

Music by women composers performed at St George's Chapel, Windsor, and Canterbury Cathedral during the 19th century

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See separate APPENDIX for Transcriptions & Reconstructions

As our knowledge gradually increases regarding the contribution made by women composers to Anglican church music in the 19th century, two major ecclesiastical institutions appear to have been at the forefront of this development: St George's Chapel, Windsor, and Canterbury Cathedral. The women of two closely related Staffordshire families, the Bagots of Blithfield Hall (famous for a breed of goat) and the Sneyds of Keele Hall, play a central role in this story, with the prominent cleric Rev. Richard Bagot, D.D. playing his part, moving from being a Canon at Windsor to becoming Dean of Canterbury Cathedral in 1827.



The Bagot family coat of arms

The two main sources of evidence available are the surviving manuscripts at the two institutions, and published books of anthem texts. In addition, we learn about one piece associated with Canterbury Cathedral, by Clara Macirone, due not to its presence in the archives but through an inscription on the cover of the anthem when it was published in 1890. The earliest relevant piece is the verse anthem *If we believe that Jesus died* by 'Lady Bagot', copied into manuscripts at St George's, Windsor in December 1808, and recently published by Oxford University Press for the Church Music Society (RS152). A working list of women composers whose music has so far been identified as being performed at Windsor and Canterbury in the period is as follows:

St George's Chapel, Windsor

Lady Bagot
Mrs Canning
Mrs Musgrave

Canterbury Cathedral

Lady Bagot
Lady Eleanor Bagot

Miss E. J. Hirst
Miss A. M. Jarrett
Clara Macirone
Charlotte A. Sneyd

At Windsor, two of our composers were married to Canons: 'Mrs Canning' can be identified as Mary Jane Canning, née Birch (1779-1856), and 'Mrs Musgrave' as Catherine Musgrave, née Lowther (1792-1867). Mary Jane Canning is commemorated in a monument erected primarily to her husband which can be found in the Rutland Chapel. She was a local girl who grew up in Sophia Lodge, close to Windsor (now the headquarters of Legoland). Catherine Musgrave was the daughter of Colonel James Lowther, a Tory MP. Their music comprises short liturgical items for the service of Holy Communion: settings of the Kyrie with Ten Commandments, and the Sanctus. The published catalogue of the music manuscripts by Clifford Mould, *The musical manuscripts of St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle: a descriptive catalogue* (Windsor, 1973), reveals the following items:

Mrs Canning:	<i>Kyrie / Commandments in E flat</i> <i>Sanctus in E</i>
Mrs Musgrave:	<i>Kyrie / Commandments in B flat</i> <i>Sanctus in B flat</i>

None of these pieces survive in complete form; the music is found only in some individual partbooks and organ scores, but most of them can be reconstructed with a fair degree of confidence. The two settings by Musgrave were clearly intended as a pair in the same key and were copied into the manuscripts in 1839/40.

The settings by Canning contain additional mysteries, since both appear to be arrangements. The music may have started life as something entirely different, or perhaps have been presented in a basic melody and bass format, which was then made suitable for performance in chapel. Two additional people were involved: the organ score of the *Kyrie in E flat* is headed "Called Mrs Cannings'" and "arranged by Mr W Jarman", whilst that of the *Sanctus in E* is headed "arranged H. Skeats". William Jarman was a lay-clerk in the choir who died in 1835 or 1836, whilst Highmore Skeats was Organist 1830-35, so the music by Canning may be dated to before 1835/6. The *Sanctus in E* also has a pencil inscription which curiously reads: "An Air call'd M^{rs} W^m Cannings Commandments", perhaps suggesting the existence of a lost companion setting of the *Kyrie / Commandments in E*. Entered in the catalogue under Jarman there is a *Kyrie / Commandments in E* which bears the inscription "Arranged by Mr Jarman", so it seems possible that this is in fact the setting referred to as "An Air...", i.e. the companion *Kyrie / Commandments in E* to the *Sanctus in E* by Mrs Canning (even though this movement is arranged by Skeats). Unfortunately, only the alto part survives of this setting. The likely full picture of the fragments associated with Canning is therefore as follows:

Mrs Canning:	<i>Kyrie / Commandments in E flat</i>	arr. Jarman
	<i>Sanctus in E</i>	arr. Skeats
	<i>Kyrie / Commandments in E</i>	arr. Jarman

The Musgrave movements are concise and plain in style, like many of the settings of these movements that survive from around this time, but the Canning movements show more imagination, with an alternation of full and verse sections, a divided treble line and idiomatic keyboard part. (See the Appendix for transcriptions and reconstructions of all these short works by Canning and Musgrave.)

