Elizabeth Ann Seton: Saint, and Composer of JERUSALEM

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On September 14, 1975, Pope Paul VI proclaimed, "Elizabeth Ann Seton is a Saint! She is the first daughter of the United States of America to be glorified with this incomparable attribute. Rejoice for your glorious daughter." Mother Seton had founded the Sisters of Charity of St. Joseph's and was their first Mother Superior. Her dedication to the needs of the poor and her work as a pioneer in American Catholic education for girls are well known. It is also known that she loved to play the piano—but it is very little known that she composed a hymn tune, JERUSALEM, together with stanzas 2-4 of the hymn to which JERUSALEM is sung. This article describes the circumstances under which Mother Seton composed those words and music, as well as their publication history. Penned in 1812 and first published anonymously before Mother Seton's death in 1821, JERUSALEM can now be treasured as the earliest known published hymn tune composed by an American-born woman.



Figure 1. Mother Seton at Mount St. Mary's College, from an engraving by William E. Tucker.

Early Years

Elizabeth Ann Bayley was born on August 28, 1774. Her father, Dr. Richard Bayley, was one of New York's prominent physicians. Her mother, Catherine Charlton Bayley, died when Elizabeth was not yet three years old. Dr. Bayley and his father-in-law, Dr. John Charlton, both members of Trinity Episcopal Church—then and now located at Broadway and Wall Street—were on the front lines of the city's fight against smallpox. More than two centuries later, Trinity Church hosts a tribute to the two physicians.⁵

After her father remarried in 1778, Elizabeth and her older sister Mary lived for a time with their uncle and aunt, William and Sarah Pell Bayley, near New Rochelle, New York, some 25 miles northeast of Trinity Church.

Little is known about Elizabeth's schooling. Possibly she began playing the piano during her years at "Mama Pompelian's school" (probably a dame school—as they were called—for young girls, although the only traces of a school with that particular name seem to occur in connection with Elizabeth Seton). Elizabeth may have taken piano lessons from her Aunt Sarah.

In her journal "Dear Remembrances", Mother Seton recalls childhood memories and impressions. She writes about her twelfth year, "Home again at my father's Pleasure in reading prayers. Love to nurse the children and sing little hymns over the cradle"—and about her fourteenth year, "At uncle B.'s, New Rochelle, again. The Bible so enjoyed, and Thompson and Milton. Hymns said on the rocks, surrounded with ice, in transport of first pure enthusiasm. Gazings at the stars—Orion. Walks among cedars singing hymns."

At nineteen, Elizabeth married William Magee Seton, a twenty-five-year-old from a prominent New York family with international mercantile interests. It is written that he "brought the first known Stradivarius violin to America. William Magee enjoyed playing the violin while Elizabeth was accomplished on the piano. Throughout the years of their married life, music brought a great deal of enjoyment to their family."

The Years 1795-1812

Elizabeth and William Magee Seton had five children: Anna Maria (1795-1812), William (1796-1868), Richard Bayley Seton (1798-1823), Catherine Charlton Seton (1800-1891), and Rebecca

Mary Seton (1802-1816), all baptized at Trinity Church. About one year after Rebecca's birth, Elizabeth, her husband, and their oldest daughter Anna Maria sailed to the warmth of Italy, hoping to alleviate her husband's tuberculosis. William had already visited his Italian business partner, Filippo Filicchi, a few years earlier. William's condition worsened, and he died in Pisa on December 27, 1803. Until Elizabeth's return to New York in June, 1804, she and Anna Maria stayed with members of the Filicchi family: Filippo, his younger brother Antonio and wife Amabilia, and Filippo's wife Mary, who was an American from Boston. It was under their care and influence that Elizabeth was drawn to Catholicism. Although she had "left the United States a firm Protestant, she returned to New York with the heart of a Roman Catholic" and received her First Communion on March 25, 1805.

After three difficult years in New York, Elizabeth moved to Maryland in June, 1808, and within a year was given the title Mother Seton by John Carroll, Archbishop of the Archdiocese of Baltimore. On June 16, 1808, the group of sisters appeared for the first time dressed alike in a black dress, cape and white bonnet trimmed with a black band. The attire was patterned after the widow's weeds of women in Italy whom Elizabeth had encountered there. By the end of 1810, the community had moved to Emmitsburg, Maryland, about 60 miles northwest of Baltimore, and they had opened Saint Joseph's Free School and Saint Joseph's Academy.

