and more by the inclusion of later compositions, particularly once Wicks was in post. The music from the later 19<sup>th</sup>, together with the 20<sup>th</sup> century became a valuable and challenging part of the repertoire. Stanford, Wood, Stravinsky, Harris, Howells and Poulenc added their own particular harmonic characteristics, as did Finzi, Walton, Tippett, Britten, Ridout and Piccolo. Their church music will live on, as will that of the early composers such as Tallis, Byrd, Weelkes and Gibbons, with Blow and Purcell.

## 2.v. Comparisons

Whilst it is impossible to provide a detailed comparison of music sung in the same services in each year, an interesting picture is revealed when examining the music used during Holy Week for 1873, when the study commences, 1967, and 1988, when it ends.

It is relevant to note that in 1836, just after the Canterbury Cathedral records begin, Passion Week is marked as ‘no singing’; there was no music for any of the Holy Week

memorials to the Passion of Christ. On Easter Sunday no Communion was celebrated, and no anthem was listed, Matins was sung to King in C. Evensong that day used King in B flat with the anthem: If we believe by Boyce. This does not mean that Holy Week was being ignored, but it indicates a very different approach to one of the two most significant periods in the church calendar, (the other being Christmas) to the way in which Christians have celebrated since the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>376</sup>

**Table 32 providing a comparison of music sung during Holy Week in 1873, 1962 and 1988.**

<b>1873</b>	<u>Monday</u>	<u>Tuesday</u>	<u>Wednesday</u>	<u>Maundy Thursday</u>	<u>Good Friday</u>	<u>Easter Eve</u>	<u>Easter Sunday</u>
am  <u>Anthem</u>	No regular services listed, special services Wednesday and Thursday, and part of St Matthew Passion: Bach, sung by augmented Cathedral Choir						<u>Matins with Ante Communion</u> Oakeley in Eb This is the day: Oakeley
<u>Even-Song Anthem</u>							Oakeley in Eb I know that my Redeemer: Handel <sup>377</sup>
<b>1962</b>	<u>Monday</u>	<u>Tuesday</u>	<u>Wednesday</u>	<u>Maundy Thursday</u>	<u>Good Friday</u>	<u>Easter Eve</u>	<u>Easter Sunday</u>
am				<u>Eucharist:</u> Wood In the Phrygian Mode	<u>Matins:</u> Sarum Responses, Allegrì: Miserere Benedictus: Tone iii Litany: Loosemoore <u>Ante-Communion</u> Kyrie: Wood Phrygian Service St John Passion: Victoria		<u>Matins:</u> Introit: Campbell: This is the Day Tomkins Responses: Easter Anthems: Pelham Humfrey Te Deum: VW in G This joyful Eastertide, arr Wood <u>Communion</u> Jackson in G no anthem
<u>Even-song</u>  <u>Anthem</u>	Canterbury Use Responses Gibbons: Short Service Nolo mortem peccatoris: Morley	Sarum Responses  Service: Tones viii and iii Drop, drop, slow tears Gibbons	Byrd Responses  Byrd: Faux Bourdon Service Bow thine ear: Byrd	Byrd Responses  Byrd: Short Service  Ave verum corpus: Byrd	Tallis ii Responses  Tallis: Dorian Service Faithful Cross: John of Portugal	Tallis ii Responses  Willan: Faux Bourdon Salvator Mundi: Blow	Sarum Responses  Jackson in G  Christ is risen: Joubert

<sup>376</sup> There were no sung communions listed for Sundays by 1865, but in 1866 for Easter Sunday morning there was an Tallis in D, marked 'throughout', which indicates that it was a full communion service, together with the anthem, If we believe: Goss.

<sup>377</sup> This aria was sung every Easter Sunday Evening, without fail, until Knight became Organist in 1936.



foreseen international hostilities; a sung Litany was included in the Good Friday service in 1939. In 1940 versions by Byrd, Day, Loosemore and Wanless were included, and in 1942 the first setting of English text during the Reformation, by Cranmer,<sup>382</sup> was added. After threat of war was past, there were complaints about the length of services which included the Litany and there was an extensive revision of the occasions for which it was to be used.

### **2.viii. Ecumenical progress and its effect on repertoire**

In both the times of Knight and Wicks, there were visits to the Cathedral of significant members of other Christian denominations, such as Eastern and Russian Orthodox and Roman Catholics. The Archbishop of Canterbury and Cathedral Chapter made them most welcome, and the succeeding rapport indicated a softening of attitudes, in particular to members of the Roman Church, with a benefit to the repertoire available for the choir to sing. As a result, fear of condemnation, such as would have resulted following the Reformation and the Civil War, receded, and a more conciliatory approach was achieved. Eventually it became possible for anthems and motets sung to the Virgin Mary, rather than about the Virgin Mary, as in Christmas Carols, to be included in the repertoire. This would have been unheard of in the Victorian years, but from 1961 onwards there was a slow, but steady, addition of settings of the Ave Maria, amounting to eleven different versions, together with other settings of words addressed to the Virgin Mary. They dated from the very earliest by Power to an Ave Maria by Stravinsky. There was, at no time, any objection to these texts expressed in the Chapter meetings of senior Cathedral clergy. Most significantly a Benedictine Mass was celebrated in the Crypt in 1978, and Archbishop Robert Runcie welcomed Pope John Paul II to attend a Celebration of Faith at the morning service of May 29<sup>th</sup> 1982; when the choir sang G. Gabrieli: Exultet jam angelica<sup>383</sup> and Walton: Te Deum accompanied by the Cathedral organ and brass instruments. This was a great day of celebration in the Mother Church of the Anglican Communion, as the Polish head of the Roman Church shared in a service with the Archbishop of Canterbury and congregation, and listened to early music from Venice and 20<sup>th</sup> century England. Ecumenical relationships between the Roman Catholic and Anglican churches became much closer after centuries of fear and alienation, involving clergy and Cathedral musicians in shared praise to God, through music. These special occasions made a public representation of the daily services which used a repertoire that

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<sup>382</sup> This was the only part of the Liturgy that was set in English during Henry VIII reign, as a result of the 1544 decree. LeHuray, P. (1967) *Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660*. London: Herbert Jenkins. p5.

<sup>383</sup> 'Rejoice now with the angels'.



included a wider range of ecumenical approaches to Christian faith, through the many centuries of music now available to Canterbury Cathedral musicians.

### **2.ix. Languages and authenticity**

An issue that has been identified as causing controversy was the language in which anthems were sung. The first anthem sung in a language other than English was *In dulci jubilo* by Pearsall, in 1908. No objections were raised in Chapter meetings, perhaps because it was macaronic in language construction, a blend of Latin and English. It was joined by four more Latin text anthems, until the appointment of Knight, in 1937, when the Latin contribution to the repertoire increased,<sup>384</sup> to ten. The number fell during the war years, but there was always at least one anthem sung in each year, (1942 only had the Tallis: *Salvator mundi*). From 1945 onwards the list was revitalised; most of the new additions were early music from the 16<sup>th</sup> century, but not all; a few were from the 19<sup>th</sup> century, (including *Beati quorum* by Stanford, sung first in 1946), and in time some were more recent in origin. By 1955, the list had grown to thirty one, but contracted during the years that Campbell was Organist, because of Chapter's desire to restrict the Latin texts.<sup>385</sup> Wicks' appointment as Organist saw the number grow considerably; fifty in 1964, sixty six in Latin and one Russian in 1968 and one hundred and two in Latin and two in German ten years later. The greatest number of languages used was in 1981, when there were forty eight anthems in Latin, one in Spanish, one in German and three in French in addition to the English repertoire. Wicks' zeal for linguistic authenticity, combined with variety of compositional style, was clearly evident.

Services, being part of an English Rite, were always sung in English, regardless of their origins, until well into the time that Wicks was Organist. Flood, Wicks' successor as Organist and his assistant Organist from 1978-1986, confirms that all music was sung in its original language by 1978, which included services by Palestrina, Byrd, Victoria, Schubert, Mozart and Haydn.

### **2.x. Liturgical changes**

Appendix 3 contains a chart showing the changes in the communion service liturgy, from 1549-1980. The significance of those changes of liturgy to the musical repertoire is not immediately obvious. The major alterations were between the First Prayer Book of King Edward VI dated 1549 and his Second Prayer Book of 1552. The two services begin very much the same as far as the music is concerned, but once the Sanctus has been said, or sung the Benedictus qui venit (Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord) is

<sup>384</sup> See Appendix 7 for the fuller list of all non-English text anthems.

<sup>385</sup> CCA-DCC-CA/22, p519.

omitted in the second of the two books, and was not to be used, officially, until the Alternative Rite Series 1 service book of the 1960s. It had been included in the 1928 Alternative Service Book, which was not approved by Parliament. Because that part of the rubric was included in the Alternative Service Book, some churches used it, but it did not become a full part of the celebration of Holy Communion until the Alternative Service Book of 1980.<sup>386</sup> The Agnus Dei (O Lamb of God) was, similarly, omitted from the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI, and did not return to the official rubric until 1980, having been a legal alternative from the 1960s onwards.

These changes have already been referred to in previous chapters, in connection with both the celebration of communion and the anthem repertoire. No observation of the inclusion of the texts as anthems appears to have been recorded, elsewhere, despite the fact that composers of Victorian church music, some well known, with knowledge of the early history of the Eucharist service, had composed settings of these words (together with the Sevenfold Kyries) from the 1549 Communion service, which were then used as anthems from 1892 onwards, in Canterbury Cathedral. The composers seem to have trusted that at some time in the future these texts might legally be a part of an Anglican Communion service, once again, none of them were composed as separate anthems. The Roman Catholic Church has always included those aspects of the early celebration of the Eucharist, as exemplified in the European Mass settings. All the known dates that these parts of the early communion service were used as anthems are listed in Appendix 6. Every Organist represented in this study used these sections from communion services, except Campbell; his reason for omitting or avoiding their use has yet to be clarified, although he was criticised for using the Agnus Dei, during Communion, at a point when an anthem might well have been sung, in 1959.<sup>387</sup>

## **2.xi. Inclusion of non-biblical ancient texts**

The followers of the Oxford Movement and Cambridge Camden Society had aimed at improving the quality of music in churches. Those, in early 19<sup>th</sup> century Europe, who were interested in the revival of early music, both secular and sacred, pursued the principals of these reformers. The Tractarians and Ecclesiologists were also, as antiquarians, involved in the study of architecture and ancient literature, together with its translation. Settings of early texts referred to in the Chapter describing Palmer's

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<sup>386</sup> The only negative comment found in relation to the slow inclusion of these sections of the early Protestant Eucharist is contained in the complaint, dated April 24<sup>th</sup>, 1944: 'the celebrant at the sung Eucharist on Easter Sunday after the consecration turned to the congregation and held up the consecrated wafer, saying, 'Behold the Lamb of God'. These words, and their symbolism, were still too close to the practices of Rome, to be comfortable for some people at this date. CCA-DCC-CA/20, p837.

<sup>387</sup> CCA-DCC-CA/22 p794.

repertoire, are not the sum total of all included in the music to 1988, but exemplify the enthusiasm of composers to set the non-Biblical, but ancient, words and Canterbury's choir to sing them.

## **2.xii. Compositional change evident in the repertoire**

Whilst this study does not intend to investigate compositional practices in any depth, it is possible to observe the progress made in musical creation, the use of accompaniment, or not, and the way in which words have been set to the music, i.e. music applied to the words, or the words fitted to the notes, in the repertoire for the 115 year span. A brief check list has been drawn up that records the findings, and relates them to two, rather generalised, historical settings.

The music that retained at least some of the characteristics of the early repertoire, has survived, and continues to be sung today. For example, the compositions of Blow,<sup>388</sup> Croft,<sup>389</sup> Purcell, D. Purcell<sup>390</sup> and Boyce,<sup>391</sup> from the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, together with Goss,<sup>392</sup> Stanford and Wood, from the 19<sup>th</sup>, that are still in the repertoire, or have contributed substantially to the contemporary Cathedral musical scene, are often a blend of homophony and polyphony in construction, with melodic interest in all voices.

By the end of the period of time under discussion a full spread of compositional techniques had been heard: initially note-for-syllable and melody-led homophonic writing was the most prevalent technique, increasingly making the music appear static or slow-moving, but other styles of composition were heard. Very early music that looked homophonic, but was conceived horizontally, led onwards to use of truly contrapuntal and polyphonic music. For a period of time the tensions created by suspensions were infrequent, forming part of cadences, but in the course of time they were utilised within the harmonic lines and later in series, or in sequences, sometimes with chromaticism to increase the forward momentum of the music; similarly non-harmony notes such as appoggiaturas and auxiliary notes added to the melodic interest. Chromatic chords and those with added sevenths and ninths gave colour to the harmonies. The musical structure in which the words were framed also changed. The strophic framework was most popular during the period when note-for-syllable music predominated, alternatively the music was through composed, but in the course of time changes in form supported the meaning of the texts whenever it was possible, sometimes in the dramatic styles of European compositions.

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<sup>388</sup> See Musical Example 68, Nunc Dimittis.

<sup>389</sup> See Musical Example 61, Jubilate.

<sup>390</sup> See Musical Example 76, Magnificat.

<sup>391</sup> See Musical Example 4, Jubilate.

<sup>392</sup> See Musical Example 79, Nunc Dimittis.

The following table shows the broad compositional trends, as a framework, evidenced in the Canterbury Cathedral repertoire in two, rather generalised, historical settings, but does not describe, accurately, the way in which all the music was formed. It is worthy of comment that the music from the Restoration to Victorian periods that is most memorable, does not conform to the generalisations listed above.

**Table 33 showing changes in compositional practice evidenced in the Canterbury Cathedral repertoire**

<u>Early and Modern</u>		<u>Restoration to Victorian</u>	
<u>16<sup>th</sup> century or earlier</u>	<u>late 19<sup>th</sup> &amp; 20<sup>th</sup> century</u>	<u>17<sup>th</sup> &amp; 18<sup>th</sup> century</u>	<u>19<sup>th</sup> century</u>
Melody spread thro voices <sup>393</sup>		Melody in the highest voice <sup>394</sup>	
Rhythmic interest spread thro voices <sup>395</sup>		Rhythmic interest in the highest voice duplicated in the lower voices <sup>396</sup>	
Conceived horizontally - contrapuntal <sup>397</sup>		Conceived vertically - homophonic <sup>398</sup>	
Series of suspensions <sup>399</sup>		Reduced use of suspensions – mainly cadential <sup>400</sup>	
Irregular rhythmic patterns <sup>401</sup>		Regular rhythmic patterns <sup>402</sup>	
Irregular phrase lengths <sup>403</sup>		Regular phrase lengths <sup>404</sup>	
Music related to words <sup>405</sup>		Words fitted to the music <sup>406</sup>	
Inclusion of modal music <sup>407</sup>	Inclusion of modal music. <sup>408</sup> Atonal music - a rarity - usually some form of modality <sup>409</sup>	Tonal music <sup>410</sup>	
Evidence of plainsong influence <sup>411</sup>		No evidence of plainsong influence <sup>412</sup>	

Stanford's music, from the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, often used symphonic forms, as in the Nunc Dimittis of the Evening Service in A. Including a musical recapitulation in

<sup>393</sup> See Musical Example 14: Byrd The souls of the righteous (Justorum animae)

<sup>394</sup> See Musical Example 17: Spohr As pants the hart

<sup>395</sup> See Musical Example 55: Gibbons O Thou the central Orb

<sup>396</sup> See Musical Example 36: Novello Like as the hart

<sup>397</sup> See Musical Example 25: Causton Magnificat

<sup>398</sup> See Musical Example 37: Malan O Lord, my God

<sup>399</sup> See Musical Example 11: Fricker Nunc Dimittis in G

<sup>400</sup> See Musical Example 40: Longhurst: Grant to us Lord

<sup>401</sup> See Musical Example 59: Harris Strengthen ye the weak hands

<sup>402</sup> See Musical Example 39: Smart The Lord is my Shepherd

<sup>403</sup> See Musical Example 12: Tallis Sanctus

<sup>404</sup> See Musical Example 41: Barnby Sweet is Thy mercy, Lord

<sup>405</sup> See Musical Example 88: Piccolo Jesus walking on the waves

<sup>406</sup> See Musical Example 29: Calkin Jubilate

<sup>407</sup> See Musical Example 1: Tallis Nunc Dimittis (set in the Dorian Mode)

<sup>408</sup> See Musical Example 67: Oldroyd Jhesu, since Thou must do Thy will

<sup>409</sup> See Musical Example 87: Tippett Plebs Angelica

<sup>410</sup> See Musical Example 21: Jenner Haste Thee, O God

<sup>411</sup> See Musical Example 81: Wicks Communion Service Tones viii

<sup>412</sup> See Musical Example 18: Jones Unto Him that loved us

a text that is not in a regular form, was very unusual at that time, verse structure reflected in the music was a much more common practice.

The following table also uses generalisations to describe the nature of organ accompaniment in the different historical periods, but illustrates the general trends revealed in the repertoire in use in Canterbury Cathedral.