By contrast with these brief Communion settings, the verse anthem attributed to 'Lady Bagot' is on a much more impressive scale. The Windsor catalogue states that the composer is Harriet Bagot, wife of Rev. Richard Bagot. About Harriet we know very little, though her mother was Lady Frances Villiers, an avid harpist and lover of musical soirées and the opera, with close connections to the royal court (she was a mistress of George, Prince of Wales, later George IV). But her husband Richard only became a Canon at Windsor in 1822, long after the anthem by 'Lady Bagot' was copied there. More crucially, the description 'Lady Bagot' cannot properly be applied to her, since the term 'Lady Bagot' can only be applied to the wife of Lord Bagot. The description 'Lady' can indeed be applied to her, but only with her Christian name inserted, i.e. Lady Harriet Bagot, as occurs in the published history of the family written by her uncle, William, the 2nd Baron Bagot in 1824 (*Memorials of the Bagot family*). The anthem is included in William Marshall's *A Collection of Anthems used in the Cathedral and Collegiate Churches of England and Wales* (1840), and whilst 'Lady Bagot' appears under the anthem text itself, the separate list of composers included at the start of the volume describes her as 'The Right Hon. the LADY BAGOT', where she appears alongside her niece Lady Charlotte Sneyd (p. xii):

**THOMAS ATTWOOD, Organist of St. Paul's Cathedral, and
Composer to King George IV., died 1838, aged 73.
RICHARD EDGECUMBE, Earl of Mount Edgumbe.
LORD ABINGDON.
The Right Hon. the LADY BAGOT.
LADY CHARLOTTE SNEYD.
CHARLES WESLEY, Esq., Marylebone.**

Even more clearly, this description cannot refer to Harriet. The anthem also survives at Canterbury Cathedral, probably as a result of Richard Bagot's move there in 1827, but here it is also simply ascribed to 'Lady Bagot'. A third source exists as part of the Sneyd family papers now held at Keele University, but here there is no composer indicated at all. We know from the 1808 copy of the anthem at Windsor that the piece was composed in or before that year, but between 1760 and 1808 there were three women who were called 'Lady Bagot':

- a) Elizabeth Louisa Bagot (née St John, c.1744-1820), wife of William, 1st Baron Bagot
- b) Emily Bagot (née Fitzroy, 1770-1800), first wife of William, 2nd Baron Bagot
- c) Louisa Bagot (née Legge, 1787-1816), second wife of William, 2nd Baron Bagot

The First Baron Bagot died in 1798, and so Elizabeth Louisa then became the Dowager Lady Bagot until her death in 1820. The Second Baron Bagot married Emily Fitzroy in 1799, but she died in 1800 and so was Lady Bagot for only a few months; the Second Baron then married Louisa Legge in 1807, just a year before the piece was copied at Windsor. All these women

lived in Staffordshire (or in their London residences), and so it seems likely that a particular connection with Windsor was responsible for the copying of the anthem in 1808. In search of circumstantial evidence that may help identify the composer the field is complex since the Bagot family held various links with Windsor Castle; Elizabeth Louisa Bagot's daughter Louisa Bagot (1764-1834) – not to be confused with c) above – married Lt-Col. Walter Sneyd in 1786. Walter (whose father had married a member of the Bagot family) had a military career and was in charge of the Staffordshire Militia that was stationed at Windsor Castle for an extended period around the turn of the 19th century. But the smoking gun appears to be the fact that Louisa Bagot, second wife of the 2nd Baron, can be linked directly to the Chapel: her uncle Edward Legge was first Canon and then crucially Dean of St George's Chapel from 1805. (Less significantly perhaps, her father George Legge, the Third Earl of Dartmouth, was made a Knight of the Garter, also in 1805.) Unless further evidence appears to prove otherwise, it seems most likely that the composer was Louisa Bagot (née Legge), aged only around 20 when the anthem was copied at Windsor, and who died at the age of only 29 in 1816.

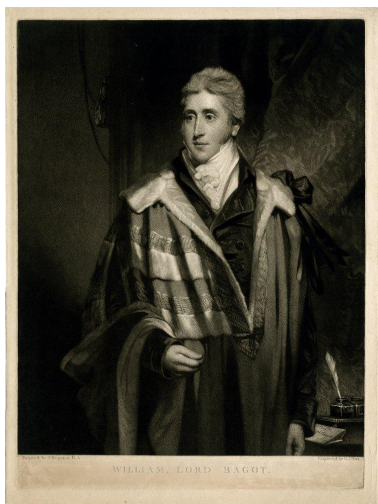
A fine portrait of her survives by William Owen, presumably now in private hands:



Louisa Bagot (née Legge), 1787-1816

[Note: this image is found on several online auction sites and may be subject to copyright]