Elizabeth Seton and Music

Before Elizabeth Seton's trip to Italy in 1803, she was a devout Episcopalian, and it is likely that she was influenced to some extent by the music at Trinity Church, where she was a member and where, possibly, she had been baptized. Church records were lost in a fire in 1776, and the music at Trinity "was silenced for a long time." However, excellent church music was played and sung at the two Chapels that were part of Trinity Parish: St. George's and St. Paul's. ¹² Trinity and St. Paul's are mentioned repeatedly in Mother Seton's *Collected Writings*. On one occasion she wrote, "I went to sleep and dreamed I was in the middle Isle of Trinity Church singing with all my Soul the hymns at our dear Sacrament." ¹³

Music was a staple in the Seton residence, at 27 Wall Street, very near Trinity Church (at the beginning of Wall Street), during 1795-1798. From New York, Elizabeth wrote to her close musical friend, Eliza Sadler, 'At this moment William is playing "rosy dimpled Boy," "pauvre

Madelon return," "enraptured hours" and "Caermignol" all as fast as the violin can sound them in rotation'. 14

Elsewhere she wrote of "the cheerfulness of the blazing fire, and the *feeling tones* of my sweet *Piano*." Having returned from Italy, she wrote, "I play the piano all the Evening for them and they dance or we get close round the fire and I live over with them all the scenes of David, Daniel or Judith etc. [in the Bible] till we forget the present intirely—the neighbours children too beset us to hear our stories and sing our hymns and say prayers with us—dear dearest Amabilia God will at last deliver." ¹⁶

The Composing of JERUSALEM

In an undated letter to Rev. Simon Bruté, P.S.S., Mother Seton jotted down these four lines: 17

Jerusalem my happy home How do I long (sigh) for thee When shall my exile have an end thy Joys when shall I see.

Then she wrote, "So far from some old Methodist hymn I believe—and your poor Mother enchanted with the lamentations in the Sanctuary in holy week turned a music of her own from them, and added on Aninas bed these words—every body crys at the words and music." ¹⁸

Jerusalem, Jerusalem, Jerusalem
No sun or moon in borrowed light
Revolve thy hours away—
The lamb on Calvarys mountain slain
Is thy Eternal day.

From every eye he wipes the tear—All cares (sighs) and sorrows cease.

No more alternate hope and fear
But everlasting peace—

The thought of thee to us is given Our sorrows to beguile To anticipate the bliss of heaven (In) His everlasting (Eternal) smile.

Jerusalem, Jerusalem, Jerusalem

You can view Mother Seton's letter at

https://notredame.box.com/shared/static/t311hs05ek37ybqr7r3mldsrf69uyedh.pdf,

(Notre Dame Archives, Robert Seton Family Papers, II-1-a).

There is much to be noted about the letter to Rev. Bruté. First, it may be the only surviving mention in Mother Seton's own words—"turned a music of her own"—of her having composed a hymn tune. According to some accounts, the entire hymn (not just the first stanza) was already well established as "Jerusalem, my happy home." This mistake stems from the fact that there is indeed a well-known hymn of several stanzas with the same first four words (now often sung to LAND OF REST). ^{19,20}

Near the end of the letter, Mother Seton mentions several persons who heard JERUSALEM, and then she writes that "they sung it at your first *return* offratory at the mountain"—a reference to the mountain church at Mount St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, where Rev. Bruté was a teacher in 1812.²¹ The word *return* may refer to his return from Pennsylvania in September 1812.²² (Later, Bruté became president of St. Mary's College, Baltimore.)



Figure 2. The Mountain Church, in which JERUSALEM was sung

Mother Seton's reference to "some old Methodist hymn" suggests that the hymn was of origin other than Catholic or Episcopal. Possibly "Methodist hymn" was, within Catholic circles, a catchall term, not intended to imply Wesleyan origin. In any case, a text-search of *The Hymn Tune Index (HTI)* finds remarkably few instances of the two wordings indicated in Mother Seton's handwriting and an editorial footnote. Specifically, the opening, "Jerusalem, my happy home, oh, how I long for thee" appears before 1812 in only two collections: Jeremiah Ingalls's *The Christian Harmony* (Exeter, New Hampshire, 1805) and Abijah Forbush's *The Psalmodist's Assistant*, 2nd edition (Boston: 1806). In contrast, "Jerusalem, my happy home, how do I sigh for thee" occurs only in "Carr 53", to be discussed below as the first publication to include Mother Seton's hymn and tune. That is, Mother Seton first penned the "sigh version" of stanza 1.²⁴

Further notes about Mother Seton's added stanzas are repeated here from editors' notes: (1) the hymn also appears with slight word changes (including *sigh* in place of *long*) in the Archives of the Daughters of Charity of the Province of St. Louise, Emmitsburg, Maryland;²⁵ (2) "lamentations in the Sanctuary in holy week" refers to excerpts from the Book of Lamentations that were sung as part of Holy Week services; and (3) the hymn includes allusions to Rev. 21:22-23 and Rev. 21:4.²⁶

Holy Week in 1812 was observed from Sunday, March 22, through Saturday, March 28, after Anina (an alternate spelling of Anna Maria's nickname, Annina) had died on March 12. It is therefore unclear whether the music was composed before or after the three new stanzas, but it seems likely that both the hymn and music were completed during the spring of 1812. The change in penmanship suggests that the portion of the letter following the second "Jerusalem, Jerusalem, Jerusalem" may have been added later, after a number of people had heard the new hymn sung on various occasions.

