

**SAMUEL BABCOCK (1760-1813), ARCHETYPAL PSALMODIST OF  
THE FIRST NEW ENGLAND SCHOOL OF COMPOSERS**

by

Laurie J. Sampsel

Bachelor of Music Education, Youngstown State University, 1986

Master of Flute Performance, Youngstown State University, 1988

Master of Library Science, Kent State University, 1989

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This dissertation was presented

by

Laurie J. Sampsel

It was defended on

February 13, 2009

and approved by

Don O. Franklin, Professor, Music

Karl D. Kroeger, Professor Emeritus, University of Colorado at Boulder

Mary S. Lewis, Professor, Music

Dissertation Director: Deane L. Root, Professor, Music

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THE FIRST NEW ENGLAND SCHOOL OF COMPOSERS**

Laurie J. Sampsel, PhD

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The life, musical activities, compositions, and musical relationships of the Boston-area composer Samuel Babcock (1760-1813) make him an archetypal psalmodist active during the period from 1790 to 1810. Research on early American Protestant sacred music to date has focused on the major composers and compilers of the period such as William Billings and Andrew Law, and on indexing the repertory. This dissertation approaches the topic from a different historiographical perspective, measuring Babcock against the criteria suggested by musicologist Nym Cooke for a composer more typical of the First New England School.

Part I of the dissertation establishes the facts of Babcock's life, analyzes and describes his music, and documents the distribution of his works. His fourth cousin, psalmodist Lemuel Babcock (1748-1835), provides a point of comparison. Samuel Babcock, active during the reform of sacred music at the turn of the nineteenth century, composed music strongly influenced by British Methodist-style psalmody. He selected sacred poetry that inspired him musically, and paid careful attention to text setting. Both Babcocks are remembered as singers, singing masters, choir leaders, and composers. However, Samuel Babcock's music is more "modern" than his cousin's. This study of musical style and other evidence suggests that the few pieces first printed with the ambiguous attribution "Babcock" are very likely by Lemuel Babcock. Part II is a critical edition of both composers' complete works.

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## PREFACE

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finish. I am also grateful to my friends and staff for support and encouragement. Finally, this dissertation has repeatedly reminded me of my grandmother, Ruth Mae Hodgson (1908-1989), who was an accompanist at Crossroads Church for more years than I can remember. It is to her and my late mother, Ola Jean Sampsel (1928-2008), that this dissertation is dedicated.

## **PART I: LIFE AND WORKS**

## 1.0 INTRODUCTION

The composers of the First New England School created the first distinctive Anglo-American music for use primarily in their Congregational churches in the New England colonies and new republic, between the 1760s and the first decade of the nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Most studies of psalmody and early hymnody in eighteenth-century North America have been devoted to defining the core repertory of works—those most often published—and to studying the life and activities of the most outstanding and prolific composers. Americanists have also identified a need to understand the more typical practitioners of the art, the people who made the genres and practice of music live and flourish within their society. We know too little about the “Everyman” composers, musicians, and teachers. This dissertation provides a case study of a paradigmatic psalmody, Samuel Babcock.

Musicological studies of psalmody, which began in the 1950s and were encouraged by the Bicentennial in 1976, have primarily focused on editing the music of major composers and creating bibliographic control over the repertory. There are still relatively few critical editions of

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<sup>1</sup> The so-called First New England School refers to those psalmody who were active as singing masters and composers of hymn tunes, fusing tunes, and anthems between the years of ca. 1770-1810 and include William Billings, Daniel Read, and Oliver Holden. The Second New England School refers to a late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century group of symphonic and chamber music composers including John Knowles Paine, Arthur Foote, George Chadwick, and Amy Beach.

the New England psalmody repertory.<sup>2</sup> The complete William Billings edition was first, published by the American Musicological Society and the Colonial Society of Massachusetts.<sup>3</sup> Editions of the collected works of Stephen Jenks,<sup>4</sup> Daniel Read,<sup>5</sup> and Timothy Swan<sup>6</sup> have appeared in the *Recent Researches in American Music* series, and its subset, *Music of the United States of America*. The fifteen-volume set, *Music of the New American Nation*, includes the complete or selected works of twenty-three composers.<sup>7</sup> The total number of New England psalmodyists who have their collected or selected works in critical editions numbers twenty-seven, about ten percent of the composers active during this era. Other noteworthy scholarly editions of the repertory include Richard Crawford's *Core Repertory of Early American Psalmody*,<sup>8</sup> *American Sacred Music* edited by Philip Vandermeer,<sup>9</sup> and Karl Kroeger's *Early American Anthems*.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> See Karl Kroeger and Marie Kroeger, *An Index to Anglo-American Psalmody in Modern Critical Editions*, *Recent Researches in American Music* 40 (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, 2000).

<sup>3</sup> Karl Kroeger and Hans Nathan, eds., *The Complete Works of William Billings*, 4 vols. (Boston: American Musicological Society and The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1977-1990).

<sup>4</sup> David Warren Steel, ed., *Stephen Jenks, Collected Works*, *Recent Researches in American Music* 18 (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, 1995).

<sup>5</sup> Karl Kroeger, ed., *Collected Works of Daniel Read*, *Music of the United States of America* 4; *Recent Researches in American Music* 24 (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, 1995). See also Karl and Marie Kroeger, eds., *Musica Ecclesiae, or, Devotional Harmony*, *Recent Researches in American Music* 48-50 (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2004).

<sup>6</sup> Nym Cooke, ed., *Psalmody and Secular Songs [of Timothy Swan]*, *Music of the United States of America* 6; *Recent Researches in American Music* 26 (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, 1997).

<sup>7</sup> Karl Kroeger, ed., *Music of the New American Nation: Sacred Music from 1780 to 1820*, 15 vols. (New York: Garland, 1995-99).

<sup>8</sup> Richard Crawford, ed., *Core Repertory of Early American Psalmody*, *Recent Researches in American Music* 11-12 (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, 1984).

<sup>9</sup> Philip Vandermeer, ed. *American Sacred Music*, *Three Centuries of American Music* 7 (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1991).

<sup>10</sup> Karl Kroeger, ed., *Early American Anthems*, *Recent Researches in American Music* 36-37 (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, 2000).

Excellent bibliographic control of the repertory has been achieved by *American Sacred Music Imprints*, compiled by Britton, Lowens, and Crawford, a monumental bibliography of tunebooks published in America from 1698 through 1810.<sup>11</sup> The most recent tool in this area is Temperley's four-volume *Hymn Tune Index*, which includes the publication history of all hymn tunes published in English-language collections from 1535 to 1820.<sup>12</sup>

While musicological work to date on the early American sacred musicians has created scholarly editions of the most original and famous composers, as well as a number of biographies or life and works studies of these major figures, we do not yet fully understand the lives and music of the more representative psalmodists. How much and what type of music did they compose? What role did their musical activities play in their communities? How did they interact with one another?

William Billings (1746-1800) is generally viewed as the premiere or quintessential psalmodist.<sup>13</sup> His name is the first that comes to mind when early American sacred music is discussed—and for good reasons. He was the first Colonial composer to compose his own original tunebook, *The New-England Psalm-Singer*, published in 1770.<sup>14</sup> In addition to being a

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<sup>11</sup> Allen Britton, Irving Lowens, and Richard Crawford, *American Sacred Music Imprints, 1698-1810: A Bibliography* (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1990). Previous lists include the following: George Hood, *A History of Music In New England: With Biographical Sketches of Reformers and Psalmody* (Boston: Wilkins, Carter, & Co., 1846); James Warrington, *Short Titles of Books Relating to or Illustrating the History and Practice of Psalmody in the United States, 1620-1820* (New York: B. Franklin, 1898); and Frank Metcalf, *American Psalmody, or, Titles of Books, Containing Tunes Printed in America from 1721-1820* (New York: C.F. Heartman, 1917). See also Metcalf's *American Writers and Compilers of Sacred Music* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1925).

<sup>12</sup> Nicholas Temperley, *The Hymn Tune Index: A Census of English-Language Hymn Tunes in Printed Sources from 1535 to 1820*, 4 vols. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998). An updated version is available online at <http://hymntune.library.uiuc.edu>. See also John Julian, *A Dictionary of Hymnology*, 2nd rev. ed., 2 vols. (1907; repr., New York: Dover, 1957).

<sup>13</sup> For example, see Richard Crawford, "MUSA's Early Years: The Life and Times of a National Editing Project," *American Music* 23, no. 1 (Spring 2005): 3.

<sup>14</sup> William Billings, *New-England Psalm-Singer* (Boston: Edes and Gill, 1770).



fine and prolific composer, he was also a patriot whose music was not only popular during his lifetime, but continues to be sung, recorded, and studied in our own time.

However, Billings was exceptional in many ways in comparison with the majority of psalmody historians, as psalmody historian Nym Cooke has noted. Billings was a fluent and stylish writer as well as a composer, and his settings often reflect his love for words; he was a skillful composer (this is especially evident in his longer pieces such as anthems and set pieces); he was one of the first psalmody historians; he lived in the city of Boston, a commercial and cultural hub in the early Republic, throughout his life; and his music reflected themes and topics not common in music composed by others (for example patriotic themes). His enduring popularity is shown by the inclusion of his music in later anthologies, for example, those compiled by shape-note singers in the nineteenth century. Unlike most of his compatriots, his music has been sung virtually continuously since his time.

Cooke has challenged scholars to identify a more typical “spokesman,” a normative psalmody historian whose example can help us understand the life and music of the era. He explains, “William Billings has been accepted by the musical and musicological establishment. Along the way, quite understandably, he has become a kind of spokesman for some 300 individuals who composed or compiled sacred music (‘psalmody’) in this country before 1811.<sup>15</sup> The general public badly needs human symbols—icons—to represent artistic movements and traditions. For early American psalmody, William Billings fills the bill. But the scholar needs something else; a sense of what the average practitioner within a tradition was like” to create more of a context.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Nym Cooke, “William Billings: Representative American Psalmody Historian?” *Quarterly Journal of Music Teaching and Learning* 7, no. 1 (Spring 1996): 47-48. Cooke’s number of psalmody historians here, 300, is higher because he includes compilers as well as composers.

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

Other psalmody scholars have also called for a more comprehensive view of the lives and efforts of the larger group. Richard Crawford put it as follows:

Collectively, the early American sacred composer has earned a secure niche in the history of American music. Individually, however, many American composers tend to be even more difficult to trace than their compatriots, the compilers. Some 250 different Americans had their sacred compositions printed in tunebooks through 1810. . . . [T]here remain quite a number about whom virtually nothing is known.<sup>17</sup>

Psalmody scholar Daniel Jones also makes the point that “an entire generation separated Billings and [Lowell] Mason, and . . . this intervening period needs to be included in a complete picture of American psalmody . . . The apparent gap between the music style of Billings and that of Mason can be fully understood only if one explores the various developments that occurred during these years.”<sup>18</sup>

Kroeger’s series of collected editions, *Music of the New American Nation*, is an effort to address this need for access to the wider repertoire through scholarly editions. He selected twenty-three composers, including Samuel Babcock, because they are “among the most important of the several hundred who contributed to the psalmody repertory.”<sup>19</sup> This group as a

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<sup>17</sup> Britton et al., *American Sacred Music Imprints*, 10. Among the four that Crawford names specifically in his introduction is “the itinerant singing master Lemuel Badcock (or Babcock).”

<sup>18</sup> Daniel C. L. Jones, “Elias Mann: Reform-Era Massachusetts Psalmist,” *American Music* 11, no. 1 (Spring 1993): 75.

<sup>19</sup> Kroeger, *Music of the New American Nation*, 1: vii. The series includes the complete or selected works of twenty-three composers: Samuel Babcock, Supply Belcher, Daniel Belknap, Asahel Benham, Nathaniel Billings, Oliver Brownson, Amos Bull, Solomon Chandler, Eliakim Doolittle, Lewis Edson, Lewis Edson Jr., Jacob French, Alexander Gillet, Oliver Holden, Samuel Holyoke, Jacob Kimball, Elias Mann, Justin Morgan, Timothy Olmsted, Joseph Stone, Elisha West, Abraham Wood, and Merit Woodruff.

whole represents composers less famous than Billings but still worthy of study. Kroeger goes on to list several more that could not be included because of space limitations.<sup>20</sup>

Who are the candidates for a representative psalmodist? Daniel Read has been proposed as a model: he was one of the most popular and successful of the psalmodists, as defined in terms of the *Core Repertory of Early American Psalmody*,<sup>21</sup> and his works have been collected and edited. So have the sacred and secular works by Timothy Swan, Joseph Stone and Samuel Holyoke.<sup>22</sup> The additional composers included in the series *Music of the New American Nation* deserve consideration as well. But for various reasons, none meets the measure so well as Samuel Babcock.

Cooke lists ten criteria for an “average practitioner”:<sup>23</sup>

There is no doubt that this man should spend all or most of his life in small New England towns, although he is free to move about some if he likes. He should probably be a Congregationalist. His family will almost certainly be large. His income will derive only partly from teaching and perhaps publishing sacred music; more of it will come from farming, common-school teaching, a craft, a trade, or (very likely) a combination of occupations. He may hold a few public offices in his lifetime; in fact he may even stand out in his community for his leadership, his unusual literacy, or both. He should not be too prolific as a composer or compiler—perhaps several dozen pieces, one tunebook—nor should his music attain an

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid., Kroeger lists Amos Albee, William Cooper, Samuel Capen, Ebenezer Child, Benjamin Holt, Solomon Howe, Jeremiah Ingalls, Walter Janes, Abraham Maxim, Hezekiah Moors, James Newhall, Warwick Palfray, Amos Pilsbury, Zedekiah Sanger, Oliver Shaw, Nehemiah Shumway, Samuel Thomson, and Truman Wetmore.

<sup>21</sup> Crawford, *Core Repertory*.

<sup>22</sup> Cooke, “William Billings,” 53, 61-62.

<sup>23</sup> Cooke’s criteria are based largely upon his dissertation, which is a broad survey of the approximately 250 sacred musicians under discussion. See Nym Cooke, “American Psalmodists in Contact and Collaboration, 1770-1820” (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1990).

inordinate level of popularity . . . Finally, this representative psalmodist should certainly keep to an absolute minimum his settings of anything but the most standard kinds of sacred texts: Isaac Watts's hymns and Psalm versifications are to be preferred as text sources. No patriotic pieces, except perhaps a dirge on the death of George Washington; no musical jokes; perhaps one piece on the Nativity.<sup>24</sup>

At the end of his article, Cooke suggests Daniel Belknap (1771-1815) as the most likely candidate, even though he admits that Belknap probably composed too many pieces (89) and compiled too many tunebooks (four) to be a perfect fit. Yet Belknap is one of the few composers included in this group who have not been the subject of a biography or life-and-works study.<sup>25</sup> Since less is known about him than many other psalmodists, such an assessment would be based on relatively little evidence.

With this in mind and in search of the paradigmatic Massachusetts psalmodist, I returned to an examination of the twenty-three composers selected by Kroeger. Probably no single psalmodist fits Cooke's mold exactly. Some relocated during their careers (Jacob French moved to Connecticut); some were too well educated (Samuel Holyoke and Jacob Kimball were graduates of Harvard); some were too heavily involved in compiling and publishing (Oliver Holden and Elias Mann). Some were rural, others were urban; some were active early, while others were active later in the period; and they lived and worked throughout New England.

None of these composers seems to fit Cooke's criteria so well as Samuel Babcock (1760-1813), who seems typical of the psalmodists of the 1790s working in eastern Massachusetts and published by the principal tunebook press, Thomas and Andrews of Boston. This study shows

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<sup>24</sup> Cooke, "William Billings," 61.

<sup>25</sup> Belknap is part of the group of twenty-three psalmodists included by Karl Kroeger in the set *Music of the New American Nation*. See vol. 14 edited by David Warren Steel (New York: Garland, 1999).

that Samuel Babcock's life and musical activities meet Cooke's criteria closely, probably better than any other psalmodist examined to date.

This dissertation therefore explores the musical activities of Samuel Babcock (1760-1813), a psalmodist who is arguably representative of the approximately 250 sacred composers active between about 1770 and 1810 in the First New England School.<sup>26</sup> Like his older fourth cousin Lemuel Babcock (1748-1835), Samuel was a singer, singing-master, choir leader, and composer in Massachusetts. Both men wrote functional and didactic music intended primarily for use in churches, singing-schools, and singing societies within a small, local audience. Music played an important role in their lives, both as a source of income and as an outlet for artistic expression, but they had modest ambitions and probably never expected to be remembered as composers.

Samuel Babcock lived and worked most of his life in Watertown, Massachusetts. Living near Boston, he was exposed to a great variety of musical styles and sacred texts. He taught singing schools and sang, but he also composed enough music (75 works) to fill two editions of his one tunebook, *The Middlesex Harmony* (1795 and 1803). His published musical output meets Cooke's criteria in volume and makeup. Babcock was active as a musician beginning in the 1790s, during the beginning of the reform movement that brought an end to psalmody of the First New England School as it had been practiced during the previous decades. He was a Congregationalist, was married with children, and earned his living primarily as a hatter.

The need to distinguish Samuel Babcock from the singing master and composer Lemuel Babcock arose after I had begun this dissertation and during my editing of Samuel's music for

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<sup>26</sup> Approximately 250 composers of sacred music were identified by Britton et al., *American Sacred Music Imprints*.

*Music of the New American Nation*.<sup>27</sup> A handful of pieces were simply attributed to “Babcock,” raising the issue of which man composed them. Biographical and musical research on Samuel also helped shed light on his older relative.

Lemuel Babcock, born twelve years earlier, was active beginning in the late 1770s in more rural parts of the state such as Westborough and Stoughton; his opportunities for musical study were more limited; and the repertory he was exposed to was relatively small. He taught singing schools, sang, and composed music. Only a handful of his pieces setting a limited body of sacred texts survive.<sup>28</sup> His music circulated in manuscript copies and appeared in published tunebooks compiled by others.

The Babcock family was deeply involved in music.<sup>29</sup> Because the two Babcocks represent two different parts of the state, two different generations, two different groups of associations with other musicians, and two different models of publication and dissemination, Lemuel’s musical activities provide a valuable comparison with Samuel’s.

Samuel Babcock’s music was published in first printings of tunebooks from 1793 through 1806.<sup>30</sup> This places him in the most active stage of American tunebook publishing (1791-1810)

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<sup>27</sup> Laurie J. Sampsel, ed., *Samuel Babcock (ca. 1760-1813): The Collected Works*, Music of the New American Nation 11 (New York: Garland, 1999).

<sup>28</sup> One work attributed to him and a piece simply attributed to “Babcock” survive in manuscript copies. More music by Lemuel Babcock may also survive in contemporary manuscripts, but I have not surveyed extant manuscripts beyond those discussed in the scholarly literature.

<sup>29</sup> Lemuel Babcock’s sons, Alpheus (1786-1842) and Lewis (1779-1814), made significant contributions to the early American piano industry. For more on these two Babcocks, see Keith Grafing, “Alpheus Babcock, American Pianoforte Maker (1785-1842): His Life, Instruments, and Patents” (DMA diss., University of Missouri, Kansas City, 1972); and “Alpheus Babcock’s Cast-iron Piano Frames,” *Galpin Society Journal* 27 (Apr. 1974): 118-124. See also, Darcy Kuronen, “An Organized Piano by Alpheus Babcock,” in *Organ Restoration Reconsidered: Proceedings of a Colloquium*, ed. John R. Watson. Detroit Monographs in Musicology 44 (Warren, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 2005), 159-169.

<sup>30</sup> These tunebooks are discussed in Chapter Six and listed in Appendix D.

as defined by Crawford.<sup>31</sup> These were important years for American psalmody. During this period, native musicians established themselves as creative, independent composers and contributed to a repertory that grew exponentially. This is a probable period to find our prospective typical psalmodist.

Crawford's studies have shown that from 1790 to 1810, "approximately five times as many new sacred pieces were printed as had appeared in the previous 90 years,"<sup>32</sup> and almost 60 percent of these were American in origin.<sup>33</sup> But this was also a time when the New England psalmodists became increasingly self-aware and self-critical; issues of their competence and status arose. Talk of reform was beginning as European (especially British) music, by composers such as Martin Madan and Samuel Arnold, became a point of comparison. When the style of New England sacred composers came under attack by religious leaders, who complained that the music had become too secularized, a reform movement gained momentum. Increasingly between 1806 and 1810, more conservative, "ancient" music as well as modern European pieces appeared.<sup>34</sup>

Crawford pointed out that during the 1790s, some native composers continued composing "in their native, untutored idiom . . . [while] others—Holyoke, Holden, and Kimball among

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<sup>31</sup> See Crawford, *Core Repertory*, x. Crawford's three stages of American tunebook publication are 1698 to 1760, 1761 to 1790, and 1791 to 1810.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Richard Crawford, "'Ancient Music' and the Europeanizing of American Psalmody, 1800-1810," in *A Celebration of American Music: Words and Music in Honor of H. Wiley Hitchcock* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990), 227.

<sup>34</sup> See Crawford, "'Ancient Music;'" and Daniel Jones, "Early American Psalmody and the Core Repertory: A Perspective," in *Vistas of American Music: Essays and Compositions in Honor of William K. Kearns*, eds. Susan Porter and John Graziano (Warren, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 1999), 39-62.

them—studied European musical techniques and tried to match the florid style of later 18th-century English hymnodists . . .”<sup>35</sup>

Samuel Babcock, however, seems to have made a conscious choice to combine elements of both native New England psalmody and European, especially Methodist, styles.<sup>36</sup> Babcock’s relatively high number of surviving pieces can best be described as a synthesis of the two. As I have written elsewhere, “Trained in traditional psalmody, yet familiar with the reformers in his midst, [Samuel] Babcock was not content simply to imitate either.”<sup>37</sup> Understanding his work furthers the larger goal of understanding the whole picture of American sacred music in the 1790s, filling the scholarly gap that Jones identified between Billings and Mason.

## 1.1 RELEVANT LITERATURE

Before turning to the historical context necessary for understanding Samuel Babcock’s musical activities, a discussion of relevant literature is necessary. Relatively little work has been done on either Samuel Babcock or Lemuel Babcock; there is not an entry on either of them in any of the standard American music encyclopedias and dictionaries.<sup>38</sup> Before this study, no one connected

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<sup>35</sup> Richard Crawford, “A Hardening of the Categories: ‘Vernacular,’ ‘Cultivated,’ and Reactionary in American Psalmody,” in *American Studies and American Musicology: A Point of View and a Case in Point* (New York: Institute for Studies in American Music, 1975), 28-29.