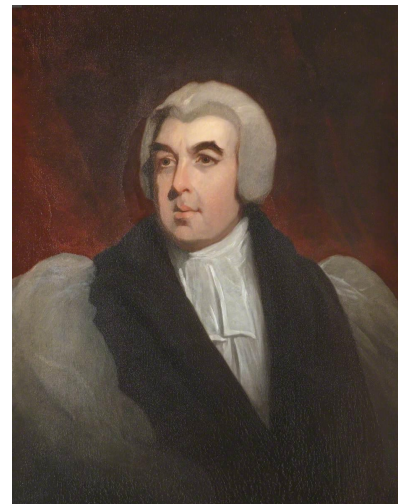
These three portraits contain Louisa Bagot's husband, father and uncle:



William, the 2nd Baron Bagot



George Legge
3rd Earl of Dartmouth



Edward Legge
Dean of Windsor

[Note: images taken from Wikipedia, in the public domain]

In the following summary of connections between the Legge, Bagot and Sneyd families, the composers are shown in red:

William the 1st Baron Bagot (1728-98) was the son of Walter Bagot and Barbara Legge, whose father was William Legge, First Earl of Dartmouth

William the 1st Baron Bagot *married* Elizabeth Louisa St John (1744-1820)
Their children included:

a) William the 2nd Baron Bagot (1773-1856),

Married in 1799 Emily Fitzroy, who died in 1800

Married in 1807 **Louisa Legge**, became **Louisa Bagot** (1787-1816), whose father was George Legge (1755-1810), the 3rd Earl of Dartmouth; his brother was Edward Legge, Dean of Windsor from 1805.

Their children included **Eleanor Bagot** (1814-96)

b) Rev. Richard Bagot (1782-1854), Canon of Windsor, Dean of Canterbury etc.

c) Louisa Bagot (1764-1834; not the composer)

Married in 1786 Walter Sneyd (son of Ralph Sneyd and Barbara Bagot, whose father was Walter the 5th Baronet Bagot, 1707-67)

Their children included **Charlotte Augusta Sneyd** (1800-82)

Very little information appears to survive about Louisa, though her fine dress sense can be gleaned from reports of her attendance at a royal birthday event in 1807, where both Lady Bagot (Louisa) and a previous Lady Bagot, now 'The Dowager Lady Bagot' (i.e. the wife of the 1st Baron Bagot), are mentioned:

train of pea green surstet, ornamented with silver and point lace.

Lady Mosley.—A splendid dress of white and silver, superbly ornamented and embroidered; the form of the draperies were in the Grecian style, looped up with a rich cord and tassels, train to correspond, richly ornamented with diamonds; head-dress, beautiful plume of ostrich feathers, magnificent diamonds, and point lace.

Dowager Lady Bagot.—A superb dress of lilac, richly embroidered in silver.

Right Hon. Lady Mary Lennox.—A petti-

Lady C Wynn Belasyse.—A blue crape petticoat, elegantly ornamented with white fancy flowers; train blue crape.

Lady Bagot.—A most superb and elegant white dress, richly embroidered with silver in wreaths of oak, with a profusion of diamonds and feathers.

Lady Fluyder.—A white crape petticoat and draperies, with oak border in silver; train, lilac tissue; head-dress, feathers and diamonds.

Lady Imhoff.—A silver gauze petticoat, richly trimmed; lilac train; head-dress, feathers and diamonds.

La Belle Assemblée, vol. 2 (1807), p. 333

More interestingly, a brief character sketch appears within the published letters of Harriet, Countess Granville, who stayed at Blithfield Hall in 1811:

Lady Bagot is a sensible, delightful person, more reserved than shy, and silent from habit, as I understand Lord Dartmouth never liked his children to join in general conversation. Her countenance is very intelligent and her tone of voice particularly pleasing. In short, I am much charmed with her.

Letters of Harriet, Countess Granville, 1810-1845, ed. F. Leveson Gower, vol. 1 (1894), p. 31



Blithfield Hall, painting by John Buckler, John Chessell Buckler - Yale Center for British Art, Public Domain

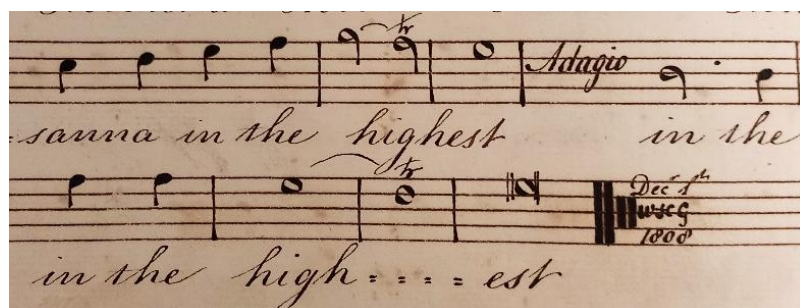
The Sneyd papers contain a very moving tribute to her on her death, aged 29, from typhoid fever in 1816, copied twice by hand, by Ralph Sneyd, her nephew. It waxes lyrical about her personal qualities but sadly says nothing about any artistic accomplishments, and a brief reference to her intellect offers no help:

She had a noble sincerity...[-] Her temper, naturally mild, cheerful and amiable, was at all times under the most exact control... [-] Religion guided every action of her life, and regulated every feeling of her mind, and it was that religion which gave her heart its innocent gaiety, and her mind its placid sweetness... [-] In intellectual endowment she may have been surpassed by some (though equalled by very few within my

knowledge) but in the habitual exercise of every virtue...I believe her to have been unrivaled.