**Table 34 showing changes of accompaniment**

<u>Early and Modern</u>		<u>Restoration to Victorian</u>	
<u>16<sup>th</sup> century or earlier</u>	<u>late 19<sup>th</sup> &amp; 20<sup>th</sup> century</u>	<u>17<sup>th</sup> &amp; 18<sup>th</sup> century</u>	<u>19<sup>th</sup> century</u>
Often unaccompanied <sup>413</sup>		Accompanied colla voce <sup>414</sup>	
Organ accompaniment independent <sup>415</sup>		Colla voce alternated with instrumental ritornelli <sup>416</sup> Occasional use of pedal note <sup>417</sup>	Development from organ pedal notes towards accompaniment with increasingly independent organ <sup>418</sup>
Occasionally accompanied colla voce <sup>419</sup>		Independent organ parts <sup>420</sup>	

### **3. Changes in the Liturgy**

The vision of some nineteenth-century composers was fulfilled in 1980. The sections of the Communion service excluded from Edward VI Second Prayer Book, which had been set by these composers and used as anthems from the 1890s in Canterbury Cathedral, approved as Alternatives in 1928, although not by Parliament, at last became legal parts of the service of Holy Communion.

### **4. Cathedral business**

#### **4.i. Cathedral Ethnology**

Relationships between Chapter and the musicians were, as far as the records indicate, effective and respectful throughout the years to 1931. At that time a new Dean was appointed, he was an amiable and kind man, but proved to have political views that caused some difficulties. By 1937 his socialist leanings, which earned him the nickname

<sup>413</sup> See Musical Example 14: Byrd The souls of the righteous. See also Musical Example 87: Tippett Plebs Angelica

<sup>414</sup> See Musical Example 78: R. Cooke Nunc Dimittis

<sup>415</sup> See Musical Example 55: Gibbons O Thou the central Orb

<sup>416</sup> Anthems by Purcell are not quoted.

<sup>417</sup> See Musical Example 5: Nares Nunc Dimittis

<sup>418</sup> See Musical Example 28: Chipp Nunc Dimittis

<sup>419</sup> See Musical Example 80: Ridout Magnificat

<sup>420</sup> See Musical Example 43: Martin Hail gladdening Light

‘the Red Dean’, had become very evident in his sermons, particularly at the Sunday evening second service. Hewlett Johnson had been party to the appointment, in 1935, of a First Residentiary Canon (John Shirley) to the Cathedral, who would also be able to rescue the King’s School, within the Cathedral precincts, from its dire financial position, by taking the Headmaster’s post, and releasing his salary for that post, to the benefit of the school. Chapter’s reaction, led by Shirley, to the Dean’s ‘predilection for Soviet Russia and its institutions’<sup>421</sup> is described in Chapter 3. Whilst this interchange did not affect the musicians, it was an indication of a combative spirit that was to remain until Shirley’s death in 1967. A positive result of the Dean’s interests was the visits of senior churchmen from such Christian communions as the Orthodox Church in Russia and Archbishop Damaskinos of Athens, Regent of Greece; the first of their kind to the Anglican Church in Great Britain.

The relationships within the Cathedral precincts during the war years were kindly and caring, in that the Dean opened the Cathedral crypt for people from the city to take refuge, even overnight, and local residents appreciated hearing the choristers singing, and attending services whenever possible.

Once the war years were past, and the scattered Cathedral choir was reassembled, life returned to a sort of calm. However, by March 1946 there was evidence that some members of Chapter wished to claim more control of the musical repertoire. The selection of hymns was criticised initially, but the Vice Dean (Canon Shirley at that time) was to make suggestions for the choice of anthems, to be sung during his periods of residence.<sup>422</sup> Conducting of the choir had been a cause for complaint at the end of the previous year. However, the main subjects of criticism were the use of early music and Latin text. The repertoire relating to these two aspects of anthems had increased under Knight’s direction, but was entirely in keeping with the current philosophy of historical range and authenticity of performance.

During Hopkins’ period as Organist there is little reference to the content or quality of the musical contribution in the Chapter Book records, but, following his sudden resignation, dated 29<sup>th</sup> September 1955, and release from duty on November 30<sup>th</sup>, there was a directive issued, ‘that no Latin Anthems should be sung without previous reference to the Chapter’.<sup>423</sup> It is clear that there was no connection between the issue relating to the language and historicity of some anthems and Dr Hopkins’ departure, but it is evident, from personal discussions, that he had a forthright personality, and that aspect of his character possibly discouraged comment and criticism from Chapter.

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<sup>421</sup> Johnson, H. (1968) *Searching for Light: an Autobiography*. London: Michael Joseph. p126.

<sup>422</sup> CCA-DCC-CA/20, p1103.

<sup>423</sup> CCA-DCC-CA/22, p284.

Campbell took up his appointment as Organist in March 1956 and from then, onwards to July 2<sup>nd</sup> 1960, there were frequent criticisms of the repertoire,<sup>424</sup> which did not differ from that of Hopkins initially, in that it was not more adventurous. Campbell's use of authentic pronunciation was rejected by Chapter as 'archaic';<sup>425</sup> described in Chapter 3C, recording Campbell's service repertoire. Shirley's attendance at services in the Cathedral was somewhat spasmodic, so he clearly had not noticed the same use of authentic pronunciation in *Rejoice in the Lord* always, attributed to John Redford.<sup>426</sup> Under Campbell the Communion service range of music reduced quite considerably, all of the early settings except Merbecke were discarded, and, from 1957 onwards, many of the more recent, popular services, such as Stanford in Bb were neglected. There were also, for example, no anthems by either Lassus or Palestrina.<sup>427</sup> Campbell was much loved and respected by his choristers, and had a great gift of extemporisation, particularly of the psalm texts. He was a considerable loss to Canterbury when he moved to St George's Chapel, Windsor. It is of note that St George's Chapel made a printed record of music used by Campbell during his years there,<sup>428</sup> no comparable record exists at Canterbury.

The Chapter records indicate that the attempts to control the repertoire's compositional style and language continued after the appointment of Wicks, but he considered that the responsibility for the music had been given to him and made his own selections, as appropriate for the Lectionary, in consultation with the Precentor of the day. His amiable, but confident, personality would have enabled him to continue his task regardless of challenge. From the date of his retirement from headmastership in 1962, Shirley became far more involved with the Cathedral activities, and this is evident in the repeated discussion of musical direction and repertoire, in the Cathedral, until his death, in 1967. From this time Chapter comments were less frequent, more gently worded, and eventually subsided as other members of Chapter retired. Several books have been published about Canon Shirley, describing his impressive time as headmaster of the

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<sup>424</sup> Dean Johnson would have been unable to overrule any decisions with which he disagreed. As Canterbury is a New Foundation Cathedral, since the Reformation, the Dean is 'first among equals' and does not have a casting vote, unlike the Dean of an Old Foundation Cathedral.

<sup>425</sup> CCA-DCC-CA/22, p512.

<sup>426</sup> *Rejoice in the Lord* always, attributed to John Redford, in the repertoire since 1901, contains the words 'supplications' and 'petitions', divided in the way to which he objected, without comment, either negative or positive.

<sup>427</sup> There were no anthems on the approved lists dated October 12<sup>th</sup> 1957 and November 30<sup>th</sup> 1957, in DCC-CCa-CA/22, by either Lassus or Palestrina.

<sup>428</sup> Archive reference: Sidney Campbell Collection, SGC M144

King's School,<sup>429</sup> but contain references to his time as Senior Residentiary Canon, confirming his attempt to control the Cathedral's music. A contributor to one of the books was R. W. Harris, an 'able historian'; as a member of King's School staff from 1945, he knew Shirley well.<sup>430</sup>

'It was hard to resist the suspicion that one of the headmaster-canon's motives in doing battle was a determination that the King's School under him (Canon F. J. Shirley) should be a uniquely independent and expansive empire in the Canterbury Precincts...There were one or two serious issues at stake, for example in the Cathedral's music...he believed that the Dean and Chapter ought to guard against the danger of the choir's elaborate music dominating the worship offered in the Cathedral'.<sup>431</sup>

Harris confirms an oral tradition about Shirley's views of early music, as follows:

'He loved music (so long as it was not Tudor church music, which he described as "belly-aching")'<sup>432</sup>

The typewritten sermon entitled: *Canterbury 'Cathedral Worship'*, in which Shirley makes his views very clear, only succeeded in influencing those who planned the music in the short term. It failed to divert the churchmanship of Cathedral worship in the long term, away from the middle way between Puritanism and Catholicism. In the later years the Cathedral Chapter continually progressed in its desire to promote reconciliation between extremes that have, in the past, been at war. The repertoire demonstrated this continuing reconciliation through its embrace of music from the Protestant, Catholic and Orthodox traditions.

#### 4.ii. Choir School

Since the days of Lionel Power, in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the choristers had been day boys, and they lived with either parents or guardians, near to the Cathedral. In 1873 the school master was a lay clerk who taught their lessons and prepared them for the services, but in November 1936 the boys moved to 18 The Precincts, named Choir House, where they were able to both live and study, with a matron to care for their welfare, and the headmaster, with assistant teachers, to provide for their education. By this time the Organist prepared them for services. During the war years of 1940-1944 all the boarders and four of the day boys were evacuated to Cornwall, but not housed or educated with the King's School. Once the war was over the Choir School flourished and by 1972 it had so greatly outgrown their building that attempts had to be made for them to move to larger

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<sup>429</sup> It has to be noted that Trevor Beeson discusses Shirley's role as Headmaster, in his book entitled *The Canons*, but makes little comment about his response to Cathedral duties. (Beeson, T. (2006) *The Canons*. London: SCM Press). Shirley, in general, only attended services during his periods of residency: he was not a regular attender of services, despite all his involvement in Chapter meetings, and comments about the musical repertoire.

<sup>430</sup> *Ibid*, p86.

<sup>431</sup> Edwards, D. L. (1969) *F. J. Shirley: An Extraordinary Headmaster*. London: SPCK. 77-78.

<sup>432</sup> *Ibid* p88.



premises, so they could continue to receive a full range of academic subjects, including physical education and science, and residential provision, within the Precincts. It proved impossible to find the appropriate location and an association with another school in the Canterbury area provided the only solution. Choir School now became Choir House, where choristers boarded within the Precincts and their education was at St Edmund's School, Canterbury. It proved to be a very successful arrangement, despite its inconveniences, such as early musical practices in the Precincts, travel to school up the hill, where they were involved in a full curriculum including sports and sciences, then back to the Cathedral for practice before singing Evensong; supper, followed by homework. Weekends were taken up with games and services, but allowed time for family contact.

#### **4.iii. The organ**

There is little information about the Cathedral organ in the Chapter records, until, in 1879, a reference was made to the intention to have a new organ installed in the Cathedral, when funds permitted and other works had been completed. It was to be a Willis organ, to be built by Mr Willis himself. Plans proceeded and a fund raising committee was set up with the Archbishop in the chair for a public meeting. It was made clear that as much as the existing organ as possible should be retained. By August 1886 the combination of a rebuilt and new four manual instrument was ready to be examined by Dr John Stainer, who approved of its tone and mechanism and was particularly complementary about the new electrical action provided by Mr Willis. Arrangements were made for the blowing of the organ by water, although the organ blower was retained. By comparison to the major works undertaken on the organ during Longhurst's years as Organist, there was little done, other than routine maintenance, during Palmer's time, although in 1926 a severe storm had driven in a window and rain had penetrated the organ. Thereafter there are comments about the electrical wiring and the purchase of a six volt starter. However, in 1938 the Organist reported that the mechanism of the 1886 Cathedral organ was in a very poor condition and needed attention, again. The newly formed Friends of Canterbury Cathedral provided the promise of financial aid and the parts needing renovation were removed to Willis's workshop in Brixton for work to begin. When war began the remaining organ was dismantled and stored around the Cathedral. By the end of 1944 it was only these sections of the organ that existed, as bombing had destroyed the Willis factory, containing the Canterbury Cathedral organ console. In addition parts of the Hammond organ were found to be missing, so there was now no large playable instrument for services in the nave; and parts of the Willis organ that had been stored in the Triforium had been damaged by exposure to weather and

bombing. In 1945 Willis had to supply a temporary console for the enthronement of Archbishop Geoffrey Fisher, but eventually all the repairs and rebuilding were completed. Once again, by 1965, parts of the organ were no longer working and temporary repairs were undertaken.<sup>433</sup> Later in that year there were discussions about either rebuilding the Grand Organ or purchasing a new one. Past Organists of the Cathedral visited and contributed their thoughts on the matter, in consultation with Wicks. The organ was given a thorough overhaul while decisions were made and the Hammond Organ was retained for services in the nave; it was not a popular instrument, and its replacement on the screen was not welcomed. Chapter supported Wicks in his desire for the Willis organ to be restored, discussions continued and appeals were set up to raise the funds. The Enthronement of Archbishop Donald Coggan provided a challenge in 1975, when there was still no one instrument that was powerful enough to meet the demands of some of the music.<sup>434</sup> The state of the organ and its absence from Cathedral services is evident in the repertoire, particularly of anthems, when unaccompanied music was much easier to perform. By 1979, the rebuilding by the Mander Organ Company was complete and the Cathedral had a fully functional organ, albeit with three, rather than four, manuals, available to meet the demands made upon it. The present Organist and master of the choristers, Dr David Flood, (assistant Organist 1978-1979) has confirmed that the existing organ still includes most of the 1886 pipe-work in its Great, Swell and Pedal sections. This means that together with the pre-1886 organ that remained within the Willis instrument, the organ, itself, is a significant part of the Cathedral's precious history.

#### **4.iv. Finance**

The chapter describing Longhurst's repertoire, reveals that finance was a significant issue in the day to day lives of all involved in keeping the services running. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners had claimed much of the finances of Cathedrals, including Canterbury, in order to support and set up churches in places of need. In 1873 lay clerks were unsuccessful in their plea for an increase in their stipends and, in the course of the next few years, it became clear that members of Chapter were making up the deficit between income and outgoings from their own pockets. This was not the same in St Paul's Cathedral, where grants were applied for to assist in their difficulties. In 1850 the choir had been described as 'one of the feeblest in the Kingdom',<sup>435</sup> and the associated issues of

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<sup>433</sup> CCA-DCc-CA/23, p222.

<sup>434</sup> Darlington, the assistant Organist, and Wicks played the Willis and Hammond organs simultaneously in the organ loft.

<sup>435</sup> Dibble, 2007, p20.

finance and the contractual agreements of the St Paul's Lay Vicars were very complex. The problems were not resolved and in 1871 Stainer (about to be appointed as Organist) and the St Paul's Chapter are reported as follows: 'Funds are being squeezed out of the Eccles: Commissioners for a very large Choir.'<sup>436</sup> The appeals were eventually successful and financial support for the choir became available and improvements in chorister provisions were also made. Canterbury Cathedral was unsuccessful in their appeals, the choir was not ever in the same dire situation as at St Paul's, the choristers' needs had always been met, however difficult that might have been, and no-one has ever described the choir as 'one of the feeblest in the Kingdom'. They may have had financial distress, but whatever the hardship, the musical results were always far better at Canterbury, at that time.

### **5. Outreach from Canterbury Cathedral**

One can ask the questions: 'Does music from Canterbury Cathedral lead anywhere and has it made a difference in the world?' The answer has to be an unqualified, 'Yes', the music performed in Canterbury Cathedral has had an effect throughout the world. Its influence has not only been upon the churches of the Anglican Communion but it has also affected concert and church music internationally. There are world famous professional musicians who began their musical lives as choristers at Canterbury; for example: Christopher Seaman, one of the world's leading conductors, resident in America and Jonathan Seers working in Switzerland and Germany. Many of Canterbury's musicians work internationally but are still based in England; they include Sir Mark Elder, conductor of the Hallé Orchestra; Trevor Pinnock, CBE, a major director and performer in the early music scene; Roger Vignoles, international accompanist; Stephen Barlow, musical director and conductor; Gabriel Jackson, internationally valued as a composer and recently appointed associate composer to the BBC Singers, and Harry Christophers, Director of the celebrated vocal ensemble, The Sixteen and increasingly directing in overseas musical venues. Dr Mark Deller was a chorister at Canterbury, and, as a counter tenor, sings with, and directs the Deller Consort, as well as conducting international groups of singers; he was Director of the Canterbury Festival for many years. He was recently quoted as saying:

'Being a chorister at Canterbury Cathedral provided the foundation that shaped my whole being, both professionally in music and personally in my daily life.'<sup>437</sup>

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<sup>436</sup> Ibid, p143.

<sup>437</sup> Quoted in: The Canterbury Gift, Summer 2011, in the context of an Evening of Music by the choristers of Canterbury Cathedral, 30.09.2011.

He was the elder son of the late Alfred Deller, who, as a lay clerk at Canterbury during the war, began the revival of the counter tenor voice and inspired Benjamin Britten's affection for Purcell's music and his own compositions for that voice. He founded the Deller Consort, the Deller Academy at Lacoste, in Provence, and Stour Early Music Festival, which is still directed by Mark Deller. Stour Music Festival annually provides a British and European audience with a fine range of music dating from the 1<sup>st</sup> century (this was Esther Lamandier, singing in Aramaic) to Baroque, with some choice contemporary offerings, performed by an international array of musicians.

Stephen Varcoe and Simon Deller are both professional baritones and Grayston Burgess a professional countertenor and musical director. Others, like Anthony Piccolo (composer and a musical director at the Metropolitan Opera House, New York), used their times as lay clerks at Canterbury as springboards to international musical careers. Many more, such as Jeremy Backhouse, a leading conductor of British amateur and professional choirs, have remained in the United Kingdom as musicians in churches, orchestras, schools and universities.

Past Organists and assistant Organists have reached out to the wider community; Perrin, Organist at Canterbury, went to Canada to head the music Department of the McGill University; Knight became Director of the Royal School of Church Music, which has supported musicians in the churches of the United Kingdom and Northern Europe. Campbell took his skills and knowledge to St George's Chapel, Windsor. Philip Moore went to York Minster, via Guildford Cathedral, David Flood progressed to Lincoln Cathedral, before returning to Canterbury, as its current Organist and Master of the Choristers; Stephen Darlington heads the music at Christ Church, Oxford and Michael Harris is Organist at St Giles Cathedral, Edinburgh.