A final chronological note is that Mother Seton was not only Annina's natural mother, but also her Mother Superior: "As Anna Maria Seton's debility became more pronounced her piety seemed to flourish more noticeably. On January 30, 1812, she received the last sacraments, and the following day she was 'consecrated' as a Sister of St. Joseph's."²⁷

Mother Seton loved her children deeply. A particularly insightful paragraph regarding her firstborn, Anna Maria, is repeated here (unaltered):

Respecting a certain pair of eyes, they are much nearer to black than any other color which with a small nose and mouth, dimpled cheek and chin, rosy face and never ceasing animation, and expression forms an object rather too interesting for my pen Her grand Father B will tell you that he sees more sense expression Intelligance and enquiry in that little face than any other in the world, that he can converse more with her than any woman in New York in short she is her mothers own Daughter, and you may be sure her Fathers pride and Treasure—So some little Beings are Born to be treasured while others are treated with less attention . . . ²⁸

Another letter in which Mother Seton expresses her love for her daughter, written less than two years before Anna Maria's death, describes her relationship with her beau, Alexis (Charles Du Pavillon of St. Mary's College, Baltimore):

... our own Darling Anna Maria is not now in a state of mind to enjoy Society—quiet, silent, and always reflective if not melancholy she has no pleasure but in her work and piano—she runs over the old lessons of the past with a very good grace but I see it only to please me—her Alexis has made out to convey two letters to her already expressive of the romance of his age but never could I have believed (having once been Betsey Bayley) what he says in both of them . . . but to me the music of heaven—that my darling should have had the virtue and purity of an angel in the first dawn of youthful and ardent affection (for she certainly is not without passion) is a joy to her Mother which a Mother only can know. ²⁹



Figure 3. Anna Maria (Annina) Seton, at whose deathbed her mother wrote stanzas 2-4 of "Jerusalem, my happy home. (from Roberto Angeli, *la donna della speranza Elisabetta Anna Seton*, Rome, 1975)

The details of Maria Anna's slow and agonizing death, and her enduring faith as tuberculosis took her away, are well documented.³⁰ Surely one of the most faith-filled results of that experience was the new stanzas of JERUSALEM which Mother Seton wrote at her daughter's deathbed.

First Publication of JERUSALEM

It seems likely that JERUSALEM was first published in 1818 or 1819. The information near the top of the first page shows "JERUSALEM, A HYMN, Written & Composed by a LADY" ³¹. Beneath "LADY" appears "Printed for J. Carr. Baltimore . . . Price 25 Cents." At the very top of the page are these words: "No. 53 of Carrs Musical Miscellany in occasional numbers...Copy right secured according to law".

It appears that Mother Seton, or perhaps more likely, Rev. Simon Bruté or some other priest, desiring that copies of JERUSALEM be made for group-singing, had contacted a member of the Carr family of musicians: Joseph, the father, who owned a music store in Baltimore from 1814 until his death in 1819, or his son Benjamin, of Philadelphia, known today as the "father of Philadelphia music".³²

As first published, JERUSALEM appears to have been arranged by a professional musician. That is to say, Mother Seton's original version—now lost—was given, if indirectly, to one of the Carrs, with an understanding that the tune would be arranged, printed, and marketed. It is known that the Carrs collaborated extensively and that Benjamin Carr supplied most of the arrangements in the Musical Miscellany series.³³

JERUSALEM, specifically "Carr 53", consists of two different treatments of the tune. The first page is a "duett" for the four stanzas, and the second page is marked "CHORUS", for three treble voices. The accompaniment consists largely of flowing 16th notes. The second treatment, on page 3, shows the words "Arranged for the ORGAN" and has an accompaniment much more like other unison hymntune accompaniments. The probable arranger, Benjamin Carr, was the organist of Philadelphia's St. Augustine's Catholic Church during 1801-1831 and St. Peter's Episcopal Church during 1817-1831. His influence at St. Augustine's Church and far beyond included his *Masses, Vespers, Litanies, Hymns, Psalms, Anthems & Motets* (Baltimore, 1805), dedicated to the Right Reverend John Carroll, D. D., of Baltimore.³⁴ Possibly Elizabeth Seton

was acquainted with Benjamin Carr, as his dedication to Bishop Carroll was written during the time that the bishop was Mother Seton's "spiritual father"—as she called him in her writings.³⁵ It is also possible that Carr's hymns and other music from *Masses* were used by the Sisters of Charity while providing the choir in a church near Emmitsburg.³⁶

A reissue of "Carr 53" was "Printed for G. Willig, Phila." with 1820 as an estimated year of publication.³⁷ Few libraries own either of the two issues as individually printed, but the entire series, *Carr's Musical Miscellany in Occasional Numbers*, was reprinted in 1982.³⁸

