

Psalms and Hymns in the early nineteenth century: the collections of Jane Clarke and Theophania Cecil

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1. Introduction

[2. Theophania Cecil, Jane Clarke and their Chapels](#)

[3. Jane Clarke's *Select Portions of Psalms and Hymns...*](#)

[4. Theophania Cecil's *The Psalms and Hymn Tunes...*](#)

[5. Conclusion, legacy and epilogue](#)

[6. Notes](#)

See separate file for Appendices:

Appendix A: The contents of Clarke and Cecil's collections

Appendix B: A collection of published psalm and hymn tunes, chants and other liturgical items by women composers for the Church of England c. 1760-1860

1. Introduction

Recent research has done much to help lift the veil on the contribution made by women to the music of the Church of England before 1900. For example, Judith Barger has written a monograph *Elizabeth Stirling and the Musical Life of Female Organists in Nineteenth-Century England*, Barbara Garvey Jackson has edited Maria Barthélemon's Op. 3: *Three hymns, and three anthems* from c. 1795, and Leonard Sandermann has made available online the complete sacred choral music of Alice Smith, active around the middle of the nineteenth century.¹ This article explores the work of two women active around the turn of the nineteenth century, both of whom published hymn books, or as they would have put it, collections of psalms and hymns, since at this time metrical psalms still provided the overwhelming content of such publications. Jane Clarke's identity is something of a mystery, but we do have some basic information concerning Theophania Cecil, and her significant position in the history of organ music is already assured through her *Twelve Voluntaries for the Organ*, published c. 1810.²

It is difficult to think of any field of historical musical activity that has been so predominantly the realm of men (and boys) as the music of the Church of England. Within the Roman Catholic church the musical activities of many women working in convents in Italy and elsewhere are well known, but the Anglican church had no precise equivalent, and with all Cathedrals and other major ecclesiastical establishments being staffed by men and boys only, the opportunities for female involvement in the music of the Established Church at any significant level were extremely limited. It is scarcely surprising that women composers held little interest in writing music for an environment from which they were so excluded. The unusual case of Maria Barthélemon's anthems of 1795 only serves to emphasise this point, for

she was inspired to write her compositions not by the activities of the mainstream church, but by the music she encountered at the Chapel of the Asylum for Female Orphans, near where she lived in Vauxhall, south London, and at the Chapel of the Magdalen Hospital for reformed prostitutes in Southwark. The Asylum was also the locale for an anthem by the comparatively well-known eighteenth-century composer Jane Savage which has only recently come to light, an extended original setting of the Christmas hymn 'Whilst shepherds watch'd their flocks by night'.³ This was printed in 1785, 10 years before Barthélemon's collection, in a book of psalms and hymns edited for use at the Asylum by its Organist, William Gawler. Furthermore, a later expanded edition of Gawler's collection that survives in a texts-only version refers to two apparently lost works by Maria Barthélemon that are different from those in her Op. 3 collection.⁴ The considerable musical involvement of girls and young women in singing at such institutions (where women were in any case extensively involved) formed a notable parallel to the musical activities of boys in the more elevated, traditional Anglican establishments.⁵

The responsibility for the music of the Asylum, Foundling and similar Chapels lay of course almost exclusively with men, though at the Magdalen Chapel the post of Organist or 'Organess' was always held by a woman after 1769, with John Stainer's elder sister Anne serving there for half a century, apparently never missing a Sunday.⁶ It was indeed as organists that a fairly small number of women could find themselves involved in traditional church music at this time. Donovan Dawe's published work identifying the organists of all the churches in the City of London has provided much helpful information, and this snap-shot has been considerably expanded by David Shuker in his [web-site](#) which includes information from across the country covering the period 1750-1850.⁷ Current information places our earliest known women organists as Mrs Hussey, at St Mildred's Church, Bread St (a Wren church destroyed in World War II) from 1747-9, and Mary Worgan at St Dunstan in the East (now a ruin following World War II) in 1753. But the earliest of these women organists from whom we have surviving music would appear to be Mary Hudson, Organist of St Olave's Church, Hart St (still a parish church) from 1781 until her death in 1801, and also Organist at St Mary Magdalen, Old Fish Street (demolished in 1893) from *c.* 1792. Hudson composed a hymn tune called after the Saint of her church, 'St Olave'; it appeared in a number of hymn-books from the late eighteenth century onwards, and even survived through to the revised edition of *The Church Hymnary* of 1927.⁸ If one searches even earlier for hymn tunes by women composers, then the tune 'Pastoral Hymn' by 'J.B.' is thought to be by Mrs Jane Bromfeild (*sic*), wife of the founder of the Lock Hospital near Hyde Park Corner, and was published in 1769 in the Lock collection by Rev. Martin Madan, but the evidence surrounding this identification is complex. (For a collection of psalm and hymn tunes, chants and other liturgical items by women composers written for the Church of England *c.* 1760-1860, see **Appendix B.**)

2. Theophania Cecil, Jane Clarke and their Chapels

Theophania Cecil was one of a number of women organists who served across London in the early nineteenth century, though she was not alone in being employed principally due to family connections. Her father was Rev. Richard Cecil, a notable theologian and preacher of an evangelical persuasion who served as Minister at St John's Chapel, Bedford Row, from 1780 till his death in 1809. Theophania's tenure as organist lasted beyond her father's death, though the precise dates have not yet been established. By contrast, the musical activities of Jane Clarke are not known, but she was apparently involved with the worship of three institutions, the Oxford, Welbeck and Portland Chapels. A rapid expansion of the population of London in the eighteenth century created the need for new buildings since the parish churches were overflowing. Many were erected within the major London parishes, either as chapels of ease or proprietary chapels, each with their own minister.² Sadly, most of these often handsome structures no longer exist, and the only one of the above chapels still standing is the Oxford Chapel, now known as St Peter's, Vere Street. Clarke's chapels were all part of the Parish of St Marylebone, whilst Cecil's chapel was further East in the Parish of Holborn. Between these Parishes was that of Bloomsbury, and another chapel of ease in this particular parish, called Bedford Chapel, also has relevance in relation to Clarke and Cecil's publications. In **Map A**, taken from Horwood's famous [map of 1799](#) with Oxford St running along the bottom, the coloured areas show the location of Clarke's chapels as well as the then quite small Parish Church of Marylebone (built in 1740 but replaced in 1813), and the approximate location of 110 Marylebone High St (discussed below). In **Map B**, which has the Holborn High St across the lower part of the map, the coloured areas show the locations of Cecil's St John's Chapel, St Andrew's Parish Church of Holborn, the Bedford Chapel and its parent Parish Church of St George's, Bloomsbury.

MAP A (Marylebone)



Purple = Parish Church of St Marylebone (not the present building)

Red = Oxford Chapel (built 1722)

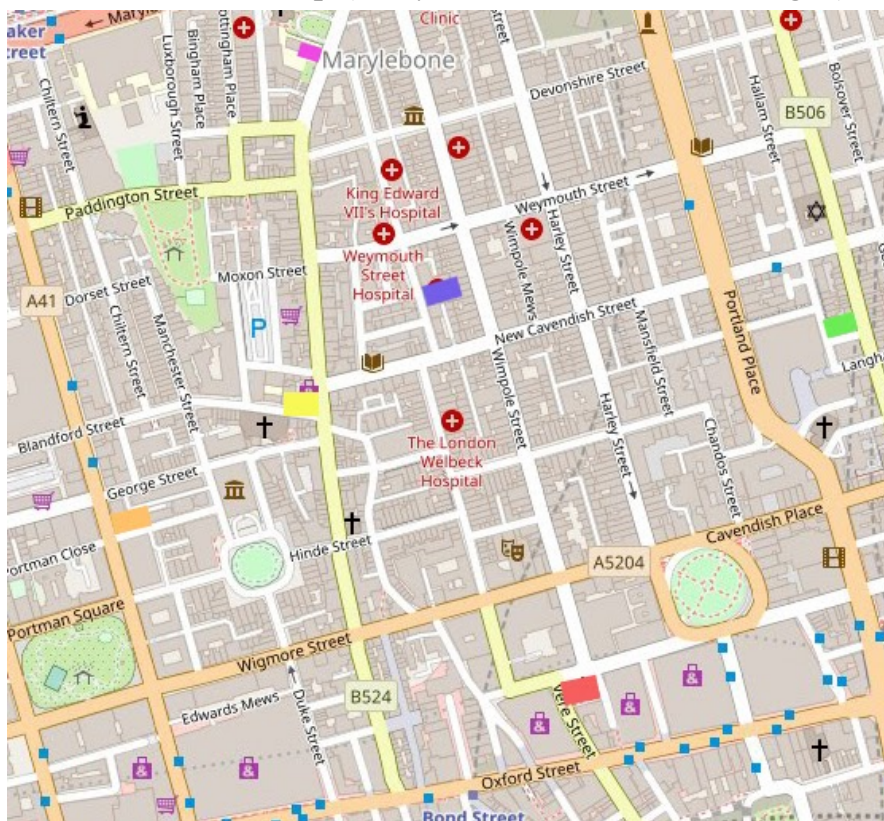
Blue = Welbeck Chapel (built 1755)

Green = Portland Chapel (built *c.* 1770)

Orange = Portman Chapel (built 1779)

Yellow = approximate position of 110 High St

Locations shown here on modern map (many streets names have changed):



Annotated map from original © OpenStreetMap contributors

Map B (Bloomsbury/Holborn)



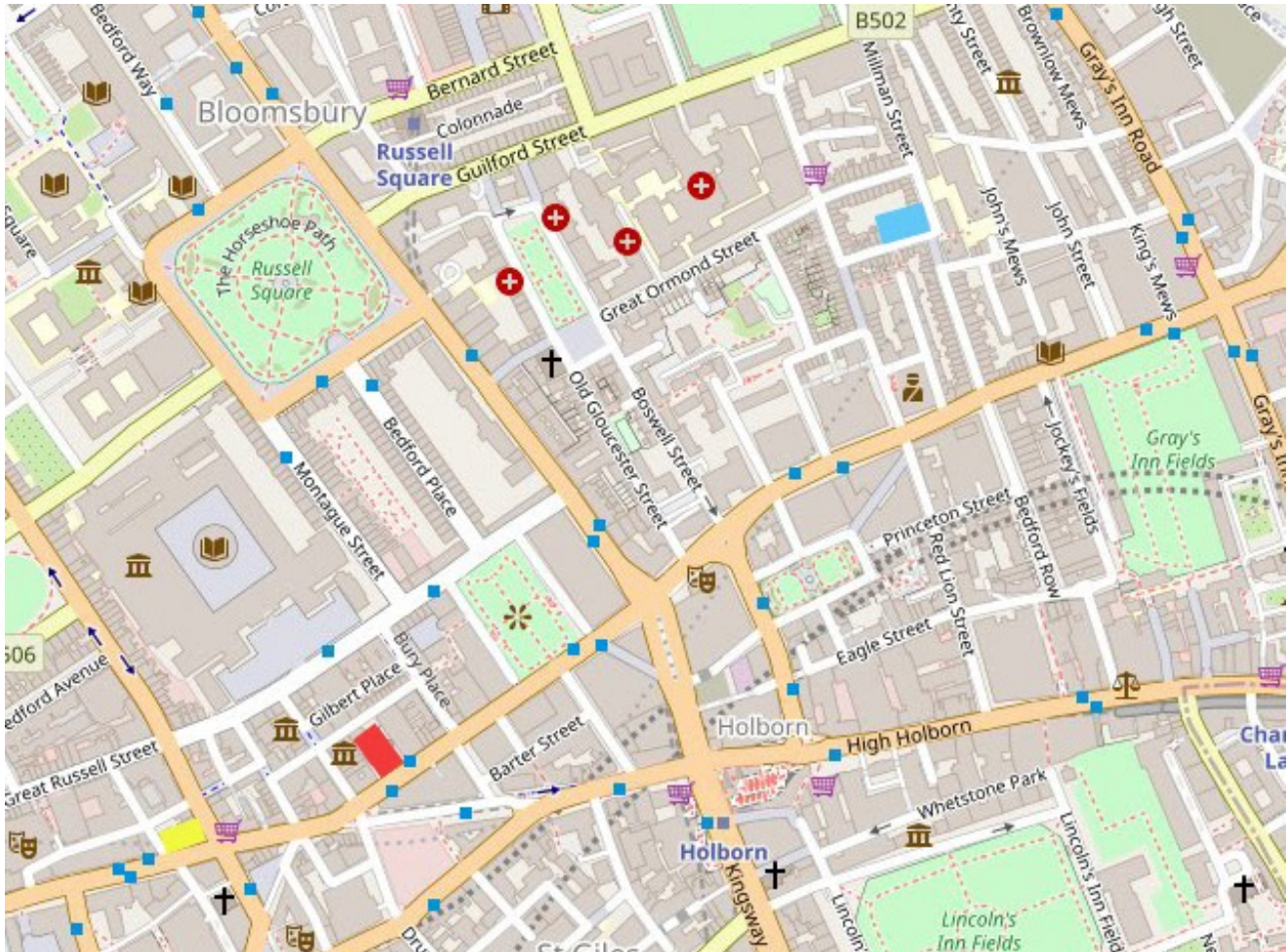
Light blue = St John's Chapel (built *c.* 1702-14)

Purple = St Andrew's, Holborn

Yellow = Bedford Chapel (built 1771)

Red = St George's, Bloomsbury

Modern map without Holborn:



Annotated map from original © OpenStreetMap contributors

All these new chapels needed organs and service books, and many published their own collections of psalms and hymns, with the minister and the organist naturally taking the lead in establishing their content. Clarke and Cecil's books were typical in that they comprised mostly metrical psalms together with a smaller number of hymns for particular occasions of the Church's year and for miscellaneous special services such as national anniversaries and charity sermons.

The Oxford Chapel (where William Boyce served as Organist 1734-6) is now deconsecrated, and houses the London Institute for Contemporary Christianity. It is a fine building by James Gibbs, who designed the church of St Martin-in-the-Fields at around the same time in the early 1720s. One of Hogarth's prints from his 1747 collection, 'Industry and Idleness' (see below), shows a morning service that most commentators place in St Martin's, but some think it may be the Oxford Chapel. The interior of both churches was so similar it is not clear which Hogarth had in mind, if he had a single place in mind at all, but it certainly shows divine worship and probably the singing of a metrical Psalm in progress, as is hinted by the inscription in the cartouche.