Sneyd Papers, University of Keele, ref. GB 172 S: 2975

Ralph grew up at Windsor Castle since his father Walter commanded the Staffordshire regiment that served as the guards at Windsor at this time. When Louisa's anthem was first sung at St George's in 1808 or perhaps 1809 (one manuscript is dated December 1808), it is likely that her aunt, also called Louisa Bagot before she married Walter to become Louisa Sneyd, and other Sneyd family members such as Walter, Ralph and the young Charlotte Augusta (b. 1800) attended, plus of course her uncle the Dean, Edward Legge, and perhaps with her father in attendance as a Knight of St George.



1808 Date in Windsor MS 84 (p. 72) signed by copyist W. H. Gray

Notwithstanding Louisa's close family ties with Windsor, it was the Organist at St George's who was responsible for the performance of a musical composition by the young Lady Bagot, quite possibly the first composition by a woman ever performed in the Chapel. In 1808 this was William Sexton (1762-1824), a local boy who had been a chorister before becoming Organist, Master of the Choristers and Succentor. The choir did not have a particularly strong reputation at this time; on all important royal occasions forces were mustered from the other London royal establishments. When the young George Elvey was appointed Organist in 1835 he was of the opinion that he had much work to do. His entertaining memoirs, written by his wife and published in 1894, recall that he inherited eleven aged layclerks in 1835, only four of whom could sing; one died shortly afterwards and another was arrested for financial irregularities, leaving him with no altos or tenors. The Dean used to ask for *Deliver us, O Lord*, presumably the short anthem by Adrian Batten, on days when he was planning on going out for a ride. Elvey also learnt of an anecdote concerning the organist before Sexton, Theodore Aylward, who died in 1801:

Dr Aylward, on one occasion, having appointed the anthem, the choir sent word up that they were unable to sing it, because Mr. ____ had a cold. The Doctor returned answer that 'they could do as they liked about singing it, but he intended to play it'.

Lady Elvey, Life and reminiscences of George J. Elvey (London, 1894), p. 37.

Perhaps the layclerks were closer to their prime in 1808 when Sexton performed Lady Bagot's anthem.

There is evidence that the anthem remained in the repertoire at Windsor for some years after it was composed, since it is listed in the *Musical Gazette* as having been performed in St

George’s on Easter Day in April 1857, some thirty years after Louisa’s brother-in-law Richard Bagot left Windsor:

CHORAL SERVICES		
<i>On April 12, being Easter Sunday.</i>		
CHAPEL ROYAL, ST. JAMES'S.		
CHANT.	SERVICE.	ANTHEM.
<i>M.</i> —Grand Chant, Humphreys.	Nares in C.	Hallelujah Chorus. Handel.
<i>E.</i> —Crotch in E.	Nares in C.	If we believe. Boyce.
EASTER MONDAY.		
<i>M.</i> —Dupuis in D.	Arnold in F.	I have set God. Goldwin.
EASTER TUESDAY.		
<i>M.</i> —R. Cooke in G.	Rogers in D.	If we believe. Goss.
ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL ROYAL, WINDSOR.		
<i>M.</i> —Tallis and Humphreys.	Boyce in C.	I have set God. Goldwin.
<i>E.</i> —Elvey in F.	King in C.	If we believe. Lady Bagot.

Musical Gazette, vol. 2/16, p .179

The anthem can be seen here alongside other settings of the same Thessalonians text by Boyce and more recently by John Goss sung at the Chapel Royal at St James’s Palace. (The setting by Goss was composed for the state funeral of the Duke of Wellington.) Louisa’s younger sister Charlotte Legge married Rev. George Neville-Grenville who in 1846 himself became Dean of Windsor, so performances of the anthem around the middle of the century, long after Louisa’s untimely death, may also have been heard by close family members.