Although JERUSALEM was arranged several more times before 1900, it seems likely that the Carr arrangement was used for a special performance near Boston in 1832:³⁹

The favorite hymn of Mother Seton was "Jerusalem, My Happy Home," her own musical composition. On Thursday, May 3, 1832, the Sisters of Charity from the school in Boston paid a visit to the Ursuline Convent at Charlestown. They were received by the Sisters, then by the pupils, who entered the hall two by two, according to rank and attired in Sunday uniform, white dress, pink belt, pink gauze kerchief... The air "Jerusalem, My Happy Home" was played by two young ladies on the harp and piano. The solos were sung by a young lady who delivered the address and the chorus by all the pupils, with pleasing effect. ⁴⁰

Later Publications of JERUSALEM

It seems likely that the next arrangement of JERUSALEM to appear was by William Clifton, published by at least four companies in New York City and one in Philadelphia, probably all during 1830-1845. The arrangement is introduced by these words: "the poetry and air by a young lady; the symphonies and accompaniments by William Clifton," thus establishing that a woman composed the melody, not Clifton. The word "young" may have been inserted to enhance sales, a possibility consistent with Clifton's piracy of "Carr 53". Although Clifton arranged or composed dozens of popular pieces, including minstrel tunes, no biographical information seems to be available.

JERUSALEM appears, unattributed, in *The Morning & Evening Service of the Catholic Church...selected and newly arranged from the compositions of the first masters, for use of the Diocess* [sic] *of Boston* (Boston: O. Ditson, 1840). The arrangement is based on Carr, not Clifton, as it is clearly similar to Carr's third page (the one with organ accompaniment—Clifton's two-page arrangement having been "borrowed" from Carr's first two pages). The 1840

version shows tampering with the melody at "how do I sigh for thee!"⁴⁴ It is not known whether the music editor, Richard Garbett (1789-1881), was aware of the origin of the melody and stanzas 2-4.

Three years later, JERUSALEM appeared with an attribution, "By Mrs. Seton", in *Manual of Catholic Melodies*... by Rev. James Hoerner (Baltimore: John Murphy, 1843). Regarding the musical notes assigned to "how do I sigh for thee!", Hoerner left the notes for "do I" as Mother Seton wrote them (but not for "joys when"), and as in Garbett, he shortened the notes for "sigh for" from two dotted quarters to a quarter and an eighth. (My opinion is that Mother Seton's version is musically distinctive and superior, although the dotted quarters may at first seem awkward.) In sections marked Solo, Duo, 1st Trio, and 2nd Chorus, Hoerner places the melody on page 149; two other parts for the Chorus as a trio appear on page 403.⁴⁵

It appears that until 1843, the name Seton was not shown as the composer of JERUSALEM. How then could Hoerner have known that Mrs. Seton was the composer? This question leads to speculation that Rev. Bruté or some other priest had made the arrangements for the first publication of JERUSALEM and later made the information available to Hoerner. At least one other such priest was Rev. John Francis Hickey. P.S.S. (1789-1869). Indeed, in her letter to Rev. Bruté, cited above, Mother Seton wrote about the words and music, "Mr. Hickey of all people says it is so delightfully wild." At the time she wrote this, both Rev. Bruté and Mr. Hickey were (or had been) teachers at Mount St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, where Mother Seton was well known. John Hickey was ordained in 1814 and became the fifth superior general (1830-1841) of the Sisters of Charity of St. Joseph's. He was certainly in a position to pass along information about the composer of JERUSALEM. It is noteworthy, too, that Rev. Hoerner had ties to Rev. Charles Ignatius White, Vicar-General of the Diocese of Baltimore, and Patrick Kelly, Professor of Music at St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore. 46

JERUSALEM appears, unattributed, in *The Catholic Harp* (Boston, D. Reilly, 1845), with a Preface that thanks "Mr. Garbett, Compiler of the Rt. Rev. Dr. Fenwick's book"—that is, the aforementioned 1840 collection. The Preface also thanks "a clergyman of Boston, who prepared music for this work". Perhaps the harmonization of JERUSALEM in *The Catholic Harp*, which differs substantially from that in the 1840 collection, was provided by the unnamed clergyman.⁴⁷

JERUSALEM together with the poem, "Jersusalem, my happy home, how do I sigh for thee", occurs in several later hymnals, notably *The Roman Hymnal*, compiled and arranged by Rev. J.

B. Young, S.J. (New York and Cincinnati, Fr. Pustet & Co., 11th edition, 1884) and *The De La Salle Hymnal*, by the Brothers of the Christian Schools (New York, La Salle Bureau, 1913).⁴⁸ In both arrangements, the rhythm is once again compromised, and chromatic passing tones characteristic of many Victorian hymn tunes are used instead of Mother Seton's simple harmonies. On the other hand, in the 1913 hymnal—at last—the attribution "Mother Seton" is included.⁴⁹

New Transcriptions of JERUSALEM

As already mentioned, few copies of the earliest publication of Mother Seton's hymn, "Carr 53", have survived, and none has yet been made accessible online. Figure 4 shows JERUSALEM transposed down from B-flat to G and transcribed for modern congregational singing. Without changing the "musical feel" of page 3 of "Carr 53", the music is cast here in three-eight time instead of six-eight, and fermatas are replaced by tied notes.