Thus, the music of the mother church of the Anglican Communion, Canterbury Cathedral, has provided for the daily services in that place for centuries, regardless of ecclesiastical and political change, fire and war and spread its influence around the world. The promise of the restoration of Cathedral worship was begun under the direction of Longhurst, Perrin and Palmer, albeit slowly, and was fulfilled in the hands of Gerald Knight both before and after the war. The forward momentum flagged during the times of Hopkins and Campbell, as caveats about early and Latin music were not countered by members of Chapter; indeed the main objections came from within that group of people. It is possible that Dean Hewlett Johnson could have done more to support his musical staff, at a time when he was busy with his socialist world in addition to Cathedral life. Early in his role as Canterbury's Dean he proposed a revision of the Cathedral Foundation's statutes, to release him from 'too sole a responsibility' for the affairs of the

community, to pursue his interest in wider matters,<sup>438</sup> but as the Dean of a New Foundation Cathedral, he was first among equals in Chapter, and did not hold a casting vote. Musical life did progress, nonetheless, and Allan Wicks was inspirational; he was full of energy and loved the work of the Cathedral, passionately. He was a visionary, but not a dreamer, he delivered a repertoire deriving from more than seven centuries, sifting through the well-known and virtually lost music, and blending it with what was brand new from the 20<sup>th</sup> century. He was determined to revitalise the repertoire from 1961 onwards, in a second period of growth, despite any and all objections.

Comments have been made about Canterbury Cathedral, musically, being a backwater, provincial; the remarks have always been verbal, never in print. Yet the music that was listed in the services of Knight and Wicks was most certainly not what would be expected in a musical tributary. All that happened under the direction of the other Organists moved in the right direction, wherever it was possible. The music has definitely been mainstream, comparable to that performed in other Cathedrals and Choral Foundations throughout the world; at some times it has been at centre stage, despite not being central geographically; at other times it has even been in the forefront of the international Cathedral music 'scene'. It has not always been a very congenial place for some of the musicians, because human personalities have been involved. Both the music and the building, with its establishment, are historical concepts as well as having real existence, so the whole story illustrates the symbiotic relationship between the music and musicians and the Cathedral worship; the one cannot exist successfully without the others and reveals the wisdom of antiquity balanced by the refreshment of contemporary musical thought.

Samuel Arnold's comment<sup>439</sup> about the possible loss of church music if Cathedrals and churches did not support it, quoted in the Introduction, was, thankfully, not fulfilled in Canterbury Cathedral, where tribute can be paid to the musicians and the music they performed, for successfully assisting in the regeneration, preservation and sustenance of Cathedral worship, between 1873 and 1988.

## **6. Areas for further examination**

As a result of this study several thoughts have been raised that might produce interesting and useful areas for further examination, such as:

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<sup>438</sup> Collinson, P. N. Ramsay and M. Sparks, eds. (1995) *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p320

<sup>439</sup> Arnold, S. (1790) *Cathedral Music*. London: Arnold. p5.

- A comparative study of the role of the melisma in the church music of the Lutheran and Anglican Reformations
- Study of the approaches to reconciliation between Catholics and Protestants in the twentieth century Anglican Communion as observed in Cathedral worship
- The role of music in Cathedral worship; is it for the people or an offering to God?
- The changing use of Cathedrals throughout the ages

**Appendix 1****Musical Examples****Chapter 1 Longhurst, Perrin**

<u>Morning and Evening Services</u>				
	<b>Composer</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Period</b>	<b>Section</b>
<b>1</b>	Tallis	Service in D	c1505-85	Nunc Dimittis: Gloria: Boyce CM Vol 1 <sup>440</sup>
<b>2</b>	Aldrich	Service in G	1647-1710	Jubilate bars 1-12 Boyce CM Vol 1
<b>3</b>	Kelway	Evening Service in B min	c1695-1749	Nunc Dimittis W2/T-1-28
<b>4</b>	Boyce cp	Morning Verse in A	1710-79	Jubilate Gloria W2/S-16-9 <sup>441</sup>
	Gibbons	Evening Service (Short in F)	1583-1625	Nunc Dimittis Gloria W2/T-7-2
<b>5</b>	Nares	Evening Service in F	1715-83	Nunc Dimittis <sup>442</sup> W2/T-1-26
<b>6</b>	Calkin	Service in Bb	1827-1905	Magnificat W2/T-1-29
<b>7</b>	Garrett	Service in F	1834-96	Te Deum bars 1-19 W2/T-2-5
<b>8</b>	Fellowes	Morning Service in D	Pre-1830-?	Benedictus W2/T-3-1
<b>9</b>	Stainer, Winn and Walker	Morning Service	Stainer 1840-1901	Benedicite W2/T-2-5
<b>10</b>	Parry	Evening Service in D	1848-1918	Nunc Dimittis W2/T-2-4
<b>11</b>	Fricker	Evening Service	1868-1943	Nunc Dimittis W2/T-7-2
<u>Communion Service Settings</u>				
<b>12</b>	Tallis	Communion in D	c1505-85	Sanctus W2/S-5-8/9
<b>13</b>	Walmisley	Communion	1814-56	Credo W2/T-1-29
<u>Anthems</u>				
<b>14</b>	Byrd	The Souls of the Righteous	c1538-1623	W2/T-7-6
<b>15</b>	Creyghton	I will arise	1640-1733	W2/T-2-13

<sup>440</sup> This music, and all others marked as Boyce CM, are contained within Cathedral Music: William Boyce Volumes 1-3. Ref: W2/S-4-13/15.

<sup>441</sup> Boyce's own Verse Service in A was included in a Collection printed for his widow, undertaken by Philip Hayes, in November 1780. Ref: W2/S-16-9.

<sup>442</sup> Example 5 by James Nares, is a transcription from his Morning and Evening Services in F, published by The Sacred Harmonist, date unknown, (block printed folio form).

<b>16</b>	Clari & Leo	Be merciful	(Clari 1678-1727)	W2/S-15-7
<b>17</b>	Spohr	As pants the hart	1784-1859	W2/T-2-1
<b>18</b>	Jones	Unto Him that loved us	1805-73	W2/T-2-3
<b>19</b>	G J Elvey	Wherewithal	1816-93	W2/T-2-13
<b>20</b>	Jenner	Haste thee O God	1820-98	W2/T-3-1
<b>21</b>	Stainer	O Zion, that bringest good tidings	1840-1901	W2/T-7-7
<b>22</b>	Sullivan	Lead kindly Light	1842-1900	Choral Wiki
<b>23</b>	Stanford	Angelus ad Virginem Blessed are the dead	1852-1924	W2/T-7-7 <sup>443</sup>
<b>24</b>	Ryley	Lo! He comes	1866-1943	W2/T-7-7

### Chapter 2 Palmer

<u>Morning and Evening Services</u>				
	<b>Composer</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Period</b>	<b>Section</b>
<b>25</b>	Causton	Service in Ab originally F	c1520-69	Magnificat W2/T-2-11
<b>26</b>	King	Service in C	1687-1748	Benedictus W2/T-4-13
<b>27</b>	Raylton	Service in A	1688-1757	Jubilate Music Manuscript 12
<b>28</b>	Chipp	Service in A	1823-86	Nunc Dimittis W2/T-3-4
<b>29</b>	Calkin	Service in Bb	1827-1905	Jubilate W2/T-2-5
<b>30</b>	Roberts	Service in E	1841-1920	Nunc Dimittis W2/T-2-5
<b>31</b>	Gray	Service in A	1855-1935	Magnificat W2/T-7-2
<u>Communion Service Settings</u>				
<b>32</b>	Garrett	Communion in D	1834-96	Credo W2/T-2-5
<b>33</b>	Nicholson	Communion in Db	1871-1944	Sanctus W2/T-2-9
<u>Anthems</u>				
<b>34</b>	Humfrey	Hear, O heavens	1647-74	W2/T-1-29
<b>35</b>	Haydn	Insanae et vanae curae	1732-1809	W2/T-2-6
<b>36</b>	Novello	Like as the hart (In manus tuas)	1781-1861	W2/T-2-6

<sup>443</sup> The two versions of Angelus ad Virginem for Example 23 are taken from Oxford Book of Carols, 1928 and New Oxford Book of Carols, 1992.



37	Malan	O Lord, my God	1787-1864	W2/S-15-4
38	Goss	O praise the Lord	1800-89	W2/T-3-8
39	Smart	The Lord is my Shepherd	1813-79	W2/T-2-2
40	Longhurst	Grant to us Lord	1819-1904	W2/T-4-3
41	Barnby	Sweet is thy mercy	1838-96	W2/T-1-27
42	Gladstone	Out of the deep	1845-1928	W2/T-2-3
43	Martin	Hail gladdening Light	1844-1916	B L W88/9007 DSC (Part Book W2/T-C)
44	Calkin	Communion Service in G	1827-1905	Agnus Dei W2/T-2-5
45	Palmer	Communion in Eb	1871-1944	Benedictus qui venit W2/T-2-6

### **Chapter 3A Knight**

<u>Morning and Evening Services</u>				
	<b>Composer</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Period</b>	<b>Section</b>
46	Patrick	Morning Service in G min	c1569-95	Te Deum W2/T-7-2
47	Kempton	Morning Service in Bb	1690-1762	Jubilate W2/T-1-29
48	B. Cooke	Evening Service in G	1734-1793	Mag W2/T-1-26
49	Lee Williams	Evening Service	1853-1935	Nunc W2/T-2-9
50	Noble	Morning Service in A	1867-1953	Te Deum W2/T-2-6
51	Pearson	Morning Service	?-1920	Benedictus W2/S-18-23
<u>Communion Service Settings</u>				
52	Oldroyd	Communion in Mode III	1886-1951	Sanctus BL E.597.y.(11)
53	Rubbra	Missa Cantuariensis	1901-86	Sanctus
<u>Anthems</u>				
54	Arcadelt	Give ear	c1514- 1568	W2/T-2-6
55	Gibbons	O Thou the central Orb	1583-1625	W2/S-18-13
56	G. Elvey	The souls of the righteous	1816-1893	W2/T-7-6
57	Stainer	Miserere	1840-1901	W2/T-2-5
58	Parry	Sunset and evening star	1848-1918	A & M Standard Edition
59	Harris	Strengthen ye the weak hands	1883-1973	CCA-DCc-MS/116
<u>Litanies</u>				
60	Tallis	Litany	c1505-85	Cathedral Music Vol 1*

**3B Hopkins**

<u>Morning and Evening Services</u>				
	<b>Composer</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Period</b>	<b>Section</b>
<b>61</b>	Croft arr Martin	Morning Service in A	1678-1727	Jubilate BL E.605.g.(23.)
<b>62</b>	Smart	Morning Service in F	1813-1879	Te Deum W2/T-2-5
<b>63</b>	Macpherson	Evening Service in G	1870-1927	Magnificat Congregational Anthem Book.
<u>Anthems</u>				
<b>64</b>	Keeton	Beloved, now are we	1847-1921	W2/T-2-6
<b>65</b>	Gretchaninoff	Holy, holy, holy	1864-1956	BL F.946.b.(37.) W2/T-M2
<b>66</b>	G Shaw	Hail gladdening Light	1879-1943	Congregational Anthem Book.
<b>67</b>	Oldroyd	Jhesu, since Thou (Prayer to Jesus)	1886-1951	OUP

**3C Campbell**

<u>Morning and Evening Services</u>				
	<b>Composer</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Period</b>	<b>Section</b>
<b>68</b>	Blow	Evening Service in G	1648-1708	Nunc Dimittis Watkin Shaw Edition in A (1941) BL F.1137
<b>69</b>	S Elvey arr Martin	Evening Service in A	1805-1860	Magnificat W2/S-16-14 BL E.605.g.(23.)
<b>70</b>	Lloyd	Morning Service Eb	1849-1919	Te Deum W2/T-2-4
<b>71</b>	Gray	Morning Service in A	1855-1935	Jubilate W2/T-2-9
<u>Responses</u>				
<b>72</b>	Canterbury Use Responses	Jebb (collector) 1775-1833	John Jebb Collection W2/S-15-2	
<u>Anthems</u>				
<b>73</b>	Weldon	Praise God in His holiness	1676-1736	Music Pamphlet
<b>74</b>	Marcello	Give ear unto me	1686-1739	W2/T-3-7
<b>75</b>	Macpherson	Thou, O God art praised	1870-1927	Congregational Anthem Book.

**Chapter 4 Wicks**

<u>Morning and Evening Services</u>				
	<b>Composer</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Period</b>	<b>Section</b>
<b>76</b>	D. Purcell	Evening Service in E minor	c1660-1717	Magnificat W2/T-7-2
<b>77</b>	Boyce	Morning Service in C	1710-1779	Te Deum W2/T-4-13
<b>78</b>	R. Cooke	Evening Service in C	1768-1814	Nunc Dimittis W2/T-1-29
<b>79</b>	Goss	Evening Service in E	1800-1880	Nunc Dimittis W2/T-2-5
<b>80</b>	Ridout	Evening Service in Bb	1934-1996	Magnificat Encore Publications
<u>Communion Services</u>				
<b>81</b>	Wicks	Tones viii arr Wicks	1923-2010	Sanctus <sup>444</sup>
<b>82</b>	Moore	Canterbury Mass	1943-	Sanctus <sup>445</sup> CCA-DCc-MS/124
<u>Anthems</u>				
<b>83</b>	Lionel Power	Beata Progenies	c1375/80 – 1445	Choral Wiki SMC 1996
<b>84</b>	Lallouetter	O mysterium ineffabile	1651-1728	RSCM RA262 pub. 1979
<b>85</b>	Porter	O be joyful in the Lord	1733-1810	W2/S-8-4
<b>86</b>	Rubbra	Agnus Dei from Missa Cantuariensis	1901-86	Lengnick 1945
<b>87</b>	Tippett	Plebs angelica	1905-1998	Schott ED 11288 1944
<b>88</b>	Piccolo	Jesus walking on the waves	1953-	Composed for CC <sup>446</sup>

<sup>444</sup> Example 81 is transcribed from a copy written in the composer's own hand.

<sup>445</sup> Example 82 is transcribed from a copy written in the composer's own hand.

<sup>446</sup> Example 88 is transcribed from a copy written in the composer's own hand, which is not yet published.

## Appendix 2

### The role of the Precentor in Cathedral Life

#### (Supplementary to information contained in Chapter 1).

Historically, the Precentor's duties included: keeping the services in order, organising processions, singing the part of the Cantor when the music required, together with various other musical matters; this continued to be the case in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. However, the Church Commissioners abolished the office of Precentor in all cases where 'the emoluments were of value and in no one instance did they nominate a substitute'; S. S. Wesley expresses his outrage at this removal of the director of careful rehearsal and accurate performance, making a comparison with an opera house with no conductor. He adds that:

'the organist, if a man of eminence in his art, should hardly be teased [sic] with the tuition of the singing boys. The rudiments of an art may be better taught by those from whom nothing is expected in the higher branches'.<sup>447</sup>

In his objections to the actions of the Church Commissioners Wesley quotes as follows:

' "We do not wish to tax the musical abilities of the Minor Canons," exclaimed a distinguished Member of the Commission, amidst the laughter of the House of Lords; "the idiot laughter," as an eminent writer described it: laughter, be it said, which met little sympathy in Cathedral towns'.<sup>448</sup>

Wesley describes the Precentor as 'Chief Musician' who exerted 'due influence in the musical affairs'. Amongst other duties he oversaw the tuition, both musical and general, of the choristers (Wesley makes it clear that he approves of this), and provided parchment and ink for the copyists for the music libraries and other written material. Wesley adds that:

'had nothing occurred to mar their holy and beautiful existence, they would, doubtless, have expanded in their action with the times, and availed themselves with characteristic taste of every improvement in music science'.

Wesley's following footnote pays compliment to:

'the exquisite ability and care devoted to the church manuscripts of early times' being now appreciated'.<sup>449</sup>

The discipline of the cultivation of choristers' voices was seen by Wesley to be effective when the Precentor, together with a competent singing master, was responsible for the boys' abilities and conduct.

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<sup>447</sup> Ibid, p73.

<sup>448</sup> Wesley, S. S. (1849 reprinted 1965). *A Few Words on Cathedral Music*. London: Hinrichsen Edition Ltd. p8

<sup>449</sup> Ibid, p72.

In his anonymously published book, John Peace<sup>450</sup> explains the difference in status of the Precentor according to whether the Cathedral is of the New Foundation or the Old Foundation.<sup>451</sup> In the thirteen new foundation Cathedrals (which includes Canterbury) one of the Minor canons is Precentor. However, Peace states in a footnote,

‘The “Ecclesiastical Commissioners” do not seem to be aware of this. In their Draft of a Fifth Report, they propose “that no person be hereafter capable of receiving the appointment of dean, precentor, or canon, until he shall have been six years complete in priest’s orders;” this shewing that they consider the Precentor to be always a dignitary. (Prop.60.)’