<sup>36</sup> Methodist-style psalmody was more florid and was similar to secular styles. It will be discussed in more detail later.

<sup>37</sup> Laurie Sampsel, “Samuel Babcock: A New England Psalmist Suspended Between Tradition and Reform,” *American Music Research Center Journal* 6 (1996), 136.

<sup>38</sup> I have checked the following: Baker’s *Biographical Dictionary of Musicians*, 8th ed.; Grove’s *Dictionary of Music and Musician’s American Supplement*, 1928 and 1944 eds.; Harvard *Biographical Dictionary of Music*; *New Grove Dictionary of American Music*; E. Douglas Bomberger, *Brainard’s Biographies of American Musicians* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999); F.O. Jones, *A Handbook of American Music and Musicians* (Canaseraga, NY: F.O. Jones, 1886); and Metcalf, *American Writers and Compilers of Sacred Music*.



the two composers as relatives. Archival and genealogical research on the Babcock family will be necessary, along with related families (French, Adams, etc.) to establish their familial relationships.<sup>39</sup> This research will include use of the following collections: Milton Historical Society, American Antiquarian Society, military records at the National Archives, Middlesex County land records, and vital records. In the following text, previous studies of Samuel Babcock are mentioned first, followed by studies of Lemuel Babcock, and finally research useful for both is listed.

My research has resulted in the only published article on Samuel Babcock's life and musical style<sup>40</sup> and a critical edition of his collected works, published by Garland Press.<sup>41</sup> After I had begun my research for this dissertation, I took advantage of these two publication opportunities before completing this document and submitting it for defense. This study expands, updates, and corrects my previous work.

Two genre studies by Ralph Daniel and Maxine Fawcett-Yeske include brief discussions of Samuel Babcock's anthems and fusing tunes, respectively.<sup>42</sup> Both Daniel and Fawcett-Yeske include a handful of modern editions of Samuel Babcock's anthems and fusing tunes.<sup>43</sup> Another

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<sup>39</sup> William Appleton, *The Family of Badcock of Massachusetts* (Boston: D. Clap and Son, 1881) and the Babcock Family Papers at the Milton Historical Society Archives will be helpful. Sprague's *Genealogies of the Families of Braintree* is one example of a useful genealogy. Waldo C. Sprague, *Genealogies of the Families of Braintree, Mass. 1640-1850* (Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 2001), CD-ROM.

<sup>40</sup> Sampsel, "Samuel Babcock."

<sup>41</sup> Sampsel, Samuel Babcock.

<sup>42</sup> Ralph T. Daniel, *The Anthem in New England before 1800* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1966), 137-38; and Maxine Fawcett-Yeske, "The Fusing Tune in America, 1770-1820: An Analytical Study" (PhD diss., University of Colorado at Boulder, 1997), 333-38. See also the following index and census of fusing tunes: Karl Kroeger, *American Fusing-Tunes, 1770-1820: A Descriptive Catalog* (Westport, CT.: Greenwood Press, 1994) and Nicholas Temperley and Charles Manns, *Fusing Tunes in the Eighteenth Century* (Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1983).

<sup>43</sup> Daniel includes the anthem "O Come Let Us Sing" and Fawcett-Yeske includes the pieces CALEDONIA and ELEVATION.

anthem was included in the *Bicentennial Collection of American Choral Music*.<sup>44</sup> One other piece, Samuel Babcock's NEWTON, was published with a different text in *American Hymns Old and New*.<sup>45</sup>

Other than these, there are only a few passing references to Samuel Babcock in the larger body of literature on psalmody in New England during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Further, there has been little work done on the influence of the Methodist-style psalmody on New England psalmody in general, let alone on Samuel Babcock specifically.<sup>46</sup>

Lemuel Babcock is the more shadowy figure of the two cousins. The singing school he taught in Westborough, Massachusetts, during the winter months from 1778 to 1779 is described in the *Diary of Rev. Ebenezer Parkman*.<sup>47</sup> This primary source was discussed first by Alan Buechner and later by Nym Cooke in their dissertations.<sup>48</sup> Other primary sources useful in sorting out the ambiguous attributions are the Sukey Heath manuscript as well as another held by Clements Library. These have been the subjects of articles by Richard Crawford and David McKay and by Karl Kroeger, respectively.<sup>49</sup> Only one of the ambiguous attributions is available

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<sup>44</sup> "Comfort Ye My People" is the anthem included by Mason Martens. *The Bicentennial Collection of American Choral Music (1760-1900)*. Dayton, OH: McAfee Music, 1975.

<sup>45</sup> Albert Christ-Janer, Charles Hughes, and Carleton Sprague Smith, *American Hymns Old and New*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980). NEWTON is published with a text by Eunice Smith titled "Dear Brethren, Are Your Harps in Tune?"

<sup>46</sup> Nicholas Temperley and Simon McVeigh have discussed the music at the Lock Hospital in London and the Methodist style of psalmody. See Simon McVeigh, "Music and Lock Hospital in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century," *Musical Times* 129, no. 1743 (1988): 235-240; and Nicholas Temperley, "The Lock Hospital Chapel and its Music," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 118, no. 1 (1993): 44-72.

<sup>47</sup> Ebenezer Parkman, *The Diary of Rev. Ebenezer Parkman, of Westborough, Massachusetts . . .* (1899; repr., Worcester, MA: American Antiquarian Society, 1974).

<sup>48</sup> On the Parkman diary see Alan C. Buechner, "Yankee Singing Schools and the Golden Age of Choral Music in New England, 1760-1800" (Ed.D. diss., Harvard University, 1960); and Cooke, "American Psalmody."

<sup>49</sup> For more on the Waterhouse manuscript, see Richard Crawford and David P. McKay, "Music in Manuscript: A Massachusetts Tunebook of 1782," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 84 (1974): 43-64 and for more on the Clements manuscript, see Karl Kroeger "William Billing's Music in Manuscript Copy and

in modern shape-note notation, but it is not a scholarly edition.<sup>50</sup> The late nineteenth-century histories of Canton and Milton, Massachusetts, by Daniel Huntoon and A.K. Teele also mention Lemuel Babcock and his immediate family.<sup>51</sup>

Only two musical theses have included information about Lemuel Babcock. Cooke was responsible for ferreting out some of the basic details of Lemuel Babcock's life, along with planting the seed in my mind that these two Babcocks were most likely related. Keith Grafing's DMA thesis focuses on Lemuel's son, Alpheus Babcock. Nevertheless, it has more information on his father than any other source to date.<sup>52</sup>

There is, however, enough previous work to make this study possible. The major scholars in this area, Richard Crawford, Karl Kroeger, Irving Lowens, Allen Britton, Nicholas Temperley, and Nym Cooke, have produced a body of research that clarifies the major themes and concerns of the era. Crawford has focused primarily on the economics of tunebook publication, the reform of psalmody, bibliography, and psalmodist and compiler Andrew Law.<sup>53</sup> Kroeger's work in

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Some Notes on Variant Versions of his Pieces," *Notes* 39, no. 2 (Dec. 1982): 316-345. Kroeger used the symbol SMA-CL to identify this manuscript held by the Clements Library.

<sup>50</sup> Larry Gordon and Anthony Barrand. *Northern Harmony*, 4th ed. (Plainfield, VT: Northern Harmony Publishing, 1998). This edition has been recorded by the Amidons, *I'll Never Forget*, The Amidons AMMUS 05-02, 1993, compact disc; and by Northern Harmony, *Heavenly Meeting*, Northern Harmony Publishing NHPC103-CD, 1995, compact disc.

<sup>51</sup> Daniel Huntoon, *History of the Town of Canton, Norfolk County, Massachusetts* (Cambridge, MA: J. Wilson, 1893); and Albert Kendall Teele, *The History of Milton, Mass., 1640 to 1877* (Boston: Rockwell and Churchill, 1887).

<sup>52</sup> Grafing, "Alpheus Babcock."

<sup>53</sup> The following writings by Crawford were also helpful for the present study: *Andrew Law, American Psalmodist* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1968); "Hardening of the Categories," *Core Repertory*; "Massachusetts Musicians and the Core Repertory of Early American Psalmody," in *Music in Colonial Massachusetts: 1630-1820. II: Music in Homes and in Churches* (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1985); "Much Still Remains to Be Undone: Reformers of Early American Hymnody," *Hymn* 35, no. 4 (Oct. 1984): 204-8; "William Billings (1746-1800) and American Psalmody: A Study of Musical Dissemination," in *The American Musical Landscape* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Crawford and D.W. Krummel, "Early American Music Printing and Publishing," in *Printing and Society in Early America*, ed. William Joyce et al. (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1983); and Crawford and McKay, "Music in Manuscript."

psalmody has centered on the music of William Billings, American fusing tunes, stylistic issues related to the repertory, and the preparation of critical editions.<sup>54</sup> The scholarly work by Lowens, Britton, Temperley, and Cooke has already been described.

Several classic texts have provided general discussions relevant to American sacred music of this period; these include Metcalf,<sup>55</sup> Foote,<sup>56</sup> Hood,<sup>57</sup> Lowens,<sup>58</sup> Macdougall,<sup>59</sup> Stevenson,<sup>60</sup> Temperley,<sup>61</sup> and Worst.<sup>62</sup> In addition to those already mentioned, several major studies of a more specialized nature are noteworthy: Britton,<sup>63</sup> Buechner,<sup>64</sup> Cooke,<sup>65</sup> Davenport,<sup>66</sup> Engelke,<sup>67</sup> Hall,<sup>68</sup> Lindsley,<sup>69</sup> Nitz,<sup>70</sup> and Thompson.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Kroeger was the general editor for the series *Music of the New American Nation*, which includes the complete or selected works by twenty-two psalmodists in addition to Babcock (New York: Garland, 1995-1999). The following are useful here: "Dynamics in Early American Psalmody," *College Music Symposium* 26 (1986): 97-105; "Introduction," Kroeger, *Works of William Billings*: I:xiii-lxiii; III:xi-xlvii; IV:xxxiii-lxiv; "Isaiah Thomas as a Music Publisher," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 86, pt. 2 (Oct. 1976): 321-341; "Settings of Isaac Watt's Psalm 50 by American Psalmists," *Hymn* 41, no.1 (Jan. 1990): 19-27; "William Billings's Music in Manuscript Copy," 316-345; "Word Painting in the Music of William Billings," *American Music* 6, no. 1 (Spring 1988): 41-64; and "*The Worcester Collection of Sacred Harmony and Sacred Music in America, 1786-1803*" (PhD diss., Brown University, 1976).

<sup>55</sup> Especially Metcalf, *American Writers and Compilers of Sacred Music*.

<sup>56</sup> Henry W. Foote, *Three Centuries of American Hymnody* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940).

<sup>57</sup> Hood, *History of Music in New England*.

<sup>58</sup> Irving Lowens, *Music and Musicians in Early America* (New York: Norton, 1964).

<sup>59</sup> Hamilton C. Macdougall, *Early New England Psalmody: An Historical Appreciation, 1620-1820* (Brattleboro, MA: S. Daye, 1940; reprint ed., New York: Da Capo Press, 1969).

<sup>60</sup> Robert Stevenson, *Protestant Church Music in America* (New York: Norton, 1966).

<sup>61</sup> Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

<sup>62</sup> John Worst, "New England Psalmody, 1760-1810: Analysis of an American Idiom" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1974).

<sup>63</sup> Allen P. Britton, "Theoretical Introductions in American Tune-Books to 1800" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1949).

<sup>64</sup> Buechner, "Yankee Singing Schools."

<sup>65</sup> Cooke, "American Psalmists."

<sup>66</sup> Linda Davenport, *Divine Song on the Northeast Frontier: Maine's Sacred Tunebooks, 1800-1830, Composers of North America* 18 (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 1996).

Studies of several major New England psalmodists are already available; many of these are fine models upon which to base this study. For example, the lives and compositions of William Billings,<sup>72</sup> Samuel Holyoke,<sup>73</sup> Daniel Read,<sup>74</sup> and Oliver Holden<sup>75</sup> have been examined. Additional “life and works” studies include those on composers Supply Belcher,<sup>76</sup> Jacob French,<sup>77</sup> Jeremiah Ingalls,<sup>78</sup> Stephen Jenks,<sup>79</sup> Jacob Kimball,<sup>80</sup> Elias Mann,<sup>81</sup> Justin Morgan,<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Hans Engelke, “A Study of Ornaments in American Tunebooks, 1760-1800” (PhD diss., University of Southern California, 1960).

<sup>68</sup> James William Hall, Jr., “The Tune-Book in American Culture: 1800-1820” (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1967).

<sup>69</sup> Charles Lindsley, “Early Nineteenth-Century American Collections of Sacred Choral Music, 1800-1810” (PhD diss., University of Iowa, 1968).

<sup>70</sup> Donald Nitz, “Community Musical Societies in Massachusetts to 1840” (D.M.A. diss., Boston University, 1964).

<sup>71</sup> James Thompson, “Music and Musical Activities in New England, 1800-1838” (PhD diss., George Peabody College for Teachers, 1962).

<sup>72</sup> The most significant work on Billings includes the following: David McKay and Richard Crawford, *William Billings of Boston: Eighteenth-century Composer* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975); Kroeger, *Works of William Billings*; and Kroeger, *Catalog of the Musical Works of William Billings* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991). Kroeger has also written a number of articles on Billings.

<sup>73</sup> Literature devoted to Holyoke includes: J. Laurence Willhide, “Samuel Holyoke: American Music Educator” (PhD diss., University of Southern California, 1954); Relford Patterson, “Three American ‘Primitives’: A Study of the Musical Style of Hans Gram, Oliver Holden, and Samuel Holyoke” (PhD diss., Washington University, 1963); and Harry Eskew, ed., *Selected Works of Samuel Holyoke (1762-1820) and Jacob Kimball (1761-1826)*, *Music of the New American Nation* 12 (New York: Garland, 1998).

<sup>74</sup> A number of authors have studied Read and his music: Irving Lowens, “Daniel Read’s World: The Letters of an Early American Composer,” *Notes* 9, no. 2 (Mar. 1952): 233-248; rev. in Lowens, *Music and Musicians in Early America*; Richard Crawford, “Connecticut Sacred Music Imprints, 1778-1810,” *Notes* 27, no. 3 (Mar. 1971): 445-452; Vinson Bushnell, “Daniel Read of New Haven (1757-1836): The Man and His Musical Activities” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1979); and Kroeger, *Collected Works of Daniel Read*.

<sup>75</sup> Work on Holden includes: David McCormick, “Oliver Holden, Composer and Anthologist” (S.M.D. diss. Union Theological Seminary, 1963); Patterson, “Three American ‘Primitives;’” Kroeger, “Worcester Collection;” and David W. Music edited Holden’s music in vol. 13 of the series *Music of the New American Nation* (New York: Garland, 1998).

<sup>76</sup> Earl McLain Owen, Jr., “The Life and Music of Supply Belcher (1751-1836), ‘Handel of Maine,’” 2 vols. (D.M.A. diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1969); and Frieda Reynolds, “The Music of Supply Belcher” (M.M. thesis, Chicago Musical College, Roosevelt University, 1968).

<sup>77</sup> Marvin C. Genuchi, “The Life and Music of Jacob French,” 2 vols. (PhD diss., University of Iowa, 1964).

<sup>78</sup> David Klocko, “Jeremiah Ingalls’s ‘The Christian Harmony: or, Songster’s Companion’ (1805)” (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1978).

and Timothy Swan.<sup>83</sup> A number of these dissertations are now dated; however, all are valuable contributions to the body of knowledge on the subjects covered.

A number of other sources provided additional musical, historical, social, economic, and demographic context for this study. Several scholars have looked at musical life in Boston during the period under examination. These include Fisher's<sup>84</sup> and Johnson's broad studies,<sup>85</sup> Ayars survey of music industries,<sup>86</sup> Broyles discussion of musical elitism,<sup>87</sup> and Sonneck's study of concert life.<sup>88</sup> Two recent books on music in New England by Tawa<sup>89</sup> and Temperley<sup>90</sup> are relevant. Information on the printing and publishing industry is available in Crawford and Krummel,<sup>91</sup> Kroeger,<sup>92</sup> Silver,<sup>93</sup> Thomas,<sup>94</sup> Wolfe,<sup>95</sup> and Wroth.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> David Warren Steel, "Stephen Jenks (1772-1856): American Composer and Tunebook Compiler" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1982).

<sup>80</sup> Glenn C. Wilcox, "Jacob Kimball, Jr. (1761-1826): His Life and Works" (PhD diss., University of Southern California, 1957).

<sup>81</sup> Daniel C. L. Jones, "Elias Mann (1750-1825): Massachusetts Composer, Compiler and Singing Master," 2 vols. (PhD diss., University of Colorado, 1991).

<sup>82</sup> Betty Bandel, *Sing the Lord's Song in a Strange Land: The Life of Justin Morgan* (East Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1981). Morgan's collected works were edited by Kroeger and are included in vol. 7 of *Music of the New American Nation*.

<sup>83</sup> Paul Van Sickle, "Timothy Swan: Native American Composer," (M.S. thesis, Boston University, 1965); and Guy Webb, "Timothy Swan: Yankee Tunesmith," (D.M.A. thesis, University of Illinois, 1972).

<sup>84</sup> William Arms Fisher, *Notes on Music in Old Boston* (Boston: Oliver Ditson, 1918).

<sup>85</sup> H. Earle Johnson, *Musical Interludes in Boston: 1795-1830* (New York: AMS Press, 1967).

<sup>86</sup> Christine Ayars, *Contributions to the Art of Music in America by the Music Industries of Boston 1640 to 1936* (New York: H.W. Wilson, 1937).

<sup>87</sup> Michael Broyles, *"Music of the Highest Class:" Elitism and Populism in Antebellum Boston* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), especially chapter two, "Sacred-Music Reforms in Colonial and Federal America."

<sup>88</sup> Oscar Sonneck, *Early Concert-Life in America (1731-1800)* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1907), especially "Boston and New England."

<sup>89</sup> Nicholas Tawa, *From Psalm to Symphony: A History of Music in New England* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2001).

<sup>90</sup> Nicholas Temperley, *Bound for America: Three British Composers* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003).

<sup>91</sup> Crawford and Krummel, "Early American Music Printing and Publishing."

First-hand accounts of singing schools, choirs, and musical societies in the area are preserved in the forms of diaries and memoirs by Samuel Gilman,<sup>97</sup> Nathaniel Gould,<sup>98</sup> Ebenezer Parkman,<sup>99</sup> John Tileston,<sup>100</sup> and William Bentley.<sup>101</sup> Histories of the musical societies in Stoughton are useful.<sup>102</sup> Sterling Murray's articles on music composed for George Washington memorials are also relevant.<sup>103</sup>

Excellent histories of Watertown and Middlesex County Massachusetts include those by Conklin,<sup>104</sup> Drake,<sup>105</sup> Francis,<sup>106</sup> Hodges,<sup>107</sup> and Robinson,<sup>108</sup> as well as the *Watertown*

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<sup>92</sup> Kroeger, "Isaiah Thomas."

<sup>93</sup> Rollo Silver, *The American Printer: 1787-1825* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 1967).

<sup>94</sup> Isaiah Thomas, *The History of Printing in America* (New York: Weathervane Books, 1970).

<sup>95</sup> Richard Wolfe, *Early American Music Engraving and Printing* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1980).

<sup>96</sup> Lawrence Wroth, *The Colonial Printer* (Charlottesville, VA: Dominion Books, 1964).

<sup>97</sup> Samuel Gilman, *Memoirs of a New England Village Choir with Occasional Reflections* (1829; repr., New York: Da Capo, 1984).

<sup>98</sup> Nathaniel Gould, *Church Music in America* (1853; repr., New York: AMS Press, 1972).

<sup>99</sup> Parkman, *Diary*.

<sup>100</sup> Daniel Colesworthy, *John Tileston's School* . . . (Boston: Antiquarian Book Store, 1887).

<sup>101</sup> William Bentley, *The Diary of William Bentley*, 4 vols. (1905; repr., Gloucester, Mass.: P. Smith, 1962).

<sup>102</sup> Mary Jones and Frank Reynolds, *History of the Musical Society in Stoughton (Founded in 1762)* ([Stoughton, 1970]); and Lemuel Standish, ed., *The Old Stoughton Musical Society* (Stoughton: The Society, 1928).

<sup>103</sup> Sterling Murray, "Weeping and Mourning: Funeral Dirges in Honor of General Washington," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 31 (1978): 282-308; and "A Checklist of Funeral Dirges in Honor of General Washington," *Notes* 36 (1979): 326-44.

<sup>104</sup> Edwin P. Conklin, *Middlesex County and Its People: A History*, 5 vols. (New York: Lewis Historical Pub., 1927).

<sup>105</sup> Samuel Adams Drake, *History of Middlesex County, Massachusetts*, 2 vols. (Boston: Estes and Lauriat, 1880).

<sup>106</sup> Convers Francis, *Historical Sketch of Watertown in Massachusetts* (Cambridge: E.W. Metcalf, 1830).

<sup>107</sup> Maud deLeigh Hodges, *Crossroads on the Charles: A History of Watertown, Massachusetts* (Canaan, NH: Published for the Watertown Free Public Library by Phoenix Pub., 1980).

<sup>108</sup> G. Frederick Robinson and Ruth Robinson Wheeler, *Great Little Watertown: A Tercentenary History* (Cambridge, MA: Watertown Historical Society, 1930).

*Records*.<sup>109</sup> Demographic and economic information is provided by Chickering<sup>110</sup> and Brown,<sup>111</sup> respectively. Writings discussing social status of the time include those by Anderson<sup>112</sup> and Thornton.<sup>113</sup> Ahlstrom's study of religious history is useful as well.<sup>114</sup>

## 1.2 OUTLINE OF PART I

The following chapters of Part I accomplish the goals of this study as follows:

Chapter 2 provides the historical context necessary to understand Samuel Babcock's musical world. To that end, it will focus on the period from 1790 to 1810 in the Boston area. Major composers, publications, styles, genres, text sources, and influences on sacred Protestant music will be outlined.