***Figure 4. (See pages 18-20.) Transcription of JERUSALEM as a hymn tune. (2015, public domain)

Figure 5 shows a transcription of the first two pages of "Carr 53". The original key of B-flat is retained. As in Figure 4, stanzas 2-4 are printed "in the music" instead of after. Here, too, the transcription is in three-eighth time without fermatas.

***Figure 5. (See pages 21-22) Transcription of JERUSALEM, duet, trio (chorus), piano accompaniment (2015, public domain)

Elizabeth Seton as a Hymn Writer

Elizabeth Seton's place among early American women poets and hymn writers has received some notice; e.g., one writer states that "Historically speaking, if Elizabeth's poems had been published, she might possibly be known today as our first American woman-poet." Seven poems attributed to her are included in a book of meditations, reflections, prayers, and poems

taken from her writings.⁵¹ The seventh, "Jerusalem", appears to be the only one that was previously widely published under her name (posthumously, in hymnals). Possibly it is the only one of the seven for which Elizabeth Seton herself indicated that she was the poet. Poems 2-6, it turns out, were written by other poets. They remain significant because Elizabeth Seton thought highly of them, and further significant as a vestige of her familiarity with poetry from the first volumes of a Presbyterian magazine.⁵²

A concluding statement on Elizabeth Seton's place in American hymnody, then, is two-fold: as far as we know, she was the first American-born woman to have a widely sung original hymn tune published, and she was also the first to have a widely sung original hymn text (stanzas 2-4 of "Jerusalem, my happy home, how do I sigh for thee") published.

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Notes

¹ Elizabeth Ann Seton was the first U.S.-born citizen to be canonized. The Pope's proclamation reflects the fact that 1975 was designated by the United Nations as International Women's Year. Quoted from Betty Ann McNeil, D.C., "St. Elizabeth Ann Seton", http://www.archbalt.org/about-us/the-archdiocese/our-history/people/seton.cfm.

² Pope Paul's VI's homily for the canonization: http://w2.vatican.va/content/paul-vi/en/homilies/1975/documents/hf_p-vi_hom_19750914.html

³ Document 7.297, To Simon Bruté, *Elizabeth Bayley Seton Collected Writings*, II, 690-91, (http://via.library.depaul.edu/vincentian_ebooks/11/).

⁴ Until recently, the earliest known may have been THE PROMISED LAND by Miss Matilda T. Durham; see Judith Tick, *American Women Composers before 1870* (Ann Arbor, UMI Research Press, 1983), 117.

⁵ Trinity and the Fight against Smallpox, https://www.trinitywallstreet.org/blogs/archivists-mailbag/trinity-and-fight-against-smallpox. (November 12, 2014).

⁶ Document 10.4, "Dear Remembrances," Elizabeth Bayley Seton, *Collected Writings*, edited by Regina Bechtle, S.C. and Judith Metz, S.C., IIIa, 511.1; http://via.library.depaul.edu/vincentian_ebooks/12/.

⁷ Elizabeth Bayley Seton, *Collected Writings*, edited by Regina Bechtle, S.C. and Judith Metz, S.C., v.I, 8; http://via.library.depaul.edu/vincentian_ebooks/9/. A slightly more detailed account is given by Robert Seton, *An Old Family, or, The Setons of Scotland and America* (New York: Brentano, 1899), 278: "William left school at sixteen, and afterward travelled for several years—sometimes alone...He was a skillful player on the violin, and the possessor of the only genuine Stradivarius in New York a hundred years ago, which be brought from Cremona with the utmost care, never letting it out of his sight until he got back to America." Documentation for the violin and the instrument itself appear to be lost.

⁸ Catherine O'Donnell, "Transatlantic Cooperation, Spiritual Struggle, and the Early Republican Church," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 29, no. 1, (2011) 1-17. See also Roberto Angeli, *La Dona della Speranza: Elisabetta Anna Seton* (Rome: edizioni della Postulazione Generale c.m. 1975).

⁹ Emmitsburg Area Historical Society: http://www.emmitsburg.net/setonshrine/

¹⁰ John Carroll was the first Roman Catholic Bishop in the United States, and beginning in 1808, the first Archbishop. He was Elizabeth's spiritual advisor during 1805-1808.

¹¹ McNeil, op. cit., 2.

¹² Arthur Messiter, in *A History of the Choir and Music of Trinity Church* (New York, 1906 and AMS Press, 1970), 32-33. Messiter states that the rebuilt church was consecrated on March 25, 1790, that an organ was imported from England, and that before 1800 there was a Society for Cultivating Church Music associated with Trinity Church.