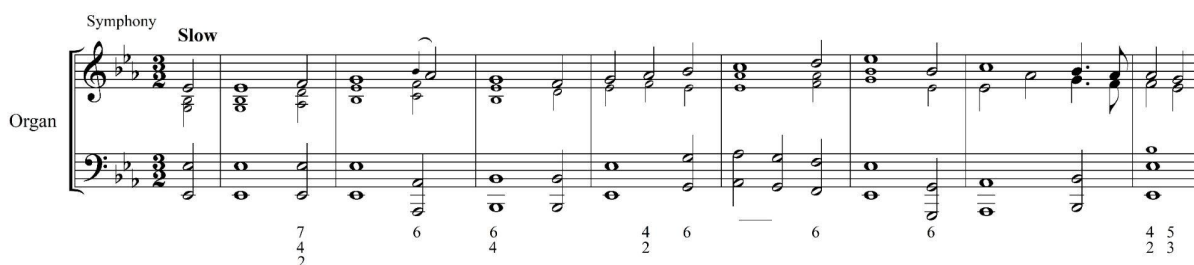
The complete survival of Louisa Bagot’s anthem rests on some good fortune: the Alto and Tenor parts are missing at Windsor, but these can be found at Canterbury. Moreover, the Keele score, probably copied by Charlotte Sneyd, has a slightly fuller rendition of the organ part. (For full details, see the published edition.) Whilst Richard Bagot may well have brought about the performance of Louisa’s composition at Canterbury after his move there in 1827, it should also be noted that Highmore Skeats Senior, Organist at Canterbury from 1803-31, may have known of the piece through his son, Highmore Skeats Junior, Organist at Windsor from 1830-35.

Like most extended anthems of the period, the work consists of several sections in contrasting styles: it comprises a solo trio, a bass recitative, a solo quartet, another bass recitative, a bass aria and finally a rousing chorus:

Louisa Bagot, <i>If we believe that Jesus died</i>			
Vocal trio	‘If we believe that Jesus died’	3/2; Slow	E flat major
Bass recitative	‘For the Lord himself’	4/4	B flat major
Vocal quartet	‘And the dead in Christ’ (repeated)	3/2; Largo	B flat major
Bass recitative	‘And the lamb, which is in the midst’	4/4	B flat major
Bass solo	‘And God shall wipe away all tears’	3/4; Larghetto	E flat major
Chorus	‘Hosanna to the Son of David’	4/4; Moderato	E flat major

Unlike most of the anthem texts of the time which set single texts, Louisa's anthem combines verses from the First Letter to the Thessalonians with verses from the Book of Revelation and the Gospel according to St Mark. William Boyce's anthem *If we believe that Jesus died*, from his published collection *Fifteen Anthems...* (1780) contains only verses from Thessalonians. Bagot's compilation of texts concerns the resurrection of the dead and also the afterlife ('And God shall wipe away all tears'), and concludes with the coming of the Messiah. Such themes might be seen as fitting for the liturgical seasons of Easter and Advent, but they would also fit well at a funeral or memorial service, though there is no obvious close member of the Bagot family who died in the period preceding 1808.

The first and last movements both begin with a brief introductory 'symphony' for the organ. The opening presents the main melody of the first vocal section, with the left hand playing in octaves intended for the low-compass manuals of organs of the period:



The vocal trio proceeds elegantly from this melody, with carefully placed D flats providing harmonic colour. The Windsor manuscripts have numerous performance indications suggesting a highly expressive manner of delivery with much use of appoggiaturas and trills. The first recitative is notably dramatic, with the utterances of the bass soloist punctuated by illustrative organ writing inspired by 'the trump of God' and 'the voice of the Archangel' (marked *dolce* with ornaments). Pencil changes evident in the manuscripts suggest that the rhythm of the 'Hosanna' phrases in the final SSATB chorus was changed at some point, with the quasi-dotted rhythm being replaced with a more even rhythm, perhaps due to an increase in tempo from the 'Moderato' given in ink, though it is not clear when the changes were implemented or by whom (see image below). The Canterbury manuscripts also have the same pencilled alterations in the final chorus, plus some cuts in the earlier movements.



Windsor MS 84 (p. 71): chorus indication removed and quaver tails scratched out

Solo

Be - ne - dic - tus qui ve - nit

For

Ho - fanna Ho -

Organo

Ho - fanna

For

Ho - fanna

Tutti for

in No - mine Do - mi - ni Ho -

fanna Ho - fanna Ho -

Ho - fanna Ho - fanna Ho - fanna

For

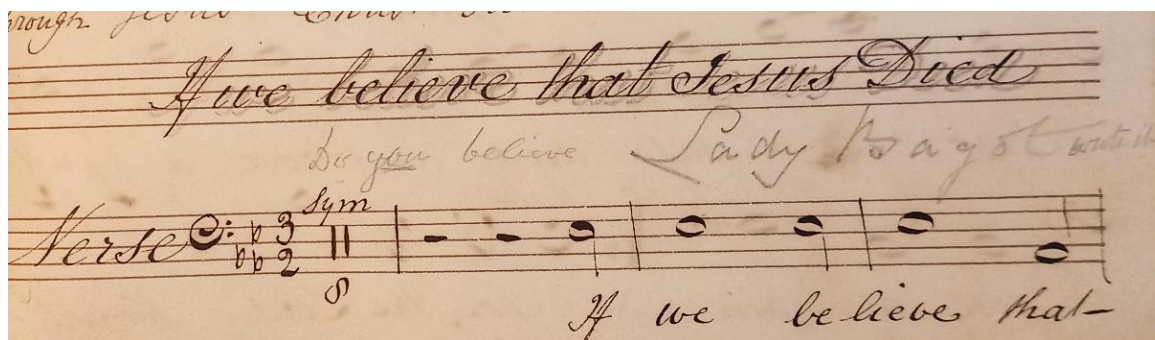
6/4

Samuel Webbe, Mass No. 5 in F (*Collection of Masses*, 1792)