In Chapter 3, I present the results of my genealogical, historical, and biographical research on Samuel Babcock's life, including his musical activities and the details about his personal life. I also suggest possible relationships with other musicians. Lemuel Babcock's biography will be summarized as well, since it is relevant to the discussion of the ambiguous

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<sup>109</sup> Watertown, Massachusetts, *Watertown Records: Comprising the Fourth Book of Town Proceedings and the Second Book of Births, Marriages, and Deaths from 1738 to 1822* (Boston: Gilson, 1902); and *Watertown Records: Comprising the Seventh Book of Town Proceedings, 1792 through 1809* (Newton, MA, Graphic Press, 1939).

<sup>110</sup> Jesse Chickering, *Statistical View of the Population of Massachusetts, from 1765 to 1840* (Boston: Little and Brown, 1846).

<sup>111</sup> Richard Brown, "The Emergence of Urban Society in Rural Massachusetts, 1760-1820," *Journal of American History* 41 (1974): 29-51.

<sup>112</sup> Gillian Anderson, "Eighteenth-Century Evaluations of William Billings: A Reappraisal," *Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress* 35, no. 1 (Jan. 1978): 48-58.

<sup>113</sup> Tamara Plakins Thornton, *Cultivating Gentlemen: The Meaning of Country Life among the Boston Elite: 1785-1860* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

<sup>114</sup> Sydney Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972).



Babcock attributions. This research confirms that Samuel Babcock's life story is an exemplary fit with Nym Cooke's criteria for the representative psalmist.

In Chapter 4, I examine Samuel Babcock's musical style, examining his use of word painting, influence on his work of Methodist style psalmody, and form. I explore the contents and purpose of both editions of his tunebook, *The Middlesex Harmony*. Samuel Babcock's musical output fits Nym Cooke's profile of the representative psalmist, with only minor exceptions.

In Chapter 5, I consider Samuel Babcock's choice of texts and text-setting techniques. A majority of the texts set by Samuel Babcock were by Isaac Watts, and he also set those by Nahum Tate and Nicholas Brady, fitting the criteria established by Nym Cooke. Also meeting the criteria, he composed a lament on the death of George Washington (although the music is not extant). The remainder of the texts he set represents a broad range of poets, poetic meters, and theological viewpoints.<sup>115</sup> I examine Samuel Babcock's tune titles with the goal of determining likely sites of singing schools he may have taught.

Publication and dissemination of Samuel Babcock's music is the focus of Chapter 6. His music was distributed in tunebooks published beginning in 1793 and continuing into the middle of the nineteenth century. Besides the reform movement, Crawford has identified two additional factors influencing psalmists published during the third stage, both of which play out in the music of Samuel Babcock.<sup>116</sup> The first is the impact of copyright law; the second is related to changes in printing and publishing of music. Both affected the dissemination of Samuel Babcock's music. None of his pieces was printed frequently enough to be included in the *Core*

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<sup>115</sup> In addition to Congregational texts, he set Anglican, Methodist, Universalist, and Baptist hymns.

<sup>116</sup> Crawford, *Core Repertory*, x.

*Repertory* (the highest number is thirteen printings). No known manuscripts including Samuel Babcock's music have been identified, but he mentions manuscript copies in the preface to the *Middlesex Harmony* (1795). In this chapter, I also present my conclusion that the second edition of the tunebook was published using unsold stock of the first edition. The publication history of Samuel Babcock's music matches Cooke's profile of the representative psalmist.

The differences between the fourth cousins Samuel and Lemuel Babcock elucidate Samuel Babcock's biography (Chapter 3), musical style (Chapter 4), texts and text setting (Chapter Five), and his music's publication and distribution (Chapter 6). These differences had an impact on such aspects as the texts set, the genres and styles of the music, opportunities for publication, the influence of copyright, and the number of printings of the music. This study further suggests that the works attributed to "Babcock" were most likely composed by Lemuel Babcock.

In the conclusion (Chapter 7), I draw together the findings of the preceding chapters to make the case for Samuel Babcock as a paradigmatic psalmist from Massachusetts active during the period from 1790 to 1810. I present a summary comparison between Samuel Babcock and Lemuel Babcock, highlighting the differences between them (generation, location, and musical associates) and how those played out in their lives and musical activities. Additional conclusions are presented regarding Cooke's criteria and filling in the remaining gaps in psalmody scholarship. I prepared a critical edition of the works of both Babcocks, along with the ambiguous attributions, in Part II of this dissertation.

This study of Samuel Babcock illuminates the life and musical activities of a typical Massachusetts psalmist active in the 1790s and at the turn of the nineteenth century. His biography, the sacred texts he set, the musical compositions he wrote, and the way his music was

distributed, all help us understand the standard sacred-music composer of the First New England School, and offer a companion to the studies of the more prolific and popular psalmodists of the era. Through the representative example of Samuel Babcock, this dissertation sheds light on the larger, and mostly unstudied, group of early Americans active in psalmody.

## 2.0 HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

In order to understand Samuel Babcock as representative of the First New England School of composers, we need first to understand the contexts in which those composers worked. The era of colonial psalmody dates from 1620, when the Pilgrims settled in Plymouth, Massachusetts, through about 1820 when musical preferences in the young Republic turned away from the style established by the first group of Yankee composers. Richard Crawford has identified three stages of American tunebook publication: 1698 to 1760, 1761 to 1790, and 1791 to 1810.<sup>117</sup> This chapter follows Crawford's chronological periods with emphasis on the third stage of tunebook production and on the Boston area, the period and area of Samuel Babcock's activity. However, major influences on sacred music outside this specific focus will be discussed as appropriate. The life and music of Samuel Babcock's fourth cousin, Lemuel, provide a contrast, and the two composers represent the beginning and the ending of the stylistic peak of the period.

The singing of psalms in meter has a long history in the English Protestant church dating from the Reformation, ca. 1530. The Pilgrims, who founded Plymouth Colony in 1620 with their Calvinist theology, brought this tradition of congregational singing to New England. For these settlers, the music being sung was secondary to the texts, and musical elaboration that distracted from the text's clarity was discouraged. The repertory they used was small and came primarily

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<sup>117</sup> Crawford, *Core Repertory*, x.

from Henry Ainsworth's *Book of Psalmes*.<sup>118</sup> The Puritans who founded the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1629 sang from Sternhold and Hopkins's *Whole Booke of Psalmes*.<sup>119</sup> The *Bay Psalm Book* was published by the Puritans in Boston in 1640; it was the first book published in the English-speaking colonies.<sup>120</sup> They felt the need for a new psalter that included more literal poetic translations of the psalms in the simplest poetic meters.<sup>121</sup>

The first editions of the *Bay Psalm Book* did not include music, and it was not until the ninth edition, published in 1698, that some simple tunes were included.<sup>122</sup> It marked the beginning of American tunebook publication.<sup>123</sup> The thirteen pieces, printed in the back of the book as a supplement, without texts, were the first musical works published in the colonies. All 150 psalms were sung to a few dozen tunes, based on the poetic meter of the text. The singing of a specific text with a particular piece of music would not be the norm for many decades. The printing of music as a supplement to a psalter was typical of this period, which Crawford calls the first stage of American tunebook publication, dating from 1698 to 1760.<sup>124</sup> As he describes the overall repertory during this period, "Almost all of the compositions . . . were British psalm-

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<sup>118</sup> Henry Ainsworth, *The Book of Psalmes: Englished Both in Prose and Metre with Annotations, Opening the Words and Sentences by Conference with Other Scriptures* (Amsterdam: G. Thorp, 1612).

<sup>119</sup> Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins, *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* (London: J. Day, 1562) and many later editions. This was referred to as the *Old Version* of the Psalms in comparison with the Tate and Brady, *New Version*, discussed later.

<sup>120</sup> John Cotton et al., *The Whole Booke of Psalmes [Bay Psalm Book]* ([Cambridge, MA: S. Day], 1640). Even from the earliest days, Boston was a leader in sacred music publishing.

<sup>121</sup> Most were set in common meter, long meter, and short meter. The poetic meters are defined by the number of syllables per line. Short Meter (S.M.) has four lines with 6.6.8.6 syllables. Common Meter (C.M.) has four lines of 8.6.8.6 syllables. Long Meter (L.M.) has four lines with all eight syllables, 8.8.8.8. Hallelujah Meter (H.M.) contains eight lines, 6.6.6.6.4.4.4.4. Particular (or Peculiar) Meter (P.M.) is used to designate any other metrical arrangement. Most poetic meters used the iambic foot as its basic design.

<sup>122</sup> Cotton Mather et al., *The Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs of the Old and New Testament . . . [Bay Psalm Book]*. 9th ed. (Boston: B. Green and J. Allen for M. Perry, 1698).

<sup>123</sup> Crawford, *Core Repertory*, x.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*

and hymn-tunes for congregations to sing in public worship. By 1760 only about eighty-five sacred compositions had appeared in print in the English-speaking colonies.”<sup>125</sup>

In the seventeenth century, the congregational singing of psalms to this limited repertory of tunes was an unaccompanied, oral practice. Lacking choirs, instrumental accompaniment, and a professional leader, the singing of the metrical psalms was performed as a monophonic call (by a leader) and response (by the congregation). The early colonists had little time or opportunity for musical instruction, and what musicianship there may originally have been soon declined. Few could read music, nor did they all have hymnals. As Richard Crawford explains, “By the 18<sup>th</sup> century, most New England congregations sang their psalms in a slow *parlando-rubato* tempo, with much sliding and ornamental embellishment, usually under the leadership of a clerk or ‘precentor’ who may or may not have been an accomplished singer.”<sup>126</sup> Additionally, singers felt compelled to embellish the music to the words they sang as their own fancy dictated. The resulting sound was described as a “horrid medly of confused and disorderly noises.”<sup>127</sup> This quasi-improvisatorial practice, termed lining out, became the norm in what came to be called in the next century the “old way” of singing.

The eighteenth century witnessed many changes in psalmody. One of the most influential was the formation of singing schools as an institution. Over time and with considerable opposition and controversy, more and more people became musically literate, replacing the “old way” of singing with the “regular way,” or singing from printed music. This instruction was delivered primarily in singing schools. Improved singing in turn led to the formation of church

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<sup>125</sup> Ibid. Compared to the repertory of the 1720s and 1730s, only a couple dozen tunes, this was a substantial increase.

<sup>126</sup> *New Grove Dictionary of American Music*, s.v. “Psalmody, 1: Early Psalm Books, Congregations, and Singing-Schools,” by Richard Crawford.

<sup>127</sup> Thomas Walter, *The Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained* (Boston: S. Gerrish, 1721), 2.

choirs and singing societies. The church experienced changes as well. “In the American colonies, Congregationalism . . . experienced an erosion of orthodox Calvinism that progressed throughout the eighteenth century: on the one side towards the Evangelicalism of the great revivals, on the other towards liberal religion and Unitarianism.”<sup>128</sup> By the end of the century the number of composers, publications, texts, and musical institutions had grown exponentially.

The singing school also led to the need for singing masters, who were paid for their instruction. Along the way, colonists began to compose music which was, in turn, published. The simplest genres are the plain tune and tune with extension. The first is a short, homophonic, syllabic setting (often in block chords) of a single stanza of a psalm or hymn. The earliest tunes are in two parts (melody and bass). Later ones are usually in four parts with the melody in the tenor. Plain tunes are strophic and have no repetition of either text or music. The tune with extension (or extended tune) does include some repetition, but is otherwise very similar to the plain tune. Both were composed so that any text of the same meter could be sung, but exceptions exist for the tunes with extension. More complex compositions such as fusing tunes, anthems and set pieces were composed, published, and performed as well in the following decades. The fusing tune is characterized by imitative contrapuntal entries that result in textual overlap in at least one phrase. Set pieces and anthems are both longer, sectional, through-composed forms that sometimes include changes in texture, tempi, and key. They often make more demands on the singers (for example ornaments and solo sections) and many employ much more expressive text settings. The primary difference between the two genres is that anthems often set biblical prose texts, while set pieces usually employ poetic versions of the psalms or hymns. As Karl Kroeger

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<sup>128</sup> Temperley, *Hymn Tune Index*, 1:17. By the “great revivals” Temperley is referring to the Great Awakenings, which will be discussed further below.

points out, “The anthem’s standing in eighteenth century psalmody is similar to that of the symphony in the art music repertory of the time; it is the largest, most complex, and most serious musical form.”<sup>129</sup> The final type composed by some psalmodists is the occasional piece, written specifically for an event, such as a memorial service or Masonic celebration. These are often not settings of sacred texts and were secular in purpose. Musically, they are similar to the set piece.

Over time, the transition from the singing of only metrical psalms gave way to the singing of sacred poetry, or hymnody. Toward the end of the century a number of new Protestant denominations such as Universalism formed, and hymns reflecting their individual theological slants were written, published, and set to music. An enormous growth of the music market characterized the second half of the eighteenth century. Many of these changes were hotly debated by church leaders and members alike. The pace of change varied from church to church, especially in the Congregational churches with their emphasis on autonomous decision making. For these reasons, the decades from 1720 to 1770 are often discussed in the literature as a single period marked by important institutions, tunebooks, and collections of psalms and hymns.

In the first two decades of the eighteenth century, Isaac Watts (an English Independent) published three collections of sacred texts that became very popular later in the century, especially among more liberal Congregationalist churches (and American composers). The first in 1706 was the *Horae Lyricae*, followed by his *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* the following year, and *Psalms of David* in 1719.<sup>130</sup> All three were first published in London. Nicholas Temperley described Watts’s texts as:

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<sup>129</sup> Kroeger, *Early American Anthems*, 1: ix.

<sup>130</sup> Isaac Watts, *Horae Lyricae* (London: J. Lawrence, 1706); *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* (London: J. Lawrence, 1707); and *The Psalms of David Imitated in the Language of the New Testament* (London: J. Clard, R. Ford, and R. Cruttenden, 1719).



. . . the decisive step towards the foundation of an English hymnody which would ultimately prevail over psalmody. His work was the culmination of the 17<sup>th</sup>-century movement away from literal psalm versifications. He embarked on a thorough reform of congregational song texts, based on the fundamental principle that church song should express the thoughts and feelings of the singers. (This of course was incompatible with the Calvinistic belief in literal translation of the inspired texts.)<sup>131</sup>

Nahum Tate and Nicholas Brady's *New Version of the Psalms of David* published in 1696 along with a *Supplement* of hymns in 1700 were also important sources of texts for psalmodists throughout the century.<sup>132</sup> Tate and Brady were Anglicans, but along with Watts their collections were used in the colonies by liberal Congregationalists and (later) by Unitarians.<sup>133</sup> Among these groups in the 1720s, Tate and Brady's *New Version* was "fast replacing . . . New England's own *Bay Psalm Book*, which, though a remarkable achievement for its time and place, was increasingly seen as rather stiff and crude from a literary standpoint."<sup>134</sup> Both Watts and Tate and Brady wrote poetic (i.e., metrical) versions of the psalms that were "freer and livelier than the older version, emphasizing force of expression over accuracy of translation."<sup>135</sup>

Two "Great Awakenings" influenced Congregationalism during the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth century. Both were characterized by religious revival and heightened evangelism. The first, which took place in the 1730s and 1740s, may have played a role in the

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<sup>131</sup> *Grove Music Online*, s.v. "Hymn IV. Protestant, 2: The English Hymn before the Wesleyan Revival," (by Nicholas Temperley), <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (accessed 10 Jun. 2009).

<sup>132</sup> Nicholas Brady and Nahum Tate, *A New Version of the Psalms of David Fitted to the Tunes Used in Churches* (London: M. Clark, 1696); and *A Supplement to the New Version of Psalms* by N. Tate and N. Brady . . . (London: J. Heptinstall, 1700).

<sup>133</sup> In America after the Revolution, the Anglican Church was called the Episcopal Church.

<sup>134</sup> Alan Buechner, "Thomas Walter and the Society for Promoting Regular Singing in the Worship of God: Boston, 1720-1723," in *New England Music: The Public Sphere, 1600-1900*, ed. Peter Benes (Boston: Boston University, 1998), 57. Conservative Congregational churches continued to use the *Bay Psalm Book*.

<sup>135</sup> Stephen Nissenbaum, "Christmas Religious Music in Eighteenth-Century New England," in *New England Music: The Public Sphere, 1600-1900*, ed. Peter Benes (Boston: Boston University, 1998), 104.

development of hymnody. In her 1988 dissertation, Joanne Weiss concluded that “the [First] Great Awakening is the single most important factor in the change from psalmody to hymnody in the New England colonies.”<sup>136</sup>

In the 1720s debate began in the colonies related to the performance of music in the church. Beginning in the early 1720s, some clergy began to call for the move away from the “Old Way” of singing towards “Regular Singing.” The lagging tempi and heterophony along with the off-pitch singing that resulted from lining out came under criticism. As Alan Buechner explains, “congregational singing among the Puritans had by the beginning of the eighteenth century declined to the point where it was intolerable to the musically educated members of the clergy.”<sup>137</sup> “Regular singing” was performance from music notation, with everyone in the congregations singing together. Opponents lamented the loss of the individual’s ability to interpret the music in his or her personal way. Cotton Mather, minister of Boston’s North Church, is one example of a pastor who called for improved musical performance in the church service.<sup>138</sup>

Another was Thomas Symmes (who, like Mather, was a graduate of Harvard), who called for change in his 1720 essay titled *The Reasonableness of Regular Singing*.<sup>139</sup> Symmes suggested that “singing schools” be formed to teach parishioners to read music. He almost certainly had no idea how prevalent singing schools would become in the following decades, nor the impact they would have on music making in New England. Both Lemuel and Samuel

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<sup>136</sup> Joanne Weiss, “The Relationship between the ‘Great Awakening’ and the Transition from Psalmody to Hymnody in the New England Colonies” (DMA diss., Ball State University, 1988), 3.

<sup>137</sup> Buechner, “Thomas Walter,” 51.

<sup>138</sup> Mather was one of the editors of the *Bay Psalm Book* in 1649. He is remembered by non-musicians for his role in the Salem witch trials.

<sup>139</sup> Thomas Symmes, *The Reasonableness of, Regular Singing, or Singing by Note . . .* (Boston: S. Gerrish, 1720).

Babcock probably attended a singing school to learn music. Later, both taught singing schools. The second edition of Samuel's tunebook, *Middlesex Harmony* (1803) was compiled to appeal to the singing school market.

Two tunebooks published in Boston in 1721 aided the call for reform by providing pedagogical materials: John Tufts' *An Introduction to the Singing of Psalm Tunes* and Thomas Walter's *The Grounds and Rules of Musick, Explained*.<sup>140</sup> Both Tufts and Walter were Congregational ministers. Their tunebooks contained only twenty and twenty-four tunes, respectively. Tufts used a simple type of fa-sol-la notation to avoid printing musical symbols. Their significant new contributions were the instructional sections on how to read music and sing. As Crawford notes, Walter's tunebook "was still in print nearly half a century later as part of Daniel Bayley's *A New and Complete Introduction to the Grounds and Rules of Musick*."<sup>141</sup>

Singing schools were held both in cities and smaller towns. They are documented regularly from the 1720s through the middle of the nineteenth century. Crawford and David Warren Steel have noted, "The earliest known instruction in psalm singing in Boston was advertised in April 1714."<sup>142</sup> A singing master typically advertised for classes lasting several months during the winter.<sup>143</sup> The teacher would find an available space (such as a tavern or home) and meet two or three evenings per week. Singing-school students were typically teenagers of both sexes, who clearly enjoyed them as social as well as educational events. Many

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<sup>140</sup> Both were printed from engraved plates. John Tufts, *An Introduction to the Singing of Psalm Tunes* ([Boston: S. Gerrish?, 1721?]; and Walter, *Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained*.

<sup>141</sup> *New Grove Dictionary of American Music*, s.v. "Psalmody, 2: Choirs, Elaborate Psalmody," by Richard Crawford. Daniel Bayley, *A New and Complete Introduction . . .* (Newburyport: D. Bayley, 1764). This tunebook also borrows from Tans'ur's *Royal Melody Compleat*. This will be discussed further later.

<sup>142</sup> *New Grove Dictionary of American Music*, s.v. "Singing-school," by Richard Crawford and David Warren Steel.

<sup>143</sup> They were held during the winter months to avoid the busy farming season.

schools ended with a concert, “singing exhibition,” or a singing lecture or sermon.<sup>144</sup> Here the students could demonstrate what they had learned. If the singing master had composed a piece for the school—which sometimes happened—it may have been performed at this time.

The formation of a church choir at the conclusion of a singing school was typical. Alan Buchner has documented the adoption of Regular Singing and the formation of church choirs in several cities and towns in Massachusetts.<sup>145</sup> Once the students learned to sing better, they often wanted to continue singing together as a group. In church this meant the formation of choirs, which was a step removed from having singing only by the full congregation. Initially, choirs led the congregation in singing, but they gradually began to take over the primary responsibility for singing.

Choirs were able to sing more difficult music, such as anthems. Samuel Babcock composed four anthems; Lemuel did not compose in this genre. Anthems were usually composed for a specific holiday or celebration in the church. The most important holidays for the Congregational church were Thanksgiving and Fast Day; they did not officially celebrate Christmas and Easter. Most psalmodists were Congregationalists, although they also taught students from other denominations in their singing schools. Congregational churches did not have a formal liturgy, but did follow an order of service. Most of the musicians mentioned in the first chapter of this dissertation were Congregationalists. The Anglicans and Universalists, however, did celebrate Christmas and Easter. Samuel Babcock composed three Christmas

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<sup>144</sup> The lecture or sermon would extol the value of regular singing. It offered a way to involve the clergy and encouraged the singers to continue their musical learning and contribution to the church.

<sup>145</sup> Alan Buechner, *Yankee Singing Schools and the Golden Age of Choral Music in New England, 1760-1800* (Boston: Boston University, 2003), 120, 124. Buechner used the exact same title as his dissertation for this later published version.

pieces—including one set to a text by a Universalist, George Richards—and one of the ambiguous attributions (likely by Lemuel Babcock) is also devoted to this holiday.

Beginning with Watts and Tate and Brady, hymnals included Christmas hymns. Starting in 1760 American tunebooks began to include British Christmas music, and in 1770 William Billings was the first American psalmodist to have a Christmas hymn published.<sup>146</sup> During this period, Christmas music seems to have increasingly become part of Congregational services, at least when the holiday fell on a Sunday.