Is he saying that they should not be considered a Dignitary, they were and are always Canons? They are definitely mistaken in proposing “that all vicars-choral and priest-vicars be hereafter styled minor canons.” This is clearly an error as in some Cathedrals, e.g. St Paul’s, Lay Clerks are called Vicars-Choral while Minor Canons must be ordained clergy, ‘this would be in their case summary ordination’. (Wesley does however mention that at one time all the members of the choir were in Holy Orders).<sup>452</sup>

In the old cathedrals the Precentor’s authority in choral affairs was paramount, whenever he required it, (he is presumably referring to the Old Foundation Cathedrals, i.e. those that were not monastic establishments which were dissolved by Henry VIII in the Reformation and required to be re-founded as New Foundation Cathedrals). In the New Foundation Cathedrals, which included Canterbury, power was given to the Precentor by Statutes, ‘if he were to contravene these, nothing would forbid the interference of the Chapter’.<sup>453</sup> As Canterbury is a New Foundation Cathedral its Precentor was not removed by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

The Precentors’ Books are still available at Canterbury for examination, revealing how they were written up by hand with clergy names listed if they were present and lay clerk names if they were absent. In the early 1870s the layout was changed with names listed on one side of the page with ticks to indicate clergy presence and a tick or an ‘a’ (for absence) or ‘l’ (for lateness, much less frequently used than in former years), for lay clerks. A summary was provided in November of each year, for the Annual St Catherine’s Audit by the Dean and Chapter.

A Chapter Minute, dated 1898 states:

‘We will and ordain that the Precentor be designated and elected from among the minor canons annually at the November audit; and that it shall be his duty to select the music to be sung in Our Cathedral church subject to the approval of the Dean; to direct all such as

<sup>450</sup> The author was readily identified and is named by Rainbow (Rainbow, B. (1970) *The Choral Revival in the Anglican Church: 1839-1872*. London: Barrie and Jenkins).

<sup>451</sup> Anon. 1839. *An Apology for Cathedral Service*. London: John Bohn.

<sup>452</sup> Wesley, 1849, p8.

<sup>453</sup> *Ibid*, p35.

sing or take any part in the music; and to the end that there be no disorderly discord in our Church, as well the Organist as the Lay Clerks and all other singers and musicians shall in all matters give ready obedience to and observe the orders and directions of the precentor or his deputy appointed with the sanction of the dean; and in order that the services of our Church be reverently and efficiently performed, the Precentor shall be diligent in his attendance at the services of our Church, and shall take care that the Lay Clerks and Choristers be sufficiently trained and instructed in their parts: he shall also have charge of all music in books belonging to the choir, and at the expense of our Church provide for the keeping of the same in good order, and for the purchase of such a sufficient supply of new music as shall from time to time be required...<sup>454</sup>

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<sup>454</sup> CCA-DCc-CA15, p115.

Appendix 3

Liturgical Changes 1549-1960s.

<u>Edward VI First Prayer Book 1549</u>	<u>Edward VI Second Prayer Book 1552</u>	<u>1559, 1662, 1928<sup>455</sup></u>	<u>Alternative Series I and II Rites A &amp; B 1960s</u>
<b>Psalm</b> for the Priest to say or the Clerks to sing	Ten Commandments	Lord's Prayer  Ten Commandments	Either the Ten Commandments or The Ninefold Kyries, said. <b>Glory be to God</b> may be said
<b>Glory be to God</b> begun by the Priest continued by the Clerks		1928 only: Or else the following may be said or sung: <b>Lord have mercy, Christ have mercy, Lord have mercy</b> or <b>Kyrie, eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison</b>	<b>A Psalm</b> may be sung
<u>Collect</u> <u>Epistle</u> <u>Gospel</u>	<u>Collect</u> <u>Epistle</u> <u>Gospel</u>	<u>Collect</u> <u>Epistle</u> <u>Gospel</u>	<u>Collect</u> <u>Epistle</u> <u>Gospel</u>
<b>Responses</b> The Clerks shall sing the rest	<b>Responses</b> The Clerks shall sing the rest		Responses before and after the Gospel, no instruction to sing
<b>Creed</b> the clerks shall sing	<b>Creed</b> the clerks shall sing	<b>Creed</b> no instruction in 1559/ 1662 and 1928 to be said or sung	<b>Creed</b> is said
<u>Sermon</u>	<u>Sermon</u>	<u>May be a Sermon</u>	<u>Sermon</u>
<u>Offertory</u> <u>Sentences</u> for the Clerks to sing	<u>Exhortations</u> <u>Comfortable</u> <u>Words</u>	<u>Offertory</u> <u>Sentences</u>	<u>Intercessions</u> A or B
<b>Responses</b>	<b>Responses</b>	<b>Responses</b>	<u>Confession</u> <u>Prayer of humble Access</u>

<sup>455</sup> In the Book of Common Prayer with the Additions and Deviations, proposed in 1928, but not adopted by Parliament, there is a section entitled 'Alternative Order of the Communion'. The final entry before The Order for a Second Consecration is entitled 'Anthem. Which may be said or sung immediately after the words, Glory be to thee, O Lord most high. Amen. **Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord: Hosanna in the highest,**' The Book of Common Prayer with the Additions and Deviations Proposed in 1928. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p264. In this same service the **Kyries** are included either in English or Greek, to be said or sung, (ibid, p247). There is no reference to the inclusion of the **Agnus Dei**, in either English or Latin, despite Archbishop Benson's approval of its use in his judgement dated 1890.

			<u>The Peace</u>	
<b>Sanctus</b> sung by the Clerks	<b>Sanctus</b> sung by the Clerks	<b>Holy, holy, holy</b> - /1662 'to be said or sung / -		
<b>Blessed is he that cometh</b> sung by the Clerks				
<u>General Confession</u> <u>Prayer of Humble Access</u>	<u>General Confession</u> <u>Prayer of Humble Access</u>	<u>General Confession</u> <u>Prayer of Humble Access</u>		
In the <u>Communion Time</u> the Clerks shall sing <b>O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the worlde, have mercy upon us</b>	<u>Communion</u>	<u>Communion</u>	<b>A</b> <b>Holy, holy, holy</b> [ <b>Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest</b> ]	<b>B</b> <b>Holy, holy, holy</b> [ <b>Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest</b> ] either immediately or following the prayer of Consecration
			<b>O Lamb of God that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us.</b> (implication that this is before the taking of Communion)	
			<b>The Lord's Prayer</b> if it has not already been said	
	<b>Gloria</b> to be said or sung	<b>Gloria</b> to be said or sung		
<u>The Blessing</u>	<u>The Blessing</u>	<u>The Blessing</u>	<u>The Blessing</u>	



Liturgical Changes 1971 - 1980.

<u>Alternative Series III</u> <u>1971</u>	<u>Alternative Service Book</u> <u>1980</u>	
<b>The Kyries</b> may be said or the Canticle <b>Gloria in excelsis</b>	<b>Psalm</b>	
<b>Psalm</b>	<b>Rite A</b> <b>Kyrie Eleison</b> and <b>Gloria in Excelsis</b> Both may be said	<b>Rite B</b> <b>Commandments</b> or <b>Kyrie Eleison</b> may be said <b>Gloria in excelsis</b> may be said
<u>Collect</u> <u>Epistle</u> <u>Gospel</u>	<u>Collect</u> <u>Epistle</u> <u>Gospel</u>	
Responses before and after the Gospel, no instruction to sing	Responses before and after the Gospel, no instruction to sing	
<b>Creed</b> is said	<b>Creed</b> is said	
<u>Sermon</u>	<u>Sermon</u>	
<u>Intercessions</u> <u>Comfortable Words</u>	<u>Intercessions</u>	
<u>Confession</u> <u>Prayer of humble Access</u> <u>The Peace</u>	<u>Confession</u> <u>Prayer of humble Access</u> <u>The Peace</u>	
<b>Holy, holy, holy</b>  Additional:  <b>Blessing and honour and glory and power be yours for ever and ever. Amen.</b>	Four Eucharistic variants, including: <b>Holy, holy, holy.</b> ‘This anthem may be used’ <b>Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest. Blessing and honour and glory and power be yours for ever and ever. Amen.</b>	<b>Holy, holy, holy (Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest)</b>  <b>Blessing and honour and glory and power be yours for ever and ever. Amen.</b>
		<b>O Lamb of God that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us.</b>
<b>The Lord’s Prayer</b>	<b>The Lord’s Prayer</b>	<b>The Lord’s Prayer</b>
‘during the Communion these and other hymns and anthems may be sung: <b>Blessed is he that cometh in the name</b>	Either here or during the administration: <b>O Lamb of God that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us.</b>	

<p><b>of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest. Jesus, Lamb of God: have mercy on us. Jesus, bearer of our sins: have mercy on us. Jesus, redeemer of the world: give us your peace'.</b></p>	
<p><u>The Blessing</u></p>	<p><u>The Blessing</u></p>



**Longevity of use of significant Morning Service Settings 1952 onwards**

Plainsong	52	55	60	63		
<u>16<sup>th</sup> century</u>						
Tallis D	52	55				
Tallis FB	52		63			
Merbecke	52					
Farrant g/a	52	55				
Byrd D	52	55	60			
Weelkes Short		55				
Gibbons F/Short	52	55	60			
<u>17<sup>th</sup> century</u>						
Purcell Bb				63		
<u>18<sup>th</sup> century</u>						
Boyce A		55	60			
Boyce C	52	55	60		68	
<u>19<sup>th</sup> century</u>						
Wesley F	52		60			
Smart F	55	60				
Walmisley D	52	55				
Stanford Bb	52	55	60	63	68	
Stanford F	52	55				
Stanford C		55	60			
Gray A	52	55				
Harwood Ab	52	55				
Noble A	52	55				
VW G	52	55	60	63	68	
Bairstow Eb	52	55	60	63	D 68	
Ireland F &/ or C	52	55	60	63	68	78
Moeran Eb	52	55		63	68	
Sumsion G		55	60		68	
<u>20<sup>th</sup> century</u>						
Walton						87
Britten				63	68	78 87
Rose E				63		
F Jackson C &/or G		55	60	63	68	
Ridout					68	



**Longevity of use of significant Evening Service Settings 1952 onwards**

Plainsong	52	55	60	63	68	78	87
<u>16<sup>th</sup> century</u>							
Tye Short					68	78	
Tallis D	52	55	60	63	68	78	
Tallis FB	52	55		64	68		
Farrant g/a	52	55	60	63	68		
Lassus							87
Byrd D		55	60	63	68	78	87
Byrd 3 minims		first 57	60	63		78	
Byrd b	52	55					
Byrd FB	52	55		63	68	78	
Morley	52	55	60	63	68	78	87
Tomkins FB	52	55	60		68	78	87
Weelkes	52	55	60	63	68	78	87
Gibbons F	52	55		63	68	78	87
Gibbons FB	52	55			68	78	
<u>17<sup>th</sup> century</u>							
Wise Eb/F	52	55	60	63	68	78	
Blow d	52	55	60	63	68	78	
Purcell Bb					68	78	87
Purcell g	52	55	60		68	78	87
D Purcell	52	55	60	63	68	78	87
Kempton Bb		55	60	63			
<u>18<sup>th</sup> century</u>							
R Cooke	52	55	60	63			
<u>19<sup>th</sup> century</u>							
Goss A	52						
Goss E	52	55	60	63			
Wesley E	52	55		63			
Wesley F	52	55	60	63			
Walmisley d	52	55	60	63	68	78	87
Stanford Bb	52	55	60	63	68	78	
Stanford A	52	55	60	63	68	78	87
Stanford F	52	55	60	63	68	78	
Stanford C	52	55	60	63	68	78	87
Stanford G	52	55			68	78	87
Gray	52	55					
Harwood Ab	52	55				78	87
Wood F D Eb CR	52	55	60	63	68	78	87
Noble b	52	55	60	63	68	78	87
VW C	52		60		68	78	
Bairstow Eb	52	55	60	63	68	78	87
Ireland F	52	55	60		68	78	
Dyson	first 54	55				78	87
Harris	first 51	55	60	63	68	78	87
Howells		first 56	60	63	68	78	87
Darke a	52	55	60			78	87
Sumsion G	52	55	60		68	78	87
Sumsion A		first	60		68		87
<u>20<sup>th</sup> century</u>							
Rose E	first 52		60	63	68		
F Jackson C	52	55	60	63	68	78	87
Ridout various				first 64	68	78	87







**Longevity of names of significant composers of 16<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> century Anthems to 1951**

Early unattributed						first 36	38	45
<u>16<sup>th</sup> century</u>								
(Redford) Rejoice in the Lord			09	13	25		38	45
Tye	73	99	09	13	25	35	38	45
Tallis	73	99	09	13	25	35	38	45
Arcadelt			first 12	13	25	35	38	45
Shepherd					first 36	38		
Palestrina		first 01	09	13	25	35	38	45
Farrant	73	99	09	13	25	35	38	45
Mundy O Lord the Maker			09	13	25		38	
Lassus						35	38	
Byrd	73	99	09	13	25	35	38	45
Eccard When to the Temple			first 10	13	25	36	38	
Marenzio	73		09					
Victoria		first 06	09	13		35	38	45
Morley								first 47
Philips						first 37	38	
Dowland							first 43	45
Weelkes				first 24	25	35	38	45
Dering								first 48
Allegri Miserere								first 46
Gibbons	73	99	09	13	25	35	38	45
Batten	73	99	09	13	25	35	38	45
<u>17<sup>th</sup> century</u>								
John of Portugal Faithful Cross						first 37		
Child(e)	73	99	09	13	25	35		
Rogers	73	99	09	13	25	35	38	45
Locke							38	
Wise	73	99	09	13	25	35	38	45
Creyghton	73	99	09	13	25	35	38	45
Humphreys		99	09	13	25	35	38	45
Aldrich	73	99	09	13	25	35	38	
Blow	73	99	09	13	25	35	38	45
Purcell	73	99	09	13	25	35		45
Weldon	73	99	09	13	25	35	38	
Croft	73	99	09	13	25	35	38	45
Bach	73	99	09	13	25	35	38	45
Handel	73	99	09	13	25	35	38	45
King	73	99	09	13	25	35	38	
Greene	73	99	09	13	25	35	38	45
<u>18<sup>th</sup> century</u>								
Kent	73	99	09	13	25			
W Hayes	73	99	09	13	25	35	38	
Boyce	73	99	09	13	25	35	38	45
Pergolesi			09	13	25			
Haydn			09	13	25	35	38	45
Mozart	73	99	09	13	25	35	38	
Attwood	73	99	09	13	25	35	38	45
Beethoven	73	99			25	35		45
Crotch	73	99	09	13	25	35	38	45
Spohr	73	99	09	13	25	35		
Pearsall In dulci Jubilo			first 08	13				45
Schubert			09	13	25	35	38	

**Longevity of names of significant composers of 14<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> century Anthems 1952 onwards**

Early unattributed	52	55	60	63	68	78	87
<u>14<sup>th</sup> century</u>							
Power						78	87
Dunstable					68	78	
<u>15<sup>th</sup> century</u>							
Dufay				first 67		78	87
Ockeghem Agnus Dei				first 64			
Deprès				first 66		78	
Mouton Ave Maria				first 68			
Cornyshe Ave Maria						first 81	
Taverner						78	87
<u>16<sup>th</sup> century</u>							
Tye	52	55	60	63			87
Tallis	52	55	60	63	68	78	87
Arcadelt	52	55					
Palestrina	52	55		63	68	78	87
Farrant	52	55	60	63	68	78	
Mundy O Lord the Maker			60		68	78	
Lassus	52	55			68	78	87
Byrd	52	55	60	63	68	78	87
Eccard	52	55	60	63	68	78	
G.Gabrieli				first 65			
Victoria	52	55			68	78	87
Morley	52	55	60	63	68	78	87
Philips	52	55	60	63	68	78	87
Dowland	52	55					
Monteverdi					first 68	78	87
Tomkins		first 56	60	63	68	78	87
Weelkes	52	55	60	63	68	78	87
Dering	52					78	87
Allegri Miserere	52	55	60	63 onwards			
Gibbons	52	55	60	63	68	78	87
Schütz	first 52			63	68	78	87
Batten	52	55	60	63	68	78	87
<u>17<sup>th</sup> century</u>							
John of Portugal Faithful Cross	52	55		63	68	78	87
Locke		55		63		78	87
Wise	52	55	60	63	68	78	
Humphreys		55	60	63	68	78	
Blow	52	55	60	63	68	78	87
Purcell	52	55	60	63	68	78	87
Croft	52	55	60			78	
Bach	52	55	60	63	68	78	87
Handel	52	55	60	63	68	78	87
Greene	52	55	60	63	68	78	87
<u>18<sup>th</sup> century</u>							
Boyce	52	55	60	63	68	78	87
Haydn	52	55			68	78	87
Mozart	52	55	60	63	68	78	87
Attwood	52	55	60	63	68		87
Crotch	52	55	60	63	68	78	
Pearsall In dulci Jubilo	52		60				87
Schubert		55		63		78	

**Longevity of names of significant composers of 19<sup>th</sup>/20<sup>th</sup> century Anthems to 1951**

19<sup>th</sup> century

Goss	73	99	09	13	25	35	38	45
Mendelssohn	73	99	09	13	25	35	38	45
Wesley	73	99	09	13	25	35	38	45
Smart		99	09	13	25	35	38	
Walmisley		99	09	13	25	35	38	45
S Bennett	73	99	09	13	25	35	38	45
G Elvey	73	99	09	13	25	35	38	45
Gounod		99	09	13	25	35		
Ouseley	73	99	09	13	25	35	38	45
Oakeley	73	99	09	13	25	35		
Brahms		first 07	09	13	25	35	38	45
Garrett		99	09	13	25			
Barnby		99	09	13	25	35		
Stainer	73	99	09	13	25	35	38	45
Tchaikovsky							38	45
Sullivan		99	09	13	25	35	38	
Martin		99	09	13	25	35		
Bridge		99	09	13	25	35		
Parry				first 24	25	35		45
Stanford			09	13	25	35	38	45
Elgar				first 24	25	35	38	45
Harwood			09	13	25		38	45
Gretchaninov						35	38	
Nicholson				first 24	25		38	
Coleridge Taylor			09	13	25	35		
Wood						35	38	45
Walford Davies							38	45
VWilliams							first 39	45
Holst					first 26	35	38	
Bairstow						35	38	45
Nicholson						first 37	38	45
M Shaw					first 26	35		
Ireland							38	45
Harris						35	38	45
Darke							38	45