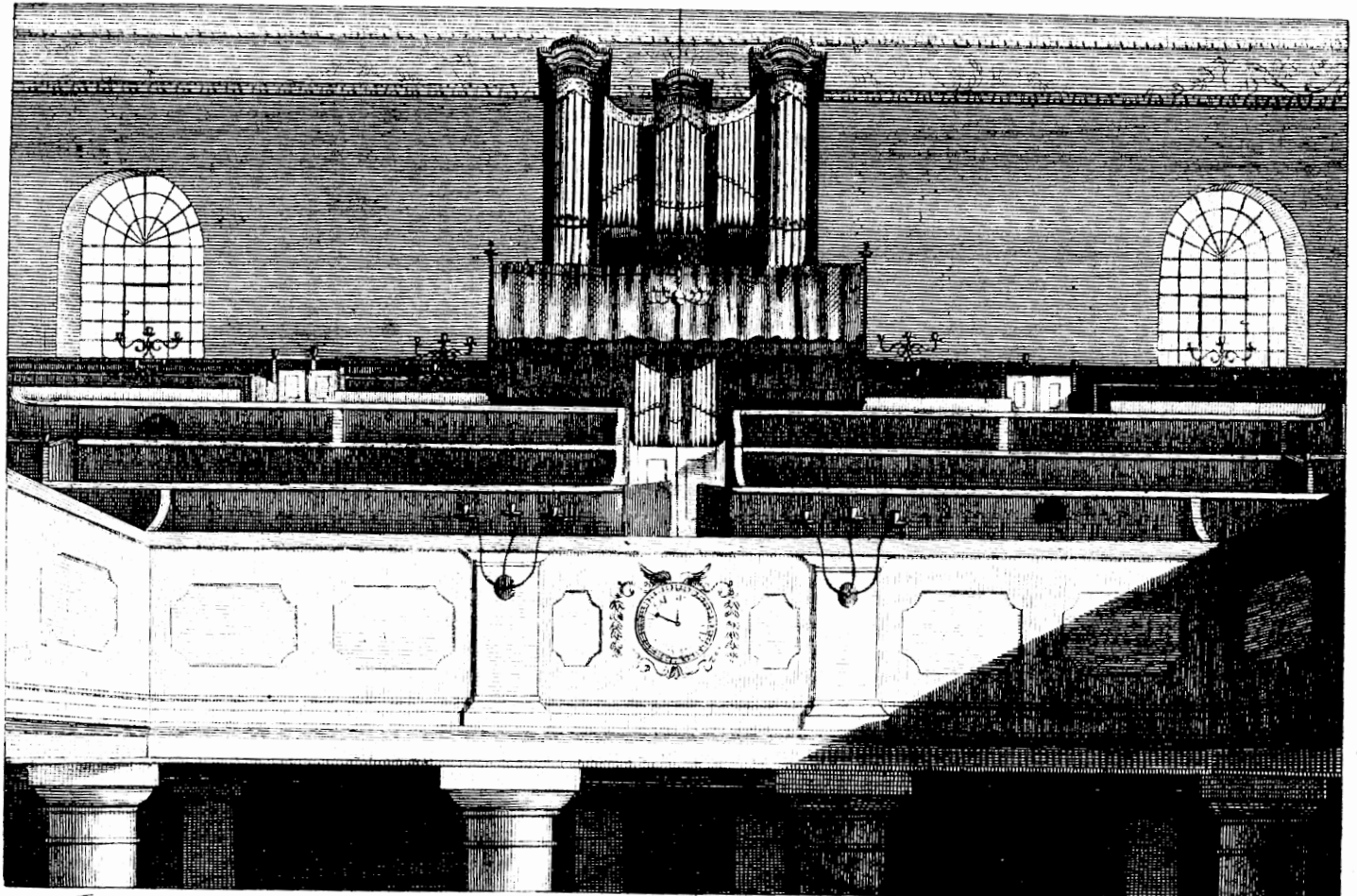


Thomas Smith, writing in his account of the buildings and institutions of Marylebone in 1833, noted that before some of the more recent building efforts, the Oxford Chapel was “considered one of the most beautiful structures in the metropolis”.¹⁰ Andy Crispe, of Historic England, has produced a “fly-through visualization” of the Oxford Chapel as it appeared before later Victorian changes, and this is available along with other images of the building via the University College London ‘[Bloomsbury Project](#)’. As for St John’s Chapel, Bedford Row, where Cecil worked, one mid-19th-century commentator wrote as follows: “Possessing no sort of ecclesiastical character externally, the building was yet, in the interior, and previous to an enlargement in 1821...a noble and imposing structure”.¹¹



St John's Chapel, Bedford Row

The Bedford Chapel in Bloomsbury (not to be confused with the above) produced a new psalm and hymn collection during the 1790s, not long before those of Clarke and Cecil, and the frontispiece of one these books has a print of the interior of that chapel looking towards the organ:



The front Gallery as view'd from the Reader's Desk.

The Bedford Chapel, Bloomsbury

3. Jane Clarke's *Select Portions of Psalms and Hymns Set to Music with the Thorough Basses...* (two editions published between 1797 and 1809)

Jane Clarke's *Select Portions of Psalms and Hymns* was printed around the turn of the nineteenth century, though a precise date is difficult to establish since there are no dates on the books themselves. At least three printings appear to have taken place: a first edition, and a second revised edition appearing twice with slightly different title-pages.¹² The first edition proclaims that the book was prepared for the Oxford Chapel, but the second edition also names the Portland and Welbeck Chapels. Clarke is not named on any of the title-pages, but appears as

the author of the dedication page, addressed to the Vicar of St Marylebone, The Rev. Sir Richard Kaye, who died in 1809. Clarke's name does not appear above any of the hymns within the collection, whilst the most named composer is a Mr Parrin. Clarke's name is also absent from any of the contemporary subscribers' lists that I have hitherto encountered, but a "Mr John A. Parrin" appears in one such list as the Organist of the Portland Chapel in John Page's *Divine Harmony*, published in 1804.

One possible clue concerning Clarke's identity may lie within the title-pages of the publication. Of the two second edition printings, one concludes as follows:

The Second Edition Corrected & Improved.

Price 7^s/6^d

L O N D O N.

Printed & Sold by R^t Birchall.

133 New Bond Street.

But the other printing mentions that copies are also available from the Editor at 110 High Street, St Marylebone:¹³

The Second Edition Corrected & Improved.

*Printed & Sold by R^t Birchall N^o 133 New Bond Street
and by the Editor N^o 110 High Street, St Mary Lebon.*

Price Five Shillings.

This was the site of the Marylebone Charity School, not the Marylebone school which has survived through to this day, but the school for poor children founded in 1750, the approximate location of which is shown in yellow on **Map A**.¹⁴ This evidence may indicate that Clarke worked at the School. An early published account of the school informs us that around 1800 there were about 50 boys and 50 girls in the school. The singing of psalmody by charity children in the parish churches was an important regular activity at this time, culminating in an annual service of massed children's choirs in St Paul's Cathedral.¹⁵ Both the names Jane and Clarke were very common at this time, and although the account of the school published in 1794 does not list the names of any of the staff at the school, the named Trustees includes a Rev. Thomas Clarke, and the list of Subscribers includes a Rev. Mr Clarke

of Cavendish Square and a Mr William Clarke of Gloucester Place. A Sermon given at the meeting of the Charity Schools in St Paul's Cathedral by John Law published in 1797 refers to one of the donors being a "Mrs Jane Clarke, Lower Tooting, Surry [*sic*]", but it would perhaps be unlikely for our Jane Clarke to have produced her collection for the Marylebone parish chapels whilst living in Tooting.¹⁶

Until more is known about the precise identity of Jane Clarke, suspicion might arise as to her precise involvement with the musical aspects of the book, so it is worth emphasising that the book was indeed a musical resource, since the texts were already present in text-only copies that most of the congregation probably used, a copy of which survives with the date of 1799 on the title-page and without any dedication from Clarke. If the collection was assembled like most others at this time, then Clarke would have both chosen the tunes and made the musical arrangements of them. However, given the prominence of Parrin's music in the book, it remains possible that some sort of shared effort was involved, though both the wording of the dedication and the absence of Parrin's name at the start of the book would argue against this. In the following discussion, I have assumed that Clarke was indeed responsible for all the musical aspects of the volume.

The title-page and dedication page of the first edition are shown here:¹⁷

Select Portions
of
PSALMS and HYMNS
SET TO MUSIC
with the Thorough Bases carefully arranged
for the
ORGAN, or PIANO FORTE,
as Sung at
OXFORD CHAPEL,
near Cavendish Square, St Mary Le-Bone.
Several Tunes are introduced which have
not before been Published.

Printed for the Editor
Sold by R. Birchall, 133 New Bond Street.

To
The Rev. Sir Richard Kaye Bart. LL.D.
Dean of Lincoln,
and
Minister of St. Mary Le-Bone;
THIS COLLECTION
of
SACRED MUSIC
Is humbly dedicated
By his most Obedient
and grateful humble Servant—
Jane Clarke?

The Rev. Sir Richard Kaye was not only Rector of the St Marylebone Parish and Dean of Lincoln Cathedral, but was also a notable figure in the scientific community and a member of the Academy of Ancient Music and the Madrigal Society. When formerly Rector of

Kirkby-in-Ashfield he taught “men and boys to sing plain psalm tunes congregationally instead of anthems, and to sit in the singing seats”, and on attending Evensong at St James’s Palace on 7 May 1786 he noted that in the anthem, *By the Waters of Babylon* by Boyce, that “the organ was played by Mr. Dupuis, heavier than in the morning. It was excellent and well accompanied”.¹⁸ He was surely an appreciative dedicatee of Clarke’s efforts which had resulted in the assembly of 50 tunes attached to ‘Portions’ of Psalms, and 22 tunes for hymns, making a notably larger collection than those prepared for other local chapel collections at this period such as those at the Bedford Chapel, the Portman Chapel and Theophania Cecil’s collection for the St John’s Chapel.¹⁹

If Kaye’s death in 1809 confirms that Clarke’s music book was published by then, determining the earliest possible date of its publication is not so straightforward. The British Library’s estimated dating of the second edition as [1795] is certainly too early, since even the first edition of Clarke’s volume contains the famous Haydn tune ‘Austria’ which was composed in 1797. However, some useful information has been noted by the compilers of the [Hymn Tune Index](#), even though the first edition is recorded here as being lost. The Index lists that a tune by the composer Charles Wesley (No. 10136, ‘Crucifixion’) is noted as being ‘original’ in *A Selection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes*, ed. O. Nodes & J. Bowcher, published in 1803. Wesley’s tune is included in the first edition of Clarke’s book, and so the period during which both editions were issued would seem to be 1803-9. However, a more cautious approach, incorporating any doubts that might linger surrounding the precise meaning of the word ‘original’ in Nodes & Bowcher’s book, suggests a period from 1797-1809, i.e. from the date of composition of Haydn’s ‘Austria’ to the death of Kaye. Since the texts of the 1799 words-only publication match those contained in Clarke’s musical volume, one is tempted to suggest that most of the tunes would have been assembled and used in the years immediately after 1799, though it is possible that this was done with manuscript copies, and that the published version may only have followed some years later.

A complete summary of the contents of both editions of Clarke’s volume is shown in **Appendix A/i** (see separate file). Clarke presents her tunes on two staves, with melody and bass in normal type, and unstemmed middle notes in small type, together with figured bass (the exception being Haydn’s tune, considered below). This was a standard format at the time, designed to be helpful to those not familiar with figured bass, as found in the largest and most popular such collection from the end of the eighteenth century, Edward Miller’s *The psalms of David for the use of parish churches*, which first appeared in 1790. Although it is only possible in a handful of cases to be certain about which published sources may have been used by Clarke in assembling her collection, some clear suspects emerge when one examines similar publications from before 1797, especially those issued in neighbouring locations, as in the following list:

Table One: Possible sources used by Clarke

Edward Miller, *The psalms of David for the use of parish churches*

(several editions from 1790 onwards)

Thomas Costellow, *The Psalms Tunes and Hymns Used, and Taught by the Editor in Bedford Chapel* (1791)

George T. Smart, *Divine amusement; being a selection of the most admired psalms, hymns, and anthems*, 2nd edition (c. 1795)

(Smart was Organist of St James's Chapel, Hampstead Rd from 1791)

Matthew Cooke, *Select Portions of the Psalms of David*, (c. 1795)

(Cooke was Organist of St George's, Bloomsbury from 1788)

Edward Miller was Organist at the Parish Church in Doncaster, and Nicholas Temperley has noted that the enormous list of subscribers failed to include any London organists.²⁰ However, exactly half of Miller's 36 tunes appear in Clarke's publication, including some of the rarer tunes in the collection. Miller's *The psalms of David* stands in sharp contrast to the other influential collection of the period, William Tattersall's *Improved Psalmody* (1794), which sets out to be a more up-to-date collection of tunes in trio texture, many requested or commissioned from the leading composers of the day, with London as its geographical centre. Yet only one of Tattersall's tunes is found in Clarke's collection (no. 20), and this is one of the more simple tunes, which itself has been cut down to size: Tattersall's tune fits a version of Psalm 71 in the metre 8.8.8.8., but Clarke's adopted text of the same Psalm is 8.6.8.6., and two bars in the tune have therefore been removed. We can thus place Clarke's approach to tune selection as broadly traditional in nature, closer to Miller than Tattersall. The strong influence of Miller on Clarke can be seen in her inclusion of one of his own tunes, aptly named 'Doncaster'. The tune appears in Clarke's collection with the same double tag "Doncaster" and "New Melody", although she employs the tune for a different text. Some errors appeared in Clarke's first edition, so reproduced here are Miller's original and then the second version by Clarke:

Second Morning.