Stephen Nissenbaum explains the continuum of religious thought at the time:

In the mid-eighteenth century, culture has separated, roughly speaking, into three different strains. One of these strains appealed to people who by ideology, temperament, and (often) genteel social position were inclined to imitate the ways of fashionable English society—liberals, or “Anglicizing” types, as they have been dubbed by historians. A second strain appealed to those New Englanders who were attracted by the evangelical impulse that swept much of the region in the early 1740s in the form of the Great Awakening (such people were commonly known as “New Lights”). The third and oldest strain appealed to those who chose to remain loyal to the traditional New England way of the Puritans; such people were commonly referred to as “Old Lights” (or Old Calvinists), to distinguish them from evangelical “New Lights.” Of these three groups, only the Old Calvinists appear to have successfully resisted the lure of Christmas during the middle and latter parts of the eighteenth century.<sup>147</sup>

Tunebook publication supported singing schools and reflected their growth and popularity, and singing schools provided a market for tunebooks. They offered a venue for the dramatic expansion of the repertory. Two significant examples by English psalmodists are William Tans’ur’s *Royal Melody Compleat* (1755)<sup>148</sup> and Aaron Williams’s *Universal Psalmodist* (1763).<sup>149</sup> Both titles were reprinted by Daniel Bayley in Boston and Newburyport.

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<sup>146</sup> Nissenbaum, “Christmas Religious Music,” 104, 107-8.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid., 110-111.

<sup>148</sup> William Tans’ur, *Royal Melody Compleat* (London: J. Hodges, 1755).

<sup>149</sup> Aaron Williams, *Universal Psalmodist* (London: J. Johnson, 1763).

As Crawford explains, Bayley was “responsible for the editions and issues of Tans’ur’s *The Royal Melody Complete*, Williams’s *Universal Psalmist*, and Tans’ur-Williams-Bayley’s *The American Harmony*<sup>150</sup> that appeared in New England between 1767 and 1774.”<sup>151</sup>

Buechner explained that these two tunebooks were successful because:

they provided New England psalm singers with their first introduction to some of the major forms of choral music such as canons, fusing tunes, anthems, and occasional pieces. So great was their impact that within a few years after their appearance a number of Yankee singing master began composing choral music in the forms and styles included in their pages . . . . It would be no exaggeration to state that these collections were responsible in large measure for initiating the great flowering of choral music which took place in New England between 1760 and 1800.<sup>152</sup>

Many New England psalmists were influenced by these collections. Kroeger has noted the significant impact that Tans’ur’s music, in particular, had on the compositions of William Billings, the most celebrated of these Yankee musicians.<sup>153</sup>

The period identified by Crawford as the second stage of American tunebook publishing (1761 to 1790) begins with James Lyon’s *Urania*, published in Philadelphia in 1761.<sup>154</sup> This tunebook is significant because of its size and repertory. At almost two hundred pages in length, it includes ninety-six compositions, more than were published during the entire first stage of tunebook publication. The music is noteworthy for including some pieces composed by Lyon

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<sup>150</sup> Daniel Bayley, *American Harmony* (Newburyport, MA: D. Bayley, 1767-1774).

<sup>151</sup> Britton et al., *American Sacred Music Imprints*, 116.

<sup>152</sup> Buechner, *Yankee Singing Schools*, 41.

<sup>153</sup> Karl Kroeger, “William Tans’ur’s Influence on William Billings,” *Inter-American Music Review* 11, no. 2 (Spring-Summer 1991): 1-12.

<sup>154</sup> James Lyon, *Urania, or, A Choice Collection of Psalm Tunes, Anthems, and Hymns . . .* (Philadelphia: H. Dawkins, 1761).

himself for a variety of genres, including anthems and set pieces. Crawford described it as a “landmark in American psalmody.”<sup>155</sup>

The second-stage tunebooks included music by more American composers, in more elaborate musical forms, with standardized oblong format, and tunes began to be associated and reprinted with the same text. Samuel Babcock, born in 1760, grew up during this period; his older fourth cousin, Lemuel Babcock, was born in 1748 and was a contemporary of William Billings. The music of both Babcocks was published during Crawford’s third stage of tunebook publication, to be discussed later.

Two Boston publications by Josiah Flagg from the middle of the 1760s must be mentioned, his *Collection of the Best Psalm Tunes* (1764) and *Sixteen Anthems* (1766).<sup>156</sup> They “further established the American tunebook as a forum for the publication of ‘modern’ music.”<sup>157</sup> In his preface to the *Collection*, Flagg stressed his intent to provide new music and his efforts at selectively choosing those he thought were the best. In *Sixteen Anthems*, Flagg selected British compositions including some by Handel, Tans’ur, Williams, and others. Concerning the publication of American anthems in tunebooks, Kroeger notes that “Although most tunebooks published between 1780 and 1810 contained at least a few anthems, and anthems were now important adjuncts to music in public worship, collections devoted chiefly to large-scale pieces were seldom published.”<sup>158</sup>

The first American tunebook compilers appear in the 1760s, with Lyon, Flagg, and Bayley. This decade also witnessed an increase in the number of tunebooks published. Over 300

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<sup>155</sup> *New Grove Dictionary*, “Psalmody, 2.”

<sup>156</sup> Josiah Flagg, *A Collection of the Best Psalm Tunes . . .* (Boston: P. Revere, 1764) and *Sixteen Anthems* (Boston: J. Flagg, 1766).

<sup>157</sup> *New Grove Dictionary*, “Psalmody, 2.”

<sup>158</sup> Kroeger, *Early American Anthems*, xi.

pieces of music were published in the 1760s. The repertory was now becoming too large to continue to be transmitted only as an oral tradition. “It is clear that the [psalmody] tradition was transformed by the appearance of new institutions and the impact of musical literacy, and that the 1760s were a crucial time in that transformation.”<sup>159</sup>

Two British publications during this decade introduced the “Methodist style” that greatly influenced Samuel Babcock—and a musical reform beginning in the 1790s. As I have described its music elsewhere:

It typically consists of three parts with the melody on top and the two treble voices moving predominantly at intervals of thirds and sixths. The melodic lines are frequently florid and often highly ornamented. The bass part appears to be instrumentally conceived, containing large leaps and numerous repeated notes, in effect a close copy of the characteristic Italian trio sonata texture of the seventeenth century. Influenced by Italian opera and dance music, the style is not unlike more secular forms of the time. The musical language uses common practice European-style harmonies; the parts are composed together. Open intervals are rare except at final cadences. Common musical meters include 2/4, 3/4, or 4/4 and the tempi are typically on the fast side. The texts set tend to be trochaic with lines of uneven numbers of syllables.<sup>160</sup> Weak phrase endings are common. Major mode predominates. Repetition of text, music, or both is common.<sup>161</sup>

The two collections are Thomas Butt’s *Harmonia Sacra* (London, ca. 1760) and Martin Madan’s *Lock Hospital Collection* (London, 1769).<sup>162</sup> Martin Madan is a representative composer, about whom more will be said later.

In 1770 William Billings published the first tunebook composed entirely by an American composer, *The New-England Psalm Singer*.<sup>163</sup> As explained in Chapter 1, this landmark

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<sup>159</sup> *New Grove Dictionary*, “Psalmody, 2.”

<sup>160</sup> For example, 7.7.7.7.

<sup>161</sup> Sampsel, “Samuel Babcock,” 188.

<sup>162</sup> See *New Grove Dictionary of American Music*, s.v. “Psalmody 4: Reform,” by Richard Crawford; Thomas Butts, *Harmonia Sacra* (London, ca. 1760); and Martin Madan, *A Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes . . .* ([London, Lock Hospital], 1769).



publication has been viewed as marking the clear arrival of the American composer. The tunebook contained 127 of his own works, including anthems. With this one tunebook, “the number of American sacred compositions in print increased tenfold.”<sup>164</sup> *The New-England Psalm Singer* set the precedent for the single-composer American tunebooks that followed, including Samuel Babcock’s *Middlesex Harmony* (1795 and 1803).

The first piece of music bearing the attribution to Babcock was published at the end of the decade, in 1779. SPRINGFIELD, an ambiguous Babcock attribution, was printed in Andrew Law’s *Select Harmony*.<sup>165</sup> Law was primarily a tunebook compiler—a very prolific one—and an influential singing master. He promoted American composers in *Select Harmony*. Later he became a proponent of the reform of sacred music. Two other compilers who also promoted American composers were Simeon Jocelyn and Amos Doolittle in their 1782 tunebook, *The Chorister’s Companion*.<sup>166</sup> Because of these two Connecticut compilations, the number of American composers in print reached nineteen by 1782.<sup>167</sup>

Lemuel Babcock conducted a singing school with forty-six pupils in Westborough, Massachusetts from November 1778 through February 1779.<sup>168</sup> Singing schools generally did not leave a paper trail, because they were not permanent institutions. Those in major cities were sometimes advertised in the local newspapers. More often the only evidence that one took place appears in a contemporary’s journal or diary. The singing school taught by Lemuel Babcock in

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<sup>163</sup> Billings, *New-England Psalm-Singer*.

<sup>164</sup> Richard Crawford, *America’s Musical Life* (New York: Norton, 2001), 39. Temperley has identified approximately forty works by Americans before 1770, but most were unattributed.

<sup>165</sup> Andrew Law, *Select Harmony* ([Farmington, CT?: W. Law?], 1779).

<sup>166</sup> Simeon Jocelyn and Amos Doolittle, *The Chorister’s Companion* (New Haven, 1782).

<sup>167</sup> *New Grove Dictionary of American Music*, s.v. “Psalmody, 2: Choirs, Elaborate Psalmody,” by Richard Crawford.

<sup>168</sup> Buechner, *Yankee Singing Schools*, 46.

the winter of 1778-79 was well documented by the Reverend Ebenezer Parkman.<sup>169</sup> As the first Congregational minister of the town, Parkman clearly supported singing in his church and home.<sup>170</sup> As Alan Buechner notes:

As might be expected, the staunch believer in regular singing [Parkman] did everything he could to assist this teacher of choral music [Lemuel Babcock]. He provided Badcock with room and board, and he sent his own children to the singing school . . . He encouraged his son, Breck, who was a bookbinder by trade, to make manuscript singing books for Badcock's scholars. He entertained him and other musical friends by holding singing parties at the parsonage. He helped him and his scholars practice the difficult task of sustaining the pitch of the music while the psalm was lined out. When the singing school was almost over, he arranged for another friend, the Reverend John Foster, to give a singing lecture. And after Badcock had left, he used his influence to see that the singers whom he had trained received their just reward, that of being allowed to sit together in the gallery of the meeting house as a full-fledged choir.<sup>171</sup>

One of the ambiguously attributed pieces is titled WESTBOROUGH; if it was composed by Lemuel Babcock, as I propose later, it was possibly written for this singing school and may have been performed at the singing lecture held at its conclusion.

Church choirs were often formed at the conclusion of a singing school. Once the students learned to sing better, they wanted to continue their musical development. In church this meant the formation of choirs, which was a step removed from only having singing by the full congregation. Buchner has documented the adoption of Regular Singing and the formation of church choirs in several cities and towns in Massachusetts.<sup>172</sup>

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<sup>169</sup> See Buechner, *Yankee Singing Schools*, 116-118. Parkman came to Westborough in 1724 as its first pastor. Regular singing was established there in 1731. Entries from Parkman's diary as well as those of his daughter, Sophie, are transcribed in Buechner as Appendix C.

<sup>170</sup> Parkman's diary along with his daughter's were major sources for Buechner. Also note that Parkman was a Harvard graduate.

<sup>171</sup> Buechner, *Yankee Singing Schools*, 116. At this time, Lemuel Babcock was still using the older form of the surname, Badcock.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, 120, 124.

The 1780s saw the continuation of the trends described thus far; more tunebooks were published and the music of more American composers was available in print. More hymns were available from poets, including Evangelical Anglicans John Newton and William Cowper (1779), Methodists Charles Wesley and John Wesley (1785), and Baptist compiler John Rippon (1787).<sup>173</sup> Tunebook publication slowed slightly during the years of the Revolutionary War, but resumed with renewed vigor afterwards. Three new developments during the 1780s include the publication of the first tunebook using moveable type by Isaiah Thomas; the publication of Thomas's best-selling "formula" tunebook, the *Worcester Collection*; and the growth of the musical society as an avenue for the performance of sacred music.<sup>174</sup> Table 1 shows the contents of eight popular tunebooks that have a similar mix of music.

Thomas was the leading publisher in early America. He bought a set of musical type in 1784 and printed his first publication, the *Worcester Collection*, in 1786.<sup>175</sup> Thomas, with his partner Ebenezer Andrews, printed twenty-four tunebooks in thirty-eight editions before retiring in 1802. Among them is *The Massachusetts Compiler* assembled by Hans Gram, Oliver Holden, and Samuel Holyoke, with the longest rudiments section of any tunebook.<sup>176</sup> This publication may have contributed to the growing calls for reform of the repertory that reached its peak in the following decade. The first edition of Samuel Babcock's *Middlesex Harmony* was published in

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<sup>173</sup> John Newton and William Cowper, *Olney Hymns . . .* (London: W. Oliver, 1779); John Rippon, *A Selection of Hymns from the Best Authors* (London: T. Wilkins, 1787); and John Wesley, *A Pocket Hymn Book for the Use of Christians of All Denominations* (London: J. Paramore, 1785).

<sup>174</sup> Formula tunebooks include a combination of old and new as well as American and English music. They typically include a significant number of pieces that were reprinted often enough to become part of the core repertory.

<sup>175</sup> *Laus Deo! The Worcester Collection of Sacred Harmony . . . [Worcester Collection]* (Worcester, MA: I. Thomas, 1786). See Karl Kroeger, "Isaiah Thomas as a Music Publisher," 322.

<sup>176</sup> Hans Gram, Oliver Holden, and Samuel Holyoke, *The Massachusetts Compiler . . .* (Boston: Thomas and Andrews, 1795).

the same year as *The Massachusetts Compiler*, 1795. Andrews issued a few imprints up to 1810.<sup>177</sup>

**Table 1. Contents of Early “Formula” Tunebooks, 1786-89178**

	Number of Pieces	American	English	Unknown	New Pieces	Core Repertory
<i>The Worcester Collection</i> (1786)	108	73	33	2	8	39
<i>Sacred Harmony</i> ([1786-88])	132	79	49	4	4	54
Bayley, <i>The New Harmony of Zion</i> (1788)	102	52	47	3	0	49
<i>The Federal Harmony</i> ([1788])	129	94	32	3	8	43
<i>A Selection of Sacred Harmony</i> ([1788])	62	26	32	4	0	40
<i>The Worcester Collection</i> , 2nd ed. (1788)	118	82	34	2	8	50
Adgate and Spicer, <i>Philadelphia Harmony</i> , 2nd ed. (1789)	61	30	30	1	3	48
<i>A Selection of Sacred Harmony</i> , [2nd ed.] (1789)	60	31	27	2	0	42

<sup>177</sup> Kroeger, “Isaiah Thomas.”

<sup>178</sup> This table is adapted from Crawford and Krummel, “Early American Music Printing and Publishing,” 218. Citations for the tunebooks included are as follows: *Laus Deo! The Worcester Collection of Sacred Harmony . . . [Worcester Collection]*. (Worcester, MA: I. Thomas, 1786); *Sacred Harmony or a Collection of Psalm Tunes . . .* (Boston: C. Cambridge, [1786-88]); Daniel Bayley, *The New Harmony of Zion, or, Complete Melody* (Newburyport, MA: D. Bayley, 1788); [Norman, John?], *Federal Harmony* (Boston: J. Norman, [1788]); *A Selection of Sacred Harmony* (Philadelphia: W. Young, [1788]); *Laus Deo! The Worcester Collection of Sacred Harmony . . . [Worcester Collection]*, 2nd ed. (Worcester, MA: I. Thomas, 1788); Andrew Adgate and Ishmail Spicer, *Philadelphia Harmony*, [2nd ed.] (Philadelphia: J. M’Culloch, 1789); and *A Selection of Sacred Harmony*, [2nd ed.] (Philadelphia: W. Young, 1789).

Outside of the church, singers formed singing societies where they had much more freedom to choose their own music. Singing set pieces, anthems, fusing tunes, and occasional pieces allowed them to expand their musical skills by learning more complex music. While the music was still sacred in text, its purpose was secular. Some singing societies presented sacred music in occasional public concerts, particularly in Boston, and student singing societies at Harvard and Yale supplied sacred vocal music at commencement exercises.

Singing societies seem to have become fairly common in the late 1780s. Buechner noted the existence of a Society for Regular Singing in Boston in the early 1720s.<sup>179</sup> Two societies are documented in 1762. John Titleston, a teacher in Boston, recorded hosting the Tans'ur Singers in his home in 1762 and 1764.<sup>180</sup> The Musical Society in Stoughton was active beginning in 1762, although this society was less organized than the Old Stoughton Musical Society founded in 1786.<sup>181</sup> Lemuel Babcock joined the latter society in 1803 and the ambiguously attributed SPRINGFIELD was included in the Society's tunebook in 1829.<sup>182</sup>

Beginning in the same year that the Old Stoughton Musical Society was organized (1786), tunebooks began to specifically indicate their use by such groups. For example, the subtitle of the *Worcester Collection* includes societies as part of its subtitle, “. . . the Whole Compiled for the Use of Schools and Singing Societies.” This was the first American tunebook title identified that specifically mentions its use by singing societies. Several others followed in the next two decades. The first edition of Samuel Babcock's tunebook *Middlesex Harmony* (1795) was also intended for use by singing societies.

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<sup>179</sup> Buechner, *Yankee Singing Schools*, 30.

<sup>180</sup> Colesworthy, *John Tileston's School*, 74-76.

<sup>181</sup> Jones and Reynolds, *History of the Musical Society in Stoughton*.

<sup>182</sup> Stoughton Musical Society, *Stoughton Collection of Church Music* (Boston: Marsh & Capen, 1829).

In his dissertation, Donald Nitz identified several singing societies active before 1800. Of these, six were formed in the 1780s (including Stoughton) and another six were active beginning in the 1790s in the Boston area. These twelve societies may have been part of the audience for Babcock's tunebook.<sup>183</sup> As Crawford has concluded, "Like the church choir, the existence of musical societies demonstrates the desire of Americans to sing the most challenging and artistic music available to them, and to perform at a high level of proficiency."<sup>184</sup>

The years of the Second Great Awakening (the 1790s through the 1830s) saw the further rise of musical societies. Historian Richard Brown has noted the possible relationship between the evangelism of the period and the formation of volunteer associations, including Masonry and societies devoted to music.<sup>185</sup> Masonic lodges were one type of volunteer association that offered support and patronage to musicians. As Steven Bullock explains, "It's [Masonry's] advantages flowed irregularly and often indirectly, but its wide-ranging activities and membership offered musicians important opportunities that made it an integral part of early America's expanding, but still underdeveloped and ill-defined, art world."<sup>186</sup> A number of psalmodyists were Masons, including William Billings, Oliver Holden, Samuel Holyoke, and Daniel Belknap.<sup>187</sup> Other brothers who figured prominently in Samuel Babcock's musical activities are the publisher Isaiah Thomas, and ministers Thaddeus Mason Harris and Richard Rosewell Eliot. These connections will be explored further below. Neither Samuel Babcock nor Lemuel Babcock was a

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<sup>183</sup> Another dozen were formed in the first decade of the nineteenth century. See Nitz, "Community Musical Societies," 404-405.

<sup>184</sup> *New Grove Dictionary of American Music*, s.v. "Psalmody 3: Choirs, Elaborate Psalmody," by Richard Crawford.

<sup>185</sup> Brown, "Emergence of Urban Society," 38.

<sup>186</sup> Steven Bullock, "'I Sing the Mason's Glory': Freemasonry and Musical Life in Early New England," in *New England Music: The Public Sphere, 1600-1900*, ed. Peter Benes (Boston: Boston University, 1998), 81-82.

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*, 80, 86.

Mason. But lodges commissioned the composition of original music for their public activities, and Samuel Babcock was engaged at least twice in this role. He wrote music for the installation of the Masonic Lodge in Watertown in 1798 as well as for the 1802 celebration of the anniversary of St. John the Baptist in his hometown.<sup>188</sup>

Additional Protestant denominations were formed in the middle of the century (Methodist) and towards the end of the century (Universalists). Hymns for these were written and set by psalmodists. One collection of hymns that was popular in the Boston area was Jeremy Belknap's *Sacred Poetry* (1795).<sup>189</sup> Belknap was a Unitarian, and his collection was one of Samuel Babcock's favorite text sources, especially the hymns by Philip Doddridge, Anna Barbauld, and James Merrick.

When singing schools were supported by towns, as was increasingly the case after ca. 1790, their records provide documentation. Samuel Babcock taught singing schools in Watertown in 1798 and 1804.<sup>190</sup> Lemuel Babcock taught in Westborough as an itinerant singing master; he was living in Wrentham at the time. Samuel Babcock's documented singing schools were in his hometown of Watertown, and were sponsored by the town.<sup>191</sup> Evidence from tune names suggests that both Babcocks likely taught singing schools in other towns as well. This will be discussed in more detail later.

Samuel Babcock's *Middlesex Harmony* was one of only nine single-composer tunebooks published by Thomas and Andrews between 1789 and 1803 (see Table 2).

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<sup>188</sup> "Masonic Installation at Watertown," *Columbian Centinel* (12 Sep. 1798); and see Samuel Babcock's *The Middlesex Harmony: Being an Original Composition of Sacred Music, in Three and Four Parts* (2nd ed. Boston: Thomas and Andrews, 1803) for the 1802 piece.

<sup>189</sup> Jeremy Belknap, *Sacred Poetry* . . . ([Boston]: Apollo Press, 1795).

<sup>190</sup> *Watertown Records: Comprising the Seventh Book of Town Proceedings*, 36, 79, 94, 190-191, 214, 317-318, 345 and 440. These records demonstrate that payment was made by the town.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*

**Table 2. Single-Composer Tunebooks Printed by Thomas & Andrews<sup>192</sup>**

1789	Wood, Abraham. <i>Divine Songs</i> (32 p.)
1791	Holyoke, Samuel. <i>Harmonia Americana</i> (120 p.)
1792	Holden, Oliver. <i>American Harmony</i> (32 p.)
1793	Kimball, Jacob, Jr. <i>Rural Harmony</i> (112 p.)
1794	Belcher, Supply. <i>Harmony of Maine</i> (104 p.)
1794	Billings, William. <i>Continental Harmony</i> (202 p.)
<b>1795</b>	<b>Babcock, Samuel. <i>Middlesex Harmony</i> (56 p.)</b>
1797	Belknap, Daniel. <i>Harmonist's Companion</i> (32 p.)
<b>1803</b>	<b>Babcock, Samuel. <i>Middlesex Harmony</i>, 2nd ed. (116 p.)</b>
1803	Cole, John. <i>Collection of Psalm Tunes and Anthems</i> (56 p.)