[illegible]

Rev. Richard Bagot served as Dean of Canterbury Cathedral from 1827-1845. The first edition of the published texts entitled *A Collection of Anthems as performed in the Cathedral and Metropolitan Church of Canterbury* appeared in 1834, and this includes the anthem (assigned, as usual, to 'Lady Bagot'), so it seems likely that the piece was first copied and sung there in the period 1827-34. The pencilled alterations in the manuscripts suggest it may well have remained in the repertoire there for some years, as it had a Windsor. A comment found in the bass part-book (MS 68) suggests that at least one singer seems to have doubted that the piece

was written by a woman composer, though the level of humour in the remark is hard to gauge: the title *If we believe that Jesus died* is supplemented by 'Do you believe Lady Bagot wrote it[?]', as shown here:



Canterbury, MS 68 (Bass partbook)

During her marriage of just under ten years to William, the Second Baron Bagot, Louisa gave birth to six children, three boys and three girls, and the youngest of the three girls was Eleanor Bagot (1814-1896). After her brother-in-law Richard's move from Windsor to Canterbury, it seems that he may have been the instigator of the performance there not only of Louisa's *If we believe that Jesus died* but also the anthem *O Lord, rebuke me not*, by Louisa's daughter Eleanor (see separate Appendix for a full transcription/reconstruction).

Eleanor Bagot, *O Lord, rebuke me not*

Treble solo	'O Lord, rebuke me not'	3/4; Andante	B flat major
Treble duet (music repeated)			
Chorus	'Turn thee, O Lord, and deliver'	2/2; Allegro	G major
	concluding with organ 'Symphony'		
Treble solo	'Turn thee, O Lord...'	più Lento	A major
Chorus	'Turn thee...' first part repeated 'piano'		G major

The treble parts of the anthem are missing but can be reconstructed from the organ score. The chief musical interest in the piece lies in the composer's approach to structure and harmony. She ends the opening section in G minor, then changes directly into the major before beginning the chorus. The chorus ends in A minor, reinforced by the organ symphony, and then she deploys the same trick of proceeding straight into the major, but this is cut short after only a few bars by a sudden shift back to G major for the repeat of the first half of the chorus, now softer and slower. The piece is not included in the 1845 edition of the *Collection of Anthems as performed in the Cathedral...of Canterbury*, so may have been composed after this date.

The copy of Louisa Bagot's *If we believe that Jesus died* that survives among the Sneyd family papers at Keele University was made by Eleanor Bagot's cousin, Louisa Bagot's niece, the remarkable Charlotte August Sneyd (1800-1882), who may have heard the earliest performances of *If we believe that Jesus died* at Windsor, where she grew up. Charlotte was perhaps the most impressive female member of the Sneyd-Bagot dynasty, who was a talented painter and translator as well as composer. A photograph of her survives from 1861 made for a 'carte de visite':



Charlotte Augusta Sneyd, aged 61. Image included as part of an introduction to Charlotte Sneyd available [here](#) on the website of Keele University.

Probably inspired by her aunt Louisa's musical prowess, she sent a composition of her own in 1823 to William Crotch, first Principal of the Royal Academy of Music and Professor of Music at the University of Oxford, whose detailed letter of reply also survives in the Sneyd papers. Two anthems by her survive at Canterbury: *O God, the protector*, and the extended anthem *Ye that fear the Lord* (both included in the Appendix).

O God, the protector, setting the Collect for the Fourth Sunday after Trinity, contains a good balance of solo, verse and tutti writing, some strong melodic lines, and an opening phrase that benefits from a powerful *appoggiatura* on the word 'protector'. The more extended anthem *Ye that fear the Lord* (headed 'Anthem from the 115th Psalm') is closer to the scale of achievement attained by Louisa Bagot in *If we believe that Jesus died*.

Charlotte Sneyd, *Ye that fear the Lord*

Chorus	'Ye that fear the Lord'	3/2; Andante	B flat major
Soprano solo	'Ye are the blessed of the Lord' ending with 'Larghetto'	4/4; Andante moderato	B flat major
Chorus	'All the whole heavens'	3/2; Andante	F major
Bass solo	'The dead praise not thee'	4/4; Largo	D minor
Chorus	'But we will praise the Lord' (music largely repeated from the opening)	3/2 'Primo tempo'	B flat major

The anthem contains a variety of styles, with a mixture of post-Handelian writing with baroque sequences and more modern idioms, and a notable symmetry is granted by the repeat of the music of the opening chorus at the end. The final phrase of the opening chorus contains a strong echo of George Smart's popular hymn 'Wiltshire', dating from the late 18th century (see bars 5-8). It is notable that the technically demanding first solo is marked 'soprano' rather than treble, perhaps suggesting the piece was not composed originally with the Canterbury Cathedral choir in mind, though the 1845 book of anthem texts marks the section as 'treble'.