Pfalm 24. Verses 4 beginning at Verse 7th and repeated.
Doncaster C.M. New Melody. D^r Miller.
Maestoso e Staccato

E-rect your heads, e-ter-nal gates, Un-fold to en-ter-tain The King of
Glory; fee! he comes With his ce-lef-tial train, Who is the King of Glory?



Clarke's version of 'Doncaster' (2nd edition):

(13)
Doncaster, New Melody, Ps: 33 C.M. D^r Miller.

Clarke removes some of the dramatic rests of Miller's tune that were particularly fitting for his choice of text, but she retains most of the performance features, from the opening articulation marks to the final crescendo in the organ interlude. Four other tunes appear in Clarke's collection in similar versions to Miller's collection with almost identical harmony, dynamics, etc, producing a total of 5 that were probably taken directly by Clarke from Miller's volume:

Table Two: Miller tunes found in notably similar versions in Clarke (composer/title)

Miller, p. 4: Handel/Brunswick	Clarke, no. 5: Handel/Brunswick
Miller, p. 5: Miller/New Melody	Clarke, no. 52: Miller/no name
Miller, p. 7: Emanuel Bach/Mecklenburg	Clarke, no. 34: Bach/Mecklenburgh
Miller, p. 10: Dr Burney/Lynn	Clarke, no. 29: Dr Burney/no name
Miller, p. 32: Miller/Doncaster New	Clarke, no. 13: Miller/Doncaster New

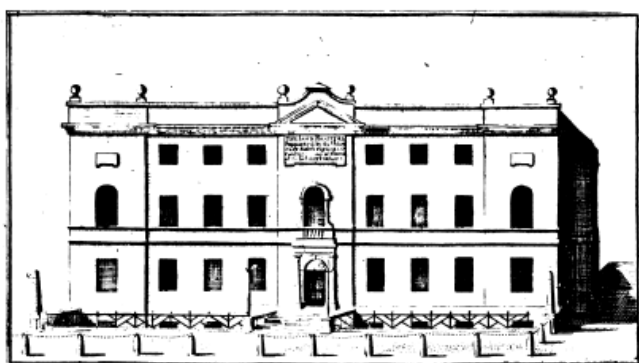
Although it is possible that Clarke may have used other sources for many of the tunes present in both her and Miller's collections, it is notable that in the preface to a similar collection, that assembled for the Bedford Chapel in Bloomsbury in 1791, W. Parry (the Proprietor of the Chapel) openly refers to Miller's collection when describing the musical contents of the volume. Referring to the music editor of the volume, Thomas Costellow, Parry states that "The Treble [melody] he has Dotted [notated], according to Dr Miller's plan", adding that the figured bass has been provided by Costellow.

Clarke's collection of tunes is also notably similar to that of the Bedford Chapel volume (ignoring the extended anthem-like compositions also contained in the latter). Of the 38 tunes in Parry and Costellow's collection, 18 are present in Clarke's print, comprising a similar blend of tunes in old and newer styles. Clarke implicitly pays homage to the Bedford collection by including the opening psalm tune of the book, 'Bedford Chapel' (Clarke's no. 49), a tune that is only known in these two contexts. One particular overlap occurs with the selection of tunes by the celebrated preacher and musician Rev. Martin Madan, four of which appear in both volumes, though not fully acknowledged:

Table Three: Madan tunes in the Costellow and Clarke collections (title/composer)

Costellow, p. 6: Whitton/Mr Madan	Clarke, no. 22: Witton/no name
Costellow, p. 51: Denbigh/Mr Madan	Clarke, no. 59: no title/no name
Costellow, p. 77: Hotham/Mr Madan	Clarke, no. 25: Hotham/Madan
Costellow, p. 103: Denmark/Rev. Mr Madan	Clarke, no. 60: Denmark/no name
--	Clarke, no. 21: no title/Madan
--	Clarke, no. 36: St Dunstan's/no name

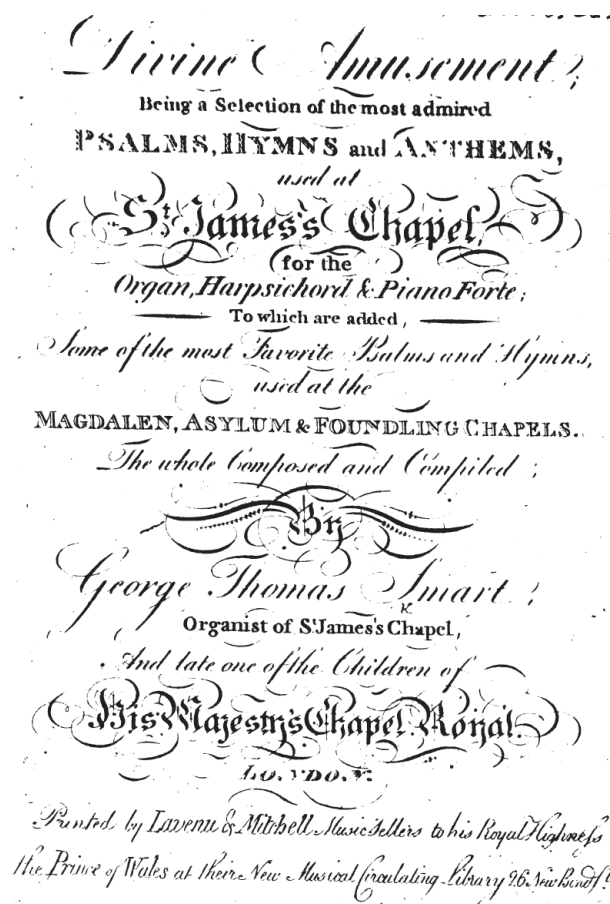
The inclusion of hymns by Madan in these collections is notable because of Madan's well-known status as a controversial figure, whose representation may have been less easily



accepted amongst more orthodox Anglican congregations. As Nicholas Temperley has explained, his religious outlook came close to Methodism, and his clear intention was to introduce a more modern musical style into church worship. As might be expected, he did not hold office in one of the more prestigious establishments, but served as Chaplain of the Lock Hospital (see picture) which served those with venereal disease and similar illnesses, situated near Hyde Park Corner. His experiences led him later in life to

advocate polygamy, explained in his *A Treatise on Female Ruin*, which naturally led to much opposition. However, he may have been responsible for the first publication of a hymn tune by a female composer, as mentioned above. His tunes first appeared in *A collection of psalm and hymn tunes...to be had at the Lock Hospital* in 1769, and an expanded collection of c. 1775. Two of Madan's tunes, 'Whitton' and 'Huddersfield' appear in an earlier Bedford Chapel collection of 1777 where they stand out as being amongst the most modern tunes in the collection, and two different Madan tunes, 'Denmark' and 'Denbigh', are found in the Portman Chapel collection of 1780, these being amongst his more elaborate settings.²¹ Clearly Madan's tunes caught on quickly, especially within Church of England chapel circles, and Clarke was following a well-established local tradition in selecting his modern-sounding tunes. (Today Madan is perhaps best remembered as the probable composer of the tune 'Helmsley' used in association with Charles Wesley's hymn 'Lo! he comes with clouds descending').

George T. Smart's *Divine amusement* (c. 1795) was compiled for the Chapel of St James in Hampstead Rd (connected to the Parish of St James's Westminster/Piccadilly), which once stood on the site now being expanded as the HS2 rail terminal at Euston. The chapel was built in 1791, and the young Smart, formerly a chorister at the Chapel Royal, was appointed its first Organist. He was a member of the considerable dynasty of Smart musicians in the nineteenth century; his parents were buried in the church and his father George, who served as its Treasurer, was commemorated on his memorial stone as "one of the founders and the unceasing friend of the new musical fund established 16th. April 1786 for the relief of decayed musicians, their widows and orphans".²² The title-page of the second edition of George the younger's collection is shown here:



The book appears to have been conceived partly as a showcase for the work of the talented young organist of the chapel, though Smart himself notes in his preface that it was published “at the request of many of the congregation”. Once again, Jane Clarke chooses to extract the chapel-defining tune from the collection: ‘St James’s Chapel’, composed by Smart. Of the 22 psalm or hymn tunes in Smart’s collection, 13 are in the first edition of Clarke’s collection, though some of these are in notably different versions. However, in addition to ‘St James’s Chapel’ (see below a drawing of the chapel from 1820), Clarke incorporates Smart’s finest contribution to the history of hymnody, his tune ‘Wiltshire’ (now often sung to “Through all the changing scenes of life”), first published in Smart’s print, together with his tunes ‘Westminster’ and ‘Wheatfield’, and another tune by Smart not present in his collection (but perhaps printed in the lost first edition?), set to the popular Morning Hymn text ‘Awake my soul and with the sun’. A comparison between the presentation of Smart’s ‘Wiltshire’ with Clarke’s edition reveals many similarities between the two, with Clarke just adding a few extra fill-in notes. Clarke uses blackened fill-in notes throughout her collection whereas Smart uses void notes. (Readers will notice how the familiar version of the tune sung today differs from the original: the melody at the start of the second phrase has been changed, wittingly or otherwise, by ignoring the original stems up and size of the notes, copied correctly by Clarke.)



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Smart, *Divine Amusement*

Clarke, *Select Portions*



The final collection from **Table One** that seems to have played a particular role in the make-up of Clarke's collection is that issued for the Parish Church of St George's, Bloomsbury (shown on **Map B**), by its Organist, Matthew Cooke. This volume contains one of the earliest appearances of the tune 'St Olave' by Mary Hudson, mentioned above, though Clarke did not use the tune in her collection. Cooke presents the tunes in a relatively plain manner, with little decoration, and without figured bass. Six of the tunes in Cooke's tunes also appear in Clarke's publication, as shown in Table Four, and four of these are very little changed from their original format (though with figured bass added): 'Bath', 'Baltimore', 'Chelmsford' and 'Washington'. (One of the features of Cooke's book is his use of names of places well beyond British shores, including 'Quebec', 'Carolina' and 'Jamaica', either for his own tunes or for those by older composers, perhaps looking to a transatlantic market.)

Table Four

Cooke, p. 12: Chelmsford/S. Wesley
 Cooke, p. 20: Bath/Handel
 Cooke, p. 48: Baltimore/Dr Arne
 Cooke, p. 52: Windsor/Handel
 Cooke, p. 88: St George's/no name
 Cooke, p. 98: Washington/M. Cooke

Clarke, no. 33: Chelmsford/Mr S. Westley
 Clarke, no. 11: Bath/Handel
 Clarke, no. 71: Baltimore/Dr Arne
 Clarke, no. 17: no title/Handel
 Clarke, no. 32: St George's/no name
 Clarke (1st edition), no. 2: Washington/Mr. Cooke

The two versions of 'Baltimore' may be compared here:

Cooke, *Select Portions*

Clarke, *Select Portions*

48 PSALM LXXIst
 Verse 17th
 Baltimore.
 Mr Martin
 Dr Arne
 Thou LORD hast taught me from my youth
 To praise thy glo - - rious name
 And e - - ver since thy won - d'rous works
 Have been my con - - stant theme.

(71)
 Baltimore Hymn 15 Advent C.M. Dr Arne.
 Let Is - rael catch the joy - - ful sound Let
 Judahs daughters hear Tell all th'expect - - ing
 world - around Mes - si - ahs King - doms near.

This tune was present in many late eighteenth-century books, but it is only named as 'Baltimore' in these two volumes by Cooke and Clarke (its most common name being 'Brodsworth').

A small number of other tunes employed by Clarke are likely to have come from specific collections, notably the three psalm tunes by Philip Hayes, issued in his *Sixteen Psalms, selected from Merrick's Version as used at St. Mary's Church...Oxford* (Oxford, c. 1790). Like Costellow and Smart, Clarke also draws from the singing books emanating from the chapels of the charity institutions. She presents the first item in *Psalms, Hymns and Anthems for the Foundling Chapel* (1796), composed by the Organist of the Chapel John Christopher Smith, as no. 39 in her book: 'Foundling', with no composer named. For her Lent Hymn, no. 62, she selects the tune 'Christian Hope' by Thomas Call from the collections issued by the Chapel of the Magdalen Hospital for reformed prostitutes from 1760 onwards. Clarke's tune no. 19 in her first edition is 'Pentonville' by Linley, Organist of St. James's Chapel, Pentonville, but for the second edition she replaced the tune with 'Invocation', with no composer given. One surviving copy of the second edition has an annotation at the top of the page: "Lock coll", and the tune does indeed appear in *A new, and improved Edition of the Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes sung at the Chapel of the Lock Hospital* published in 1792 (after Martin Madan's death) where it is ascribed to the Organist of the Chapel, Charles Lockhart. The tune later became known as 'Carlisle' and appears in many hymn books today. By contrast with the comparisons cited so far, Clarke's version of this tune is far from identical to Lockhart's original, though much of the difference is due to her desire to transfer Lockhart's three-voiced original to a version for keyboard to suit the general format of her collection.

Lockhart, 'Invocation' (from the 1769 edition of the Lock collection)

I N V O C A T I O N

by M^R. LOCKHART

Come Ho - - ly Spi - - rit come, Let thy bright beams a - - - rise!

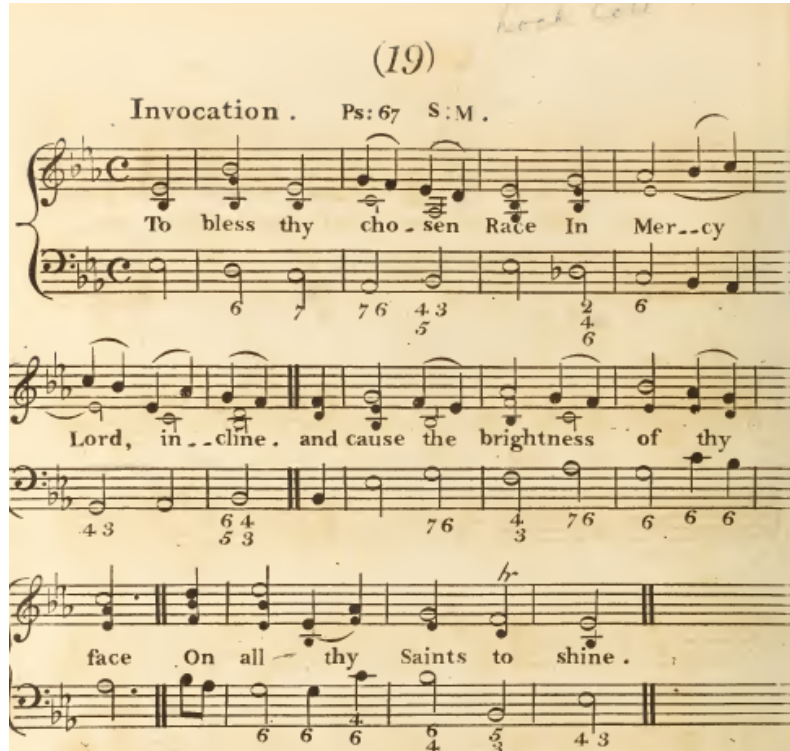
Come Ho - - ly Spi - - rit come, Let thy bright beams a - - - rise!