Babcock's was the only one published in a second edition, however. Both editions were published during what Crawford calls the third stage of tunebook publication, dating from 1791 to 1810. During these two decades, "approximately five times as many new sacred pieces were printed as had appeared in the previous 90 years," and almost sixty percent of these were American in origin.<sup>193</sup> Table 2 summarizes the data on the origins of the compositions published in American tunebooks from 1760 through 1810. Crawford has documented a shift away from American music in tunebooks that were published after 1806.

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<sup>192</sup> Abraham Wood, *Divine Songs* (Boston: I. Thomas, 1789); Samuel Holyoke, *Harmonia Americana* (Boston: Thomas and Andrews, 1791); Oliver Holden, *American Harmony* (Boston: Thomas and Andrews, 1792); Jacob Kimball, Jr., *The Rural Harmony* (Boston: Thomas and Andrews, 1793); Supply Belcher, *The Harmony of Maine* (Boston: Thomas and Andrews, 1794); William Billings, *The Continental Harmony* (Boston: Thomas and Andrews, 1794); Samuel Babcock, *The Middlesex Harmony* (Boston: Thomas and Andrews, 1795); Daniel Belknap, *The Harmonist's Companion* (Boston: Thomas and Andrews, 1797); Samuel Babcock, *The Middlesex Harmony*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Thomas and Andrews, 1803); and John Cole, *A Collection of Psalm Tunes and Anthems* (Boston: Thomas and Andrews, 1803).

<sup>193</sup> Crawford, *Core Repertory*, x and Crawford, "Ancient Music," 227.



**Table 3. Proportion of American and Non-American Compositions Printed, 1760-1810<sup>194</sup>**

Years	No. of Pieces	American Pieces	Non-American Pieces	Unidentified	% of American Pieces	% of Non-American Pieces	
1760-1769	1,460	40	1,290	120	3%	88%	
1770-1779	1,780	310	1,430	40	17%	80%	
1780-1789	2,960	1,490	1,380	90	50%	47%	
1790-1799	5,590	3,760	1,680	150	67%	30%	
1800-1810	1801-1805	6,330	4,250	1,910	170	67%	30%
	1806-1810	8,520	3,740	4,310	460	44%	51%

All but the one Babcock attribution previously mentioned (SPRINGFIELD) were published between 1793 and 1806. All of Samuel Babcock's music was first printed in Boston from 1793 through 1806, the majority by Thomas and Andrews.<sup>195</sup> Lemuel Babcock's two confirmed compositions were published in central Massachusetts by Solomon Howe in his *Psalm-Singer's Amusement* (ca. 1804). Four ambiguous Babcock attributions (along with one of the confirmed Lemuel Babcock works) were first published in 1793 by Joseph Stone and Abraham Wood in *Columbian Harmony*, also published in central Massachusetts. The remaining ambiguous attribution (SPRINGFIELD) was first printed in central Connecticut by Andrew Law in *Select Harmony* (1779); an alternate version was later printed in *Columbian Harmony*.

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<sup>194</sup> Ibid., 227, 229.

<sup>195</sup> The publishing firm was going out of business in 1806, after Isaiah Thomas's retirement a few years earlier.

Crawford cites the influence of three developments during the period 1791 to 1810 which distinguish tunebooks published during this period from the earlier two: the first federal copyright law was passed in 1790; calls for musical reform began to be made; and printers increasingly printed tunebooks from musical type rather than engraved plates. The copyright law stopped the unregulated reprinting of popular tunes without the composers' knowledge or permission. As the only Babcock piece published before the copyright law, it is not a coincidence that the ambiguously attributed SPRINGFIELD was reprinted more times than any other Babcock piece.

After about 1806, the music of the First New England School began to be viewed as inferior to European, particularly English music. Crawford has pinpointed the shift "between 1806 and 1810, while the number of new tunebooks far exceeded those of the previous five years, their component of American compositions actually declined while European representation more than doubled."<sup>196</sup> Several forces were at play simultaneously. Church leaders called for a return to simpler music, back to the style of plain tunes that could be sung by the congregation (rather than just the choir). Another concern from religious leaders was the lack of textual clarity in the fudging tune, in particular. A third reason for reform was that many tunes, particularly fudging tunes, were "airy" and lacked the solemnity appropriate for religious observance.<sup>197</sup> Some tunebook compilers also called for reform; Andrew Law is one notable example. In the late 1770s and early 1780s he introduced American music into print, but "in 1793 [he] announced his preference for English psalmody and spent the rest of his life

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<sup>196</sup> Crawford, "Ancient Music," 228-229.

<sup>197</sup> Oliver Holden, *Union Harmony, or, Universal Collection of Sacred Music* (Boston: Thomas and Andrews, 1793), 1:iii.

advocating and publishing it.”<sup>198</sup> In the 1790s, several American composers, including Samuel Babcock, had made a stylistic shift toward the Methodist style of psalmody, which was introduced in the 1760s in England. But the Methodist style came under attack for being too secular. As Crawford explained, it “resembled the Italianate solo songs favored in drawing rooms and theaters.”<sup>199</sup> British music had been part of the repertory throughout, but the immigration of trained musicians, such as Hans Gram, highlighted the differences in musical style.<sup>200</sup> Their music pointed out the differences between proper (called “scientific”) music that followed European rules of harmony and voice leading and the works of musicians taught at singing school. The contents of tunebooks changed dramatically. See Table 4 for a summary of the contents of so called “reform” tunebooks, which varies greatly from the “formula” tunebooks described earlier.

Temperley explained the calls for reform as follows:

When the English colonies joined to form a nation, a new force came to maturity: nationalism. First in war, then in all fields of human endeavor, leading Americans were determined to assert the claims and standing of the United States in the world. The only available standard to measure their progress was that of the European countries, most obviously Great Britain. Paradoxically, therefore, Americans had to become more European in their music in order to assert their national prowess. The style of the New England psalmody, led by William Billings, has seemed to modern scholars and musicians to be genuinely and characteristically American. But to American musical leaders of the early 1800s, that same style was increasingly unwelcome, because it seemed to stigmatize American music as inferior, its composers as primitive and ignorant. They wanted to move in the direction of European art music.<sup>201</sup>

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<sup>198</sup> Crawford, “Ancient Music,” 235-236.

<sup>199</sup> *New Grove Dictionary of American Music*, s.v. “Psalmody 4: Reform,” by Richard Crawford.

<sup>200</sup> Ibid.

<sup>201</sup> Temperley, *Bound for America*, 1-2.

**Table 4. Contents of Reform Tunebooks, 1805-10<sup>202</sup>**

	Number of Pieces	American	English	Unknown	New Pieces	Core Repertory
<i>The Salem Collection</i> (1805)	84	0	84	0	8	39
<i>The Salem Collection</i> , 2nd ed. (1806)	90	1	85	4	4	41
<i>The Middlesex Collection</i> (1807)	101	3	95	3	4	45
<i>The Middlesex Collection</i> , 2nd ed. (1808)	121	4	113	4	0	50
<i>Deerfield Collection</i> ([1808])	83	0	81	2	0	40
[Boston: Brattle Street Church], <i>LXXX Psalm and Hymn Tunes</i> (1810)	80	1	78	1	5	29
[Boston: West Church], <i>A Collection of Sacred Musick</i> (1810)	62	3	58	1	0	30
[Boston: West Church], <i>A Collection of Sacred Musick</i> , [2nd ed.] ([1810])	95	4	89	2	1	37
<i>Sacred Psalmody</i> , <i>Selected for the Church in Federal- Street</i> ([1810?])	32	0	32	0	0	27

<sup>202</sup> Adapted from Crawford, “Ancient Music,” 241. Citations for the tunebooks included are as follows: *The Salem Collection* (Salem, MA: Cushing and Appleton, 1805); *The Salem Collection*, 2nd ed. (Salem, MA: Cushing and Appleton, 1806); *The Middlesex Collection of Church Music . . .* (Boston: Manning and Loring, 1807); *The Middlesex Collection of Church Music . . .*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Manning and Loring, 1808); *Deerfield Collection of Sacred Music* (Northampton, MA: S. & E. Butler, [1808]); [Boston: Brattle Street Church], *LXXX Psalm and Hymn Tunes for Public Worship* (Boston: Manning and Loring, 1810); [Boston: West Church], *A Collection of Sacred Musick . . .* (Boston: Buckingham and Titcomb, 1810); [Boston: West Church], *A Collection of Sacred Musick . . .*, [2nd ed.] (Boston: Buckingham and Titcomb, [1810]); and *Sacred Psalmody Selected for the Church in Federal-Street* ([Boston, 1810?]).

The third factor noted by Crawford was the transition to printing music using moveable type. This shift happened between 1780 and 1810, and is illustrated by Table 5.

**Table 5. Processes of Printing Sacred Tunebooks<sup>203</sup>**

Years	Total No. of Issues	Issues Printed from Engraved Plates	Issues Printed Typographically	Percent Printed Typographically
1780-1789	52	44	8	15%
1790-1799	102	54	48	47%
1800-1810	214	59	155	72%

Kroeger credits Isaiah Thomas for this transition; he summed up Thomas’s lasting influence as follows:

Perhaps Thomas’s most important contribution was the convincing demonstration of the value of typographically printed music in high-volume sales. By 1800 few tunebooks were being printed from engraved plates. It is difficult to imagine the success of the mass-market tunebooks of Lowell Mason, Thomas Hastings, William Bradbury and others of the mid-nineteenth century, without the pioneering efforts of Isaiah Thomas as a publisher of music.<sup>204</sup>

Much of the music of the First New England School continued to be sung by Sacred Harp singers, especially in the South, and was published in shape-note tunebooks.<sup>205</sup> SPRINGFIELD, ambiguously attributed to Babcock, was reprinted in several of these collections. Beyond this tradition however, “The success of the reform movement in the cities of the Atlantic seaboard and New England marked the end, by 1820, of the indigenous New England compositional style as a creative force.”<sup>206</sup>

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<sup>203</sup> Britton et al., *American Sacred Music Imprints*, 36.

<sup>204</sup> Kroeger, “Isaiah Thomas,” 334.

<sup>205</sup> These singers are named for the *Sacred Harp* tunebook which includes notation using shapes to designate scale degrees on the staff. See Benjamin White and E. J. King, *Sacred Harp* (Philadelphia: T.K. and P.G. Collins for B. White and E.J. King, 1844).

<sup>206</sup> Ibid.

Near the beginning of this chapter I made the remark that Lemuel Babcock and Samuel Babcock illustrate the beginning and ending of the peak of psalmody in Massachusetts. SPRINGFIELD (very likely by Lemuel Babcock) and was included in one of the first tunebooks to promote American composers, Law's *Select Harmony*. Samuel Babcock's last compositions were first printed in 1806; two pieces by him were published in the second edition of Abijah Forbush's *Psalmist's Assistant* in the year that marked the beginning of the decline of psalmody.<sup>207</sup>

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<sup>207</sup> Abijah Forbush, *The Psalmist's Assistant*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Manning and Loring, 1806).

### 3.0 BIOGRAPHIES OF SAMUEL BABCOCK AND LEMUEL BABCOCK

Nym Cooke's criteria for the typical psalmist include the following five biographical elements: living all or most of his life in small New England towns; being a Congregationalist; having a large family; making a living only partially from music; and holding a few public offices (or otherwise standing out in his community).<sup>208</sup> The following biographical summary demonstrates that both Samuel Babcock and Lemuel Babcock meet each of these criteria. The differences in their life stories stem from their twelve-year age separation and the geographical focus of their musical activities. Nym Cooke also identified four types of relationships between psalmists: family relationships; geographical neighbors; colleagues (such as publishers and other compilers); and musical institutions (for example, singing societies).<sup>209</sup> These relationships will be explored in this chapter for both Babcocks.

Samuel Babcock and Lemuel Babcock are tied together historically in several ways; both were musicians active as composers, choir leaders, singers, and singing masters. The two Babcocks were located in geographical proximity, and each spent time in Milton, Massachusetts. While no evidence has been uncovered to demonstrate that the two knew each other, the possibility exists that they at least knew about each other since they moved in the same circles.

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<sup>208</sup> Cooke, "William Billings," 61.

<sup>209</sup> Cooke, "American Psalmists."

Further, the study of their lives links them with other musicians they were related to, most notably Lemuel's sons Alpheus and Lewis who were piano makers.

My genealogical research has shown that Samuel and Lemuel share a blood tie as fourth cousins, each descended through different family lines from David Badcock,<sup>210</sup> who started the Badcock line in Massachusetts. According to W. S. Appleton in *The Family of Badcock of Massachusetts*, David “was a member of the Church of Dorchester 1640, and was probably father of George Badcock and Robert Badcock, both of Milton.”<sup>211</sup> From George and Robert the Badcock family tree flourished in and around Milton and intermarried with the Adams, Billings, and Pitcher families, among others. The relevance of these relationships will be discussed later. Samuel and Lemuel were the sixth generation of this family; each was a great-great-great-grandson of David Badcock (see Figure 1).

Both Babcocks were born in Milton, Massachusetts, but, although they are both of the same generation in the family line, Lemuel was born twelve years before Samuel. The remainder of this chapter summarizes Samuel Babcock's biography, followed by a discussion of Lemuel Babcock's life. A comparison of the two concludes the chapter.

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<sup>210</sup> The family name changed from Badcock to Babcock seemingly during Samuel Babcock's and Lemuel Babcock's generation. The older cousin is sometimes referred to as “Badcock” while consistently the younger cousin was “Babcock.” For the purposes of this study, all the family tree charts will use “Babcock” for the entire family.

<sup>211</sup> Appleton, *Family of Badcock*, 1.



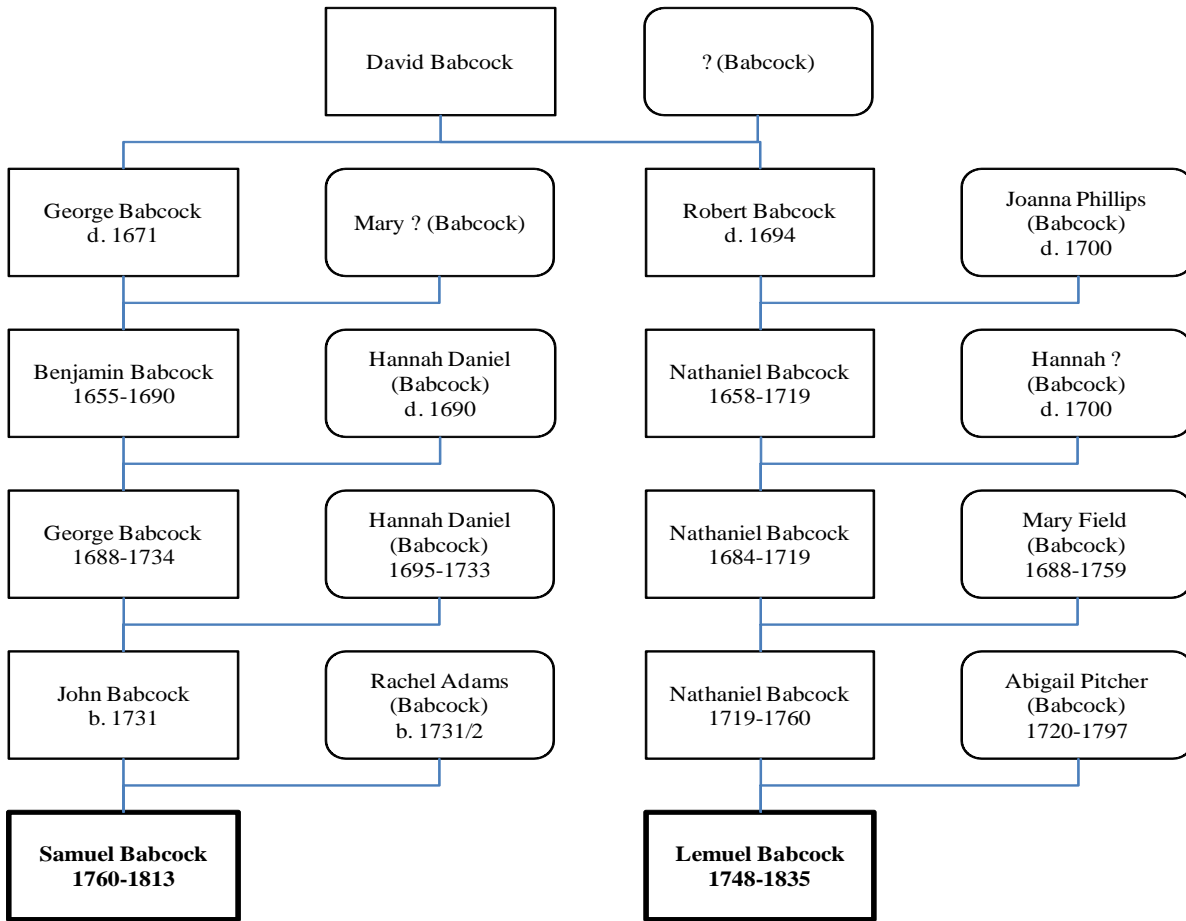


Figure 1. Genealogy of the Babcock Family: First Six Generations<sup>212</sup>

### 3.1 SAMUEL BABCOCK

Samuel Babcock lived in Watertown, Massachusetts during most of his adult life. He was married and had five children, taught singing schools, was a choir leader, and published tunebooks. His principal occupation was as a hatter. He fought in both the Revolutionary War

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<sup>212</sup> Ibid.

and the War of 1812. These facts offer a sketch of the man, but histories of Watertown, census records, military records, and Babcock's compositions allow us to paint a more detailed portrait.

Samuel was born on 18 February 1760 to John Badcock (b. 1731) and Rachel Adams (b. 1731/32) in Milton, Massachusetts.<sup>213</sup> He was the fourth of their nine children and the second of four sons, all born in Milton (see Figure 2).

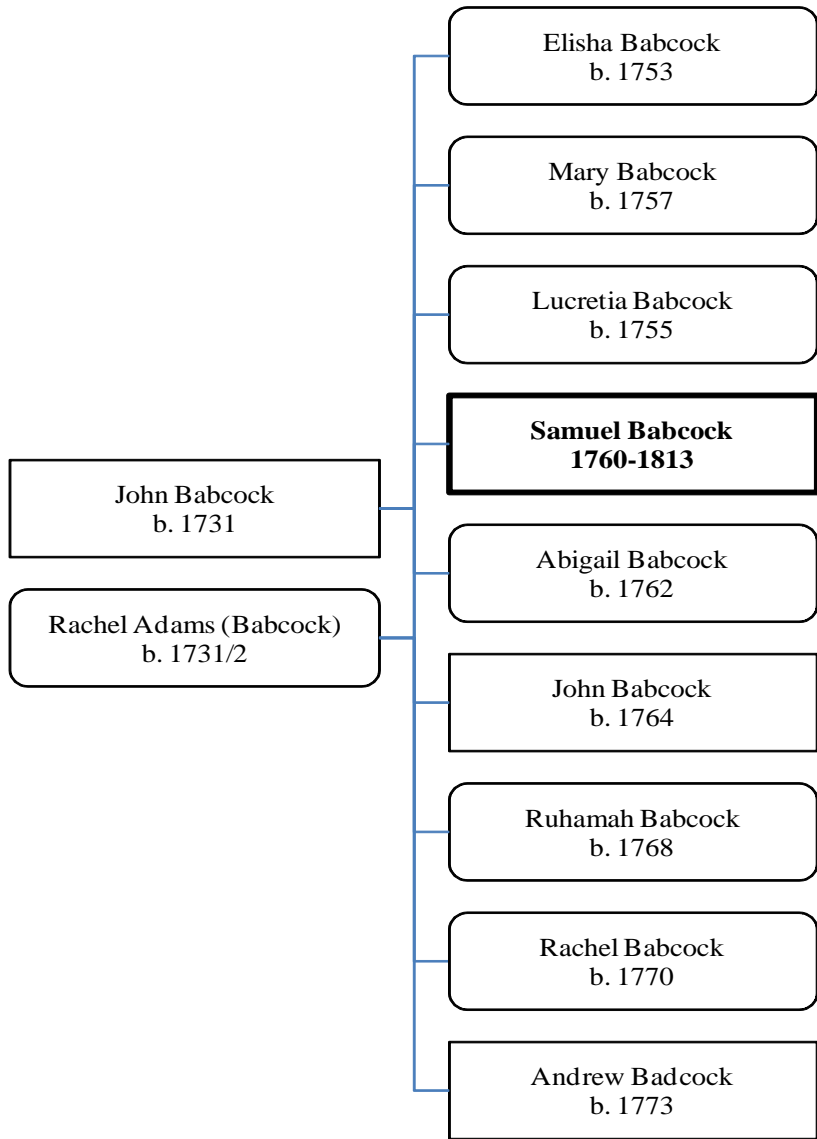
Rachel Adams was a member of the famous Adams family. She is a third cousin, once removed, to President John Adams (1735-1826) and to Samuel Adams (1722-1803), the Revolutionary War hero. John Quincy Adams<sup>214</sup> (1767-1848)—John Adams's son and later United States President—was related to Rachel and therefore Samuel Babcock as well (see Figure 3)<sup>215</sup>.

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<sup>213</sup> Ibid., 8.

<sup>214</sup> John Quincy Adams is the only member of his family known to be involved in psalmody and hymnody. Frank Metcalf wrote, "Few think of John Quincy Adams as a hymn writer or know that he made a complete metrical version of the psalms. This was never printed, but when his pastor in Quincy, the Rev. William P. Lunt, was preparing a hymn book, *The Christian Psalter*, in 1841, he selected seventeen of these psalms and five of the other poetical compositions of the former President, and placed them in his book." See Metcalf, *American Writers and Compilers of Sacred Music*, 349.

<sup>215</sup> Andrew Adams, *A Genealogical History of Henry Adams of Braintree, Mass. and His Descendants* (Rutland, VT: Tuttle Co., 1898).



**Figure 2. Samuel Babcock's Parents and Siblings<sup>216</sup>**

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<sup>216</sup> Ibid., 7-8.