The shorter anthem *O God, the protector* appears in the 1834 first edition of Canterbury anthem texts, where it is placed alongside Lady Bagot's *If we believe that Jesus died* (pp. 101-2), but the longer work *Ye that fear the Lord* first appears in the Appendix to the 1845 edition, suggesting it was added to the repertoire between 1834 and 1845.

Turning our attention away from the Bagot-Sneyd dynasty, we find music by two further female composers copied into the music manuscripts at Canterbury during the mid-to-late-19th century: Miss E. J. Hirst and Miss A. M. Jarrett. No trace of the composer E. J. Hirst has yet been found beyond these pieces at Canterbury, so it seems likely that she was a local resident. Both anthems are short and straightforward, though with some moments of harmonic colour, with a slowing down of music note values towards the end (see Appendix). *Almighty and everlasting God* is a setting of the Collect for the Second Sunday after Epiphany (as famously set by Orlando Gibbons) moving from D minor to D major. No organ part survives though it is likely to have simply doubled the voices, and two of the vocal part-books mention 'organ' twice as shown during vocal rests. The organ part does survive for *Come unto me*, which fortunately allows a reconstruction of the missing treble part. (The text of this anthem is added by hand at the end of the copy of the Canterbury Anthem book of 1845 available via Google Books; the name is given here as "Miss Hurst" and the text is described as being from Matthew Chapter 6 instead of 11.)

'Miss A. M. Jarrett' would appear to be Anna Mary Jarrett (b. 1836), as mentioned in a short description of the music manuscripts at Canterbury Cathedral by Alison Ray written in 2021, kept in the Cathedral library. Anna Jarrett was a noted organist and educator working near Bath. Her sister Eliza arranged for her notes on 'Devotional Organ Playing' to be published posthumously in *The Organist & Choirmaster*, volume 3, 1895 (p. 2).

HINTS TO VILLAGE ORGANISTS.

The Editors of *The Organist and Choirmaster* have been favoured by Miss Jarrett with a manuscript by her late sister Miss A. M. Jarrett, of Camerton Court, near Bath, on "Devotional Organ Playing," which they are pleased to be able to place before their readers.

Miss A. M. Jarrett was well known, more especially in the West of England, as an accomplished Organist and Church Composer. Her hints and suggestions cover the following ground in a practical and useful manner, and we feel sure they will be much appreciated by a large number of our readers :

Designed for amateur organists she states modestly that the notes were “not meant for the use of Professional Organists, who probably know far more about the subject than the writer”. She did, however, gain national recognition when Novello & Co. decided to publish her setting of the *Communion Service in F* in 1893. One anonymous reviewer was rather dismissive of it, though noted its liturgical suitability:

We are quite sure that in putting forth *The Office of Holy Communion*, by A. M. Jarrett (Novello), the composer was actuated by the best intentions, but the music should have been previously submitted to some competent musician. The harmonies throughout need revision, – they are much too restless, – and in the Creed and Gloria in Excelsis it is often difficult to determine the tonality. Nevertheless, the music is quite devotional and reverent in character, and may deservedly find a place in many a choir.

The Newberry House Magazine - Volume 2, 1893, p. 254

Her two anthems that survive at Canterbury are even more modest in scope than those by E. J. Hirst (see Appendix). *O tarry thou the Lord's leisure* (setting Psalm 27, v. 16) gains length by being performed first as a verse and then tutti, and a suitably slow rendition of *Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace* achieves the “1.40” noted at the end of the piece, presumably a timing. In this piece the music is marred not so much by harmonic problems as clumsy word-setting. An advertisement in *The Musical Times* (October 1, 1858, p. 326) describes the works as Introits, noting that they are available to order from Miss Jarrett at Sherborne House near Warwick, this being where her sister lived:

NEW INTROITS — Two for Full Choir,—“Thou wilt keep him,” and “O tarry thou,”—sent to any direction, on the receipt of 1s. 6d. for one, or 3s. for the two. Address, Miss JARRETT, Sherborne House, near Warwick.

It seems likely that these pieces were sung as Introits at Canterbury, though another possible function may be gleaned from a publication of ‘short anthems’ collected by William Longhurst whilst he was Assistant Organist in 1845, that were intended to be sung ‘before the Litany’. The collection includes familiar short works such as Farrant’s *Hide not thou thy face* and Creighton’s *I will arise*.