Dis - - pel the Dark - - ness from our minds and o - - - pen all our eyes.

Dis - - pel the Dark - - ness from our minds and o - - - pen all our eyes.

87

Clarke, *Select Portions* (second edition only)



The same issue occurred when Clarke was dealing with the earlier tunes by Madan in previous editions of the Lock Hospital collection, since these too were written for 3-part singing. In this respect, Madan (see image) was allying his music closely with the performance practice of the Methodists and other dissenting groups, who generally favoured this format, as was taken up later by Tattersall. Moreover, Madan's tunes often went off-piste, as it were, to dramatically enhance the texts he was setting. One of Madan's most popular tunes was called 'Denmark', which changes time signature in the middle and extends to over 90 bars of music, alternating between 2/4 and 3/8 time.

Costellow included it in his 1791 collection for the Bedford Chapel, using a different though similar text, and even adds a repeat of the opening bars at the end, plus two chordal Amens. Clarke, however, cuts it down to size, presenting a truncated version of the opening two sections and using it for a hymn for the Epiphany (no. 60), though even this was not as extreme as the editor of the *Select Psalms for the use of Portman-Chapel, near Portman Square* of 1780 (p. 37), who utilised only the opening 2/4 section of Madan's original.

Immediately before this item in Clarke's collection comes another Madan tune, though presented without any indication of name or composer. Madan had composed his tune 'Denbigh' to the text 'From all that dwell below the skies', and its concluding bars feature a string of pauses and a fluctuating tessitura to depict the rising and setting sun. Clarke uses the tune almost exactly as Madan composed it, transferred to her keyboard format, and although she uses another text, she manages to find one, for 'New Year', that also features similar imagery. Madan's original is shown here followed by Clarke's rendition:

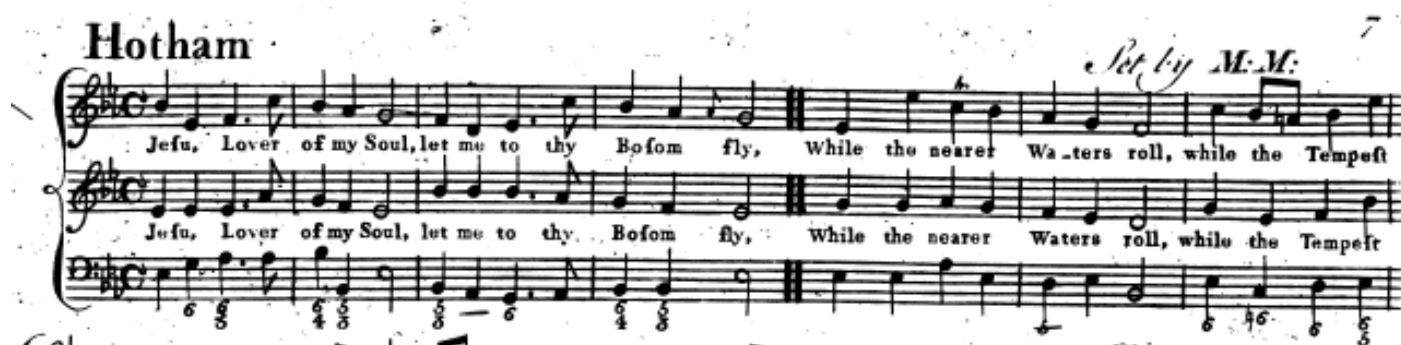
Madan, 'Denbigh'



Clarke, no. 59



If Clarke's version is less ornate than Madan's, the opposite is true in her treatment of Madan's 'Hotham'. Costellow also adopts this tune for the Bedford Chapel collection of 1791, and the opening of Madan's original can be compared with the versions by Costellow and Clarke here:



Costellow, 1791

Clarke, *Select Portions* (first edition)

Hotham

HYMN 74.

M^r Madan

(25) 1

Hotham Ps 93^d L.M.

Madan



(25) 1

Hotham. Ps: 93 L.M. Double Tune.



Costellow transposes the tune up a tone, but keeps the tune fairly untouched, but Clarke, whilst altering the start due to the different metrical pattern, decorates the melody, adding a slide in the fourth phrase. For her second edition, Clarke made a number of alterations, including an upward transposition to the pitch used by Costellow, as shown opposite. She 'improves' rhythmically the start of her version of Madan's tune, but in so doing shows a notable lack of concern about word stress, and pares back and smoothes out the decoration. But in order to get a clearer understanding of Clarke's musical preferences, it is perhaps best to examine a popular tune that appears in most collections of the period.

Clarke, *Select Portions* (second edition)

For this task I shall examine settings of the tune 'St James's' (not Smart's tune 'St James's Chapel'), by Raphael Courteville. This straightforward common-metre melody, still much used today, was composed by Courteville probably soon after he started serving as the first Organist of the newly built church of St James', Westminster/Piccadilly towards the end of the seventeenth century, in 1691. It is not surprising therefore to see the tune in George Smart's collection from the associated Chapel of St James, built exactly a century later. Its four-square style seems to have held little appeal for the chapels of the charity institutions where more modern styles were in vogue, even though a few such melodies were included in their collections. It did appear in William Riley's *Psalms and hymns for the use of the chapel of the Asylum or House of Refuge for Female Orphans* in 1785 (p. 16), but for the later edition of this collection edited by William Gawler in 1785 it was given a triple-time make-over, and a

graceful appoggiatura was added in the final line (p. 24). The comparison below shows Clarke's version alongside Riley's version and those from three other publications we have already encountered:

Clarke, *Select Portions*

(42)
St. James's Ps. 125th C. M. Courtville

Who place on Si-on's God their trust, Like
Si-on's Rock shall stand, Like her im-move-a-
ble be fixed, By his Al-migh-ty hand.

16
PSALM CXLVI.
Tune, by M^r Courtville, Org^t of St James's Westminster.

The Lord who made both Heav'n and Earth, And all that
they contain, Will never quit his stedfast Truth, Nor
make his Promise vain.

Smart, *Divine Amusement:*

20
PSALM XIX.
St. James's

Thy glo-ry Lord the heavns de-clare
Which that a-lone can fill
The fir-ma-ment and stars ex-press
Their great cre-a-tor's will.

Cooke, *Select Portions*

St. James's. M^r COURTVILLE.

To ce-le-brate thy praise O Lord
I will my heart pre-pare;
To all the list'ning world thy works
Thy wond'rous works de-clare.

St James's C.M. **Courtville**

A Tempo

Guifto

How blest is he, who ne'er contents By ill ad-vice to walk;

How blest so. 6 7 # 87 #

Nor stands in finners ways; nor fits Where men pro-fane-ly talk!

6 56 87 2 6 6 7 43

Riley enlivens the tune through adding two trills, Miller chops up the first phrase and adds a dotted rhythm, Smart adds passing notes, whilst Cooke presents the plainest version. Clarke presents the most elaborate version of all, with some notable harmonic as well as melodic gestures, with dotted rhythms present in every phrase, and a chromatic bass passing note at the final cadence. Furthermore, the comparison reveals Clarke's predilection for dotted rhythms which appear throughout her book, cropping up as editorial emendations in whatever style of tune she is dealing with.

With regard to Clarke's harmonic practice, her command of harmony is not always secure, and despite the opportunity granted by a second 'corrected and improved' edition, the changes she made did not always solve certain harmonic problems either with the accurate presentation of the figured bass or the choice of fill-in notes. A particularly loose handling of 6/4 chords (see the end of the first phrase of 'Baltimore', above) comes to a head in the 'Funeral Hymn' (no. 78), where the music has been "adapted from Mr Batishills Chaunt". The original chant implies the use of a 6/3 chord after the first barline at the start of both halves of the chant, and this is the harmony found in many published versions from the period.²³ Clarke's use of the chant as a hymn tune may be unique (see **Appendix B/iii**), but so alas is her choice of a 6/4 chord both times. However, her replacement of the tune 'Adapted from Handel' (no. 16) in the first edition with 'Cary's' in the second may have been due to the numerous harmonic problems found in the Handel arrangement, and she also greatly improves the harmony between editions in one of the most ubiquitous hymns of the period, the 'Evening Hymn', its tune deriving ultimately from 'Tallis's Canon'. This can be seen by comparing her two settings below; her reliance on I and V chords is replaced with more varied and effective harmony. (The descending bass pattern at the start is found in nearly all settings from this period).

(58)

Evening Hymn 2 L.M.

Glo-ry to thee my God, this night, For all the

blessings of the light, Keep me, O keep me, King of

Kings, under thy own Al-migh-ty wings.

(58)

Evening Hymn 2 L.M.

Glo-ry to thee my God, this night, For all the

blessings of the light, Keep me, O keep me, King of

Kings, under thy own Al-migh-ty wings.

The most musically elaborate items in Clarke's collection rarely come close to the often extended anthems in the publications of the charity institutions, but of particular interest are those with some use of organ 'symphonies' (often known as 'interludes') and concluding Hallelujah sections. That other chapels sometimes published extended settings is shown by Costellow's Bedford collection of 1791 as well as his more ambitious collection of 1801 entitled *Sunday's Amusement*, and the Portman Chapel collection of 1780 also contains a number of tunes with symphonies, a feature to be discussed more below in relation to Cecil's collection. Clarke copied some interludes from her sources, though it is notable that she pruned some of these over time: her first presentation of the Foundling Hymn (no. 39) has both a middle and concluding symphony, but for the second edition the middle one was cut, and both short symphonies in Madan's 'Second Advent' (no. 21) disappear with the second edition. However, she kept the more lengthy symphonies in Philip Hayes's Psalm 23 in both

editions (no. 10), and one of Parrin's Charity hymns has very short interludes (no. 74). Three tunes have Hallelujah sections appended to them. The tune 'Boston' that appears in the second edition only is in 3-4 time, but ends with a 16-bar Hallelujah in 2-4 time, and both of Parrin's Charity Hymns (sung on occasions when money was raised for the charity institutions in the parish) have a typical concluding Hallelujah-Amen pairing marked "*ad lib*" (see opposite). This manner of concluding a hymn is familiar from anthems of the period, and is notably prevalent in the more extended items found in the books of the

(74) 2

Hallelujah ad lib

Halle-lu-jah Halle-lu-jah Hal-le-lujah Hal-le-lujah

Halle-lujah Halle-lujah Hal-le-lujah Hal-le-lujah Halle-lujah

Halle-lujah Halle-lujah Hal-le-lujah A-men A-men

charity institutions. John Parrin, Organist at the Portland Chapel, provided the main local

original musical content for Clarke's collection (a standard feature of collections prepared for all types of Anglican places of worship), and one of tunes is called 'Oxford Chapel'. Eight of them are present in the first edition and nine in the second, where his tune 'New Jerusalem' replaces a tune in an older idiom. A triplet figure in the first phrase provides a modern feature, and his tunes are generally lively in nature with a wide melodic compass, though there is little in this respect to surpass Madan's tunes, published around 30 years earlier. Some even retain a distinctly Handelian element (see for example no. 77), and others show grammatical shortcomings. Parallel fifths occur between treble and bass parts in his Christmas Hymn (no. 72) and weak text setting is evident at the start of 'Tavistock' (no. 54), as seen below.

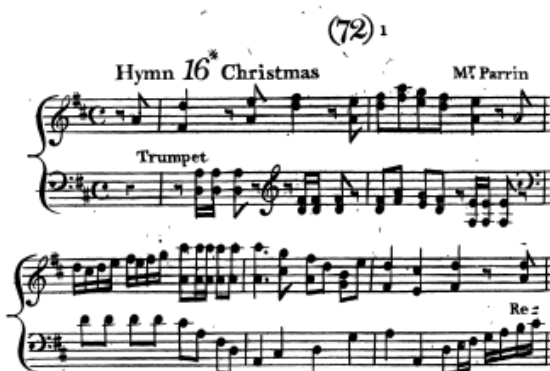


The parallels in Parrin's Christmas Hymn would have certainly offended the anonymous author of *Observations on Psalmody* from 1827, who wrote concerning the publication of a new book of psalm tunes as follows:

A work of this description was a few years ago sent forth into the world, beautifully engraved, well printed, and highly recommended. A professional gentleman, of my acquaintance, purchased a copy. On cutting it open, he found that the very first tune began with octaves between the tenor and bass, and ended with fifths in sequence between the tenor and alto. A little further on he found three whole bars of consecutive fifths, most harmoniously howling a hallelujah.²⁴

It is clear that whatever musical shortcomings one might lay at Clarke's door, Parrin's contributions bear similar problems. Parrin's Christmas Hymn provides the only mention of a particular organ stop in the volume, and both the music and stop indications are revised between editions as shown below (though a new error of omission appears at the start in the left hand).

First edition



Second edition



The other local name in the collection would appear to be 'Mr Lord', who provides three tunes of a rather conservative nature. A Mr Lord also features in a later Portland Chapel collection of 1822, and 'John Lord, the Younger' issued a collection at another Marylebone church, Christ Church, in 1833.²⁵ There is no mention of either Clarke or Parrin in the 1822 volume, and the tunes included are notably different, but one that was indeed present in Clarke's volume, used for the 'Morning Hymn' by George Smart (but not present in his published collection of 1795), has an interesting annotation:

26

BRUNSWICK CHAPEL. MORNING HYMN. Composed and Arranged by
SIR GEORGE SMART, and
published by his permission.