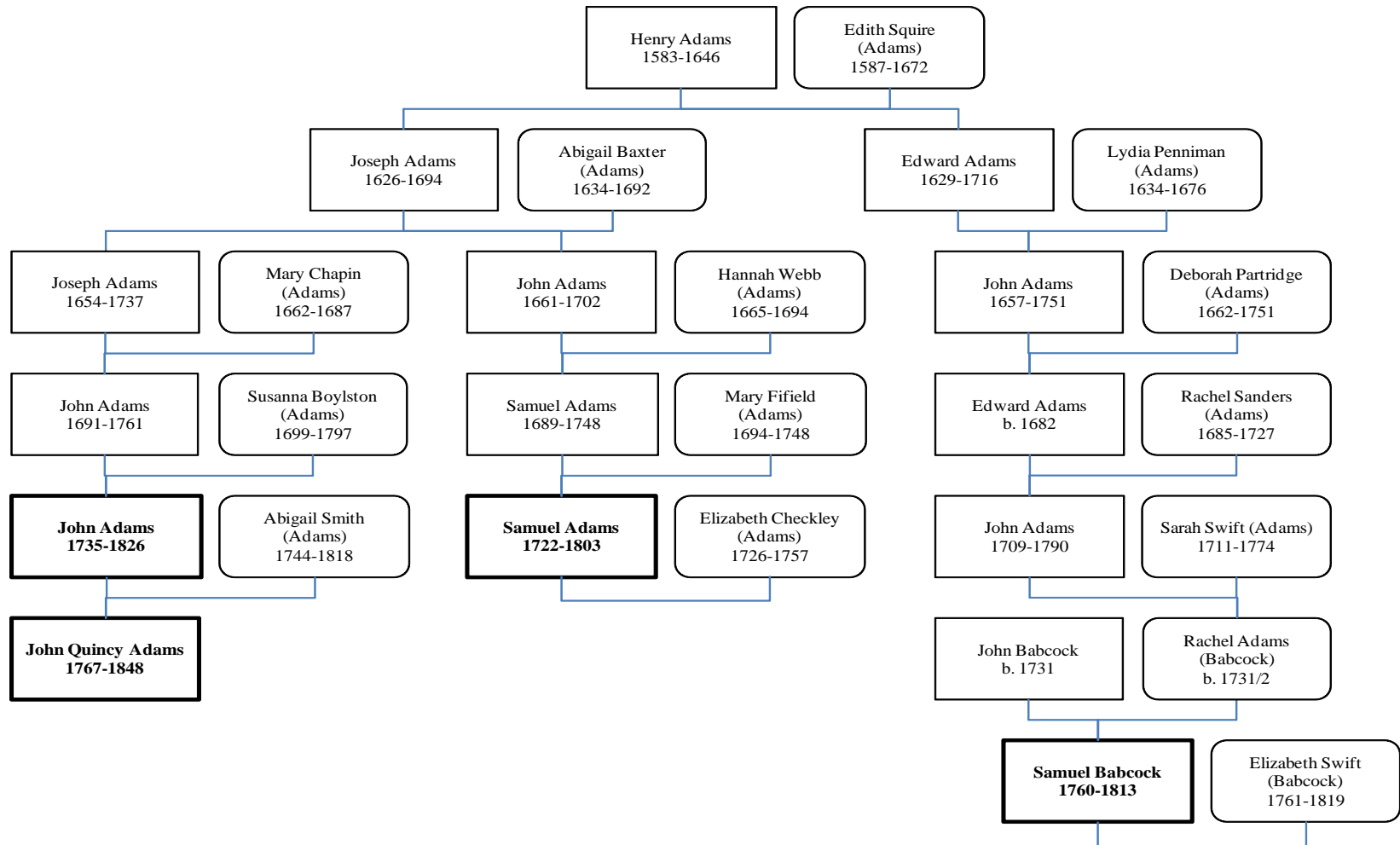


Figure 3. Relationship Between the Babcock and Adams Families<sup>217</sup>

<sup>217</sup> Ibid.

During the Revolutionary War, Samuel Babcock served from 1775 to 1777 in the Massachusetts Militia. His Revolutionary War record was recorded by his great grandson, Samuel Babcock Crowell, who lived in Philadelphia.<sup>218</sup>

The war for national independence opened when he [Samuel Babcock] was in his sixteenth year, and we find his name mentioned as one of the main guard at Prospect Hill under Loammi Baldwin, July 16, 1775; residence given as Milton. He also appears in the company returns of Captain Draper's company, Lieutenant Colonel Bond's 37<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts Regiment, late Gardner's, dated at Prospect Hill, October 7, 1775, residence, Milton. In connection with this service his signature as "Samuel Babcock" appears on an order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money, "due for eight months service, in 1775, in Captain Moses Draper's Co., Col. William Bond's Regiment," dated Prospect Hill, December 27, 1775. He again enlisted April 13, 1776, in Captain Josiah Vose's company, for sea-coast defense; and thirdly, August 14, 1777, in Captain John Bradley's Milton company, in Col. Benjamin Gill's regiment, and marched to Vermont to join the northern army; this term of service comprising 3 months 28 days, 1 day's travel included.<sup>219</sup>

Crowell continues:

In Clapp's "History of Dorchester," Samuel Babcock is mentioned as being a member of Captain Billings's company on the Lexington alarm. His granddaughters, Katharine F. Babcock and Mrs. Elizabeth Fleming, frequently related that their father told them that his father, Samuel Babcock, participated in the battle of Bunker Hill, and considering the fact that he lived so near Bunker Hill, and is shown by official records to have been at Prospect Hill and on the Lexington alarm, there is every reason to believe the tradition correct.<sup>220</sup>

Samuel Babcock married Elizabeth Swift on 20 October 1783 in Cambridge, Massachusetts.<sup>221</sup> Their first son, also named Samuel, was born in Cambridge on 22 May

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<sup>218</sup> John Jordan, *Colonial and Revolutionary Families of Pennsylvania* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1978), 2:1007.

<sup>219</sup> Ibid.

<sup>220</sup> Ibid., 2:1007-1008. The veracity of Crowell's statement has not been entirely verified, especially the claim regarding Babcock's presence at Bunker Hill.

<sup>221</sup> Thomas Baldwin, comp. *Vital Records of Cambridge, Massachusetts to the Year 1850* (Boston: Wright & Potter Print. Co., 1914-15) v. 2 "Marriages and Deaths" states that Elizabeth Swift was from Dorchester, Massachusetts. Dorchester was incorporated into Boston in 1870.

1785.<sup>222</sup> Samuel Sr. joined the First Church (Congregational) in Cambridge in June 1785.<sup>223</sup> Babcock and his young family probably lived in Cambridge for only a few years before making the short move to Watertown.

While in Cambridge Samuel Babcock was located very close to two more famous psalmists, Samuel Holyoke (1762-1820) and Oliver Holden (1765-1844). Holyoke attended Harvard in Cambridge beginning in 1786.<sup>224</sup> Holden, who first printed a tune by Babcock in 1793, lived in Charlestown (just a few miles away) after the Revolutionary War.<sup>225</sup> Holyoke, Holden, and Hans Gram (1754-1804) were all in Charlestown while compiling the *Massachusetts Compiler*, published in 1795.<sup>226</sup> All of these musicians were published by Thomas and Andrews in Boston. Additional relationships amongst these psalmists will be explored later.

Samuel Babcock's second child, a daughter named Elizabeth Swift after her mother, was born in Watertown on 30 August 1787.<sup>227</sup> This suggests that the family moved to Watertown sometime between June 1785 and August 1787. Babcock's three other children were born in Watertown as well: Sally on 12 September 1789, James on 25 April 1792, and Rebecca on 8 November 1794 (see Figure 4)<sup>228</sup>.

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<sup>222</sup> Ibid., 1:31.

<sup>223</sup> Stephen Sharples, *Records of the Church of Christ at Cambridge in New England 1632-1830* (Boston: E. Putnam, 1906), 227, 244.

<sup>224</sup> Eskew and Kroeger, *Selected Works of Holyoke and Kimball*, xxi.

<sup>225</sup> Holden, *Union Harmony*, vol. 1 included Samuel Babcock's CHINA. For Holden's biography, see Music, *Oliver Holden*, xxi-xxiv and McCormick, "Oliver Holden."

<sup>226</sup> Eskew and Kroeger, *Selected Works of Holyoke and Kimball*, xxii.

<sup>227</sup> *Watertown Records: Comprising the Fourth Book of Town Proceedings*, 170.

<sup>228</sup> Ibid., 3:170-171, 179-180, 4:172-175. These three and their older sister Elizabeth Swift were baptized in Watertown on 31 Aug. 1787, 13 Sep. 1789, 3 Jun. 1792, and 16 Nov. 1794, respectively. N.B. Elizabeth Swift's birth and baptism dates seem to have been accidentally switched in the records; she was certainly not baptized the day before she was born.

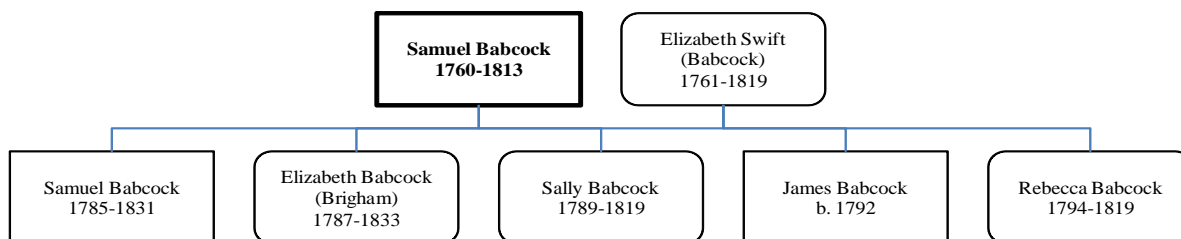


Figure 4. Samuel Babcock's Wife and Children<sup>229</sup>

Vital records (mainly church and marriage ledgers) along with census reports from 1790, 1800, and 1810, his own tunebook, and newspaper articles place Samuel Babcock in Watertown from 1787 to 1810.<sup>230</sup>

His work as a hatter in Watertown also left a trail of documentation. A notice in the *Massachusetts Centinel* on 12 September 1789, signed “Stephen Swift,” a first cousin of Samuel’s wife,<sup>231</sup> announced the end of his partnership in “Swift and Babcock, Hatters, Watertown” the previous November. The following year, on 21 September 1791 Samuel Babcock bought a hatter’s shop in Watertown for fifty pounds from Francis Faulkner.<sup>232</sup> According to historian David Bensman, hatters earned a good wage at the beginning of the nineteenth century.<sup>233</sup>

<sup>229</sup> Sharples, *Records of the Church of Christ at Cambridge*, 227; and *Watertown Records: Comprising the Fourth Book of Town Proceedings*, 170-175, 179-180.

<sup>230</sup> U.S. Census Office. *Population Schedules of the First Census of the United States, 1790* (Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Service, 1965); *Population Schedules of the Second Census of the United States, 1800* (Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Service, 1957-1960); and *Population Schedules of the Third Census of the United States, 1810* (Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Service, 1958).

<sup>231</sup> Stephen Swift, “The Copartnership of Swift and Babcock, Hatters, *Massachusetts Centinel*, 12 Sep. 1789.

<sup>232</sup> Middlesex County, Grantees Land Records, 1639-1799, Book 105 (1791), Middlesex County Courthouse, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

<sup>233</sup> David Bensman, *The Practice of Solidarity: American Hat Finishers in the Nineteenth Century* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985), 4. See also Richard Greenwald, “Work, Health & Community: Danbury Connecticut’s Struggle with an Industrial Disease,” *Labor’s Heritage* 2, no. 3 (July 1990): 4-20, especially 9. The use of mercury in felt production by hatters posed a health hazard. Exposure was increased by industrialization production later in the nineteenth century. During Babcock’s period hatters ran their own shops and were able to protect themselves. There is no indication that Samuel Babcock suffered from mercury poisoning.

Between his work as a hatter and his musical endeavors, Babcock seems to have made a good income. The first edition of Samuel Babcock's tunebook, *Middlesex Harmony*, was published in 1795 by Thomas and Andrews in Boston. An enlarged, second edition was published in 1803 by subscription. Samuel Babcock had sufficient means to subscribe to Samuel Holyoke's 1803 tunebook, *Columbian Repository*, and he purchased no fewer than six copies of Daniel Belknap's (1771-1815) *Evangelical Harmony* in 1800. Since tunebooks were relatively expensive, purchasing six copies of *Evangelical Harmony* (more than enough for personal use, but not sufficient to supply an entire singing-school) might suggest Babcock's relative prosperity as well as his devotion to music. Nym Cooke suggested that Babcock's subscription for six copies may have been a "gesture of support" for Belknap.<sup>234</sup> However, the tunebook included six works by Babcock, including three first printings. This may explain Babcock's motivation for purchasing the copies.

Babcock's involvement in Watertown's musical and community activities is frequently confirmed in the *Watertown Records* and Boston newspapers. The *Watertown Records* document his being named to a committee responsible for erecting a singers' pew in 1793; he served as a constable in 1794 and grand juror for the town in 1794-95; and he was paid by the town for teaching singing schools there in 1798 and 1804.<sup>235</sup> The first singing school was held during the winter of 1797-1798 and the second from 5 December 1803 to 5 April 1804.<sup>236</sup> These singing schools, along with another taught by Daniel Belknap in the winter of 1808-1809, appear clearly to have been sponsored by the town.<sup>237</sup>

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<sup>234</sup> Cooke, "American Psalmodists in Contact and Collaboration," 1:135.

<sup>235</sup> *Watertown Records: Comprising the Seventh Book of Town Proceedings*, 36, 79, 94, 191, 345.

<sup>236</sup> *Ibid.*, 7: 191, 345.

<sup>237</sup> *Ibid.*, 7:440.



Babcock also served as choir leader at the Congregational Church, Watertown's largest and most important church. In her history of Watertown, Maud Hodges recalls "a memorial service with special music composed by Mr. Babcock, the choir leader," on the occasion of George Washington's death in December, 1799.<sup>238</sup> This special music was probably Babcock's "Elegant Tribute."<sup>239</sup>

While Samuel Babcock was not a Mason himself, on at least two occasions he was called upon by the local Masonic Lodge for music.<sup>240</sup> The first occasion was when the Meridian Lodge was chartered in Watertown. Isaiah Thomas, of Thomas and Andrews (Samuel Babcock's publisher), was the Grand Warden who signed the charter.<sup>241</sup> When the Lodge was installed on September 5, 1789,<sup>242</sup> "[t]he Rev. Mr. Eliot introduced the solemnities in prayer—vocal and instrumental music followed, the former from original compositions of Mr. Samuel Babcock."<sup>243</sup> In addition to Eliot, another famous Mason with a connection to Samuel Babcock was present at the installation, Thaddeus Mason Harris, pastor at the Dorchester church.

In 1802, Samuel Babcock composed a Masonic song for the 24 June celebration of the anniversary of St. John the Baptist. The song's text was by Thaddeus Mason Harris. According to the *Columbian Centinel* report, "A large number of the Brethren of other Lodges were present. . . . A prayer by the Rev. Br. Eliot closed the exercises. At intervals in the performances, the

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<sup>238</sup> Hodges, *Crossroads on the Charles*, 77.

<sup>239</sup> *Columbian Centinel*, "Further Respectful Testimonials Sacred to George Washington, Deceased," 8 Jan. 1800. The text was also printed in Oliver Holden, *Sacred Dirges, Hymns, and Anthems, Commemorative of the Death of General George Washington* (Boston: Thomas and Andrews, 1800). The text of this piece, by the town's pastor, Richard Rosewell Eliot, is included in Part II of this study; the music is not extant.

<sup>240</sup> Cynthia Alcorn, letter to the author, 8 Jun. 1998. Ms. Alcorn is the Librarian for the Grand Lodge of Masons in Massachusetts.

<sup>241</sup> Charles Henry, *History of Meridian Lodge . . .* (Natick: Natick Citizen Co., 1892), 5-7.

<sup>242</sup> *Columbian Centinel*, "Masonic Installation at Watertown," 12 Sep. 1798.

<sup>243</sup> *Ibid.*

auditory were entertained with select pieces of music.”<sup>244</sup> Masons present at the celebration, in addition to the Watertown Meridian Lodge, were also from the Middlesex, Corinthian, and Hiram Lodges.<sup>245</sup> It seems very probably that Samuel Babcock’s “Song” was performed at this celebration.<sup>246</sup>

This song was published in *Middlesex Harmony*, second ed., in 1803. In the Preface, Samuel Babcock wrote the following about his “Song for the Anniversary of St. John the Baptist, June 24, 5802 [i.e., 1802]:” “At the request of a number of gentlemen of that Fraternity, he [Babcock] has published, at the end of this Work, the MASON SONG, which was composed by their particular desire, and for their use.”<sup>247</sup>

Samuel Babcock also occasionally sang at public events: one documented example is the Independence Day celebration in Watertown in 1807. According to the Boston *Democrat*, “an ode adapted to the occasion was sung by Mr. Babcock.”<sup>248</sup>

In addition to his musical duties in Watertown, Babcock may also have been active as an itinerant singing master. Although there is no conclusive evidence of his teaching singing schools in surrounding communities, it does seem likely that he did so. Cooke has suggested that itinerant singing masters may have named some of their tunes after the towns in which they taught.<sup>249</sup> An examination of Babcock’s tune titles shows that over twenty of them share their

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<sup>244</sup> *Columbian Centinel*, “On Thursday, the Festival of St. John the Baptist Was Celebrated at Watertown,” 26 Jun. 1802.

<sup>245</sup> *Ibid.* Another musician with a connection to Samuel Babcock, Daniel Belknap, was a member of the Middlesex Lodge from Framingham. Babcock’s first documented association with Belknap was in 1800, when Belknap included three first printings of Babcock’s music in his tunebook, *Evangelical Harmony*, published by Thomas and Andrews.

<sup>246</sup> Cynthia Alcorn, e-mail to the author, 17 Apr. 2009.

<sup>247</sup> Babcock, *Middlesex Harmony*, 2nd ed., [ii].

<sup>248</sup> *Democrat*, “Watertown, July 4, 1807,” 8 Jul. 1807.

<sup>249</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

name with towns close enough to Watertown to have been possible sites for his singing school. This will be explored further in Chapter 5.

Beginning in 1810, Samuel Babcock and his family experienced a number of changes. The first was the marriage of his daughter Elizabeth Swift to Asa Brigham<sup>250</sup> of Framingham on 8 December 1810.<sup>251</sup> The second change in the years after 1810 led to Samuel Babcock's death. On 3 March 1813 Samuel enlisted to fight in the War of 1812.<sup>252</sup> He was 53 years old and served as a private in the artillery under Captain Rufus McIntire. The enlistment record described him as 5 feet, 7 ½ inches tall, with light eyes and complexion, and gray hair.<sup>253</sup> His occupation was listed as "hatter" and his birthplace as Sudbury, Massachusetts.<sup>254</sup> In addition to his monthly pay for his service in the War, he was also granted a land warrant of 160 acres in Arkansas.<sup>255</sup> The land bounty likely explains at least a part of his motivation for enlisting to serve for the second time at his relatively advanced age.<sup>256</sup>

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<sup>250</sup> Asa Brigham was mentioned by Ebenezer Parkman in his *Diary* in December 1779. Parkman sent a letter "by young Asa Brigham for conveyance." Asa Brigham was born in 1788, and would have been nine at the time; he lived in nearby Framingham as did Daniel Belknap (Parkman, *Diary*, 190). See Willard Brigham, et al., *History of the Brigham Family*, 2 vols. (New York: Grafton Press, 1907), 329. Brigham may have been the link between Belknap and Samuel Babcock, perhaps being the "Capt. A. Brigham" who subscribed for two copies of Belknap's *Evangelical Harmony* in 1800. Brigham may also have participated in the singing school taught by Lemuel Babcock in Westborough the previous winter (discussed below), but there is no evidence to support this possibility.

<sup>251</sup> *Watertown Records: Comprising the Fourth Book of Town Proceedings*, 236.

<sup>252</sup> National Archives and Records Administration, *Registers of Enlistments in the United States Army, 1798-1914*, vols. 3-4 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives, 1956).

<sup>253</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>254</sup> In addition to his birthplace being wrong, Babcock's age was also listed incorrectly. Perhaps he listed his age as younger than he really was in order to meet the age requirement for enlisting.

<sup>255</sup> National Archives and Records Administration, Bounty Land Files, 1812, Warrant #25147 (Waltham, Massachusetts).

<sup>256</sup> Joyce Appleby, *Inheriting the Revolution: The First Generation of Americans* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2000), 66.

McIntire's Company did not see action in 1813; they were "kept by the commanding General as a *corps de reserve*, the highest compliment that could be paid them."<sup>257</sup> They were sent to the Niagara front of the war, and suffered terrible conditions during the following winter.<sup>258</sup> There was a shortage of medical care, food, clean water, clothing, blankets, etc. Members of the company became ill with diarrhea, flu, and typhus. Samuel Babcock died from fever on 23 November 1813 in French Mills, New York, at the age of 53 without a will.<sup>259</sup>

Samuel Babcock's youngest son, James, married Catherine D. Howe of Lunenburg on 23 June 1814.<sup>260</sup> He seems to have remained in Watertown, while the rest of the family moved. Elizabeth Babcock and her unmarried daughters Sally and Rebecca, along with the eldest daughter Elizabeth and her husband Asa Brigham, moved to Jaffrey, New Hampshire, during the war years. This part of the family later moved to Alexandria, Louisiana, in 1819.<sup>261</sup> Elizabeth Babcock (the mother), Sally Babcock, and Rebecca Babcock all died within ten weeks in Alexandria in the fall of 1819 at the ages of 58, 29, and 24, respectively.<sup>262</sup> The short time span

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<sup>257</sup> See John C. Fredriksen, "The War of 1812 in Northern New York: The Observations of Captain Rufus McIntire," *New York History* 68, no. 3 (1987): 305.

<sup>258</sup> See James Mann, *Medical Sketches of the Campaigns of 1812, 13, 14* (Dedham: H. Mann, 1816), 97-122, especially 119; and Mary Gillet, *The Army Medical Department 1775-1818* (Washington, DC: Center for Military History, U.S. Army, 1981), 170-71.

<sup>259</sup> *Columbian Centinel*, "Obituaries," 15 Dec. 1813. See also Rufus McIntire, Company Book for the Company of Captain Rufus McIntire (1812-1815), E 109, National Archives. Babcock's place of death was incorrectly given as French Mills, Pennsylvania in Britton et al., *American Sacred Music Imprints*, 103.