¹³ Document 2.7, To Rebecca Seton, November 19, 1803, Collected Writings, v.I, 251.

¹⁴ Document 1.8, To Eliza Sadler, February 8, 1796, *Collected Writings*, v.I, 8.

¹⁵ Document 1.32, To Julia Scott, November 3, 1778, *Collected Writings*, v.I, 52.

¹⁶ Journal for Amabilia Filicchi, January, 1805, Collected Writings, v.I, 367.

¹⁷ Collected Writings, v.II, 690.

¹⁸ Collected Writings, v.II, 690.

¹⁹ *The Hymnal 1982 Companion*, Raymond F. Glover, editor, vol. 3B (New York: The Church Hymnal Corp., 1994), 1137-1141.

²⁰ Julian discusses at length two versions of "Jerusalem, my happy home", both dating from the latter part of the 16th century. For example, the "F. B. P. version" begins with "Hierusalem my happie home/When shall I come to thee". John Julian, *A Dictionary of Hymnology*, v.1, 2nd ed. (New York: Dover reprint, 1957; originally published in 1907), 580-583.

²¹ Historical Highlights of Saint Joseph's Parish, (http://www.emmitsburg.net/st.josephparish/history.htm) notes that the full name of the church was Saint Mary's Church on the Mountain. The definitive history of Mount St. Mary's College, in which fifteen members of the Seton family appear, is Rev. Edward F. X. McSweeny's *The Story of the Mountain*, vol. 1 (Emmitsburg: The Weekly Chronicle, 1911). Throughout the book, the mountain church, pictured facing page 10, is called the (Old) Church on the Hill.

²² Annabelle M. Melville, edited by Betty Ann McNeil, *Elizabeth Bayley Seton 1774-1821* (Hanover, Pennsylvania, 2009; first Published in New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951), 315. This book is the definitive biography of Elizabeth Seton.

²³ Collected Writings, v.II, 690.

²⁴ Nicholas Temperley, *The Hymn Tune Index*, http://hymntune.library.uiuc.edu/. The *HTI* text code for the "long version" is JMHHOH1, and for the "sigh version", JMHHHD1.

 $^{^{25}}$ The two variants mentioned in the editorial footnote are archived as APSL 1-3-3-3.49 (formerly ASJPH 1-3-3-3-49) and APSL 1-3-3-3.93 2 (formerly ASJH 1-3-3-3.93 2). In both documents, *sigh* appears in place of *long*.

²⁶ Collected Writings, v.II, 690.

²⁷ Melville, op, cit., 252.

²⁸ Document 1.8, To Eliza Sadler, February 8, 1796, *Collected Writings*, v.I, 9.

²⁹ Document 6.50, To Julia Scott, July 20, 1810, Collected Writings, v.II, 147.

³⁰ Melville, op. cit, 252-53, 313-14. See also Joan Barthel, *American Saint: the Life of Elizabeth Seton* (New York, St. Martin's Press, 2014).

³¹ In America, it would have been unusual before 1840 for a woman composer's name to appear on her published music. The words "Written & Composed by a Lady" are consistent with other 19th century attributions, including Lady of Baltimore and Lady of Charleston. See "Composer Attributions and the Custom of Anonymity", Tick (op. cit.), 74-75. For a long and interesting list of compositions ascribed to "a lady" in America and Europe, see Barbara Garvey Jackson, "Say Can You Deny Me": A Guide to Surviving Music by Women from the 16th through 18th Centuries (The University of Arkansas Press, 1994), 232-241.

³² Eve R. Meyer, "Benjamin Carr's *Musical Miscellany*," *Notes* (of the Music Library Association) 33, no. 2 (December, 1976), 253-265.

³³ Meyer, op. cit. For an assessment of Carr's overall contributions to American music, see Karl Kroeger, "Benjamin Carr", *Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnology*: http://www.hymnology.co.uk/b/benjamin-carr?q=Carr