2d VOICE. A - WAKE my soul, and with the

1st VOICE. A - WAKE my soul, and with the

Vocal and Instrumental BASS. 9 6 6 7 / 4 3 6 6 4 / 5 3

Clarke used this tune for the same text, the 'Morning Hymn', though without any title for the tune (no. 57). The title 'Brunswick Chapel' refers to yet another of the Marylebone Chapels, built in 1795, situated in Upper Berkeley Street. Thomas Smith noted in 1833 that the chapel was "remarkable for the number of persons of high rank and consequence which form the congregation".²⁶ The mention of "permission" is notable, concerning the problem faced by all editors of psalm and hymn books with regard to copyright law. Some publications carried specific warnings about copyright infringement; the following notice in the Bedford Chapel collection of 1791 illustrates this concern:

Enter'd at Stationer's Hall and Who ever Reprints, or Copies out for Sale any of the New Melodies, New Hymns, Translations, or Paraphrases will be Profecuted.

Clarke, however, reproduced the tune in her collection without any mention of permission, and in the second edition a note indicates that it was also available 'printed singly'.

Perhaps the most notable inclusion in Clarke's collection is Haydn's tune 'Austria', providing us with the earliest possible date for the book's publication, 1797. This composition, best known today as the German National Anthem but also present in many British hymn books, was composed as a personal tribute to Emperor Francis II in February 1797, possibly taking its musical inspiration from a Croatian folk melody, and then published the same year in its original scoring for solo voice and piano accompaniment. Charles Burney was an admirer of

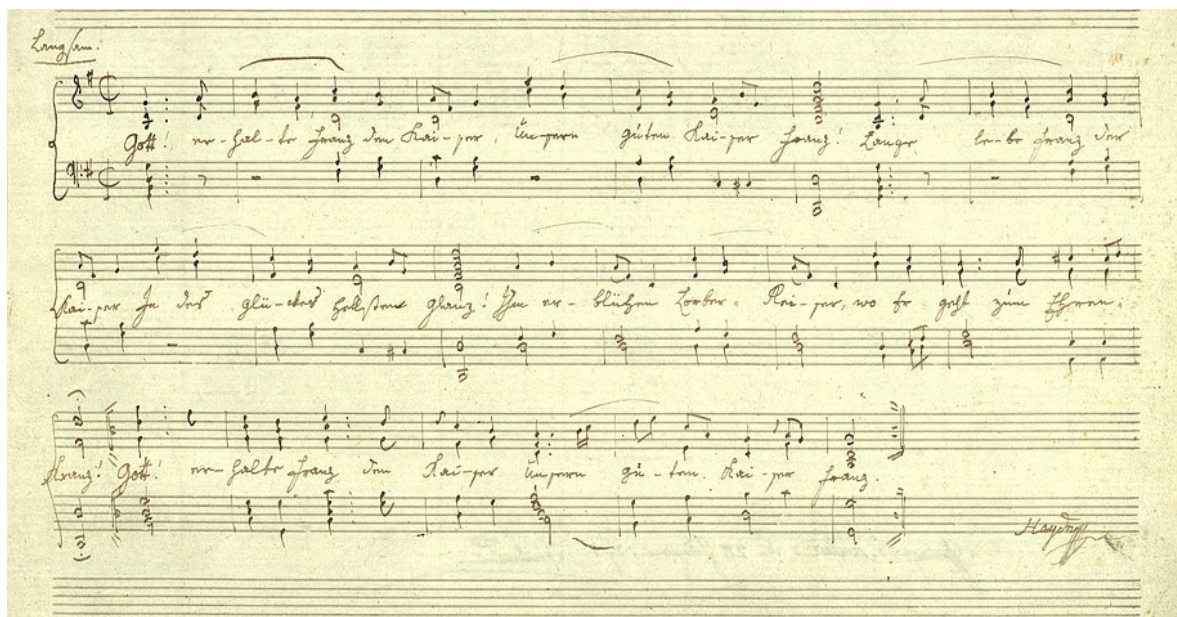
the tune and published it in England as ‘Hymn for the Emperor’, beginning “God preserve the Emp'ror FRANCIS”. A study of the origins of the tune as an English hymn was published in 1904 in *The Musical Times*, which cites its first such appearance as Edward Miller’s collection *Dr. Watts’s Psalms and Hymns*, thought to date from around 1800, the start of which is shown here:^{[27](#)}

No. 240. **Hymn** DC or 466: 467: 469: 533: 534:
HAYDN P. M. # Key. The celebrated Hymn by Haydn composed for
the Emperor Francis of Germany, adapted to English words.

Moderately & with expression

JESU, soft harmonious name, ev'ry faithful heart's desire, see thy

6 6 6 2 6 7 7 6 — 6



Webbe, *A Collection of Psalm Tunes*

Praise the Lord ye heavens adore him Praise him Angels in the

bright Sun and moon rejoice before him Praise him all ye stars of light

Praise the Lord for he hath spoken Worlds his mighty voice obeyed Laws which

ne- ver can be broken For their guidance he hath made

CHORD P.M. Haydn 61

Clarke, *Select Portions* (first edition)

Hymn 5 January 30th C.M. Dr. Haydn

My God the steps of pious Men are or- der'd by thy will, tho' they should fall

they rise a- gain thy hand supports them still tho' they should fall they rise a- gain thy hand supports them still,

the Lord de- lights to see their ways, their vir- tue

vir- tue He ap- proves, He'll ne'er de- prive them of

his grace, nor leave the Men he loves, He'll ne'er

deprive them of his grace nor leave the Men he loves,

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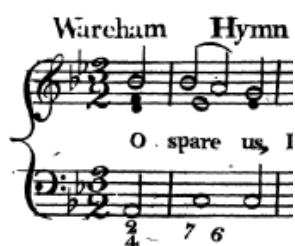
Despite the bold choice of tune and text, it is difficult to be complimentary about the way Clarke fits Watts's hymn to the tune, with its numerous infelicities throughout, starting with the need for an extra note at the beginning, and especially the passage at the end of the fourth line of music into the fifth. However, she generally keeps more of the spirit of Haydn's original accompaniment than Webbe, as with the full chord at the start (plus *arpeggio* marking); Webbe clearly aims to turn the accompaniment into a more traditional four-part setting than Clarke.

The final column in **Appendix A/i** (see separate file) summarises the changes made when Clarke issued her "Corrected and Improved" second edition. The first three tunes, for example, were altered as follows: in no. 1, 'Albury', the tune was slightly amended and the name of the composer, Scott, was added; in no. 2, a completely different tune, 'St Mary' was substituted for Cooke's 'Washington'; in no. 3 an ornament was added to the tune by Ravenscroft. Changes to the musical arrangements of the melodies including the harmony also occurred in many cases, as noted above in relation to the 'Evening Hymn' (no. 58), and the text underlay is notably improved in the psalm set to 'Adeste fideles' (no. 54). In total, 6 new tunes were supplied, summarised in Table Five.

Table Five: tune changes between Clarke's first and second editions

	<i>First edition</i>	<i>Second edition</i>
No. 2	'Washington' - Mr Cooke	'St Mary' - [unknown]
No. 7	[no name] - [Butler]	'Boston' - [unknown]
No. 16	'Adapted from Handel'	'Cary's' - [Carey]
No. 19	'Pentonville' - Linley	'Invocation' - [Lockhart]
No. 33	'Chelmsford' - Mr S. Westley	'New Court' - [unknown]
No. 35	'St Mary' - Simon Stubbs	'New Jerusalem' - Mr Parrin

No clear pattern of intent emerges from this list. In one case, no. 35, a recently composed tune replaces a very old melody, but the reverse occurs with no. 2, where Cooke's tune from c. 1795 is replaced by a tune that was first published in 1674. Perhaps the modern tunes by Wesley and Cooke were replaced because their presence infringed copyright laws.



It would be pleasing to be able to note that the second edition had eradicated all the minor technical musical problems evident in the first edition, but this is sadly not the case. One particularly puzzling error is evident at the start of the 'Wareham' (no. 76) in both editions where the bass note A mistakenly underpins the tonic B flat chord above for the opening chord of the melody. Clearly the bass note should be a B flat but figures have been provided - 4/2 - thus seemingly endorsing the A.

Viewing the *Select Portions* as a whole, Clarke has assembled an impressively substantial and varied collection of tunes. Older melodies take their place, such as 'Savoy' and 'St James', but

many recent tunes are included as found in several publications from the 1790s, perhaps at a certain risk to copyright protocol, and she is notably up-to-date in including tunes such as Charles Wesley's 'Crucifixion' and Joseph Haydn's 'Austria', even though her general approach was not as self-consciously modern as Tattersall's. She follows the fashion for incorporating tunes from the chapels of the charity institutions (adapting them as necessary), she includes organ interludes (though some culling took place for the second edition) and allows considerable space to the person who would appear to have been the leading local chapel organist, John Parrin. Her choice of texts at times shows considerable thought, as with her selection of a text for January 30th in relation to Haydn's 'Austria', and her sensitivity to the word-painting in dealing with Madan's tune 'Denbigh', though her care for textual underlay was often apparently rather slight. Musically, she favoured dotted rhythms, often injecting older tunes in particular with a more lively spirit. Since Jane Clarke probably lacked the sort of private musical instruction that often went from father to daughter (as in the cases of William & Jane Savage and Richard & Theophania Cecil), and appears to have worked at the Charity School in Marylebone High St, it is perhaps not surprising that her collection sometimes shows a certain lack of technical proficiency. It is certainly to be hoped that further research will reveal more about the life and career of Jane Clarke.

4. Theophania Cecil's *The Psalm and Hymn Tunes used at St. John's Chapel, Bedford Row. Arranged for four voices and adapted for the Organ or piano forte, with appropriate Symphonies* (1814)

Theophania Cecil was born in 1782, two years after her father the Rev. Richard Cecil became the Minister of St John's Chapel, Bedford Row. It is not clear at what time she became Organist, but she remained in post after her father died in 1810, and was still there in 1821 when a new organ by Lincoln was installed, apparently not entirely to her satisfaction.²² Richard Cecil was held in high regard as a theologian, and a book about his life and ministry, *Remains of the Rev. Richard Cecil, M.A.*, was written by Josiah Pratt shortly after his death, running into at least six editions by 1816. Pratt reports an early intervention made by Cecil on his arrival at St. John's concerning the use of the organ:

When Mr. Cecil entered on St. John's the usual custom prevailed of playing a Voluntary after the reading of the Psalms. As he considered this no part of the worship, but rather an intrusion into it, he appointed that an appropriate Voluntary should precede the service—to allow for which, the bell was ordered to cease five minutes before the hour for Divine Worship; and, instead of the usual Voluntary after the Psalms, he directed that a Psalm should be sung after the Second Lesson. (p. 91)

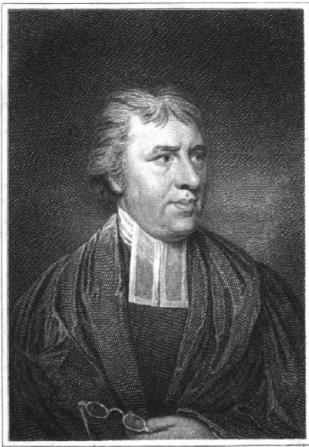
Although this shows a strict attitude towards the use of the organ in services, it also shows some genuine concern for the organist's contribution. Pratt makes one mention of Theophania, when he supplies an anecdote to illustrate Richard's good character:

His readiness to gratify innocent requests was ever alive. Many instances might be recorded, but one shall suffice. On his daughter's asking him, just as he was going out into company, to

give her words to a tune which she had composed, he did not disregard or forget her request; but, while general conversation was proceeding, he wrote unobserved a few verses which he presented to her on his return. (p. 83)

Though the mention is brief, we can detect Theophania's enthusiasm for composition, and the anecdote provides the perfect biographical context to her publication, based as it was on her father's book of *Psalms and Hymns* first published in 1785 (receiving its 33rd edition by 1829), as she explains in her preface:

As this Collection of Tunes is accommodated to the Selection of Psalms and Hymns, by the late Rev. Richard Cecil, used at St. John's Chapel, Bedford Row, an appropriate Tune may be found therein to every Measure which occurs in that Publication.



It is serendipitous in this regard that the opening item in the volume is a setting of the biblical text 'I will arise and go to my father', a short anthem probably intended for use at the start of worship like an introductory Sentence, similar to those found in other collections of the time. The composition is by Richard Cecil himself (see image), and is one of a total of nine tunes by him in the book (together with a further 'Hallelujah-Amen' section), all of which show him to have been a more than competent musician. Just as the music of John Parrin forms the local element in Clarke's collection, the music by Richard Cecil forms the largest local element in Theophania Cecil's collection, but here this element is happily expanded by the presence of three tunes that were composed by Theophania herself. Richard's popular collection of texts initially contained psalms only, carefully selected from 'various versions', and this remained the basic format of the book till at least the fourth edition dating from 1804. But towards the end of his life Richard followed contemporary fashion by adding some hymns in an Appendix, and the final tunes in Theophania's 1814 volume are designed to fit with these added hymns. The collection thus comprises the initial Sentence, *I will arise*, then 33 tunes for psalms and finally 6 tunes for hymns. The complete list of contents is given in **Appendix A/ii** (see separate file). Although Pratt's anecdote features Theophania writing a tune for which her father provided the words, all the texts set by Theophania from her father's book are by other authors (Watts, Merrick and Robinson). However, filial cooperation is evident in one case, where the melody proper is composed by Theophania but the concluding 'Hallelujah-Amen' section is by her father (no. 35).