20<sup>th</sup> century

Thiman							38	45
Tippett							first 44	

**Longevity of names of significant composers of 19<sup>th</sup>/20<sup>th</sup> century Anthems 1952 onwards**

19<sup>th</sup> century

Goss	52	55	60	63	68		
Mendelssohn	52	55			68	78	87
Wesley	52	55	60	63	68	78	87
Walmisley	52	55	60	63	68	78	
S Bennett	52	55	60				
G Elvey	52						
Bruckner						first 80	87
Ouseley	52	55	60	63			87
Brahms	52	55			68		87
Stainer	52	55		63	68	78	
Tchaikovsky	52	55		63			
Parry	52	55	60	63	68	78	
Stanford	52	55	60	63	68	78	87
Elgar	52	55				78	
Harwood	52		60	63			87
Gretchaninov	52	55					
Wood	52	55	60	63	68	78	87
Walford Davies	52	55		63	68		87
VWilliams	52	55	60	63	68	78	87
Holst	52	55	60	63	68	78	
Bairstow		55	60	63	68	78	87
Nicholson	52	55	60		68		
M Shaw		55	60				
Ireland	52	55	60	63	68	78	87
Stravinsky				63	68		
Harris	52	55	60	63	68	78	87
Darke	52			63	68		
Howells		first 59	60	63			87
Poulenc		first 58	60		68	78	87

20<sup>th</sup> century

Thiman	52	55					
Finzi		55	60	63	68		
Walton					68	78	87
Tippett				63	68	78	
Campbell	52	55	60	63	68		87
Britten		first 56	60	63	68	78	87
Joubert		first 58	60	63	68		
Williamson				63	68		
Ridout				first 64	68	78	87
Maxwell Davies						78	
Piccolo						first 80	87

## Appendix 5

### The Funeral and Memorial Services of Allan Wicks 2010

The elements of the funeral service of Allan Wicks, at the parish church of St Gregory and St Martin, Wye, where Wicks had been a member of the congregation since his retirement, and the memorial service in Canterbury Cathedral, demonstrate much of his contribution to the music of the Cathedral and musical life around the world. All but one of the pieces of music would have been a significant part of the repertoire that he offered in the Cathedral.

The musicians at the funeral consisted of members of the church choir, all of whom knew and respected Wicks, augmented by members of the Cathedral choir who had been appointed by Wicks. The Organist was Philip Moore, Wicks' assistant Organist from 1967-1974, then Master of the Choristers and Organist at Guildford Cathedral, before York Minster. He is a composer of anthems, service settings, including Example 82, and organ music. Before the service he played compositions by Bach, Howells and Stanford. The funeral sentences by Croft and Purcell would have been expected by Wicks as a foregone conclusion. Readings were given by a member of his family and by Stephen Barlow, a one time chorister at Canterbury, (he had been sitting in the congregation beside Harry Christophers, also an ex-chorister); both are now internationally known conductors. The Appreciation was given by Rev'd Canon Bruce Hawkins, who had known Wicks well, during his time in the Cathedral. He mentioned Wicks' innovative flair, and described him as a truly remarkable man. A past lay clerk, Paul Young, now full time professional singer, sang the Handel aria, Waft him, angels, to the skies, to an appreciative congregation. Gibbons; Jesu, grant me this I pray followed, sung by the choir. The Commendation and Blessing were given by the Very Rev'd Robert Willis, current Dean of Canterbury Cathedral. The widow of a previous Dean, Ian White Thomson, and the widow of Canon David Marriott, a past Head of the Cathedral Choir School, both in post during the time that Wicks was Organist, were also in the congregation, together with Wicks' widow, Elizabeth. The final choral music which sent Wicks on his way was the double choir Nunc Dimittis from Stanford in A. This was a reminder that even in his years of failing memory Wicks never forgot Stanford's service music. The Bach: Prelude and Fugue in C ended the funeral service.

At the Memorial Service, which took the form of a Choral Evensong, in the Cathedral, a larger number of his past choristers, colleagues and lay clerks took part.

The introductory music included Fantasia by Bach, played by Dr Peter King, a former student of Wicks, and Guilmant's March Opus 15, given by D'Arcy Trinkwon, one of his ex-choristers. The Versicles and Responses were those by Piccolo, a lay clerk from 1976-1981, see Musical Example 88. They represent a different approach to the usual layout, in which the Cantor's line is completed before the choir sing their response; each part is separate. In Piccolo's setting they briefly overlap, as in an intimate and excited conversation.

A Tribute was given by Anthony Dawson, a chorister from 1960-65. He described Wicks as a lovely man, undiscouraged by low numbers in the congregation for the boys' Thursday Evensong service, when he first came to Canterbury. He reminded all ex choristers present of the two places within the Precincts that were extensions of their homes: the Wickery and the Deanery. There were many smiles as people were encouraged to recall Wicks' colourful similes, the way in which he coined phrases and drew attention to the nuances of the text. Wicks was in his element in the practice room: he would remind the choristers 'never forget where you are, but never forget we're in show business'. He was a benevolent and caring head of the choir family.

There followed some choral music conducted by David Woodcock, formerly chorister and organ scholar with Wicks, performed by former choristers, pupils and colleagues; examples of the diverse historical range of music that Wicks had developed within the Cathedral. The first was the most recently composed; it was by Gabriel Jackson, a chorister 1971-1975, entitled: In all his works. It was the only composition that Wicks had never heard. Jackson is now a flourishing international composer and working with the BBC Singers. The acoustical effect of this anthem revealed his consummate skill in writing for the vast space of the Cathedral nave, where all its colours reverberated around the arches and stone of the building. Wicks would have revelled in the fact that this work, composed during 2010, was immediately followed by William Byrd's six part motet: Laudate Pueri, composed in 1575.

Barry Ferguson, a past Organist of Rochester Cathedral, and contributor to service settings used in Canterbury Cathedral, read the first lesson, and the second was delivered by the Rev'd John Shorrock, Sacrist and Minor Canon for four of the years in which Wicks was Organist. The Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis by Howells, were sung by the present Cathedral choir, as a representation of the best of the daily customary repertoire of Cathedral Evensong. The choir was conducted by David Flood, current Master of the Choristers and Organist, and assistant to Wicks 1978-1986.

The second part of the *Piccolo Preces and Responses* is crafted in a similar form to the first group. The final words: 'And take not Thy Holy Spirit from us' are given to the treble voices while each of the lower parts comment with a *pianissimo* 'ah!' These *Preces and Responses* were composed in 1978 and first heard in that same year; they continue to be used at Canterbury and in places where music of this quality is heard, all over the world.

Prayers, led by Rev'd Howard Such, Precentor 1984-1991, expressed thanks for the legacy of creativity and pioneering that Wicks had left, his gift of joy, intense awareness of the numinosity of the texts, delight in the gifts of others and desire to fulfil the potential of his charges.

Stephen Varcoe, (chorister 1959-1962) now a professional baritone, then sang: *Come my way, my Truth, my Life*, the fourth of Vaughan Williams' *Five Mystical Songs*. This anthem first entered the repertoire in 1959, during the time of Campbell, but was the most frequently performed, by Wicks, of the set of songs with words by George Herbert.

Dean Rt Rev'd Robert Willis gave his Address, which was based on a reading from the Apocrypha, of Ecclesiasticus 47:8-10.

8. In all that he did he gave thanks to the Holy One, the Most High, proclaiming his glory; he sang praise with all his heart, and he loved his Maker.
9. He placed singers before the altar, to make sweet melody with their voices.
10. He gave beauty to the festivals and arranged their times throughout the year, while they praise God's holy name, and the sanctuary resounded from early morning.

This reading describes the work of Wicks during the period of 1961-1988. It is so appropriate as to be remarkable, but as Wicks was a most outstanding man, musician and Christian, it is entirely fitting. Wicks gave of his best, expected the same from his musicians, and the repertoire was revived and flourished.

**Appendix 6**

<b>Benedictus qui venit (Blessed is he that cometh)</b>			
<b><u>Longhurst</u></b>			
<u>1892</u> Calkin (Palm Sunday) Stainer	<u>1893</u> Calkin (Palm Sunday)	<u>1894</u> Calkin (Palm Sunday)	<u>1895</u> Calkin (Palm Sunday)
<u>1893-1898</u> Records missing			
<b><u>Perrin</u></b>			
<u>1899</u> Calkin (Palm Sunday) Garrett	<u>1900</u> Calkin (Palm Sunday) Stainer	<u>1901</u> Calkin Garrett	<u>1902</u> Garrett (Palm Sunday)
<u>1903</u> Calkin Stainer	<u>1904</u> Calkin (Palm Sunday) Garrett (Ascension Day)	<u>1905</u> Calkin	<u>1906</u> Calkin Garrett
<u>1907</u> Calkin Garrett			
<b><u>Palmer</u></b>			
<u>1909</u> Garrett Martin	<u>1909</u> Garrett Martin	<u>1910</u> Garrett	<u>1911</u> Garrett Martin
<u>1912</u> Palmer	<u>1913</u> Harwood	<u>1914</u> Calkin	<u>1915</u> Garrett Harwood Palmer
<u>1916</u> Calkin Garrett Martin	<u>1917</u> Calkin Garrett Martin Lloyd Harwood Palmer	<u>1918</u> Calkin Garrett Bridge Lloyd	<u>1919</u> Calkin
<u>1920</u> Calkin Martin Bridge Lloyd Harwood	<u>1921</u> Calkin Garrett	<u>1922</u> Calkin Harwood Palmer	<u>1923</u> Calkin Garrett Martin Lloyd
<u>1924</u> Calkin Garrett Martin Lloyd	<u>1925</u> Calkin Martin Palmer Nicholson	<u>1926-1934</u> Records missing	<u>1935</u> Palmer



<u><b>Knight</b></u>		<u><b>Knight/Poole</b></u>	
<u>1939</u> Palestrina Mass		<u>1940-1944</u> None	
<u><b>Knight</b></u>			
<u>1945</u> Causton Palestrina*	<u>1946</u> Causton Palestrina* Palestrina*	<u>1947</u> Causton Palestrina* Palestrina*	<u>1948</u> Palestrina* Palestrina* Rubbra* Byrd Four part*
<u>1949</u> Palestrina* Palestrina* Byrd Four part*	<u>1950</u> Palestrina* Palestrina* Byrd Four part* Victoria*	<u>1951</u> Palestrina* Palestrina* Byrd Four part* Victoria*	<u>1952</u> Palestrina* Byrd Four part* Vittoria*
<u>1953</u> Palestrina Mass*			
<u><b>Hopkins</b></u>		<u><b>Campbell</b></u>	
<u>1954</u> Palestrina	<u>1955</u> None	<u>1956-1959</u> None	<u>1960</u> Britten
<u><b>Wicks</b></u>			
<u>1962-1963</u> Byrd 3 part*	<u>1964</u> Byrd & Byrd* Vaughan Williams*	<u>1965</u> Byrd Mozart* Schubert* Rubbra Berkeley	<u>1966</u> Byrd Morley Rubbra & Rubbra*
<u>1967</u> Byrd Vaughan Williams*	<u>1968</u> Darke	<u>1969</u> Mozart	<u>1970-1977</u> Records missing
<u>1978-1979</u> None	<u>1980</u> Stanford in C and F*	<u>1981-1987</u> The Communion services for these years are Early, European e.g. Mozart, Schubert and Haydn or late 19 <sup>th</sup> & 20 <sup>th</sup> century settings that contain the Benedictus qui venit, so its use may be implied rather than stated.	

<b>Agnus Dei (O Lamb of God)</b>			
<b><u>Longhurst</u></b>			
<u>1892</u> Calkin	<u>1893</u> Calkin	<u>1894</u> Calkin	<u>1895-1898</u> Records missing
<b><u>Perrin</u></b>			
<u>1899</u> Calkin	<u>1900</u> Calkin	<u>1901</u> Calkin	<u>1902</u> Calkin Garrett
<u>1903</u> None	<u>1904</u> Calkin x2	<u>1905</u> Calkin	<u>1906</u> Calkin
<u>1907</u> Calkin			
<b><u>Palmer</u></b>			
<u>1909</u> Garrett Martin	<u>1910</u> Calkin Garrett	<u>1911</u> Calkin Harwood	<u>1912</u> Calkin Garrett Martin
<u>1913</u> Garrett Martin Harwood	<u>1914</u> Calkin Harwood	<u>1915</u> Calkin Martin Harwood	<u>1916</u> Martin
<u>1917</u> Calkin Martin Harwood	<u>1918</u> Stainer Bridge Harwood	<u>1919</u> Garrett Harwood Palmer	<u>1920</u> Calkin Harwood Palmer
<u>1921</u> Palmer	<u>1922/1923</u> None	<u>1924</u> Harwood Palmer	<u>1925</u> Palmer
<u>1926-1934</u> Records missing	<u>1935</u> None	<u>1947</u> Palestrina* Palestrina*	<u>1969</u> Byrd 3 part Mozart* Rubbra* Britten*
<b><u>Knight</u></b>			
<u>1937</u> None	<u>1938</u> Stanford	<u>1939</u> Palestrina Mass	
<b><u>Knight/Poole</u></b>			
<u>1940-1941</u> None	<u>1942</u> Byrd	<u>1943</u> Causton	<u>1944</u> None
<u>1945</u> Bach Palestrina (2 Masses)	<u>1946</u> Causton Palestrina* Palestrina*	<u>1947</u> Palestrina* Palestrina*	<u>1948</u> Palestrina* Palestrina* Byrd Byrd Four part*
<u>1949</u> Palestrina* Palestrina* Byrd Four part*	<u>1950</u> Palestrina* Palestrina* Byrd Four part* Victoria*	<u>1951</u> Palestrina* Palestrina* Byrd Four part* Victoria*	<u>1952</u> Palestrina Mass* Byrd* Four part Victoria & Victoria*

<u>Hopkins</u>			<u>Campbell</u>
<u>1953</u> Palestrina* Victoria	<u>1954</u> Victoria	<u>1955</u> Victoria	<u>1956-1960</u> None
<u>Wicks</u>			
<u>1962</u> Rubbra	<u>1963</u> Shepherd Morley V Williams*	<u>1964</u> Ockeghem Shepherd Byrd & Byrd* Morley V Williams*	<u>1965</u> Byrd Morley Mozart 2 different Schubert* V Williams Bairstow Rubbra Berkeley Britten
<u>1966</u> Byrd* Morley Rubbra* Walton	<u>1967</u> Vaughan Williams* Britten	<u>1968</u> Byrd 3 part* Byrd 4 part* Darke* Rubbra & Rubbra* Britten	<u>1969</u> Byrd 3 part Mozart* Rubbra* Britten*
<u>1970-1977</u> Records missing	<u>1978</u> Shepherd Byrd Morley	<u>1979</u> Palestrina & Palestrina* Byrd 4 part Byrd 4 part* Byrd 5 part* Britten	<u>1980</u> Palestrina* Victoria* Byrd 3 part* Byrd 4 part* Byrd 5 part* Haydn * Stanford in C and F* V Williams* Ireland* Rubbra* Walton* Berkeley* Langlais* Wicks* Hurford* Rutter* Piccolo*
<u>1981-1987</u> The Communion services for these years are Early, European e.g. Mozart, Schubert and Haydn or late 19 <sup>th</sup> & 20 <sup>th</sup> century settings that contain the Agnus Dei, so its use may be implied rather than stated.		<u>1984</u> Anonymous: dated 1310 Benet	

\* indicates a service setting containing the BQV and AD and/or with an Ordination and/or the presence of an Archbishop when the music was performed

**Sevenfold Kyrie**

<b><u>Knight</u></b>			
<u>1939</u> Palestrina* Missa Christi munera	<u>1945</u> Palestrina* Missa Christi munera	<u>1946</u> Palestrina* Missa Christi munera	<u>1947</u> Palestrina* Missa Christi munera *Missa Iste Confessor
<u>1948</u> Palestrina* Missa Christi munera *Missa Iste Confessor	<u>1949</u> Palestrina* Missa Christi munera *Missa Iste Confessor Byrd* 4 part	<u>1950</u> Palestrina* Missa Christi munera *Missa Iste Confessor Byrd* 4 part Victoria* O quam gloriosum	<u>1951</u> Palestrina* Missa Christi munera *Missa Iste Confessor Byrd* 4 part Victoria* O quam gloriosum
<u>1952</u> Palestrina* Missa Christi munera *Missa Iste Confessor Byrd* 4 part Victoria* O quam gloriosum	<u>1953</u> Palestrina* Missa Christi munera Byrd* 4 part	<u>1954</u> Byrd* 4 part	
<b><u>Hopkins</u></b>		<b><u>Campbell</u></b>	
<u>1955</u> Palestrina* Missa Christi munera Byrd* 4 part			
<b><u>Wicks</u></b>			
These are in addition to those taken from the service settings as indicated above			
<u>1963</u> Shepherd	<u>1964</u> Britten	<u>1965</u> Palestrina J. Lawrence R. Hathaway Shepherd	<u>1966</u> R. Hathaway Britten
<u>1968</u> Shepherd	Sung as routine part of listed service	<u>1986</u> Shepherd	