- ³⁵ Another of Elizabeth Seton's friends and spiritual advisors was Rev. Michael Hurley, OSA, pastor at St. Augustine's Church, Philadelphia, during the time that Benjamin Carr was organist there; see http://www1.augustinian.org/who-we-are/the-augustinians/province-timeline/hurley.
- ³⁶ "Sketch of Mt. St. Mary's College near Emmitsburg, Maryland, *United States Catholic Magazine and Monthly Review* (Archdiocese of Baltimore, January, 1846), 38. Exact wording follows: "The Sisters of Charity attended mass, and constituted the choir on Sundays and festivals at one of the other of the two churches. At the mountain church, one of their number presided at the organ, as soon as an organ had been procured, and for many years a separate place was reserved for them and their scholars."
- ³⁷ Richard Wolfe, *Secular Music in America*, *1801-1824*; a *Bibliography* (New York Public Library, 1964), 504.
- ³⁸ Carr's Musical Miscellany in Occasional Numbers, compiled with a New Introduction by Eve R. Meyer (New York, Da Capo Press, 1982). The Baltimore edition of JERUSALEM (i.e., "Carr 53") appears on pages 208-210.
- ³⁹ The performance took place at the Ursuline Convent in Charlestown (now within Somerville), Massachusetts. Two years later, a Protestant mob burned the Convent. The event was of considerable significance in American religious history. The school in Boston mentioned in the quotation was probably St. Aloysius Free School for girls, begun in May 1832 by the Sisters of Charity.
- ⁴⁰ Sister Mary Agnes McCann, M. A., *The History of Mother Seton's Daughters, The Sisters of Charity of Cincinnati, Ohio, 1809-1917*, v.1 (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1917), 180.
- ⁴¹ One undated edition is downloadable from the University of North Carolina: http://dc.lib.unc.edu/cdm/ref/collection/sheetmusic/id/11187.
- ⁴² Carr's "Copy right secured by law" anticipates the U. S. Copyright Act of 1831. Clearly, Carr wished to deter piracy, which was a major problem for composers, arrangers, and publishers. The old meaning of *symphonies* on Clifton's front cover is, essentially, interludes, which differ from those of Carr's arrangement.

³⁴ Virginia Larkin Redway, "The Carrs, American Music Publishers," *The Musical Quarterly* 18 (January 1932) 150-177; and Robert R. Grimes S. J., "A Grand Selection of Sacred Music: Benjamin Carr and Early Nineteenth Century Catholic Music in Philadelphia," *U. S. Catholic Historian* 30, no. 4, (Fall 2012), 21-37.

⁴³ Another of Clifton's editions of JERUSALEM can be downloaded from the Levy Sheet Music Collection: http://levysheetmusic.mse.jhu.edu/catalog/levy:110.036.

⁴⁴ No. 175 at http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/002185832.

⁴⁵ Hoerner's arrangement: http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/100025162, 149-150, 403.

⁴⁶ J. Vincent Higginson, *Handbook for American Catholic Hymnals* (The Hymn Society of America, 1976), 40-41.

⁴⁷ The *Catholic Harp* arrangement: https://archive.org/details/catholicharpcon00kirkgoog, 62.

⁴⁸ Other collections that include JERUSALEM are mentioned in Higginson (op. cit), 264. Higginson's paragraph begins with a note that in the '*Hymn Book of Sunday School Companion*, 1890 at the Newberry Library, Chicago, a pencilled note at no. 45 gives 'W. J. Clifton, 1824' as the composer." A recent examination of the page showed only the name W. Clifton (not W. J. Clifton) and "1824" in the upper right corner. There is no clear assertion that Clifton was claimed to be the composer. It is doubtful that Clifton's arrangement appeared before 1830, and on all copies I have seen, his name is shown quite clearly as arranger, and "young lady" as composer. In any case, JERUSALEM had already been published years earlier.

⁴⁹ The *De La Salle* arrangement: https://archive.org/details/delasallehymnalf00chri, 133.

⁵⁰ Sister Marie Celeste, SC, Editor, *Elizabeth Ann Seton: a Woman of Prayer, Meditations, Reflections, Prayers and Poems Taken from her Writings* (New York, Alba House, 1993), xi.

⁵¹ Ibid, 115-124.

⁵² For example, Poem 6, with refrain beginning "Still in the Lord will I rejoice", appears in *The Assembly's Missionary Magazine; or Evangelical Intelligencer* (Philadelphia, vol. 1, no. VI, June, 1805), 304. Portions of poems 2-5 are found in the first two volumes of this *Magazine*.

MUSIC BY ELIZABETH ANN SETON

Figure 4: JERUSALEM (Duette and Trio, with piano) Elizabeth Ann Seton, before 1820	18-19
Figure 5: JERUSALEM (Hymn tune, with organ Elizabeth Ann Seton, before 1820	20
Figure 3: JERUSALEM (Duet and Trio, with piano) Elizabeth Ann Seton, arr. Clark Kimberling, 2015	21-23
Figure 4: JERUSALEM (Hymn tune, with keyboard) Elizabeth Ann Seton, arr. Clark Kimberling, 2015	24-25

(Page numbers do not appear on the music.)