Theophania's collection is about half the size of Clarke's in terms of the overall number of tunes included, though she adopts a more generous musical layout, normally providing four vocal parts (marked Treble, Counter-Tenor, Tenor and Bass) in traditional score format, and then the organ part on two staves which mostly follows the voices, plus figured bass. Her choice of tunes suggests an essentially conservative musical outlook, both in terms of the melodies chosen and their presentation. The only composer included whose tunes often adopted a contemporary style, the Rev. Martin Madan, is represented by just two tunes, 'Huddersfield' and 'Richmond', and Theophania's editorship colours them with a distinctly traditional hue. For 'Huddersfield', although Cecil maintains Madan's original trio presentation

Madan (as in the 1792 Lock Hospital collection)

Cecil (1814)

Melodies by the younger generation of musicians adopted by Jane Clarke such as George T. Smart, Samuel and Charles Wesley (jnr), are notably absent (with one exception by Webbe, discussed below). The only composers mentioned by name in addition to Madan and the Cecil family are the august figures of ‘Dr Croft’, ‘Dr Crotch’ and ‘Luther’. Croft died in 1727, but William Crotch was very much alive in 1814, and had served as Heather Professor of Music at the University of Oxford since 1797. Crotch appears in Cecil’s collection not as a composer, but as a harmoniser of old tunes. The tune ‘Bedford’, usually attributed to W. Weale (d. 1727), was present in most collections of the period, but like most of the old tunes had been subject to significant rhythmical, melodic and harmonic alterations over time. Jane Clarke’s version in the *Select portions* is in her characteristic lively manner, and can be compared

here with a more plain version found in Cooke's Bloomsbury collection. She makes several attempts to modify both melody and harmony throughout, with varying success:

Clarke, *Select Portions*

(38)
Bedford Ps 115th C.M. W. Wheale M.B.

Lord not to us we claim no share, But
to thy sa-cred name, give glo-ry for thy
mercy's sake, And truths e-ter-nal fame.

Cooke, *Select Portions*

Bedford. W: Wheale.

O God of hosts the mighty LORD
How love-ly is the place
Where thou enthron'd in glo-ry shew'st
The bright-ness of thy face.

Turning to Crotch for help, Cecil shows sympathy with the Professor's aims to expunge the modern adjustments to the melody and produce something closer to what the composer had originally written. In 1803 Crotch published his edition of Tallis's Litany in Latin, as sung annually in the University Church in Oxford, and to this he appended a number of harmonisations of 'Old Tunes', including 'Bedford' (which he links with Purcell), as shown here, alongside Cecil's version.

Crotch (1803)

48 Bedford Ps. 84. OV. (2 feet 6) attributed to H. Purcell

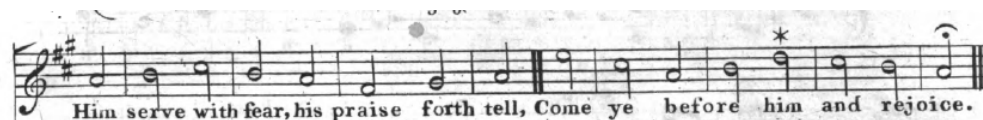
How pleasant is thy dwelling place O Lord of hosts to me the
How pleasant is thy dwelling place O Lord of hosts to me the
How pleasant is thy dwelling place O Lord of hosts to me the
taber-nacles of thy grace how pleasant Lord they be.
taber-nacles of thy grace how pleasant Lord they be.
taber-nacles of thy grace how pleasant Lord they be.

Cecil (1814)

42 Harmonised by D^r CROCH.

O God of Hosts, the mighty Lord, How lovely is the place
O God of Hosts, the mighty Lord, How lovely is the place
O God of Hosts, the mighty Lord, How lovely is the place
Where thou enthron'd in glory shew'st The brightness of thy face.
Where thou enthron'd in glory shew'st The brightness of thy face.

Cecil balks at Crotch's maintenance of the typically flexible older rhythmic patterns, but she adopts Crotch's harmony almost exactly, only adjusting the final cadential pattern. Crotch's collection may also lie behind a scholarly note added to her version of 'The Old 100th' (p. 47). This tune which appeared in nearly all contemporary collections, was normally sung with a melodic alteration to the final phrase. Cecil restores the older version of the melody (which involves swapping the order of the d" and c#") and provides a footnote:



*** According to the old Copies.**

Cecil erroneously ascribes the melody to Luther, as did most books of the time, but her collection includes a rare use of a chorale melody that probably does go back to Luther, 'Aus tiefer Not', which appears without title under Luther's name, employed appropriately for a penitential Psalm (51): 'Lord I am vile, conceived in sin' (p. 48). It is also possible that Luther's music may have inspired the final line of Richard Cecil's tune 'St Jerome's' (p. 8), being identical to the final phrase of 'Ein feste Burg'. By contrast to this Protestant leaning, Theophania also includes the tune 'Tantum ergo' which she describes as 'A Roman Catholic Melody' (p. 58). This is the still well-known tune by the Roman Catholic composer Samuel Webbe (the Elder), published in 1782. Cecil's collection is one of the earliest publications to include it (the only earlier instance being Seeley's *Devotional Harmony* of 1806 where it is called 'Benediction'), chosen perhaps on account of its traditional and subdued nature. Her preference for presenting her chosen melodies in a plain, undecorated manner can be seen by comparing her setting of 'St James's' with those considered above in relation to Clarke's collection. Unlike Clarke, Cecil rivals Cooke in austerity:

St James's. PSALM 91. Version I. 33

TREBLE. How blest the man, how safe from harm, Who to his Saviour flies!

COUNTER TENOR. How blest the man, how safe from harm, Who to his Saviour flies!

TENOR. How blest the man, how safe from harm, Who to his Saviour flies!

BASS. How blest the man, how safe from harm, Who to his Saviour flies!

ORGAN. And on his truth and mighty arm A lone for help relies.

And on his truth and mighty arm A lone for help relies.

The image shows a full page of musical notation for a four-part setting of Psalm 91, 'St James's'. It includes staves for Treble, Counter Tenor, Tenor, Bass, and Organ. The lyrics are: "How blest the man, how safe from harm, Who to his Saviour flies! And on his truth and mighty arm A lone for help relies." The organ part is at the bottom, featuring figured bass notation (6, 6, 5, 7, 4, 7).

Richard Cecil's tunes are of high quality. They have strong melodic shapes, underpinned by sound and well-balanced harmonies. 'St Clement's' (p. 6) has a binary structure, a sequential pattern and minor harmonies after the mid-point (marked 'piano'), and a pleasing flattened seventh before the final cadence:

Richard Cecil, 'St Clements'

TREBLE.
To thy pastures fair and large, Heav'nly Shepherd lead thy charge,

COUNTER.
To thy pastures fair and large, Heav'nly Shepherd lead thy charge,

TENOR.
To thy pastures fair and large, Heav'nly Shepherd lead thy charge,

BASS.
To thy pastures fair and large, Heav'nly Shepherd lead thy charge,

PIANO FORTE.

Pia. And my Couch with tend'rest care, Midst the springing grass prepare.
For.

Pia. And my Couch with tend'rest care, Midst the springing grass prepare.
For.

Pia. When I faint with summer's heat, Thou shalt guide my wea-ry feet
For.

Pia. When I faint with summer's heat, Thou shalt guide my wea-ry feet
For.

Pia. To the streams that still and slow, Through the ver-dant mea-dows flow.
For.

Pia. To the streams that still and slow, Through the ver-dant mea-dows flow.
For.

Richard's choice of names reflects his theological interests (as already apparent in his daughter's name), preferring to reference the early Church Fathers rather than place-names, and Theophania follows suit for her three tunes, perhaps deliberately choosing female saints for the names of two of them. Musically too, Theophania's tunes are clearly based on her father's style, and are no less successful. (All three are reproduced in **Appendix B/iv.**) 'St Teresa' is the most substantial; like her father's 'St Clement's' it features the use of sequential movement in the melody, together with dynamic contrasts and a flattened seventh before the final cadence. In 'St Ignatius', she employs the trick of providing an inconclusive musical cadence at the end of the last line of text, requiring an additional line and repetition of the last line of text to conclude the melody. This was not an uncommon device at the time, and it is also found here in Richard's tunes 'St Jerome's' and 'St John's'. Above all, both father and daughter aimed to eschew flamboyance and keep their melodies robust and singable, sometimes seeking to recreate the simple grandeur of many of the old tunes, as in Richard's 'St John's' (p. 18) or Theophania's 'St Katharine's' (p. 27). The joint authorship evident in 'St Ignatius' only serves to confirm the close musical relationship that father and daughter enjoyed.

Theophania Cecil's greatest musical contribution to the book lies in her symphonies. Of the 39 tunes for psalms or hymns, only three have no separate organ sections at all, whilst 20 have both a prelude and an interlude (i.e. played between the verses), six have preludes only, and ten have interludes only, one with two alternative passages. The role of the organ in the performance of psalms and hymns in this period was often controversial. Although the style of playing naturally changed over time, the essential ingredients remained the same: an organist would 'give out' the tune at the start, and then would choose whether to improvise between the verses as the psalm or hymn progressed, or even between certain lines in the tune, normally a mid-point. Although many contemporary commentators happily advocated the practice in general, they often complained about the excessive duration of many interludes, and more particularly the inappropriate styles often adopted, when the improvisations did not fit properly with the nature of the hymn or psalm being sung. The problems highlighted by William Riley in his *Parochial Music Corrected* of 1762 are often entirely practical in nature. He deplores the use of interludes between lines of a strophe where the verbal sense continues between them, and objects to interludes between verses played in a different time signature so that the congregation cannot sense the moment when they should continue. He also calls for the use of appropriate styles at all times, so that secular idioms are not imitated or invoked, though also recognising that this practice often wins praise from certain parts of the congregation. Many similar comments can be found in the writings of early nineteenth-century commentators. David Everard Ford observed in 1827 that "The rage for turns and shakes was greater fifty years ago than it is at the present day; but with performers of a certain class, it is still too prevalent", and also advised as follows: "Interludes, whether extemporaneous or not, should always bear a close resemblance to the theme or tune in which they are introduced; and, throughout the performance of them, the original time should be strictly preserved."³⁰ One of the most detailed and constructive discussions of the practice was provided by William Cole, whose *A View of Modern Psalmody: Being an Attempt to Reform the Practice of Singing in the Worship of God* was published in 1819, five years after Cecil's publication. Cole's principal comments on interludes are as follows:

Another thing which we cannot fail to remark, is the introduction of *extemporaneous* interludes, between the several stanzas of the psalm. This practice, or rather the abuse of it, has given offence to many serious persons, while it has yielded satisfaction to few, or none. A short interlude, suited to the melody of the tune, is not only proper, but in some degree necessary, that the congregation may have sufficient time to take breath; but when, by an extraneous air, inapposite to the subject, and protracted to an enormous length, the mind is diverted from its proper object, the impropriety of the practice, to say no worse of it, becomes sufficiently notorious. We sometimes, and indeed too often, find that an organist, after tickling the ears of his audience with a succession of unmeaning flourishes, and exhibiting the dexterity of his fingers at the expense of his judgment, returns abruptly to the subject, without any previous preparation. Hence the people, being taken by a kind of surprise, are unable to join in the beginning of the next stanza, unless indeed, as is oftentimes the case, the organist be sufficiently complaisant to wait for them, by holding the first note beyond its limited length.

But we need not waste our time in exposing the bad tendency of a custom which every rational person must condemn, and which very few will undertake to defend. Therefore, to remove every impropriety that may arise from this source, we would abolish entirely the use of extemporaneous interludes, and substitute, in their place, short symphonies set for each particular occasion. The kind of symphony which we would recommend, should be short, and strictly adapted to the melody of the tune. Perhaps a repetition of the last line, or, at most, of the last two lines, with very little variation, or embellishment, would answer the purpose better than anything else that could be introduced. This symphony, with every embellishment that is admitted into it, should be written with the psalm tune to which it is adapted, and constantly adhered to, without any alteration, whenever that tune is brought into use. [Footnote:] In secular music, the symphonies are always written, and never varied from; and no good reason can be assigned, why the same procedure should not be adopted in Sacred music. [End of footnote] The advantages that would accrue from this plan are obvious; for the attention of the hearers would never be diverted from the subject of the psalm; but, by repeated use, the symphony would soon become as familiar, to those that sing, as the tune itself, so that they would never be at a loss when to begin the succeeding stanza.

If extemporary interludes between the stanzas be improper, much more so are those extraneous flourishes which are frequently introduced at the end of every line. Sometimes indeed, a few passing notes may be proper, to lead on the melody; but when such notes are thought necessary, their effect should first be duly considered, and then, if they are proper to be used at all, they should be written with the tune, and constantly attended to. This may seem a trifling circumstance, but if notes of this kind be too insignificant to be written, they ought not to be used.³¹

Cole clearly prefers the use of carefully planned and written-out interludes/symphonies rather than improvised ones, and many examples can be found (in varying quantities) in collections of psalms and hymns published in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. As an example of the minimal style that Coles refers to, where the organist simply repeats the last phrase sung, here is a version of Carey's popular tune that appears in the Foundling Hospital Collection of 1774 and the *Select Psalms for the use of Portman-Chapel* in 1780 (the version shown here):

The Lord my pasture shall prepare, And feed me
The Lord my pasture shall prepare, And feed me
with a Shepherd's care; His presence shall my
with a Shepherd's care; His presence shall my
wants supply, And guard me with a watchful
wants supply, And guard me with a watchful
eye. My noonday.
eye. My noonday.

walks he shall attend, And all my midnight
walks he shall attend, And all my midnight
hours defend.
hours defend.

As the organist Francis Linley put it in his *A Practical Introduction to the Organ* (c. 1800), "Respecting the interludes, nothing can be more proper than the last line of the tune; and if it consists of three, four, or more verses, he may play a variation, or animadversion, on the last line, or something as near the stile of it as possible" (p. 6). The musical function of more freely constructed interludes was often close to the short organ-only passages found in anthems from the Restoration period onwards. These often set the scene, as it were, for what was to come, or summed up what had already passed, as we have already encountered in John Parrin's 'Christmas Hymn' from Jane Clarke's collection.

Theophania Cecil helpfully makes plain her attitude towards the practice of interluding through her comments at the start of her volume. Doubtless mindful of her father's attitude towards organ playing, she takes a notably cautious line, openly advising against the use of her symphonies within church services:

It has been suggested by some friends, that Preludes and Interludes annexed to the Tunes would render the work more acceptable: some have, therefore, been attempted, which may serve as hints for the extemporary performer to improve upon. These, however, being written rather with a view to private than public performance, are not in every instance confined to the gravity and brevity required in congregational Singing. Whatever of this nature intermingles itself with the praises of God, if not exceedingly chastised in style and length, seems an unjustifiable interruption of the worship of the Church.