**Appendix 7.****Anthems sung in languages other than English**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Title</b>	
1873-1907	0		
1908 Perrin/ Palmer	1 Latin macaronic	Pearsall:	In dulci jubilo
1909 Palmer	0		
1910	0		
1911	0		
1912	2 Latin	Tye: Novello:	Laudate nomen Domini In manus tuas
1913	5 Latin	Tye: Byrd: Haydn: Novello: Pearsall:	Laudate nomen Domini Justorum animae Insanae et vanae In manus tuas In dulci jubilo
1914	5 Latin	Tye: Byrd: Haydn: Novello: Pearsall:	Laudate nomen Domini Justorum animae Insanae et vanae In manus tuas In dulci jubilo
1915	5 Latin	Tye: Byrd: Haydn: Novello: Pearsall:	Laudate nomen Domini Justorum animae Insanae et vanae In manus tuas In dulci jubilo
1916	4 Latin	Tye: Byrd: Haydn: Novello:	Laudate nomen Domini Justorum animae Insanae et vanae In manus tuas
1917	4 Latin	Tye: Byrd: Haydn: Novello:	Laudate nomen Domini Justorum animae Insanae et vanae In manus tuas
1918	5 Latin	Tye: Byrd: Haydn: Novello: Pearsall:	Laudate nomen Domini Justorum animae Insanae et vanae In manus tuas In dulci jubilo
1919	5 Latin	Tye: Byrd: Haydn: Novello: Pearsall:	Laudate nomen Domini Justorum animae Insanae et vanae In manus tuas In dulci jubilo
1920	5 Latin	Tye: Byrd: Haydn: Novello: Pearsall:	Laudate nomen Domini Justorum animae Insanae et vanae In manus tuas In dulci jubilo
1921	5 Latin	Tye: Byrd: Haydn:	Laudate nomen Domini Justorum animae Insanae et vanae

		Novello: Pearsall:	In manus tuas In dulci jubilo
1922	5 Latin	Tye: Byrd: Haydn: Novello: Pearsall:	Laudate nomen Domini Justorum animae Insanae et vanae In manus tuas In dulci jubilo
1923	5 Latin	Tye: Byrd: Haydn: Novello: Pearsall:	Laudate nomen Domini Justorum animae Insanae et vanae In manus tuas In dulci jubilo
1924	5 Latin	Tye: Byrd: Haydn: Novello: Pearsall:	Laudate nomen Domini Justorum animae Insanae et vanae In manus tuas In dulci jubilo
1925	4 Latin	Tye: Byrd: Haydn: Novello:	Laudate nomen Domini Justorum animae Insanae et vanae In manus tuas
1926 (part)	(5 Latin)	Tye: Byrd: Haydn: Novello: Pearsall:	Laudate nomen Domini Justorum animae Insanae et vanae In manus tuas In dulci jubilo
1935 (part)	(4 Latin)	Tye: Haydn: Novello: Pearsall:	Laudate nomen Domini Insanae et vanae In manus tuas In dulci jubilo
1936 Palmer/Knight	4 Latin	Tye: Haydn: Novello: Pearsall:	Laudate nomen Domini Insanae et vanae In manus tuas In dulci jubilo
1937 Knight	10 Latin	Shepherd: Tallis: Tallis: Byrd: Phillips: Bramston Blow: Haydn: Novello: Pearsall:	Alleluia, confitemini Te lucis ante terminum Salvator mundi Justorum animae Cantantibus organis Recordare, Domine Salvator mundi Insanae et vanae In manus tuas In dulci jubilo
1938	7 Latin	Tye Shepherd Tallis Tallis Byrd Phillips Blow	Laudate nomen Alleluia, confitemini Te lucis ante terminum Salvator mundi Justorum animae Cantantibus organis Salvator mundi
1939	5 Latin	Tallis Byrd Phillips	Salvator mundi Justorum animae Cantantibus organis

		Blow Pearsall	Salvator mundi In dulci jubilo
1940 Knight/Poole	3 Latin	Tallis Blow Pearsall	Salvator mundi Salvator mundi In dulci jubilo
1941 Poole	2 Latin	Tallis Byrd Blow	Salvator mundi Non nobis Domine Salvator mundi
1942	1 Latin	Tallis	Salvator mundi
1943	3 Latin	Tallis Byrd Blow	Salvator mundi Non nobis Domine Salvator mundi
1944	6 Latin	OCB Tallis Byrd Byrd Haydn Tippett	In dulci jubilo Salvator mundi Ave verum corpus Justorum animae Insanae et vanae curae Plebs angelica
1945 Poole/Knight	8 Latin	Tallis Byrd Byrd Kirbye Blow Bach Haydn Pearsall	Salvator mundi Christe, qui lux est Justorum animae Vox in Rama Salvator mundi Agnus Dei Insanae et vanae curae In dulci jubilo
1946	12 Latin	Tallis Tallis Byrd Byrd Byrd Victoria Philips Kirbye Blow Haydn Pearsall Stanford	Salvator mundi Te lucis ante terminum Ave verum corpus Christe, qui lux est Justorum animae O quam gloriosum Surgens Jesse Vox in Rama Salvator mundi Insanae et vanae curae In dulci jubilo Beati quorum
1947	15 Latin	Mode i Tallis Tallis Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Victoria Philips Kirbye Blow Haydn Pearsall Stanford Arr JH Arnold	Rorate coeli Salvator mundi Te lucis ante terminum Ave verum corpus Christe, qui lux est Justorum animae Senex puerum portabat O quam gloriosum Surgens Jesse Vox in Rama Salvator mundi Insanae et vanae curae In dulci jubilo Beati quorum Qui creavit coelum
1948	16 Latin	Tallis	Salvator mundi

		Tallis Lassus Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Victoria Philips Kirbye Dering Blow Purcell Haydn Pearsall Stanford	Te lucis ante terminum Adoremus te Ave verum corpus Christe, qui lux est Justorum animae Senex puerum portabat O quam gloriosum Surgens Jesse Vox in Rama Quem pastores Salvator mundi Jehova, quam multi sunt Insanae et vanae curae In dulci júbilo Beati quorum
1949	17 Latin	Tallis Tallis Tallis Lassus Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Victoria Kirbye Bramston Dering Schütz Blow Haydn Pearsall Stanford	In jejunió et fletu Salvator mundi Te lucis ante terminum Adoramus te Agnus Dei from 3 part Mass Ave verum Christe, qui lux est Senex puerum portabat O quam gloriosum Vox in Rama Recordare, Domine Quem vidistis Cantate Domino Salvator mundi Insanae et vanae curae In dulci júbilo Beati quorum
1950	18 Latin	Tallis Tallis Tallis Lassus Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Victoria Philips Kirbye Dering Dering Schütz Blow Purcell Haydn Stanford	In jejunió et fletu Salvator mundi Te lucis ante terminum Adoramus te Ave verum Christe, qui lux est Justorum animae Senex puerum portabat O quam gloriosum Surgens Jesse Vox in Rama Factum est silentium Quem vidistis Cantate Domino Salvator mundi Jehova, quam multi sunt Insanae et vanae curae Beati quorum
1951	24 Latin	Constantini Tallis Tallis Palestrina	Confitemini Domino In jejunió et fletu Salvator mundi Jesu, Rex admirabilis



		Palestrina Lassus Lassus Lassus Lassus Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Victoria Philips Kirbye Dering Schütz Blow Purcell Pergolesi Haydn Stanford Stanford	Pleni sunt coeli Adoramus te Expandi manus In pace in ipsidum dormian Oculus non vidit Ave verum Christe, qui lux est Justorum animae Senex puerum portabat O quam gloriosum Surgens Jesse Vox in Rama Quem vidistis Cantate Domino Salvator mundi Jehova, quam multi sunt Fac ut ardent cor meum Insanae et vanae curae Beati quorum Justorum animae
1952	24 Latin	Constantini Tallis Tallis Palestrina Lassus Lassus Lassus Lassus Lassus Byrd Byrd Byrd Victoria Victoria Philips Philips Philips Kirbye Schütz Blow Purcell Haydn Stanford Stanford	Confitemini Domino In jejuniis et fletu Salvator mundi Jesu, Rex admirabilis Adoramus te Agimus tibi gratias Expandi manus In pace in ipsidum dormian Oculus non vidit Ave verum Christe, qui lux est Senex puerum portabat Accende lumen sensibus O sacrum convivium Ascendit Deus Cantantibus organis Surgens Jesse Vox in Rama Cantate Domino Salvator mundi Jehova, quam multi sunt Insanae et vanae curae Beati quorum Justorum animae
1953	20 Latin	Tallis Palestrina Lassus Lassus Lassus Lassus Lassus Byrd Byrd Victoria	Salvator mundi Jesu, Rex admirabilis Adoramus te Agimus tibi gratias Expandi manus Ipse te cogat Oculus non vidit Sancti mei Justorum animae Senex puerum portabat Accende lumen sensibus

		Victoria Philips Philips Philips Kirbye Blow Pearsall Stanford Stanford	O sacrum convivium Ascendit Deus Cantantibus organis Surgens Jesse Vox in Rama Salvator mundi In dulci jubilo Beati quorum Justorum animae
1954	21 Latin	Tallis Palestrina Palestrina Lassus Lassus Lassus Lassus Lassus Lassus Lassus Byrd Byrd Dering Philips Philips Kirbye Blow Purcell Haydn Pearsall Stanford Stanford	Salvator mundi Benedictus qui venit Jesu, Rex admirabilis Adoramus te Agimus tibi gratias Christe qui lux es Expandi manus Ipse te cogat Oculus non vidit Justorum animae Senex puerum portabat Quem vidistis Cantantibus organis Surgens Jesse Vox in Rama Salvator mundi Jehova, quam multi sunt Insanae et vanae curae In dulci jubilo Beati quorum Justorum animae
1955	31 Latin	Constantini Tallis Tallis Tallis Palestrina Palestrina Palestrina Lassus Lassus Lassus Lassus Lassus Lassus Lassus Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Victoria Victoria Victoria Victoria Morley Philips Sweelinck	Laudate nomen Domini In jejunio et fletu Salvator mundi Te lucis ante terminum Adoramus te Christe Jesu, Rex admirabilis Tua Jesu dilectio Adoramus te Agimus tibi gratias Expandi manus Hodie apparuit Ipse te cogat Oculus non vidit Ave verum Christe qui lux es Exsurge Justorum animae Senex puerum portabat Accende lumen sensibus Jesu, dulcis memoria O sacrum convivium O vos omnes Nolo mortem Ascendit Deus Gaudete omnes

		Kirbye Blow Haydn Stanford Stanford	Vox in Rama Salvator mundi Insanae et vanae curae Beati quorum Justorum animae
1956 Campbell	20 Latin	Cranmer: Palestrina: Lassus: Lassus: Byrd: Byrd: Byrd: Byrd: Byrd: Victoria: Victoria: Croce Dering Phillips Phillips Sweelinck Sweelinck Blow Pitoni Pearsall:	Exsurge Jesu! Rex admirabilis Expandi manus meas ad te Ipsa te cogat pietas Ave verum Christe qui lux es et dies Justorum animae Non vos relinquam orphanos O quam gloriosum Jesu, dulcis memoria O quam gloriosum Et resurrexit Quem vidistis Ascendit Deus Gaudent in coelis Gaudete omnes Hodie Christus natus est Salvator mundi Cantate Domino In dulci jubilo
1957 Campbell	20 Latin	Cranmer Tallis Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Victoria Morley Phillips Phillips Sweelinck Sweelinck Praetorius Blow Pitoni Pearsall Faure Stanford	Exsurge In jejuniis et fletu Ave verum Christe qui lux es et dies Justorum animae Non vos relinquam orphanos O quam gloriosum Senex puerum portabat Jesu, dulcis memoria Nolo mortem peccatoris Ascendit Deus Gaudent in coelis Gaudete omnes Hodie Christus natus est Psallite unigenito Salvator mundi Cantate Domino In dulci jubilo Pie Jesu Beati quorum
1958	22 Latin	Tallis Tallis Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Victoria	In jejuniis et fletu Salvator mundi Ave verum Beata virgo Christe qui lux es et dies Justorum animae Non vos relinquam orphanos O quam gloriosum O quam gloriosum

		<p>Morley Phillips Philips Sweelinck Sweelinck Kirbye Praetorius Allegri Blow Pearsall Faure Stanford Poulenc</p>	<p>Nolo mortem peccatoris Ascendit Deus Gaudent in coelis Gaudete omnes Hodie Christus natus est O Jesu, look Psallite unigenito Miserere Salvator mundi In dulci jubilo Pie Jesu Beati quorum Hodie Christus natus est</p>
1959	25 Latin	<p>Anon C15<sup>th</sup> Cranmer Tallis Tallis Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Victoria Victoria Morley Phillips Philips Sweelinck Dering Allegri Blow Mozart Pearsall Faure Stanford Poulenc Poston</p>	<p>Eya martyr Stephane Exsurge In jejunio et fletu Salvator mundi Ave verum Christe qui lux es et dies Haec dies quam fecit Deus Justorum animae O quam gloriosum Sacerdotes Domini Jesu, dulcis memoria O quam gloriosum Nolo mortem peccatoris Ascendit Deus Gaudent in coelis Gaudete omnes Factum est silentium Miserere Salvator mundi Ave verum corpus In dulci jubilo Pie Jesu Beati quorum Hodie Christus natus est Laudate Dominum</p>
1960	25 Latin	<p>Anon C15<sup>th</sup> Cranmer Tallis Tall Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Victoria Victoria Morley Phillips Philips Sweelinck Praetorius Allegri</p>	<p>Eya martyr Stephane Exsurge In jejunio et fletu Salvator mundi Ave verum Christe qui lux es et dies Haec dies quam fecit Deus Non vos relinquam orphanos O quam gloriosum Jesu, dulcis memoria O quam gloriosum Nolo mortem peccatoris Ascendit Deus Gaudent in coelis Hodie Christus natus est Psallite unigenito Miserere</p>

		Blow Mozart Pearsall Faure Stanford Poulenc Rubbra Britten	Salvator mundi Ave verum corpus In dulci jubilo Pie Jesu Beati quorum Hodie Christus natus est Dormi, Jesu Benedictus qui venit
1961 Campbell /Wicks	16 Latin	Cranmer Tallis Byrd Byrd Byrd Victoria Phillips Philips Allegri Blow Mozart Mozart S Wesley Pearsall Faure Stanford	Exsurge In jejunió et fletu Ave verum Justorum animae O quam gloriosum O quam gloriosum Ascendit Deus Gaudent in coelis Miserere Salvator mundi Ave Maria Ave verum corpus In exitu Israel In dulci jubilo Pie Jesu Beati quorum
1962	26 Latin	Cranmer Tallis Tallis Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Victoria Victoria Victoria Morley Tomkins Allegri Blow Pitoni Purcell Haydn Mozart Pearsall Fauré Stanford Stanford Stanford Poston Tippett	Exsurge In jejunió et fletu Salvator mundi Ave verum corpus Haec dies Justorum animae Senex puerum portabat O quam gloriosum O sacrum convivium Passion Nolo mortem peccatoris Ascendit Deus Miserere Salvator mundi Cantate Domino Jehova quam multi sunt hostes mei Insanae et vanae curae Ave Maria In dulci jubilo Pie Jesu Beati quorum Coelos ascendit Justorum animae Laudate Dominum Plebs angelica
1963	27 Latin	Piae Cantiones Cranmer Tallis Tallis Tallis	Congaudeat Exsurge Audiui media nocte In jejunió et fletu O nata lux

		Tallis Shepherd Shepherd Blitheman Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Morley Philips Philips Dering Allegri Blow Purcell Mozart Fauré Stanford Stanford Stravinsky Tippett	Salvator mundi Agnus Dei Kyrie eleison In pace Ave verum corpus Haec dies Justorum animae Non vos relinquam orphanos Senex puerum portabat Agnus Dei Ascendit Deus Cantatibus organis Factum est silentium Miserere Salvator mundi Jehova quam multi sunt hostes mei Dies irae Pie Jesu Beati quorum Justorum animae Ave Maria Plebs angelica
1964	50 Latin	C15 <sup>th</sup> Carol Cologne Gesangbuch School of Worcester Anon C15 <sup>th</sup> Ockeghem Cranmer Tallis Tallis Tallis Tallis Shepherd Blitheman Palestrina Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Bramston Victoria Victoria Victoria Victoria G Gabrieli G Gabrieli Morley Morley Morley Philips Philips Philips Dering	Illuminare Jerusalem Hilariter Alleluia, psallat Eya martyr Stephane Agnus Dei (Missa L'Homme Armé) Exsurge Audiui media nocte In jejunio et fletu O nata lux Salvator mundi Agnus Dei ?Latin In pace Super flumina Babylonis Ave verum corpus Benedictus, Agnus Dei Haec dies Justorum animae O oriens Senex puerum portabat Recordare, Domine Duo seraphim Eram quasi agnus Recessit pastor noster Tamquam ad latronem Crucifixus enim Crucifixus est Agnus Dei Eheu! Sustulerunt Dominum Nolo mortem peccatoris Ascendit Deus Cantatibus organis Surgens Jesse Gaudent in coelis