<sup>260</sup> *Ibid.*, 4:206.

<sup>261</sup> In 1831 the Brigham family relocated again to Brazoria, Texas. Asa Brigham fought in the Texas Revolution, signed the Texas Declaration of Independence, and served as Treasurer of the Texan Republic. See Albert Annett and Alice Lehtinen, *History of Jaffrey, New Hampshire* (Jaffrey: n.p., 1937): 1: 601-602.

<sup>262</sup> *Columbian Centinel*, "Obituaries," 29 Dec. 1818.

of the three women's deaths suggests illness. Alexandria suffered an epidemic of yellow fever in 1819 and it seems very likely that the women died from this disease.<sup>263</sup>

Further study of Samuel Babcock's family is beyond the scope of this project. It is, however, noteworthy that Samuel Babcock, Jr. had a significant career in the military as an engineer.<sup>264</sup> He was a graduate of the 1808 class at West Point, was active at Fort McHenry during the War of 1812, and was Robert E. Lee's first commanding officer.<sup>265</sup> The fortification he erected in Baltimore bears his name and was significant in the Battle of Baltimore in 1814.<sup>266</sup>

### 3.2 LEMUEL BABCOCK

Lemuel Babcock was born on 26 March 1748 to Nathaniel Babcock and Abigail Pitcher in Milton, Massachusetts; their first child of four (see Figure 5)<sup>267</sup>.

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<sup>263</sup> Yellow fever, transmitted by mosquitoes, typically started in the hot weather of summer and did not let up until fall when the temperatures dropped or there was a frost. See Jo Ann Carrigan, *The Saffron Scourge: A History of Yellow Fever in Louisiana, 1796-1905* (Lafayette, LA: Center for Louisiana Studies, 1994), 56.

<sup>264</sup> Because Samuel Sr. and Jr. share the same name—like Lemuel Sr. and Jr.—the author uncovered a significant amount of information about the son's life and career. Neither Lemuel Jr. nor Samuel Jr. was a musician.

<sup>265</sup> See George Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, New York* (Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1901), 1:81; Dale Fetzer and Bruce Mowday, *Unlikely Allies* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2000), 4-10; and Elizabeth Pryor, *Reading the Man: A Portrait of Robert E. Lee Through His Private Letters* (New York: Viking, 2007), 187.

<sup>266</sup> Samuel Babcock, Jr. designed a small earthen battery to the west of Fort McHenry, which was known as Babcock Battery, the Six Gun Battery, or the Sailor's Battery according to Scott Sheads in a letter to the author, 11 Oct. 2001.

<sup>267</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

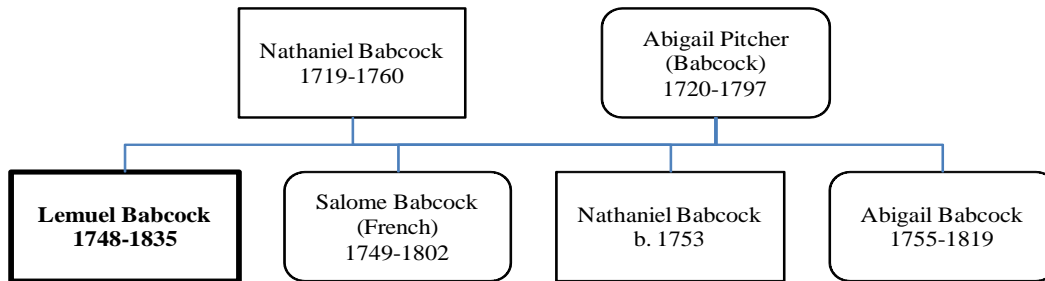


Figure 5. Lemuel Babcock's Parents and Siblings<sup>268</sup>

His mother's family was described as musical, as seen in this quote from the 1893 *History of the Town of Canton* by Daniel Huntoon:

Samuel Leonard, commonly known as "Major Sam," is described to me by one who knew him well as "a heavenly singer." He was the son of Enoch and Mary (Wentworth) Leonard; married Avis, daughter of Thomas and Salome (Babcock) French, Feb. 11, 1813, and died Oct. 19, 1854, aged seventy-nine years. His wife, Avis French, belonged to a musical family. Her mother was a Babcock, sister to old Master Lemuel, — a famous singer in old times; and her grandmother was Abigail Pitcher, a name also famous in musical annals. Her brothers, Lemuel, Jason, Thomas, Alexander, and Nathaniel, were all good singers, and were second cousins to the famous composers, Jacob and Edward.<sup>269</sup>

Not only does the quote indicate that Lemuel Babcock was remembered as a singer almost sixty years after his death, but it also shows that many members of his family were musical as well. Further, they were related to other famous musicians by marriage.

Other histories mention Babcock as a musician. William Cutter recorded that "he was a music teacher and widely known as 'Master Babcock.'"<sup>270</sup> Written in the 1860s, another account from the First Congregational Church in Quincy mentions Babcock as well. "Mr. Lemuel Brackett, who was born in 1780, and is of the best authority on these matters of and near his time, informs me that when he was a boy, Mr. Babcock, who afterwards removed to Milton, led

<sup>268</sup> Appleton, *Family of Babcock*, 9.

<sup>269</sup> Huntoon, *History of the Town of Canton*, 313.

<sup>270</sup> William Richard Cutter, *New England Families* (New York: Clearfield Co., 1916), 4:2053.

the singing, using a pitch-pipe.”<sup>271</sup> In his Milton history, Teele remembered “‘Master Babcock’ . . . was a music-teacher of much distinction.”<sup>272</sup> Finally, the Milton Historical Society includes a document compiled by Edith Clifford from various records that states that Lemuel Babcock was “a music teacher of much distinction, known throughout the eastern part of the state.”<sup>273</sup>

In 1774 Lemuel married Sarah Savil of Braintree.<sup>274</sup> Their intention to marry was recorded on 12 August 1773, and the wedding took place on 8 May 1774.<sup>275</sup> At the time, Lemuel was listed as a resident of nearby Dorchester. Over the years, the couple had eight children, four sons and four daughters (see Figure 6).

Among the boys were the piano makers Alpheus and Lewis. Their contributions to the piano industry of Boston in the early nineteenth century will be discussed below. All eight children were baptized at the North Parish Congregationalist church, which was located in what was then Braintree, but became part of Quincy in 1792. Because of its location, the church was attended by members from Dorchester as well.<sup>276</sup>

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<sup>271</sup> Frederick Whitney, *An Historical Sketch of the Old Church, Quincy, Mass.* (Albany, NY: J. Munsell, 1864), 6. Based on Brackett’s account, Lemuel Babcock would have been leading the singing in Quincy in 1790 or so.

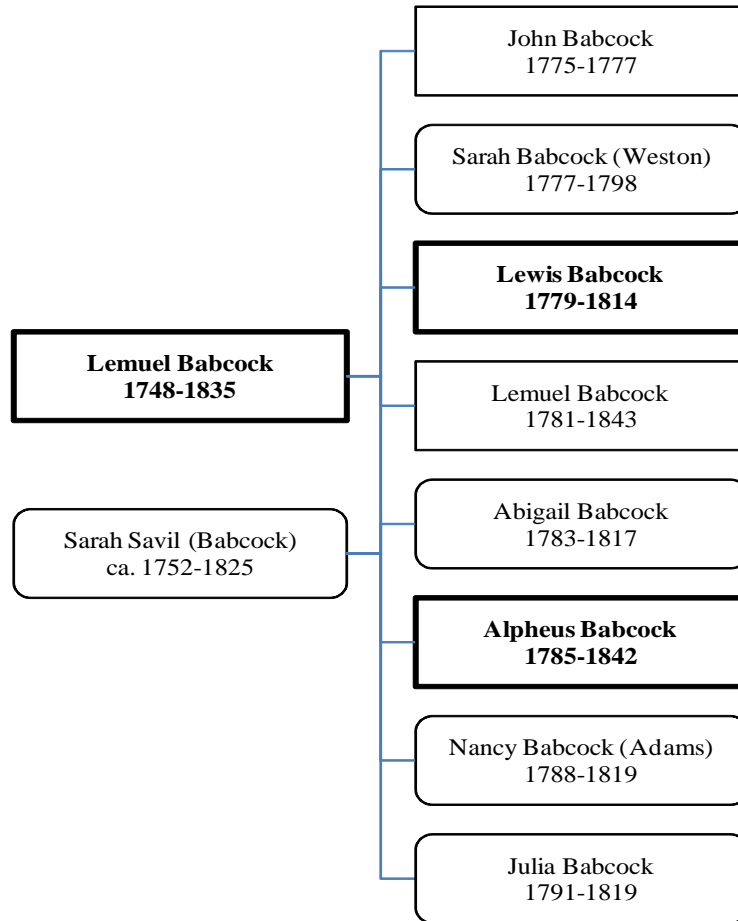
<sup>272</sup> Albert Teele, *The History of Milton, Mass. 1640 to 1887* (Boston: Rockwell and Churchill, [1887]), 168.

<sup>273</sup> Edith Clifford, “Lemuel Babcock House,” Babcock Family, Papers, Box 39, Milton Historical Society, Milton, Massachusetts.

<sup>274</sup> Sprague, *Families of Braintree*. There is also a record giving her name as Bass. Sarah’s exact birthdate remains unknown, as do her parents’ names. She was listed as 73 at her death in 1825. This would mean she was born in or around 1752.

<sup>275</sup> Ibid.

<sup>276</sup> Grafing, “Alpheus Babcock,” 6.



**Figure 6. Lemuel Babcock’s Wife and Children<sup>277</sup>**

Lemuel and Sarah likely lived in Wrentham from 1774 through 1779. In winter of 1779, at the conclusion of the singing school he taught in Westborough,<sup>278</sup> Ebenezer Parkman’s daughter Anna Sophia recorded in her journal that Babcock returned to Wrentham.<sup>279</sup>

Lemuel’s first-born son, named John, was born in Wrentham on 19 September 1775.<sup>280</sup> He died just before his second birthday on 12 August 1777.<sup>281</sup> The couple’s first daughter, Sarah,

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<sup>277</sup> Ibid.

<sup>278</sup> This singing school was discussed in some detail in Chapter 2.

<sup>279</sup> Harriette Forbes, *The Hundredth Town: Glimpses of Life in Westborough 1717-1817* (Boston, Rockwell and Churchill, 1889), 87.

<sup>280</sup> Sprague, *Families of Braintree*.



was born on 7 June 1777, just before the death of John.<sup>282</sup> Their son Lewis, who later became a piano maker with Alpheus, was born 13 February 1779.<sup>283</sup> Lemuel Jr., who became a blacksmith, was born on 9 June 1781.<sup>284</sup> Sarah Badcock next gave birth to her second daughter, Abigail (named after her paternal grandmother) on 17 July 1783.<sup>285</sup> Alpheus, the most renowned of the two piano makers, was born on 11 September 1785.<sup>286</sup> The last two daughters, Nancy and Julia, were born in 1788 and 1791, respectively. Nancy was born on 1 July 1788,<sup>287</sup> but Julia's exact birthdate remains unknown.<sup>288</sup> Her baptism was recorded on 4 December 1791.<sup>289</sup>

Lemuel Babcock, like his younger cousin Samuel, fought with the Massachusetts Militia during the Revolutionary War. He served as a Sergeant in Captain John Gay's company, Colonel Ebenezer Francis's regiment in 1776.<sup>290</sup> In 1777 he was an Ensign in Captain Abner Crane's company, Colonel John Robinson's regiment.<sup>291</sup> He applied for a Revolutionary War Service Pension in 1832 at the age of 84.<sup>292</sup>

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<sup>281</sup> Ibid.

<sup>282</sup> Ibid.

<sup>283</sup> Ibid.

<sup>284</sup> Ibid.

<sup>285</sup> Ibid.

<sup>286</sup> Ibid.

<sup>287</sup> Ibid.

<sup>288</sup> Fewer records related to her were created because she never married.

<sup>289</sup> Ibid.

<sup>290</sup> *Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War* (Boston: Wright and Potter, 1896), 1:430. This record lists him as being from Wrentham.

<sup>291</sup> Ibid., 1:394. The record lists him as being from Braintree.

<sup>292</sup> Badcock, Lemuel, Revolutionary War Pension File, Norfolk 10 Aug. 1832, National Archives. The records do not clearly state that the pension was granted.

In 1795, Lemuel Babcock purchased property in Milton on Canton Avenue<sup>293</sup> that remained in his family for several generations.<sup>294</sup> The house the family lived in, known as the Lemuel Babcock House, was built by William Crehore, the brother of the piano maker Benjamin Crehore who worked with Lemuel's sons.<sup>295</sup> On the property deed, Lemuel Babcock's occupation is listed as "cordwainer," a craftsman who worked with leather, typically making shoes.

Babcock was active in the Milton community as a surveyor of highways in 1799; as a juror in 1799; and as an assessor in 1804.<sup>296</sup> In 1803 Lemuel Babcock subscribed to Walter Janes's tunebook *Massachusetts Harmony*.<sup>297</sup> He remained a resident of Milton until his death of natural causes on 27 August 1835 and is buried in the Milton cemetery.<sup>298</sup>

The Babcocks were related by marriage to the musical French family, including psalmodists Jacob French (1754-1817) and Edward French (1761-1845).<sup>299</sup> Lemuel's sister, Salome, married Thomas French (1742-1819). Thomas was the first cousin, once removed, of the well-known musical brothers Jacob and Edward French. See Figure 7, which also includes Samuel Leonard.

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<sup>293</sup> His previous residence is given as Quincy.

<sup>294</sup> Edith Clifford, Milton Historical Society, e-mail message to author, 8 Nov. 2008.

<sup>295</sup> Cutter, *New England Families*, 4:1740-41.

<sup>296</sup> Milton Town Records, Vol. 12: 1799-1811. Milton Historical Society.

<sup>297</sup> In the tunebook, his residence is listed as Dorchester.

<sup>298</sup> Sprague, *Families of Braintree*. Lemuel Babcock's will is recorded in Norfolk County Courthouse, Massachusetts.

<sup>299</sup> French Family Association, *The John and Grace French Family, Braintree, Massachusetts* (Washington, D.C.: The Association, 1985).

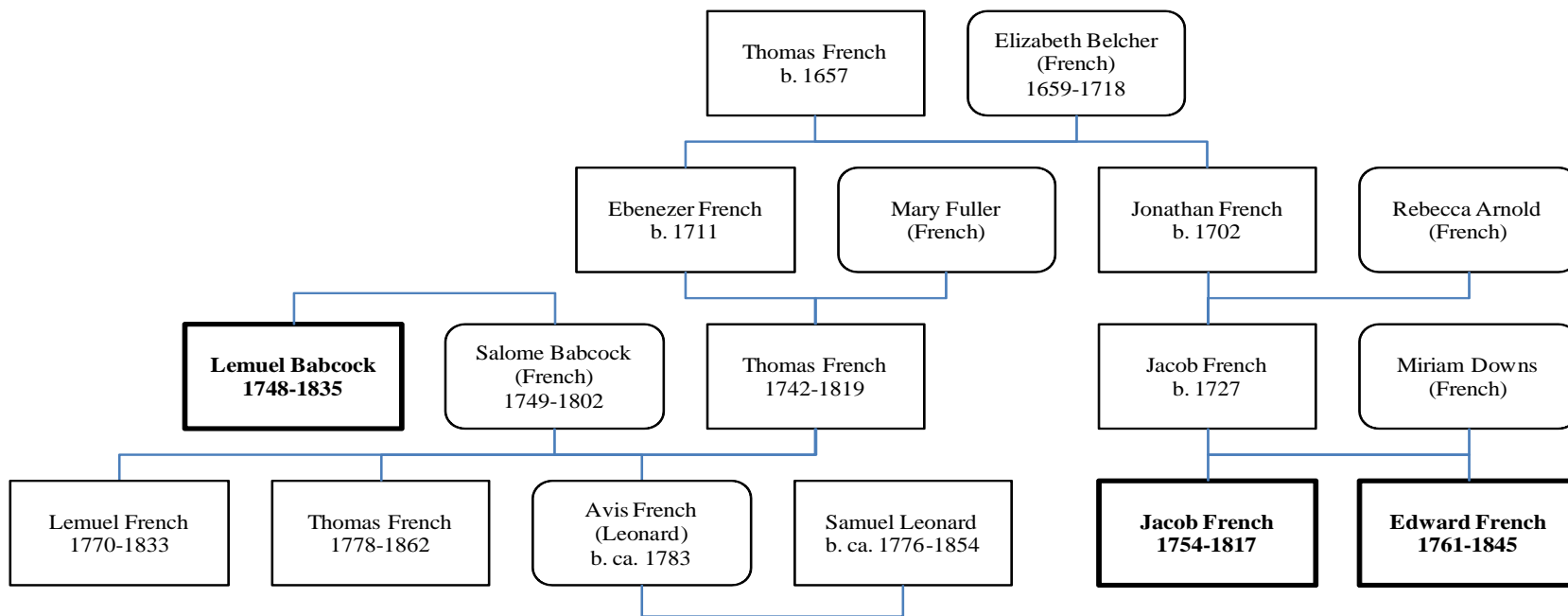


Figure 7. Relationship Between the Babcock and French Families<sup>300</sup>

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<sup>300</sup> Ibid.

In addition to their connection by blood, the Frenches and Babcocks were both active in the Old Stoughton Musical Society—the oldest extant choral society in America—during the same period. Lemuel Babcock became a member of the society in 1803.<sup>301</sup> Edward French joined the Society in 1801, two years before Lemuel Babcock,<sup>302</sup> and served as the Society’s vice president from 1808 to 1818 and president from 1818 to 1824.<sup>303</sup> Samuel B. Noyes noted that, “Edward French . . . was a fine singer and composer. One of his most frequently sung tunes being ‘New Bethlehem.’”<sup>304</sup> Four of Thomas French’s and Salome Babcock’s sons and one of their son-in-laws were members of the Old Stoughton Musical Society: Lemuel French (b. 1770), Jason French (b. 1772), Thomas French (1778-1862), Nathaniel French, and their son-in-law Samuel Leonard (ca. 1776-1854). Lemuel, Jason, Thomas Jr., and Nathaniel were Lemuel Babcock’s nephews, and Leonard was his nephew by marriage. Thomas French Jr. joined the Society in 1818, served as secretary from 1824 to 1833, vice president from 1833 to 1837, and as president from 1837 to 1839.<sup>305</sup> Samuel Leonard joined the Society in 1801 (the same year as Edward French).<sup>306</sup>

In 1829 the Society picked Thomas French, Samuel Leonard, and Nathaniel French as representatives from Canton to help select music for the Society’s tunebook, published in 1829

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<sup>301</sup> Lemuel Standish, ed., *The Old Stoughton Musical Society: An Historical and Informative Record of the Oldest Choral Society in America* . . . ([Stoughton, MA:] The Society, 1929), 169. Jacob French, although the best known of the musical French brothers, was not a member of the Society.

<sup>302</sup> Standish, *Old Stoughton Musical Society*, 169, 173. Lemuel Babcock’s residence was recorded as Milton. In 1803, when Lemuel Babcock joined, the meeting was held at Col. Benjamin Gill’s in Canton. (163).

<sup>303</sup> *Ibid.*, 37, 45.

<sup>304</sup> *Ibid.*, 45. Roger Hall, a historian of the Society, compiled a list of the pieces most frequently performed by the group from 1882 to 1982; NEW BETHLEHEM is number ten on that list. See Roger Hall, *Singing Stoughton: Selected Highlights from America’s Oldest Choral Society* (Stoughton, MA: Old Stoughton Musical Society, 1985), 15.

<sup>305</sup> Standish, *Old Stoughton Musical Society*, 173, 158, 156. A short biography of Thomas French appears on page 134.

<sup>306</sup> *Ibid.*, 36. The list of members on page 176 gives 1787 as the date Leonard joined.

while Lemuel Babcock was still alive and living in nearby Milton.<sup>307</sup> This tunebook includes the ambiguous Babcock attribution to SPRINGFIELD. Considering Lemuel Babcock's relationships with the Frenches and Leonards it seems likely that this tune was composed by Lemuel rather than Samuel Babcock.

Lemuel Babcock was also related by marriage to William Billings, the most famous psalmodist of the day, and to Benjamin Crehore, the piano maker. His relationship to William Billings was third cousin by marriage (see Figure 8).<sup>308</sup>

The familial connection between Lemuel Babcock and William Billings might explain how Lemuel's tune SOLITUDE appeared in the Waterhouse Manuscript with several Billings pieces. His relationship with Billings may also explain how Solomon Howe (1750-1835), who worked with Billings in Boson in 1778, was introduced to Babcock's music.<sup>309</sup> Howe published the two confirmed Lemuel Babcock attributions in his 1804 tunebook, *The Psalm-Singer's Amusement*. However Howe obtained the music by Lemuel Babcock, it was published in Greenwich, Massachusetts.<sup>310</sup>

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<sup>307</sup> Stoughton Musical Society, *Stoughton Collection*.

<sup>308</sup> Charles Henry Pope, *A History of the Dorchester Pope Family, 1634-1888* (Boston: The Author, 1888), 203; David McKay and Richard Crawford, *William Billings of Boston: Eighteenth-Century Composer* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1975), 30-32; and French Family Association, *French Family*, 15, 19-21.

<sup>309</sup> Britton et al., *American Sacred Music Imprints*, 336.

<sup>310</sup> The town no longer exists, but is now the site of the Quabbin Reservoir. It is in the central part of the state, about 26 miles west of Worcester—where the ambiguous attributions were published—and 36 miles west of Westborough—where Lemuel Babcock is known to have taught a singing school.