Additional unity is provided in the prelude and interlude to Richard's tune 'St John's', since the interlude is simply an exact repetition of the last two phrases of the prelude. By contrast, many other interludes are considerably longer, and are often inspired by purely musical considerations. They sometimes come close to being more like keyboard exercises, with rapid figuration and the swapping of hands. Cecil rarely breaks into free improvisatory flourishes, but her setting of 'St Paul's' is notable both for her use of this idiom in the prelude, and also the study-style evident in the interlude, based on the last phrase of the melody.

34 St Pauls. PSALM 16. part 3.

TREBLE. When God is nigh, my faith is strong, His arm is my Al-mighty prop:

COUNTER TENOR. When God is nigh, my faith is strong, His arm is my Al-mighty prop:

TENOR. When God is nigh, my faith is strong, His arm is my Al-mighty prop:

BASS. When God is nigh, my faith is strong, His arm is my Al-mighty prop:

ORGAN.

Be glad my heart, rejoice my tongue, My dying flesh shall rest in hope.

Be glad my heart, rejoice my tongue, My dying flesh shall rest in hope.

By contrast, the *moto perpetuo* interlude to 'St Mary's' has only a loose connection with the melody:

I sent my cries to seek thy grace, My groans to move thine ear.

I sent my cries to seek thy grace My groans to move thine ear.

Great God! should thy severer eye
And thine impartial hand,
Mark and revenge iniquity,
No mortal flesh could stand.

But there are pardons with my God
For crimes of high degree;
Thy Son has bought them with his blood,
To draw us near to thee.

The prelude to 'St David's' is notable for starting in the minor, despite the tune being in the major. Cecil seems to be aiming at creating a suitable grand and imposing atmosphere for the melody: the opening phrase includes a Neapolitan Sixth chord, and the arrival on the dominant via the German Sixth gives a strong lead into the tonic major, made even more dramatic by the introduction of the 'piano' dynamic:

St David's. PSALM 132. Version 1. 43

Pia:

TREBLE.  Arise, O King of Grace a - rise, And en - ter to thy rest!

COUNTER TENOR. 

TENOR.  Arise, O King of Grace a - rise, And en - ter to thy rest!

BASS. 

ORGAN. 

Cecil also makes use of the German Sixth chord in the interlude to 'Abridge', and the Neapolitan Sixth and Diminished Seventh chords are also sparingly employed in the collection. She also favours tonic and dominant pedals, and varies the tessitura of her writing to explore the full compass of the low-compass manuals of the day. There is naturally little space for modulation, but the most impressive foray out of the home key is perhaps that found in the interlude to 'Bedford' (p. 41). After the imposing F major harmony imported from Dr Crotch, her pleasantly meandering interlude takes a delightful swing into D flat major. She sets off using the rising fourth at the start of the last line of the melody, caps it with a rising 6th, and then after her trip to D flat emphasises normality by providing a 'forte' reprise of the whole of the last phrase of the melody (shown here without the vocal parts in the final phrase):

Handwritten musical score for the song "The Rose Tree". The score is written on three systems of staves, each with a treble and bass clef. The key signature is one flat (B-flat). The first system includes the lyrics "The Rose Tree" and "The Rose Tree". The second system includes the lyrics "The Rose Tree" and "The Rose Tree". The third system includes the lyrics "The Rose Tree" and "The Rose Tree". The score is written in a cursive, handwritten style.

The interludes that Cecil provides for her own tunes vary considerably in scope (see **Appendix B/iv**). Those for ‘St Teresa’ (p. 22) are close to the short and melodically dependent style shown above in relation to her father’s tunes. The prelude to ‘St Katharine’s’ (p. 27) is much more extended, running to 25 bars, and the interlude is notably elegant in style with turns, trills and a triplet, but the most extravagant interlude in the book is preserved for

the prelude to 'St Ignatius'. Here she makes full use of the lower compass of the organ with trills in octaves, and introduces a fugato element, echos, and a crescendo mark, showing a similar degree of invention to that found in her *Twelve Voluntaries for the Organ*.

Similar collections, including interludes, that are close chronologically to Cecil's 1814 print are those of William Russell, *Psalms Hymns and Anthems for the Foundling Chapel ... Revised corrected & completely figured for the organ* of 1809, and Benjamin Jacob, Organist of St John's Church, Waterloo Bridge Rd, *National Psalmody...a collection of tunes, with appropriate Symphonies, set to a course of psalms...*, of 1815. Russell's are all short, only two-four bars in length, suggesting that they reflect his actual practice in services quite closely, though he was at times censured by the authorities for his playing of hymns and anthems.³² His prelude and interlude for Haydn's Emperor Francis melody is amongst the more flamboyant in the collection, ending with a decorated reprise of the last phrase of the tune:



The symphonies provided by Benjamin Jacob for his 1815 collection are often more substantial than Russell's, though he rarely exceeds a length of seven or eight bars, so that these also do not reach the scope and variety of Cecil's collection. Although they are close in terms of their general style and content to the shorter offerings from Cecil, the two main differences between the collections are that Jacob generally offers only one section of music for each item (with only two exceptions) placed as interludes after the tune itself, and that he gives precise details for the performance of each symphony on a three-manual organ, including stops, manuals and expression marks. Twelve of the tunes in Jacob's collection are also found in Cecil's and a comparison might be made from amongst the longer symphonies of Jacob and the shorter examples by Cecil. Shown below are the two alternative interludes given by Cecil to the Tallis-based 'Evening Hymn' (which she uses for Psalm 92) alongside Jacob's interlude, though allowance should be made for the different note values used for the hymn (minims by Jacob and crotchets by Cecil).



Jacob (1815)



Although Jacob's symphonies are short, they do at times manage nevertheless to show the same range of harmonic vocabulary shown by Cecil, with the Neapolitan Sixth, Diminished Seventh and various forms of Augmented Sixth chord including the German Sixth, but Cecil's wider canvass caused by her decision to allow a more expansive approach than would be normal for use in church, gives her collection greater musical substance and variety than those by Russell and Jacob.

5. Conclusion, legacy & epilogue

Conclusion

The musical personalities revealed by the collections of Clarke and Cecil are notably different. Clarke injected much vitality into the melodies through the use of dotted rhythms, and drew from a broad range of sources, old and new, though she also demonstrated a lack of finesse in technical matters. Cecil, by contrast, preferred her tunes in a more plain form, and possessed a notably scholarly frame of mind, not just in the correctness of her musical grammar, but also in her preference for the original form of older tunes, following the lead of the Professor of Music at Oxford.

Clarke and Cecil's contributions to Anglican church music occurred not in parish churches, but in chapels, most of which no longer exist. Their active involvement in the musical life of these institutions, extending beyond just playing the organ, may reflect something of the independence that was often associated with such establishments. If the parish churches had the most conservative clergy, and the chapels of the charity institutions such as the Lock Hospital or the Asylum had the most radical ones, then the chapels of ease and proprietary chapels sat somewhere in the middle. When Tattersall complained about the singing of Psalmody in London c. 1794 his distinction was between the parish churches, where Psalms were performed using old tunes in a solemn and slow manner, and the chapels of the charity institutions such as the Magdalen and Asylum Chapels, where the improved manner resulted from their desire "to pay due attention to the singing".³³ It is no surprise that the earliest published anthems by female composers, by Jane Savage and Maria Barthélemon from c. 1785 onwards, arose from the comparatively liberal and progressive context of the charity chapels. Psalm and hymn tunes also emanated from these institutions, but the efforts of Clarke and Cecil emerged from congregations that were a step closer to the heart of the established church.

Legacy

The legacy of all psalm and hymn collections of the period was largely dependent on the success of the new material they contained. Unfortunately for Jane Clarke, John Parrin's work was not of the highest quality. Nevertheless, Clarke's efforts were recorded in Brown and Stratton's *British Musical Biography* of 1897, perhaps due the efforts of Stephen Stratton, who had a particular interest in women composers.³⁴ Clarke's entry reads as follows:

Clarke, Jane, musician and organist, published "Select portions of psalms and hymns, adapted to music, as sung at Oxford Chapel," London [1808]

The evidence used for this entry is not clear, though it would seem to have been based on a copy of the first edition since the Portland and Welbeck Chapels are not named, and although Brown and Stratton may well have understood the reference to 'Oxford Chapel', in the major

study of women composers by the American writer Arthur Elson published in 1903, it is stated somewhat misleadingly that she “issued a setting of Psalms, as sung at Oxford, in 1808”, presumably based on the Brown and Stratton entry.³⁵

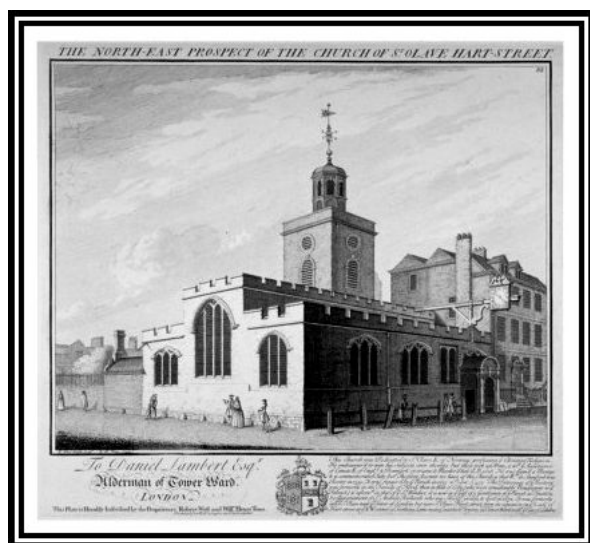
However, the immediate local success of the *Select Portions* is evident from the need for a second edition and then a reprinting of that edition. One isolated instance of Clarke’s work turns up in a book printed in the town of Bedale in Yorkshire in 1821: *A Collection of Psalms and Hymns, in portions of a convenient length for publick worship*, published by its printer, Richard Taylor. The surviving book is text-only but lists the names of the tunes and composers, and these include the otherwise unique Clarke items such as Parrin’s Christmas Hymn, and Haydn’s Emperor tune set to ‘My God the steps of pious men’. How this repertoire ended up in Bedale remains a mystery.

Cecil’s volume fared rather better. Its initial publication was issued with a healthy list of subscribers, notable for its unusually high proportion of female names, and its success was clearly partly due to her father’s judicious choice of texts. Comment on the musical quality of the book was made over 25 years after its publication in the *Church of England Quarterly Review*. Referring to the eleven tunes by father and daughter, the author notes: “This is, perhaps, too rather large a proportion of original compositions; though, at the same time, we are bound that they are most of them well worthy of the place they hold, and St. Austin’s and St. Margaret’s [both by Richard] may be considered first-rate in the class to which they belong.” Details given in the *British Librarian, Or Book-collectors Guide* by William Lowndes in 1842 reveal that the text-only volume of Richard’s selection had by that time reached its thirty-second edition, precipitating the remark: “This selection is still a favourite”.³⁶ Concerning Theophania’s volume with music, this was now reported as being in its seventh edition, and the accompanying note declares: “This collection contains several original melodies, by the Rev. Richard Cecil.”; true enough, but Theophania is sadly ignored. Further evidence of the success of Richard Cecil’s tunes includes the presence of ‘St Margaret’ in *A Collection of Tunes for Psalms and Hymns...used in several Churches in York* by Philip Knapton (1816), and some decades later the appearance of ‘St Austin’ and ‘St Clement’ in William Macintosh’s *Church of England Psalmody* (many editions from 1855). Like Clarke, Cecil appears in Brown and Stratton’s *British Musical Biography* of 1897, but only within the entry for her father. Theophania is named as an organist and as “editor” of the 1814 volume, but there is no mention of her substantial original musical contribution to the book. However, *The Hymn Tune Index* (which runs only to 1820) does contain one instance of a tune by Theophania being reprinted, in America: ‘St Teresa’ can be found in the collection by Thomas Hastings, *The Musical Reader*, published in Utica, New York State, in 1819.

Epilogue

Appendix B collects together various published psalm and hymn tunes, chants and other liturgical items by women composers written for the Church of England c. 1760-1860. It makes no claim to being an exhaustive list, but examples are clearly rare. The earliest surviving

tunes appear to be two by Jane Bromfeild (*sic*), wife of surgeon William Bromfeild, the principal founder of the Lock Hospital, included in Madan's collection of 1769. The source merely has the initials 'J. B.', and the identification of the initials as Jane Bromfeild comes from a slip of paper written by an unknown modern hand inserted in the British Library copy of the publication, which claims to have been copied from a manuscript copy of the collection made in 1769-71.³⁷ They are both in the three-part texture used throughout Madan's collection, one with a fair degree of ornamentation (see **Appendix B/i**). A more traditional style and texture colour the sole tune by a woman composer that became quite widely used



throughout the nineteenth century, 'St Olave's' by Mary Hudson, Organist of St Olave's Church, Hart St (image from [Stories of London](http://www.stolaves.org.uk/stories-of-london) website) first published in 1791. *The Hymn Tune Index* has revealed 17 appearances of the tune in publications before 1820. Its style is close to triple-time melodies such as Smart's 'Wiltshire' and Knapp's 'Wareham', and there is a particular similarity with the first phrase of the tune known as 'Carey's'. Unfortunately her authorship of the tune seems to have been doubted over time, partly due to the fact that her father Robert Hudson also composed

hymn tunes, and in the second half of the century the tune often appeared under just 'Hudson', as in *A Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes* ed. Turle & Naylor (1844), or actually under Robert's name, as in *The European Psalmist* by Samuel Sebastian Wesley (1872), or *The Temple church choral service* [book] ed. E. J. Hopkins in 1869. Below, one of the earliest known appearances of the tune, in Cooke's *Select Portions* for St George's Bloomsbury c. 1795 is shown alongside the Hopkins miss-attribution.