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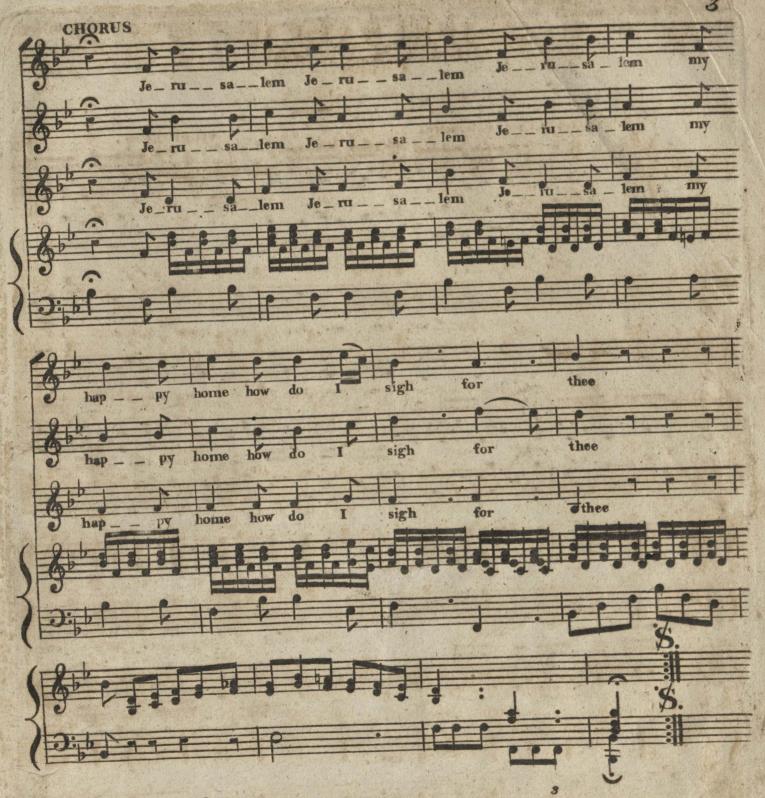
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JERUSALEM

A HYMN ... Written & Composed by a





No Sun or Moon in borrow'd light
Revolve thine hours away
The Lamb on Calvary's Mountain slain
Is thy Eternal day. Jerusalem &c

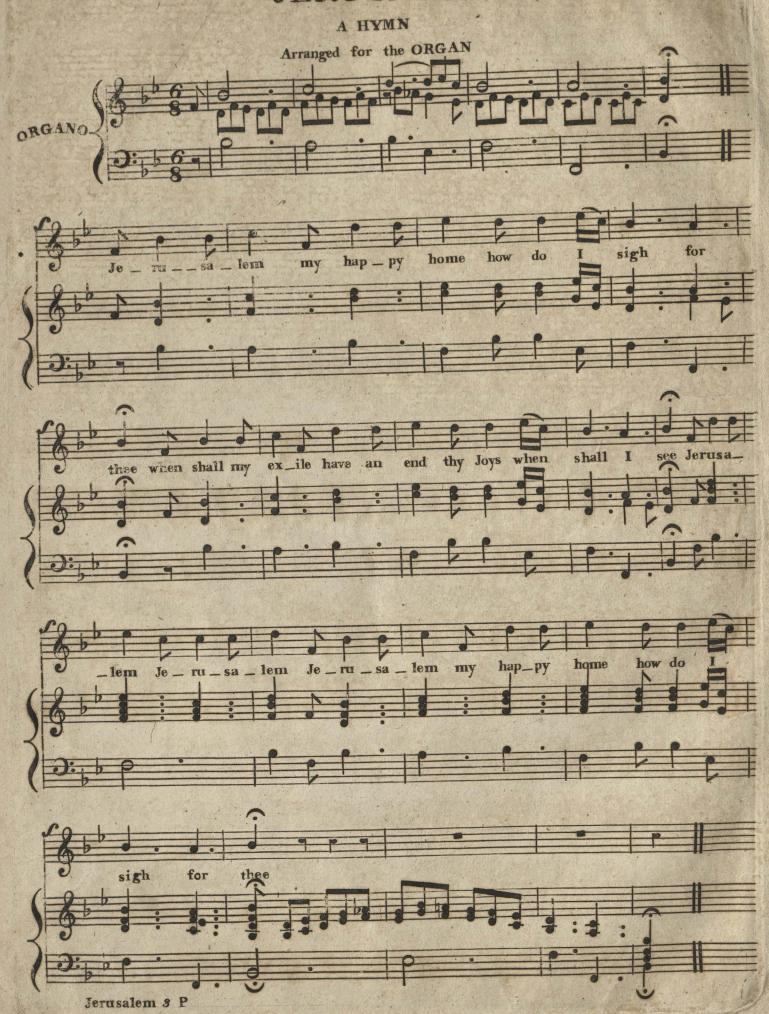
From ev'ry eye he wipes the tear

All sighs and sorrows cease

No more alternate hope and fear

But everlasting peace. Jerusalem &c

The thought of thee to us is given
Our sorrows to beguile
To anticipate the blifs of Heav'n
In his Eternal smile. Jerusalem &c



JERUSALEM Elizabeth Ann Seton, 1812 transcr. Clark Kimberling, 2015 Duet and Trio (Chorus), with Piano **.**= 54 Piano DUET Je No ru lem, hap home, how sa my ру Sun or Moon in bor row'd light Re -3. From 4. The ev wipes All 'ry eye he the tear; of thought thee given, Our to us is% do sighfor thee. volves thine hours way. sighs and sor rows cease. sor rows to be guile.

3