Looking beyond the evidence provided by the surviving music books at Canterbury itself, one published anthem of considerable length reveals a connection with the Cathedral since the title page proclaims that the piece was ‘Performed at Canterbury Cathedral and dedicated to Dr Longhurst’. This is the verse anthem *By the waters of Babylon* by ‘C. A. Macirone’, i.e. Clara Angela Macirone (1821-95), issued by Novello, Ewer & Co. in 1890. ‘Dr Longhurst’ refers to William Henry Longhurst who was Organist at the Cathedral from 1873 till 1898.



Watercolour painting of C. A. Macirone by her sister Emily Macirone, held by the Royal Academy of Music

Macirone was one of the many professional women musicians educated at the Royal Academy of Music following its foundation in 1822, thus giving for the first time the possibility of professional work to women musicians, albeit in only certain aspects of the profession, and leading to the founding in 1839 of the Royal Society of Female Musicians. The significant contribution now being made by women composers, singers and instrumentalists to the musical life of the nation came to be increasingly recognised; a notable debate led by Stephen Stratton entitled 'Woman in Relation to Musical Art' was held at the Musical Association in May 1883, and many women were included in Brown & Stratton's *British Musical Biography* published in 1897 (though not Bagot or Sneyd). Here is the entry on Clara Macirone:

Macirone, Clara Angela, composer, pianist, and teacher, born in London, in 1821. Descended from an ancient and noble Roman family. Her grandfather, who settled in England, served in the American war of Independence. Her father was a skilled, amateur tenor singer, and her mother a cultivated pianist, pupil of Charles Neate. Her musical talent developed early with such home surroundings, and her sister (who died in 1888) became a water-colour painter of note. Miss Macirone entered the R.A.M. in 1839, studying under Cipriani Potter, W. H. Holmes, Charles Lucas, and others. On leaving, in 1842, she received a testimonial from the committee, a circumstance quite unique. She was made a professor of the pf. there, and elected an Associate of the Philharmonic Society, and F.R.A.M. Her first concert was given in the Hanover Square Rooms, June 26, 1846, when Pischek sang a Benedictus of her composition. This work, later, received praise from Mendelssohn. The concerts were continued until 1864, and then her chief work was in teaching and composing. She was head music mistress at Aske's School for Girls, Hatcham, 1872-8; and at the Church of England High School for Girls, Baker Street, London, she systematised the

music teaching with the best results. The last few years have been passed in comparative retirement. In addition to composition, she has contributed many articles to the Girls Own Paper, the Argosy, and other periodicals.

WORKS. Te Deum and Jubilate, sung at Hanover Chapel, the first service by a woman ever used in the Church; Anthem, By the waters of Babylon, sung at Canterbury, Ely, and other cathedrals, etc. Sacred songs, and duets....

The opening of the summary work list is notable first for mentioning a Te Deum & Jubilate (presumably now lost) performed in the Hanover Chapel in Regent Street (which no longer exists), though it is not entirely clear whether the claim refers to this being the first service being performed at this specific place or in the wider Church as a whole, and second for mentioning that the verse anthem was sung not just at Canterbury but at “Ely, and other cathedrals etc.”.

Clara Macirone, *By the waters of Babylon*

Chorus	‘By the waters’	6/4	D minor
Verse Quartet	‘If I forget thee, O Jerusalem’ (with optional cut or complete omission)	4/4; più allegro	D major
Verse repeat Full	‘If I forget thee, O Jerusalem’	3/4; più allegro	D major

Macirone’s anthem is written in a fluent style with considerable textural contrast (see Appendix). The taunting chant ‘Sing us one of the Songs of Sion’ is aptly set for a single voice part, first basses, then altos, and the section ends with an imperfect cadence setting up the second half of the anthem in the tonic major. The 4/4 section is marked as optional, and there is a cut offered within it, since the text is largely the same in this and the final section in 3/4 (verses 5 and 6 in the Psalm). The D major material underlines the emphatic determination of the Israelites not to forget Jerusalem, providing an effective contrast of moods.

Lady Bagot’s anthem copied at Windsor in 1808 is an extremely early example of music by a woman composer being performed in a major ecclesiastical institution, made possible through the social importance and influence of the closely related Bagot, Sneyd and Legge families. From around the 1830s onwards, more women composers of more diverse origins, often with professional musical training at the Royal Academy of Music, were able to hear their music performed in the established church. Although the liturgical music by Louisa & Eleanor Bagot, Charlotte Sneyd and the wives of the Windsor canons remained in manuscript, towards the end of the nineteenth century, several sacred works by women composers were published by Novello & Co., including Clara Macirone’s anthem and works by other composers such as Eliz. A. Nunn, Marie Moody and Edith M. Middleton. (Some composers are presented with initials only for their first names, so it is not always possible to determine the sex of the composer.) Whilst research into the repertoire of other cathedrals

during the nineteenth century may yet reveal more examples of music by women composers being performed, it is likely that the clergy and musicians at St George's Chapel, Windsor, and Canterbury Cathedral were in the vanguard of this development.

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