		Dering Allegri Blow Pitoni Purcell Haydn Mozart Mozart Fauré Stanford Stanford V. Williams V. Williams Arr Wood Tippett Britten	O bone Jesu Miserere Salvator mundi Cantate Domino Jehova quam multi sunt hostes mei Insanae et vanae curae Ave Maria Ave verum Pie Jesu Beati quorum Justorum animae Benedictus Agnus Dei Mater ora filium Plebs angelica Kyrie & Sanctus from Missa Brevis
1965	43 Latin	C14 <sup>th</sup> Chester Carol Worcester C14 <sup>th</sup> Traditional Carol Josquin Tallis Tallis Tallis Shepherd Blitheman Palestrina Lassus Lassus Lassus Byrd Victoria Victoria G Gabrieli Morley Morley Morley Philips R. Hathway Praetorius Dering Allegri Blow Handel Haydn Mozart Mozart Mozart Mozart Mozart Mozart Fauré Stanford Arr Wood V. Williams	Angelus ad Virginem Qui creavit coelum Alleluia, psallat Eya martyr Stephane Te pauperum refugium Audiui media nocte In jejunio et fletu Salvator mundi Kyrie eleison In pace Kyrie: Missa aeterna Christi munera Adoramus te Oculus non vidit Sancti mei Justorum animae Accende lumen O quam gloriosum Crucifixus est Agnus Dei Eheu! Sustulerunt Dominum Nolo mortem peccatoris Gaudent in coeli Kyrie eleison Psallite, unigenito Gaudent in coelis Miserere Salvator mundi Ave verum corpus Insanae et vanae curae Agnus Dei Agnus Dei: Litaniae Larentanae Ave Maria Ave verum Benedictus qui venit Laudate Dominum Pie Jesu Beati quorum Mater ora filium Agnus Dei

		Messiaen Britten Britten J. Lawrence	O sacrum convivium Agnus Dei Kyrie eleison Kyrie eleison
1966	52 Latin	C14 <sup>th</sup> Worcester C14 <sup>th</sup> Josquin Tallis Tallis Tallis Tallis Blitheman Palestrina Palestrina Lassus Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Victoria Victoria Victoria Victoria Händl Morley Morley Morley Philips Philips Philips R. Hathway Dering Dering Allegri Schütz Schütz Blow Pitoni Purcell Caldara Mozart Mozart S Wesley Fauré Stanford Stanford Arr Wood Ireland Walton Berkeley Tippett Britten	Angelus ad Virginem Alleluia, psallat Tu pauperum refugium In jejunio et fletu In manus tuas, Domine O nata Lux Salvator mundi In pace Jesu, Rex admirabilis Tu est Petrus Sancti mei Ave verum corpus Deo gratias Gloria tibi, Domine Justorum animae Psallite Domino Senex puerum portabat Veni, Sancte Spiritus, reple Duo Seraphim O quam gloriosum O sacrum convivium Tamquam ad latronem Honestum fecit Agnus Dei Eheu! Sustulerunt Dominum Nolo mortem peccatoris Ascendit Deus Gaudent in coelis Surgens Jesus Kyrie eleison Factum est silentium O bone Jesu Miserere Cantate Domino Jubilate Deo in chordis Salvator mundi Cantate Domino Jehova quam multi sunt Laboravi in gemitu meo Ave Maria Laudate Dominum Si iniquitates observaveris Pie Jesu Beati quorum Justorum animae Mater ora filium Ex ore innocentium Agnus Dei Justorum animae Plebs Angelica Kyrie eleison



		Williamson	Dignus est Agnus
1967	53 Latin 1 Russian	Anon C13 <sup>th</sup>	Perspice Christicola
		Worcester C12 <sup>th</sup>	Sanctus
			Eis polla eti despota (Russian)
		Dunstable	Veni, Creator
		Power	Beata progenies
		Dufay	Pange, lingua, gloriosi Corporis
		Josquin	Tu pauperum refugium
		Tallis	Audivi media nocte
		Tallis	In jejunio et fletu
		Tallis	In manus tuas, Domine
		Tallis	O nata Lux
		Tallis	Salvator mundi
		Blitheman	In pace
		Palestrina	Aspiciens a longe
		Palestrina	Dum complerentur
		Palestrina	O beata et gloriosa Trinitas
		Palestrina	Tu est Petrus
		Lassus	Sancti mei
		Byrd	Ave verum corpus
		Byrd	Deo gratias
		Byrd	Ecce advenit
		Byrd	Gloria tibi, Domine
		Byrd	Haec dies
		Byrd	Laetentur coeli
		Byrd	Senex puerum portabat
		Byrd	Veni, Sancte Spiritus, reple
		Byrd	Vigilate
		Victoria	Duo Seraphim
		Händl	Ante luciferum genitus
		Händl	Honestum fecit
		Morley	Eheu! Sustulerunt Dominum
		Morley	Nolo mortem peccatoris
		Philips	Ave, Jesu Christe
		Philips	Ave, verum Corpus
		Philips	Cantantibus organis
		Philips	O virum mirabile
		Monteverdi	Christe, adoramus te
		Monteverdi	Laetatus sum
		Monteverdi	Lauda Jerusalem
		Monteverdi	Laudate pueri
		Dering	Factum est silentium
		Dering	Gaudent in coelis
		Allegrì	Miserere
		Schütz	Jubilate Deo in chordis
		Pitoni	Cantate Domino
		Caldara	Laboravi in gemitu meo
		Casciolini	Angelus Domini
		Mozart	Benedictus qui venit
		S Wesley	Si iniquitates observaveris
		Pearsall	In dulci jubilo
		Stanford	Justorum animae
		Arr Wood	Mater ora filium
		E Naylor	Vox dicentis, clama
		Britten	Agnus Dei from War Requiem

1968	66 Latin 1 Russian	<p>Andernach Gesangbuch Te lucis ante terminum  Anon C13<sup>th</sup> Perspice Christicola  Anon C14<sup>th</sup> Angelus ad Virginem  Anon C14<sup>th</sup> Resonemus Laudibus  Eastern Orthodox Eis polleti despota Russian  Medieval Carol Eya Martyr Stephane  Worcester C14<sup>th</sup> Alleluia, psallat  Dunstable Veni, Creator  Jean Mouton Ave Maria  Tallis Audivi media nocte  Tallis In jejunio et fletu  Tallis In manus tuas, Domine  Tallis O nata Lux  Tallis Salvator mundi  Shepherd Kyrie eleison  Palestrina Tu est Petrus  Lassus Alleluia, laus et honor  R White Christe, qui lux es et dies  Byrd Ave verum corpus  Byrd Deo gratias  By Ecce advenit  Byrd Gloria tibi, Domine  Byrd Justorum animae  Byrd Laetentur coeli  Byrd Laudibus in Sanctis  Byrd O quam gloriosum  Byrd Sacerdotes Domini  Byrd Siderum Rector  Byrd Veni, Sancte Spiritus, reple  Byrd Vigilate  Victoria Accende lumen sensibus  Victoria Miserere mei  Victoria O sacrum convivium  Victoria O vos omnes  Victoria Passion  Victoria Reproaches  Victoria Tamquam latronem  Händl Ante luciferum genitus  Morley De profundis clamavi  Morley Nolo mortem peccatoris  Philips Ave, Jesu Christe  Philips Cantantibus organis  Philips O virum mirabile  Sweelinck Hodie Christus natus est  Monteverdi Christe, adoramus te  Dering Factum est silentium  Dering Gaudent in coelis  Dering O bone Jesu  Schütz Jubilate Deo in chordis  Blow Salvator mundi  Pitoni Cantate Domino  Casciolini Angelus Domini  Haydn Insanae et vanae curae  Mozart Ave verum corpus  Mozart Laudate Dominum</p>
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		S Wesley Stanford Stanford Stanford Arr Wood Stravinsky Poulenc Tippett Britten Paynter Ridout C Brown	Si iniquitates observaveris Beati quorum Coelos ascendit Justorum animae Mater ora filium Ave Maria Tenebrae factae sunt Plebs angelica Agnus Dei from War Requiem Exsultet coelum laudibus Spiritus Domini Laudate Dominum
1978	102 Latin 2 German	Anon c1310 Anon C12 <sup>th</sup> C15 <sup>th</sup> melody Anon c1400 Power Dunstable Dufay Dufay Dufay Dufay Dufay Dufay Josquin Taverner Morales Tallis Tallis Tallis Tallis A. Gabrieli Shepherd Shepherd Palestrina Palestrina Palestrina Palestrina Palestrina Palestrina Palestrina Palestrina Palestrina Palestrina Palestrina Palestrina Palestrina Palestrina Palestrina Palestrina Parsons Lassus Lassus Lassus Lassus Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd	Epiphaniam Domino cantamus Verbum patris humanatur Quem pastores Conditur alme siderum Beata progenies Veni, sancti Spiritus Aurea luce et decore Ave maris stella Christe, Redemptor omnium Exultet coelum laudibus Hostes Herodes Ut queant laxis Te pauperum refugium In pace, in idipsum Simile est regnum Audivi media nocte In jejunio et fletu O nata lux Salvator mundi Crucifixus etiam pro nobis Agnus Dei In manus tuas, Domine Adoramus te, Christe Crucifixus (Missa O Rex gloriae) Dies sanctificatus Dum complerentur Ecce, nunc benedicite Dominum Haec dies Jesu! Rex admirabilis Salvator mundi Super flumina Babylonis Surge illuminare Tu est Petrus Venit Michael Archangelus Ave Maria Beatus vir Fremuit spiritu Oculus non vidit Tristis est anima mea Agnus Dei from 5 part Mass Benedictus from 5 part Mass Cantate Domino Deo gratias

	Byrd	Deus indicium tuum	
	Byrd	Ecce advenit	
	Byrd	Emendemus in melius	
	Byrd	Factus est repente	
	Byrd	Gloria tibi Domine	
	Byrd	Justorum animae	
	Byrd	Laetentur coeli	
	Byrd	Laudibus in sanctis	
	Byrd	Miserere mei	
	Byrd	O quam gloriosum	
	Byrd	O Rex gloriae	
	Byrd	Reges Tharsis	
	Byrd	Rorate coeli	
	Byrd	Sacerdotes Domini	
	Byrd	Surge illuminare	
	Byrd	Vidimus stellam eius	
	Byrd	Vigilate	
	Byrd	Viri Galilaei	
	Victoria	Duo seraphim	
	Victoria	Estote fortes in bello	
	Victoria	Ne timeas Maria	
	Victoria	O sacrum convivium	
	Händl	Ante luciferum genitus	
	Händl	De coelo veniet	
	Händl	Honestum fecit	
	Morley	Agnus Dei	
	Morley	De profundis	
	Morley	Nolo mortem peccatoris	
	Esquivel	Ego sum panis vivus	
	Philips	Ascendit Deus	
	Philips	Cantantibus organis	
	Philips	Ecce vicit leo	
	Philips	O virum mirabilem	
	Monteverdi	Ave maris stella	
	Tomkins	Vigilate	
	Dering	Duo seraphim	
	Dering	Factum est silentium	
	Dering	Gaudent in coelis	
	Schütz	Die mit Tränen säen	German
	Schütz	Selig sind die Toten	German
	Blow	Salvator mundi	
	Lallouetter	O mysterium ineffabile	
	Purcell	Jehova quam multi sunt	
	Lotti	Crucifixus etiam pro nobis	
	Mozart	Ave verum	
	Mozart	Laudate Dominum	
	Mozart	Recordare	
	S Wesley	In exitu Israel	
	S Wesley	Si iniquitates observaveris	
	Bruckner	Christus factus est	
	Fauré	Pie Jesu	
	Stanford	Justorum animae	
	Poulenc	Hodie	
	Poulenc	Christus natus est	
	Poulenc	O magnum mysterium	

		Poulenc Poulenc Poulenc Berkeley Tippett Maxwell Davies	Tenebrae factae sunt Tristis est anima mea Vinea mea electa Justorum animae Plebs angelica Jesus autem hodie
1979	68 Latin 1 German	Anon c1173 Anon c1270 Anon C12 <sup>th</sup> C15 <sup>th</sup> melody Anon c1460 Anon Spanish 1560 Isaac Tallis Tallis A. Gabrieli Palestrina Palestrina Palestrina Palestrina Palestrina Palestrina Palestrina Palestrina Parsons Whyte Lassus Lassus Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Victoria Victoria Victoria Händl Händl Händl Morley Morley Asola Philips Philips Monteverdi Dering Dering	Novus miles sequitur Perspice Christicola Verbum patris humanatur Quem pastores Gloria, laus et honor Jerusalem, surge Ecce, virgo concipiens In jejunio et fletu Salvator mundi Magnificat anima mea Adorna thalamum Agnus Dei Canite tuba Dum complerentur Ecce, nunc benedicite Dominum Surge illuminare Venit Michael Archangelus Ave Maria Christe, qui lux es et dies Fremuit spiritu Scio enim quod redemptor Agnus Dei from 4 part Mass Confirma hoc Deus Ecce advenit Laetentur coeli Laudibus in sanctis Lumen ad revelationem Omnes gentes, plaudite manibus Reges Tharsis Senex puerum portabat Surge illuminare Veni, sancte spiritus Vidimus stellam eius Vigilate Viri Galilaei Estote fortes in bello Passion Reproaches Ante luciferum genitus De coelo veniet Honestum fecit Eheu! Sustulerunt Dominum Nolo mortem peccatoris Quem vidistis, pastores Cantantibus organis O virum mirabilem Deus tuorum militum Factum est silentium Gaudent in coelis

		Allegri Schütz Lotti Couperin Caldara Casciolini Mozart Mozart S Wesley S Wesley Bruckner Bruckner Bruckner Stanford Stanford Poulenc Poulenc Poulenc Britten Hendrie	Miserere mei Jauchzet dem Herren German Crucifixus etiam pro nobis Christo resurgenti Laboravi in genitu meo Angelus Domini Alleluia Exsultate Jubilate In exitu Israel Si iniquitates observaveris Christus factus est Inveni David Locus iste Beati quorum Coelos ascendit hodie Hodie Christus natus est O magnum mysterium Videntes stellam Agnus Dei (War Requiem) Ave verum corpus
1980	59 Latin 7 German 2 Italian 1 Spanish	Anon C12 <sup>th</sup> Anon c1310 Anon 1556 Dunstable Dufay Isaac De Rivafrecha Taverner Taverner Morales Morales Morales Tallis A. Gabrieli Palestrina Palestrina Palestrina Palestrina Palestrina Palestrina Palestrina Palestrina Guerrero Lassus Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Jacob Regnart Victoria Victoria	Verbum patris humanatur Epiphanium Domine canamus Riu, riu, chiu Spanish Quam pulchra es O Lux beata Trinitas Ecce, virgo concipiens Anima mea Dum transisset Sabbatum In pace, in idipsum In die tribulationis Peccantem me quotidie Simile est regnum Audivi media nocte Crucifixus etiam pro nobis Benedicta sit Sancta Trinitatis Confitemini Domino Dum complerentur Dum ergo essent Ecce, nunc benedicite Dominum O bone Jesu Sicut cervus Tua Jesu dilectio Canite tuba Sancti mei Beata viscera Deo gratias Deus iudicium tuum Emendemus in melius Haec dies Reges Tharsis Senex puerum portabat Vidimus stellam eius Prope est Dominus Ne timeas Maria O quam gloriosum

		Victoria Victoria Morley Morley Anerio Philips Verdonck Monteverdi Praetorius Dering Allegri Schütz Schütz Schütz Schein Blitheman Lallouette Purcell Bach Bach Handel Handel Handel C P E Bach Mozart Mozart Brahms Brahms Stanford Stravinsky Poulenc Poulenc Duruflé Tippett	Passion Reproaches De profundis clamavi Eheu! Sustulerunt Dominum Requiem aeternum O virum mirabilem Ave Maria Lauda Jerusalem Psallite unigenito Factum est silentium Miserere mei Heu mihi, Domini Jubilate Deo Selig sind die Toten German Die mit Tränen säen German In pace O mysterium ineffabile Jehova, quam multi sunt Dem wir das Heilig Was Gott tut, das is wohl getan Alleluia Dulcis amor, Jesu care Italian Silete venti Italian Die Gute Gottes German Ave verum Laudate Dominum Warum ist das Licht gegeben German Wenn ein starker gewapnetter German Justorum animae Ave Maria Tenebrae factae sunt Videntes stellam Ubi caritas et amor Plebs angelica
1981	48 Latin 1 Spanish 1 German 3 French	Anon C12 <sup>th</sup> Anon C12 <sup>th</sup> Anon C15 <sup>th</sup> Anon 1556 Dufay Isaac Cornyshe Taverner A. Gabrieli Palestrina Lassus Lassus Lassus Lassus Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd	Verbum patris humanatur Christ the Lord has risen Gloria, laus et honor Riu, riu, chiu Spanish Ave Regina caelorum Ecce, virgo concipiens Ave Maria, Mater Dei Alleluia Crucifixus etiam pro nobis Venit Michael Archangelus Fremuit spiritus Justorum animae Oculi omnium Tristis est anima mea Ecce advenit Emendemus in melius Justorum animae Lumen ad revelationem Miserere mei Psallite Domino Reges Tharsis