Cooke, c. 1795

St. Olave's. **MISS HUDSON.**

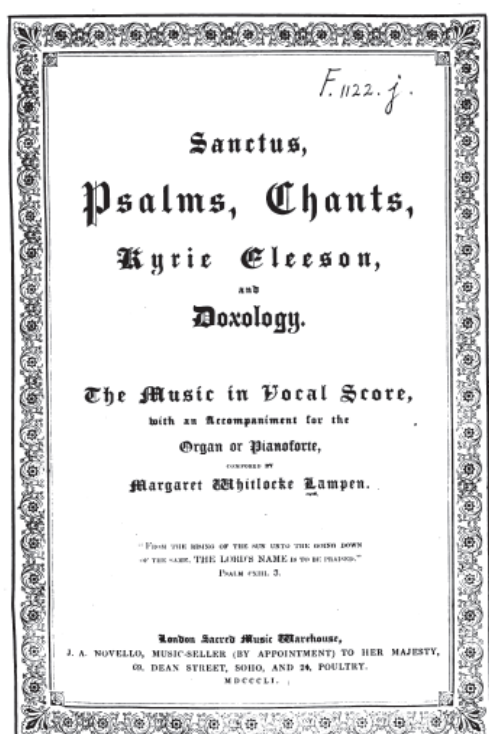
Thy mer-cy, Lord, to me ex-tend
On thy pro-tec-tion I de-pend
And to thy wing for shel-ter haste
Till this out-ra-gious storm is past.

Hopkins, 1869

St. Olave. **ROBERT HUDSON.**

A - men.

Another hymn tune by Mary Hudson, 'Strettons' appears in a large North American manuscript compilation by Daniel Read, his 'Musica Ecclesiae'.³⁸ In 1799 the tune 'Rose of Sharon' was published ascribed to a mysterious 'Miss A.' in the *Collection of hymn tunes, fugues & odes* by a collection by James Peck, but apart from the examples by Bromfield, Hudson and Cecil, very few tunes by female composers appear to have been published from within the Church of England, though tunes by woman associated with non-conformist congregations also began to appear around this time, and examples also begin to appear in Scotland and Ireland.³⁹ In C. I. La Trobe's *Hymn-tunes, sung in the Church of the United Brethren* issued c. 1826, several tunes are by Rev. J. Bean, but the tune 'Walbrook' is ascribed to 'Miss Bean', perhaps revealing a father-daughter relationship like that encountered with the Cecils. But in the years following Clarke and Cecil's publications, the next most significant example of women musicians active in the field of hymn and psalm tunes came from the non-conformist Flower sisters, Eliza (1803-46) and Sarah (1805-48), who worked together at the Unitarian South Place Chapel in Finsbury. This was one of the most progressive and free-thinking congregations of the time, whose preachers included women such as Anna Doyle (Wheeler), who spoke on the rights of women in 1829.⁴⁰ Sarah was a poet, and Eliza the musician, and Eliza led the music at the chapel and is remembered now chiefly for her part in the book produced jointly with the principal preacher of the chapel, William Fox, in the 1840s. For Fox's *Hymns and Anthems* Eliza composed 63 tunes and edited and arranged many more. Sarah contributed some hymn texts to the volume, and one of these, 'Nearer, my God, to thee' became extremely popular, though Eliza's original tune was eventually usurped by later musical settings. A Novello catalogue from 1852 lists the hymn tune 'St Agnes' by 'Miss S. D. Collett', almost certainly Sophia Dobson Collett who was another prominent campaigner for female rights associated with the Finsbury Chapel.



Returning to the Established Church, Margaret Lampen, organist of the church of St Probus and St Grace, Probus in Cornwall composed all the music for a volume of tunes and various liturgical items that was published in London in 1851 (see title-page opposite). Like Cecil, she was the daughter of the incumbent at the church. Her publication contains single settings of the Sanctus, Kyrie and Gospel Acclamation, thirty chants and twenty metrical tunes for the Psalms. The musical content of the volume reflects the mid-century fashion for simple, syllabic melodies, and the liturgical items maintain this style, since they were probably intended to be sung by all present.

In the final collection to be briefly mentioned here, we find both original tunes and liturgical items, plus the provision of organ interludes. Ann Mounsey (married name Bartholomew) and her sister Elizabeth are perhaps best remembered for their parts in the genesis and first performance of Mendelssohn's famous anthem *Hear my prayer*.⁴¹ In 1860 they jointly issued *Sacred Harmony* (see title-page below and examples in **Appendix B/v**). The Mounsey sisters

both held organist positions in the City of London, Elizabeth at St Vedast, Foster Lane, and Ann at St Peter's, Cornhill, and the volume is dedicated to their respective Rectors. The collection has 58 psalm and 23 hymn tunes, plus various other liturgical items. Most of the tunes are provided with two alternative organ interludes, nearly all of which are eight bars in length, though the absence of names makes it unclear whether these were written by Ann, Elizabeth or both of them. A number of original tunes are provided by the sisters, Ann providing four and Elizabeth two (one being an extended 'Charity Hymn for Schools'). Amongst the liturgical items are chants by both sisters, two settings of the Kyrie and a Gospel acclamation by Ann Mounsey, as well as an anthem-like

'Dismission'. Mary Hudson's tune 'St Olave' is also included, though listed simply as being by 'Hudson'. The volume also contains Richard Cecil's popular Introit *I will arise*, described as a 'Sentence for the commencement of Divine Service', though if Theophania had anything to do with the harmony and part-writing of the anthem as it appeared in her 1814 volume, this is not preserved here, since only the melody remains whilst the harmony is altered to suit changing tastes.

Geoffrey Webber
Cambridge, December 2020

Notes

1. Barger (Ashgate, 2007), Jackson (ClarNan Editions, [2011]), and for Sandemann, see this [link](#) to the relevant CPDL page. [\[return to text\]](#)

2. These have been reproduced in facsimile on the website of [The Royal College of Organists](#) with a Preface by Andrew McCrea and Frances Pond (2014), and have been edited by David Patrick (Fitzjohn Music Publications, [2015]) [\[return\]](#)
3. Edited by Rachel Webber (Church Music Society / Oxford University Press, 2020), from W. Gawler, *The Hymns and Psalms used at the Asylum or House of Refuge for Female Orphans* (1785). [\[return\]](#)
4. *Psalms and Hymns, for the use of the Chapel of the Asylum for Female Orphans. A new and enlarged edition* (1789). This includes the texts for ‘Lord of our life’ and ‘Teach me, O Lord’, both ascribed to ‘Mrs Maria Barthelemon’. Maria attended the chapel with her husband, the violinist and composer François Hippolyte Barthélemon, who also contributed to the music sung there. Maria is also often referred to by her former name, Polly Young. [\[return\]](#)
5. See Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church* (Cambridge University Press 1979), and Rachel Webber, ‘Performing Charity: The significance of charitable institutions as centres of opportunity for musical performance by girls in eighteenth-century London’ (MA diss., University of York, 2020). [\[return\]](#)
6. H. F. B. Compston, *The Magdalen hospital: the story of a great charity* (SPCK, 1917), p. 162. [\[return\]](#)
7. D. Dawe, *Organists of the City of London, 1666-1850* (Donavan Dawe, 1983), and [Women Organists in England 1750-1850: alphabetic by surname](#). [\[return\]](#)
8. Some confusion surrounds her authorship of some other tunes attributed to ‘Hudson’, since her father Robert was a prominent musician who also wrote hymn tunes, but there can be little doubt concerning the tune ‘St Olave’. [\[return\]](#)
9. The history of these chapels was complex, with their names often changing, and some were not formally consecrated. They held various hierarchical relationships with their parish churches, and Thomas Smith’s *A Topographical and Historical Account of the Parish of St. Mary-le-Bone* (1833) lists a total of 8 Chapels of Ease in the Marylebone Parish existing before the end of the eighteenth century. [\[return\]](#)
10. T. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 123. [\[return\]](#)
11. Josiah Bateman, *The Life of the Right Rev. Daniel Wilson, D. D., Late Lord Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of India* (J. Murray, 1861), p. 97. [\[return\]](#)
12. The list of ‘Printed Collections of music’ given by Nicholas Temperley in *The Music of the English Parish Church* (Cambridge University Press, 1979) includes Clarke’s volume as PC 304 (without naming her), indicating the second edition with [1795?] as the date, though this is certainly too early (p. 380). [\[return\]](#)
13. A digitised copy of the version that mentions 110 High St (surviving at the Princeton Theological Seminary Library) is available [here](#) on the IMSLP website. The other version in the British Library is available [here](#). For a history of the High St see the study from [University College London](#). [\[return\]](#)
14. On the early history of the Charity School see T. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-75. [\[return\]](#)
15. Although there is no mention of music in the short book *A Concise Account of the establishment ... and present state of the Charity School for ... the children of the industrious poor, in the parish of St. Mary-le-Bone ... Instituted, 1750* (1794), Law no. 18 of *The Laws of the Charity School for Girls of the Whole Parish of St Mary-le-bone* (1853) states that “That the girls shall be instructed im

Psalmody, such as is used at the Parish Church.” The timetable for Sunday has Church Morning and Afternoon, and “religious exercises”. [\[return\]](#)

16. J. Law, *A Sermon Preached in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, London: on Thursday, June 1, 1797: Being the Time of the Yearly Meeting of the Children Educated in the Charity-schools, in and about the Cities of London and Westminster*. Concerning other possible identifications in the Marylebone area, the 1841 census records list a Jane Clarke as an independent woman aged 70 residing at 12 Devonshire St, whilst the St Marylebone burial listings include a Jane Clarke who died aged 47 in 1819. At the time of writing I have not been able to check the surviving parish records of Marylebone Parish Church due to the Covid-19 pandemic. [\[return\]](#)

17. Digitised [here](#) by the University of Michigan. This first edition has not yet been included in Temperley’s [Hymn Tune Index](#) currently maintained at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. [\[return\]](#)

18. John Drinkall, ‘The life and interests of the Reverend Sir Richard Kaye, Bt., LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., an eighteenth century pluralist’ (PhD diss., University of Leicester, 1965) p. 91. [\[return\]](#)

19. The next largest similar collection I have seen is the earlier Bedford Chapel collection issued in 1777 which has just over 40 tunes. [\[return\]](#)

20. N. Temperley, *op. cit.*, p. 216. [\[return\]](#)

21. See *An Abridgement of the New Version of the Psalms....Charlotte St & Bedford Chapels* (1777) and *Select Psalms for the use of Portman-Chapel, near Portman Square* (1780). [\[return\]](#)

22. Details from the [British-History](#) website. [\[return\]](#)

23. See Ruth Wilson, *Anglican chant and Chanting in England, Scotland, and America 1660-1820* (Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 123, and for a contemporary example, Benjamin Jacob’s *National Psalmody* (c. 1817), p. 181. [\[return\]](#)

24. A Composer, *Observations on Psalmody* (1827), pp. 43-4. Thought to be by David Everard Ford, a congregational minister and composer. [\[return\]](#)

25. *The Music and Words of a select portion of Psalms and Hymns used in Portland Chapel* (1822), John Lord, the Younger., *A Selection of Psalm Tunes, Chants, &c. used at Christ Church, St Marylebone, arranged & harmonized for the organ or piano forte, by J. Lord, etc.* (c. 1833) [\[return\]](#)

26. Thomas Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 125. [\[return\]](#)

27. The anonymous article is in *The Musical Times*, Vol. 45, No. 731 (Jan. 1, 1904), pp. 28-30. [\[return\]](#)

28. Scan from the [Österreichische Nationalbibliothek](#). [\[return\]](#)

29. See the Introduction by Andrew McCrea and Frances Pond to Cecil’s *Voluntaries* on the [RCO website](#). A digitised copy of her Psalm and Hymn tune collection of 1814 is available via the British Library [here](#). [\[return\]](#)

30. See Riley, *op.cit.*, pp.30-4 and [D. E. Ford], *Observations on Psalmody* (1827), p. 79 and p. 89. [\[return\]](#)

31. pp. 46-8. For more on Cole see Sally Drage, ‘William Cole’s View of Modern Psalmody’, Chapter 12 in *Music and Performance Culture in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Temperley*, ed. Bennett Zon (Routledge, 2016). [\[return\]](#)

32. I am grateful to Gillian Ward Russell for supplying information about Russell’s playing at the Foundling Hospital. Theophania Cecil is almost certainly the ‘Miss Cecil’ listed in the subscribers to the first set of *Voluntaries* issued by William Russell in 1810. The following

transcription of his Interlude on 'Austria' comes from the article in *The Musical Times* cited in note 27. [\[return\]](#)

33. William Tattersall, *Improved Psalmody* (1794), p. 14. [\[return\]](#)

34. See for example, Stephen S. Stratton, 'Woman in Relation to Musical Art', *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, 9th Sess. (1882 - 1883), pp. 115-146. [\[return\]](#)

35. A. Elson, *Woman's Work in Music* (1903), p. 66. [\[return\]](#)

36. *The Church of England Quarterly Review*, Volume 9, William Pickering, 1840, p. 467, and *British Librarian, Or Book-collectors Guide* (1842) items 167 (column 432) and 215 (column 439). [\[return\]](#)

37. N. Temperley, 'The Lock Hospital Chapel and its Music', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 118 (1993), pp. 44-72. [\[return\]](#)

38. No. 142 in *Daniel Read, Musica Ecclesiae: Part 2* (A&R editions, 2004) edited by Karl Kroeger & Marie Kroeger. [\[return\]](#)

39. In Scotland, the composer Mrs Isabella Gibson (1786-1838) of the (Presbyterian) Church of Scotland features in three publications: *Sacred Harmony* ed. A. Thomson (1820) for St George's Church, Edinburgh, vol. 6 of Steven's *Church Music* ed. Turnbull (1833), and in William Mitchison's *Selection of Sacred Music* (from c. 1830). In Ireland, the collection *Melodia Sacra* by David Weyman of St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin (1812 ff) includes tunes by Mrs Cuthbert, Mrs Horne and Mrs Dawson. [\[return\]](#)

40. See Kate Bowan, 'A Music Presence among Liberal Thinkers: Eliza Flower and Her Circle, 1832-45' in Sarah Collins ed., *Music and Victorian Liberalism: Composing the Liberal Subject* (Cambridge University Press, 2019), pp. 83-107. [\[return\]](#)

41. See the account by Silas Wollston [here](#). [\[return\]](#)