		<p>Byrd Senex puerum portabat  Byrd Vidimus stellam eius  Victoria Passion  Victoria Reproaches  Händl Ante luciferum genitus  Händl Honestum fecit  Händl Omnes de Saba venient  Blitheman In pace  Anerio Christus factus est  Hassler Cantate Domino  R Johnson Benedicam Domino  R Johnson Dum transisset  Monteverdi Ave Maria  Monteverdi Lauda Jerusalem  Praetorius Psallite unigenito  Allegri Miserere mei  Donati Non vos relinquam orphanos  Grandi O porta caeli  Couperin Christo resurgenti  Caldara Laboravi in gemitu meo  Bach Komm, Jesu, komm German  S Wesley In exitu Israel  Stanford Beati quorum  Stanford Coelos ascendit hodie  Poulenc Salut, Dame Sainte French  Poulenc Seigneur, je vous en prie French  Poulenc Tout puissant, très saint French  Poulenc Videntes stellam  Roselius Eripe me de inimicis  Duruflé Ubi caritas et amor  Britten Amo ergo sum  Bush Tantum ergo</p>	
1982	36 Latin 1 German	<p>Anon C16<sup>th</sup> O bone Jesu  German C16<sup>th</sup> Quem pastores  Dufay Ut queant laxis  Josquin Te pauperum refugium  Longueval Benedicite Deum  Morales Peccantem me quotidie  Tallis Audivi media nocte  Tallis O nata lux  Tallis O sacrum convivium  Palestrina Super flumina Babylonis  Lassus Oculus non vidit  Lassus Veni Sancte Spiritus  Byrd Ave Maria  Byrd Cantate Domino  Byrd Ecce advenit  Byrd Haec dies  Byrd Reges Tharsis  Byrd Vidimus stellam eius  Victoria Passion  Victoria Tenebrae factae sunt  Blasius Amon Magi videntes stellam  R Johnson Dum transisset  Aichinger Assumpta est Maria</p>	



		Schütz Schein Blow Martini Haydn S Wesley Bruckner Fauré Arr Wood Wood Poulenc Poulenc Duruflé Ridout	Sicut Moses Die mit Tränen säen German Salvator mundi Adoramus est Maria Insanae et vanea curae Si iniquitates observaveris Os justi Pie Jesu Mater ora filium Oculi omnium Tenebrae factae sunt Videntes stellam Ubi caritas et amor Hodie Christus natus est
1983	72 Latin 1 French, incomplete	Anon C14 <sup>th</sup> Anon c1460 Traditional Tone v Tone v Dufay Dufay De la Rue Rivaflecha Jachet of Mantua A Rener Taverner Morales Cortecchia Tallis Tallis Palestrina Palestrina Palestrina Palestrina Palestrina Palestrina Parsons Lassus Lassus Lassus R White Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Ferrabosco Victoria Victoria	Alleluia Psallat Gloria, laus et honor Quem pastores Christus factus est Nos autem gloria Conditus alme siderum Exultet coelum laudibus Requiem aeternam Anima mea O vos omnes Veni Creator Spiritus Dum transisset In die tribulationis Surge, illuminare, Jerusalem Audivi media nocte O nata lux Canite tuba Ecce, nunc admirabilis Haec dies Jesu, Rex admirabilis Surge illuminare Venit St Michael Archangelus Ave Maria In pace Scio enim quod redemptor Veni Sancte Spiritus Christe, qui lux es et dies Ave Maria Ave verum Civitas sancti tui Ecce advenit Memento salutis auctor Non vos relinquam Reges Tharsis Sacerdotes Domini Surge illuminare Veni Sancte Spiritus Vidimus stellam eius Fuerunt mihi lacrimae O magnum mysterium Passion

		Victoria Händl Händl Lechner Asola Philips Philips Philips Verdonck Monteverdi Monteverdi Praetorius Dering Allegri Schütz Ramsey Lotti S Wesley Pearsall Bruckner Bruckner Bruckner Bruckner Stanford Stanford Elgar Poulenc Poulenc Poulenc Duruflé Maxwell Davies R R Bennett	Reproaches De coeli veniet Honestum fecit Novit Dominus Quem vidistis pastores Cecilia Virgo Ecce vicit leo O crux splendidior Ave Maria Ave Maria Lauda Sion Psallite unigenito Gaudent in coelis Miserere Jubilate Deo O Sapientia Crucifixus In exitu Israel In dulci jubilo Christus factus est Locus iste Os justi Virga Jesse Beati quorum Coelos ascendit Ave verum corpus Seigneur je vous en prie French Videntes stellam Vinea mea electa Ubi caritas et amor Jesu autem hodie Puer nobis
1984	59 Latin 4 German incomplete	Anon C14 <sup>th</sup> Anon 1310 Anon 1531 Worcester fragment Worcester fragment Benet Dufay Josquin Josquin Compere Isaac Taverner Constantini Tallis Tallis Palestrina Parsons Lassus R White Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd	Alleluia Psallat Agnus Dei Gottes Sohn is kommen German Beata viscera Salve sancta parens Agnus Dei Conditor alme siderum Te pauperum refugium Tu solus qui facis mirabilis O bone Jesu Ecce, virgo concipiens Dum transisset Confitemini Domino Audivi media nocte O nata lux Ego sum panis vivus Ave Maria Justorum animae Christe, qui lux es et dies Ave Maria Beata viscera Cibavit eos Deus indicium tuum

		Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Victoria Victoria Victoria Victoria Victoria Philips R Johnson R Johnson Hassler Monteverdi Ignazio Donati Schütz Schütz Schütz Schein Esquivel Bouzignac Blow Couperin Caldara Bach Casciolini Franck Bruckner Brahms Stanford Naylor Wood Arr Wood Stravinsky Howells Poulenc Poulenc Poulenc Poulenc Poulenc Tippett Ridout	Ecce advenit O lux beata Trinitas Reges Tharsis Surge illuminare Ave Maria Ne timeas Maria O quam gloriosum Passion Pueri Hebraeorum O virum mirabilem Benedicamus Domino Dum transisset Dixit Maria Ave Maria Alleluia, haec dies Cantate Domino Jauchzet dem Herren German Jubilate Deo Die mit Tränen säen German Tria sunt munera Noe! Pastores, Cantate Domino Salvator mundi Christo resurgenti Laboravi in gemitu meo Nun danket alle Gott German Angelus Domini O salutaris hostia Locus iste Wenn ein starke gewappneter German Beati quorum Vox dicentis Oculi omnium Mater ora filium Pater noster Requiem aeternam ii Tenebrae factae sunt Timor et Tremor Tristis est anima mea Videntes stellam Vinea mea electa Plebs angelica Salve lux laetitiae
1985	82 Latin 6 German 2 French	Anon C14 <sup>th</sup> Anon C15 <sup>th</sup> Power Dunstable Dufay Dufay Compere Willaert Taverner Constantini Gombert Tallis Tallis	Alleluia Psallat Verbum caro Beata progenies Veni, sancti Spiritus Conditor alme siderum Exultet coelum laudibus Verbum caro factus est O magnum mysterium Alleluia Confitemini Domino Lugebat David Audiui media nocte In jejunio fletu

	Tallis	Salvator mundi	
	Tallis	Sancte Deus	
	non Papa	Magi veniunt ab oriente	
	A Gabrieli	Crucifixus	
	Palestrina	Dies sanctificatus	
	Palestrina	Ego sum panis vivus	
	Palestrina	O beata Trinitas	
	Palestrina	Sicut cervus	
	Palestrina	Tu es Petrus	
	Guerrero	Rorate coeli	
	Parsons	Ave Maria	
	Lassus	Christus resurgens	
	Lassus	Fremuit spiritu	
	Lassus	Scio enim quod redemptor	
	Lassus	Stabat Mater	
	Lassus	Tristis est anima mea	
	Lassus	Videntes stellam	
	Byrd	Ave Maria	
	Byrd	Deo gratias	
	Byrd	Ecce advenit	
	Byrd	Gloria tibi Domino	
	Byrd	Haec dies	
	Byrd	Jesu, nostra redemptio	
	Byrd	Reges Tharsis	
	Byrd	Surge illuminare	
	Byrd	Veni Sancte Spiritus	
	Byrd	Vidimus stellam eius	
	Victoria	Duo seraphim	
	Victoria	O sacrum convivium	
	Victoria	Passion	
	Victoria	Reproaches	
	Victoria	Tamquam ad latronem	
	Soriano	Regina coeli	
	Händl	Ante luciferum	
	Händl	Ecce quomodo	
	Händl	Haec est dies	
	Händl	Rorate coeli	
	Marenzio	Tribus miraculis	
	Morley	Eheu! Sustulerunt Dominum	
	Morley	Nolo mortem peccatoris	
	G Gabrieli	Exultet jam angelica	
	Anerio	Christus factus est	
	Hassler	Cantate Domino	
	Monteverdi	Deus tuorum militum	
	Praetorius	Psallite unigenito	
	Agostini	Adoramus te, Christe	
	Schütz	Jubilare Deo	
	Schütz	Sicut Moses	
	J Vaet	O quam gloriosum	
	Blow	Salvator mundi	
	Purcell	Jehova quam multi sunt	
	Lotti	Crucifixus	
	Couperin	Christo resurgenti	
	Bach	Dem wir das Heilig	German
	Bach	Lobet den Herrn, alle Heiden	German

		<p>Bach O Gott, du frommer Gott German  Bach Ob sich`s anliess German  Bach Singet dem Herrn German  D Scarlatti Laudate pueri  Casciolini Angelus Domini  Mozart Laudate Dominum  Mendelssohn Warum toben die Heiden German  Bruckner Locus iste  Bruckner Os justi  Brahms Wenn ein starke gewappneter German  Stanford Coelos ascendit  Stanford Justorum animae  Arr Wood Mater ora filium  Stravinsky Ave Maria  F Martin Agnus Dei  Poulenc O magnum mysterium  Poulenc Salut, Dame Sainte French  Poulenc Seigneur je vous en prie French  Poulenc Vinea mea electa  Duruflé Tantum ergo  Britten Agnus Dei  Penderecki Stabat Mater  Maxwell Davies Jesu autem hodie</p>
1986	102 Latin 4 French 1 German	<p>Anon C12<sup>th</sup> Verbum patris humanatur  Anon C13<sup>th</sup> Alleluia psallat  Anon c1375 Agnus Dei  Anon C14<sup>th</sup> Verbum caro. Dies est laetitiae  C15<sup>th</sup> melody Quem pastores  Salisbury Gradual Solemne cantice dofie  Power Ave regina coelorum  Thos Damett Beata Dei genetrix  Dunstable Quam pulchra es  Dunstable Veni, sancti Spiritus  Dufay Ad coenam agni provide  Dufay Audi benigne conditor  Dufay Conditur alme siderum  Dufay O lux beatus Trinitas  Isaac Ecce virgo concipiet  Isaac Gustate et videte  Mouton Ave Maria  Cornysh Ave Maria, mater Dei  Bramston Recordare Domine  Gombert Lugebat David Absalom  Morales Simile est regnum  Tallis Audivi media nocte  Tallis Euge Caeli  Tallis In jejunio et fletu  non Papa Magi veniunt  Shepherd Kyrie Eleison  Palestrina Dies sanctificatus  Palestrina Dum complerentur  Palestrina Dum ergo essent  Palestrina Jesu! Rex admirabilis  Palestrina Stabat Mater  Palestrina Tribus miraculi</p>

	Palestrina	Tua Jesu dilectio
	R Parsons	Ave Maria
	Donati	Non vos relinquam orphanos
	Lassus	Scio enim
	Lassus	Tristis est anima mea
	Lassus	Veni, Sancte Spiritus
	Byrd	Deus judicium tuum
	Byrd	Emendemus in melius
	Byrd	Haec Dies
	Byrd	Jesu, nostra redemptio
	Byrd	Lumen ad revelationem
	Byrd	Miserere mei
	Byrd	O lux beata Trinitas
	Byrd	Psallite Domino
	Byrd	Senex puerum portabat
	Byrd	Terra tremuit
	Byrd	Veni, Sancte Spiritus, reple
	Byrd	Vidimus stellam eius
	Byrd	Vigilate
	R White	Christe qui lux es et dies
	Victoria	Ascendens Christus
	Victoria	O magnum mysterium
	Victoria	Passion
	Victoria	Pueri Hebraeorum
	Victoria	Reproaches
	Händl	Ante luciferum genitus
	Händl	Ecce quomodo
	Händl	Omnes de Saba
	Lechner	Novit Dominus
	Marenzio	O Rex gloriae
	Morley	Agnus Dei
	Morley	Nolo mortem peccatoris
	Philips	Ave, Jesu Christe
	Philips	Tibi, laus, tibi gloria
	Sweelinck	Hodie Christus natus est
	Hassler	Cantate Domino
	Hassler	Haec est dies
	Aichinger	Factus est repente
	Monteverdi	Deus tuorum militum
	Dering	Gaudent in coelis
	Johnson	Benedicam Domino
	Schütz	Cantate Domino
	Schütz	Jubilate Deo in chordis
	Schein	Die mit Tränen säen German
	Blow	Salvator mundi
	Lotti	Crucifixus etiam pro nobis
	Couperin	Christo resurgenti
	Caldara	Laborari in gemitu meo
	D Scarlatti	Laudate pueri
	Mozart	Ave verum
	S Wesley	Si iniquitates observaveris
	Bruckner	Ave Maria
	Bruckner	Ecce sacerdos
	Bruckner	Locus iste
	Bruckner	Os justi

		Fauré Stanford Arr Wood Stravinsky Poulenc Poulenc Poulenc Poulenc Tippett Messaien Ridout Ridout Maxwell Davies Hendrie ? composer ? composer Byrd or Händl	Pie Jesu Beati quorum Mater ora filium Paternoster Exultate Deo Quatres petites prières Videntes stellam Vineam electam Plebs angelica O sacrum convivium Spiritus Domini Tristis est anima mea Jesus autem hodie Ave verum corpus Justorum animae Christus factus est Confirma hoc Deus
1987	108 Latin 2 German 4 French	Anon C12 <sup>th</sup> C15 <sup>th</sup> melody Anon C16 <sup>th</sup> Worcester frag Power Dufay Dufay Dufay Dufay Dufay Isaac Taverner Taverner Tye Tallis Tallis Tallis Tallis Tallis Palestrina Palestrina Palestrina Palestrina R Parsons Lassus Lassus Lassus Lassus Lassus Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd Byrd	Verbum patris humanatur Quem pastores O bone Jesu Beata viscera Ave regina coelorum Ad coenam agni provide Christe, Redemptor omnium Conditur alme siderum Jesu, nostra redemption Veni, Creator Spiritus Gustate et videte Dum transisset Sabbatum In pace, in idipsum Ad te clamamus Audivi media nocte In jejuniis et fletu In manus tuas, Domine O nata lux Salvator mundi Alma redemptoris Dum complerentur Haec dies Super flumina Babylonis Ave Maria Exaltebo te, Domine Improperium Jubilate Deo Justorum animae Scio enim quod redemptor Deus judicium tuum Ecce advenit Haec Dies Laetentur coeli Lumen ad revelationem Magi veniunt Miserere mei O virum mirabilem Reges Tharsis

	Byrd	Senex puerum portabat
	Byrd	Terra tremuit
	Byrd	Victimae paschali
	Byrd	Vidimus stellam eius
	Byrd	Viri Galilaei
	Ferrabosco III	Fuerunt mihi lacrimae
	Victoria	Ave Maria
	Victoria	O quam gloriosum
	Victoria	O vos omnes
	Victoria	Passion
	Victoria	Reproaches
	Händl	Ante luciferum genitus
	Händl	Haec est dies
	Händl	Orietur stella
	Lobo	Versa est in luctum
	Morley	Nolo mortem peccatoris
	Croce	O sacrum convivium
	Asola	Deus canticum novum
	Anerio	Christus factus est
	Anerio	Requiem aeternam
	Esquivel	Ego sum panis vivus
	Philips	Ascendit Deus
	Philips	Ecce vicit leo
	Philips	Gaudent in coelis
	Philips	Tibi laus
	R Johnson	Benedicam Domino
	Hassler	Cantate Domino
	Viadana	Exultate justi
	Monteverdi	Jesu, Rex admirabilis
	Praetorius	Psallite unigenito
	Dering	Factum est silentium
	Dering	Gaudent in coelis
	Dering	Jubilare Deo
	Schütz	Cantate Domino
	Schütz	Jubilare Deo in chordis
	Schütz	Sicut Moses
	Esquivel	Tria sunt munera
	Cavalli	Laetatus sum
	Blow	Salvator mundi
	Purcell	Jehova quam multi sunt
	Lotti	Crucifixus etiam pro nobis
	Casciolini	Angelus Domini
	Haydn	Insanae et vanae curae
	J.C. Bach	Ich lasse dich nicht
	Mozart	Ave verum
	S Wesley	Carmen funebre
	S Wesley	In exitu Israel
	S Wesley	Si iniquitates observaveris
	Pearsall	In dulci jubilo
	Franck	Panis angelicus
	Bruckner	Christus factus est
	Bruckner	Locus iste
	Brahms	Wenn ein starker Gewappneter
	Stanford	Beati quorum
	Stanford	Coelos ascendit hodie



		Stanford	Justorum animae	
		Arr Wood	Mater ora filium	
		Wood	Oculi omnium	
		Naylor	Vox dicentis	
		Ireland	Ex ore innocentium	
		Poulenc	Ave Maria	
		Poulenc	Quatres petites prières	French
		Poulenc	Tenebrae factae sunt	
		Poulenc	Timor et tremor	
		Poulenc	Tristis est anima mea	
		Poulenc	Videntes stellam	
		Poulenc	Vinea mea electa	
		Durufié	Ubi caritas et amor	
		Messaïen	O sacrum convivium	
		Britten	Agnus Dei	
		Britten	Deus in adjutorium	
		Britten	Hymn to the Virgin	macaronic
		Ridout	Spiritus Domini	
		Hendrie	Ave verum corpus	

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