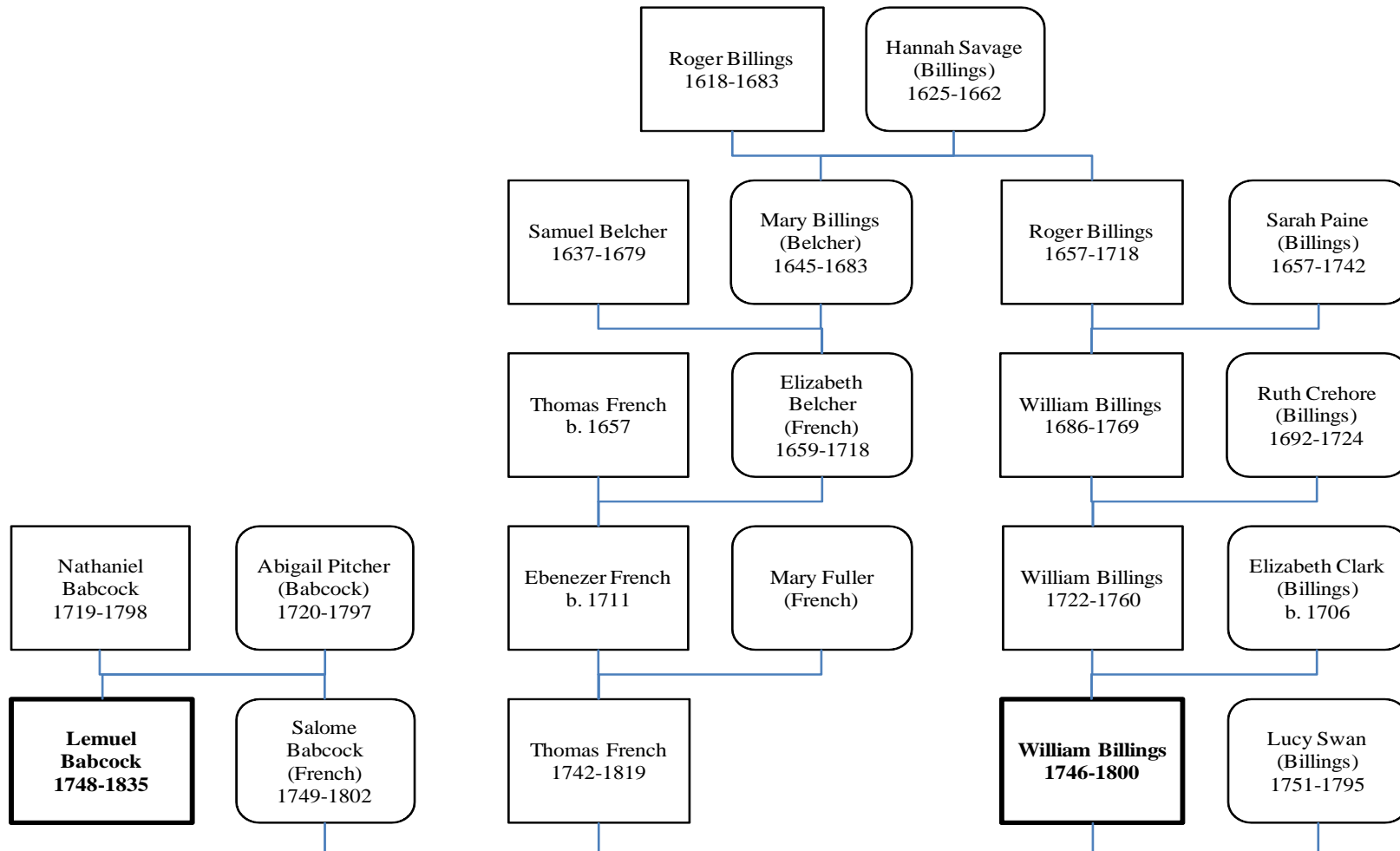


Figure 8. Relationship Between Lemuel Babcock and William Billings<sup>311</sup>

<sup>311</sup> Ibid.

Two of Lemuel's sons, Alpheus and Lewis, deserve mention. Both entered into the piano making business during an important period in the instrument's history in America. The brothers worked for a time out of the family home on Canton Avenue in Milton.<sup>312</sup> Alpheus, in particular, is frequently mentioned in the secondary literature.<sup>313</sup> As Richard Crawford notes, "The year 1825 marks the start of an indigenous American piano trade, when Alpheus Babcock of Boston obtained a patent on a one-piece metal construction."<sup>314</sup> Alpheus Babcock applied for and was also awarded patents for his one-piece cast-iron frame in 1830, 1833, and 1839. After an apprenticeship with Benjamin Crehore, Alpheus Babcock worked in several firms, sometimes with his brother Lewis and sometimes alone. Crehore has been described as "the founder of the New England piano industry."<sup>315</sup> Alpheus Babcock was a partner or employee of the following firms: Babcock, Appleton & Babcock; Hayts, Babcock & Appleton; J.A. Dickson; Christopher Hall; John, Ruth, and G.D. Mackay; J.G. Klemm; William Swift; and Jonas Chickering.<sup>316</sup>

Salome Babcock (Lemuel Babcock's sister) was related to the Crehore family by marriage: Thomas French, her husband, was the first cousin, twice removed of another (great-grandfather of the psalmist) William Billings (1686-1769), who married Ruth Crehore. This is significant because Alpheus and Lewis worked with Benjamin Crehore as piano makers. At the time, family lines—even distant ones—were an important consideration in the formation of business relationships. As social historian Peter Hall explains, in the late eighteenth century,

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<sup>312</sup> See Grafing, "Alpheus Babcock." This is the house that was built by Benjamin Crehore's brother, William.

<sup>313</sup> Entries for Alpheus Babcock are included in the following encyclopedias: *Grove Music Online*; *New Grove Dictionary of American Music*; Robert Palmieri, *The Piano: An Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2003); and Martha Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993-99).

<sup>314</sup> Crawford, *America's Musical Life*, 234.

<sup>315</sup> *Grove Music Online*, s.v. "Crehore, Benjamin," (by Cynthia Adams Hoover and Darcy Kuronen), <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (accessed 25 Jun. 2009).

<sup>316</sup> He was a partner in the firms bearing his name. See Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano*, 2:13-19.

business partners “tended to be members of the merchant’s own family—sons, brothers, uncles, cousins, or persons whose relation to the merchant was cemented through marriage.”<sup>317</sup> Figure 9 charts the relationship between the Babcock and Crehore Families.

### 3.3 BIOGRAPHICAL SUMMARY AND COMPARISONS

Both Samuel Babcock and Lemuel Babcock meet Cooke’s five biographical criteria for the typical psalmodist. Each lived in small towns throughout their lives; both were members of their local Congregational church; they shared the same large family; each had another occupation in addition to being psalmodists; and each held public offices in their communities. Both were singers, choir leaders, composers, and singing masters. Other similarities exist as well, for example both fought in the Revolutionary War. Yet there are some differences between the two.

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<sup>317</sup> Peter Dobkin Hall, “Family Structure and Economic Organization: Massachusetts Merchants, 1700-1850,” in *Family and Kin in Urban Communities, 1700-1930*, ed. Tamara Hareven (New York: New Viewpoints, 1977), 40. Hall goes on to explain that using family members was both a “necessity and an obligation.”



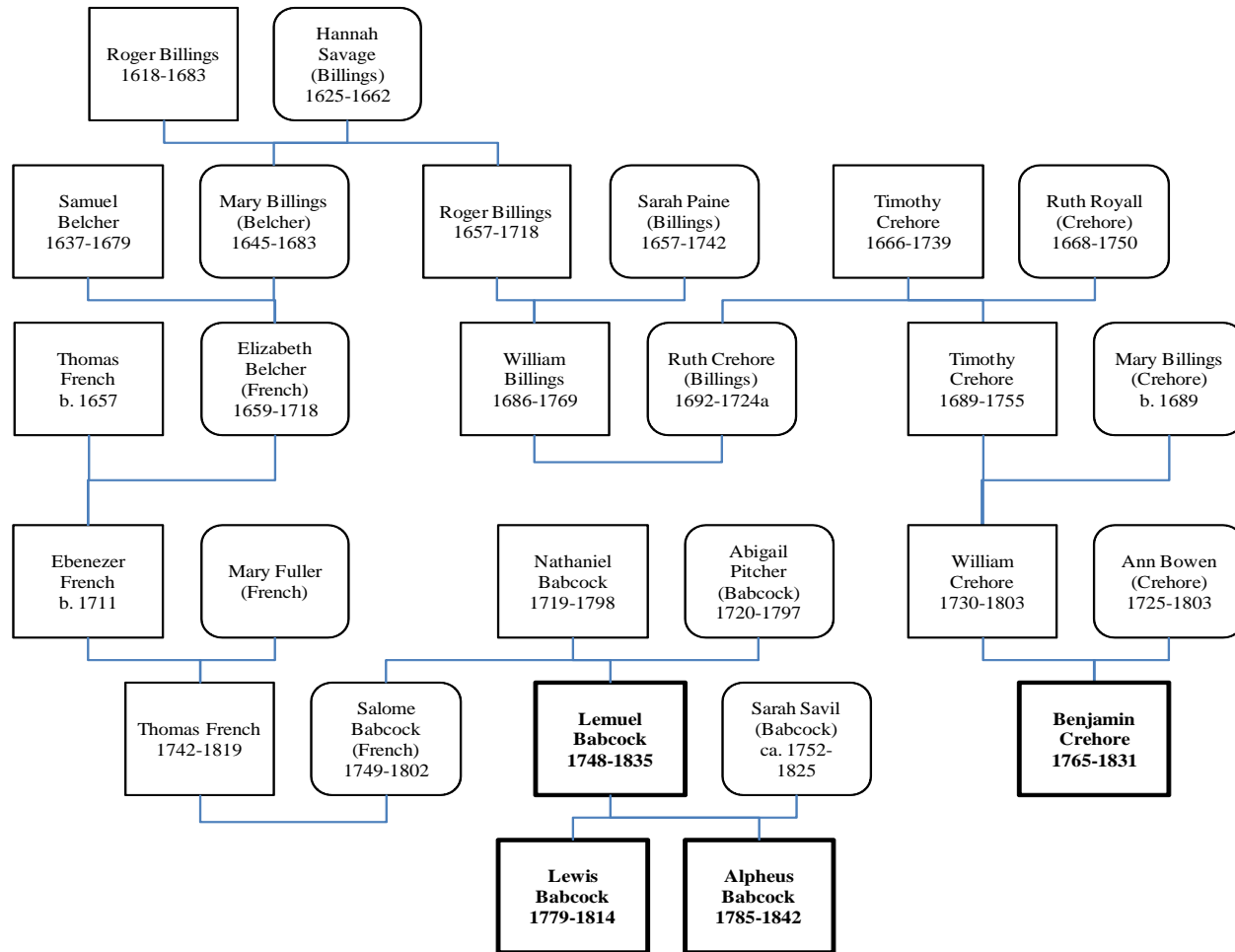


Figure 9. Relationship Between the Babcock and Crehore Families<sup>318</sup>

<sup>318</sup> Appleton, *Family of Badcock*, 9; French Family Association, *French Family*, 15, 20-21; Pope, *Dorchester Pope Family*, 203; McKay and Crawford, *William Billings*, 30-32; William Cutter and William Adams, *Genealogical and Personal Memoirs Relating to the Families of the State of Massachusetts* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing, 1910), 1333; and Cutter, *New England Families*, 1740-41.

While both lived in small towns in Massachusetts—both spent part of their lives in Milton, for example—the focus of Samuel Babcock’s musical world was much closer to Boston in Watertown, while Lemuel Babcock’s was located primarily in central Massachusetts. Being fourth cousins may not seem like a close relationship, but during the Babcocks’ time, extended families were much closer than they are today. Both Samuel Babcock and Lemuel Babcock were born in and spent their childhoods in Milton from ca. 1760 to 1773. In 1773, Samuel was only thirteen, but he may have known his older cousin Lemuel. Both of the psalmodists’ families continued to have members located in Milton after they left the town. Lemuel Babcock eventually returned to Milton in 1795 (after living for a time in Wrentham, Quincy, Braintree, and Dorchester) and stayed there for the rest of his life.

Because of their differences in age, Samuel Babcock and Lemuel Babcock seem to have worked with a different circle of publishers and composers. Samuel Babcock was published in Boston and likely knew Oliver Holden, Samuel Holyoke, and Daniel Belknap. Holden and Holyoke were both younger composers who were part of the movement for musical reform that is reflected in Samuel Babcock’s music. In comparison, Lemuel Babcock was published by Solomon Howe in Greenwich, a compiler who had a business relationship with William Billings, Lemuel’s relative by marriage.

Biographical evidence helps to tease out the authorship of the pieces attributed to just “Babcock.” The ambiguous attributions were published by Joseph Stone (1758-1837) and Abraham Wood (1752-1804) as well as Andrew Law (1749-1821)—three psalmodists also from Lemuel Babcock’s generation. Andrew Law published the first ambiguously attributed tune, SPRINGFIELD, in *Select Harmony* (1779) in Farmington, Connecticut. An alternate version of SPRINGFIELD, in addition to the other five ambiguous attributions, was published in Stone and

Wood's *Columbian Harmony* (1793), which also included the Lemuel Babcock work SOLITUDE. This tunebook was published in Worcester in central Massachusetts. With the exception of the first printing of SPRINGFIELD by Law, the ambiguous attributions were published in places where Lemuel Babcock was active and in a tunebook including one of his works. The question of these ambiguous attributions will be explored more fully later.

While there are many similarities between Samuel Babcock and Lemuel Babcock's lives, the differences between them are reflected in the music they composed. The three most significant differences are their separation in age, location, and the musicians they became associated with. The differences in the amount of music they wrote, their musical style, and influences upon them are the topic of the next chapter.

## 4.0 MUSICAL STYLE

This chapter describes the musical style of Samuel Babcock, measuring his output against Nym Cooke's criteria that the psalmody should not be too prolific (perhaps writing several dozen pieces or one tunebook) and "the music itself will be plain, sturdy, often in the minor mode; it may have a hint of folksong influence; and it will certainly include some fudging."<sup>319</sup> Samuel Babcock's musical output is compared to Lemuel Babcock's two confirmed works as well as the pieces of ambiguous attribution. Each of the following three sections—Samuel Babcock's musical style, Lemuel Babcock's musical style, and the style of the ambiguous attributions—includes discussion of musical form; number of voices and texture; description and placement of melody; counterpoint, harmony, and tonal centers; text setting; and rhythm and meter. The overall compositional aesthetic of the two Babcocks will be summarized. The analysis of the ambiguous works will also include extra-musical evidence useful in considering their authorship. Throughout the chapter, possible musical influences such as other composers, movements, and styles, will also be explored.

Most of the previous research on Samuel Babcock's music appears in my 1996 article in the *American Music Research Center Journal* and brief 1999 introduction to *Samuel Babcock (ca. 1760-1813): The Collected Works*.<sup>320</sup> Both are starting points for this study. Other studies

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<sup>319</sup> Cooke, "William Billings," 61.

<sup>320</sup> Sampsel, "Samuel Babcock" and Sampsel, *Samuel Babcock*.

offering analyses of sub-sets of Samuel Babcock's music include Ralph Daniel's book on the anthem in America; Maxine Fawcett-Yeske's dissertation, "The Fuging Tune in America, 1770-1820: An Analytical Study"; and Karl Kroeger's catalog of fuging tunes.<sup>321</sup> All three authors include Samuel Babcock's music as part of their broad studies of these genres.

No published stylistic study of Lemuel Babcock's music exists. However, musicologists Crawford, McKay, Kroeger, and Cooke have considered the authorship of the ambiguous attributions; their arguments, which concur that the works are most likely by Lemuel Babcock, are explored later.

Eighteenth-century psalmody of the first New England school had limited opportunities and materials available to learn music.<sup>322</sup> This is especially evident when comparing their compositions with their contemporaries from England and the Continent. Their music is comparable to some of the English country psalmody, such as William Tans'ur and John Arnold.<sup>323</sup> Musicians living in or near larger cities may have had broader opportunities to study music in a more formal setting than those in smaller towns or rural areas. Most American psalmody learned music at a singing school and used the theoretical introductions of British and American tunebooks to learn the rudiments.

One source of instruction was Tans'ur's *Royal Melody Compleat*.<sup>324</sup> Tans'ur gives specific instructions for adding additional voices to the main melody by the rules of consonant

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<sup>321</sup> Daniel, *Anthem in New England*; Fawcett-Yeske, "Fuging Tune in America"; and Kroeger, *American Fuging-Tunes*.

<sup>322</sup> See the summary in *The New Grove Dictionary of American Music*, s.v. "Theory, 2: The Eighteenth Century," by Sherman Van Solkema.

<sup>323</sup> See Chapter 6 of Temperley, *Music of the English Parish Church*, I:141-203.

<sup>324</sup> Tans'ur, *Royal Melody Compleat*.

counterpoint.<sup>325</sup> These procedures were followed by Lemuel Babcock, and possibly by Samuel Babcock as well. Another was William Billings's introduction to *The Continental Harmony* (1794), which included some advice for composers on the introduction of discords and on part-writing.<sup>326</sup> Perhaps the most detailed discussion was the theoretical introduction in the *Massachusetts Compiler* published by Thomas and Andrews in 1795. Written primarily by Hans Gram along with Oliver Holden and Samuel Holyoke, the introduction drew upon several sources, including Fux's *Gradus ad Parnassum*, for rules of harmony and good part writing. However, the counterpoint section is very short, only four pages, and the whole treatise seems designed to acquaint psalmodists with procedures found in European art music. It discusses rules for avoiding parallel fifths and octaves (with minimal musical examples), and types of motion (i.e., oblique, parallel, and contrary, again with minimal musical examples). Because of their publication dates, however, only Tans'ur (published in London in 1755) might have been a significant influence on the compositional style of either Babcock.<sup>327</sup>

The 1790s in particular were a time of growing self awareness and self criticism for American psalmodists. Reform was in the air, but a full-fledged reform movement had not yet gained momentum. Richard Crawford has pointed out that during this decade American psalmodists tended to continue composing, "in their native, untutored idiom . . . [while] others—Holyoke, Holden, and Kimball among them—studied European musical techniques and tried to

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<sup>325</sup> See Kroeger, "William Tans'ur's Influence on William Billings."

<sup>326</sup> Billings, *Continental Harmony*, 28.

<sup>327</sup> Tans'ur's tunebook was frequently imported to New England by booksellers through the end of the century.

match the florid style of later 18th-century English hymnodists like Martin Madan and Samuel Arnold.”<sup>328</sup>

Lemuel Babcock is a good example of the former group of psalmodyists. His music bears all the characteristics of the “untutored” idiom mentioned above. Samuel Babcock falls in the latter group; his musical style is interesting because it seems to be the result of a mixture of the two styles described by Crawford. A more complete description of the two styles is in order. Two pieces identified by Crawford as part of the “core repertory” illustrate the differences: Daniel Read’s WINDHAM and Martin Madan’s DENMARK. Both were most popular during the period Richard Crawford identifies as “Stage 3: 1791-1810,” the period of both Lemuel Babcock and Samuel Babcock’s greatest activity.<sup>329</sup>

The native/traditional style was based on English parish psalmody. Typically in four parts with the melody or “air” in the tenor, these tunes were composed by an additive process of combining vocal parts, written one at a time, using the rules of consonant counterpoint. As a result of this combination of lines, incomplete triads and open perfect intervals are common, as are parallel perfect intervals. Unprepared dissonant clashes sometimes crop up. The style is not bound by harmonic direction or motion towards harmonic goals.<sup>330</sup> The melodies are often narrow in range and are frequently described as “modal” or “folklike” in the literature. Typical musical meters are 2/2 and 3/2. Daniel Read’s WINDHAM represents a good example of this type (see Figure 10).<sup>331</sup> This plain tune in duple time (2/2) and minor mode provides a setting of a text

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<sup>328</sup> Crawford, “Hardening of the Categories, 28-29.

<sup>329</sup> Crawford, *Core Repertory*.

<sup>330</sup> See *New Grove Dictionary of American Music*, s.v. “Psalmody” by Richard Crawford.

<sup>331</sup> For the following musical examples, the melody is usually in the tenor part (third line from the top) and the original four-staff notation has been changed to two staves.

by Watts in Long Meter.<sup>332</sup> Although first printed in 1785, it appears in Read's 1774-1778 manuscript tunebook as NORWICH.<sup>333</sup>

1  
Broad is the road that leads to death, And thou-sands walk

7  
to - ge - ther there; But wis - dom shows a nar-row path,

13  
With here and there a tra - vel - er.

Figure 10. Daniel Read, Windham, *The American Singing Book*, 4th ed.

(New Haven, CT: Printed for the Author, [1793]), 55.

<sup>332</sup> For the purposes of this study, the following are used as definitions of the forms. The plain tune is a setting of one or more verses of a psalm or hymn with no repetition of words or music. Tunes that include the repetition of an entire section (indicated with repeat signs) are also classified as plain tunes. The tune with extension (or extended tune) includes repetition of words, music, or both and often involves a setting of more than one verse of text. (See Crawford, *Andrew Law, American Psalmist*, 16.) The set-piece is a through-composed setting of either an entire poem or a setting in which one or more of the verses of text will not “fit” the music with correct accentuation. The anthem is a through-composed setting of a prose text, often Biblical in origin. The fugging tune employs imitative contrapuntal entries with overlapping text in at least one phrase. Also in this study, “psalmody” refers both to the singing of metrical versions of the psalms and settings of hymn texts.

<sup>333</sup> Kroeger, *Collected Works of Daniel Read*, 301.



The Methodist style, one of those advocated by musical reformers beginning in the 1790s, differs significantly from the traditional style. A full discussion of the Methodist style is beyond the scope of this study, but a brief description is in order.<sup>334</sup> In addition to a three-part texture, the Methodist style often places the primary melody in the treble rather than the tenor. The top two voices frequently move in thirds and sixths with melodies that are florid and ornamented. The bass often outlines chord tones or provides a pedal point; it often appears “instrumental” in nature with large leaps and repeated notes. Influenced by theater and dance music, the style is similar to secular music of the day, with lively rhythms and tempi and catchy melodies. Common musical meters include 2/4, 3/4, or 4/4. Standard harmonic progressions predominate, and there is less independent counterpoint than in traditional psalmody. Clarity of the text is emphasized. The text meters are frequently trochaic with lines of uneven syllables, seldom found in Congregational and Anglican hymnody. Weak phrase endings are common as in the formulaic cadence pattern I6/4-V-I.<sup>335</sup> Major mode predominates. Repetition of text, music, or both is common.

Martin Madan’s DENMARK illustrates this style (see m. 22-41 of the tune in Figure 11). This set piece, which was printed ninety-three times in America, first appeared in Law’s *Select Harmony* (1781). A major mode tune in three parts, it sets a Wesley paraphrase of Watts’s Psalm 100 in Long Meter. The contour of the top voice typifies the highly ornamented melodies associated with the style.

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<sup>334</sup> See Chapter 7 of Temperley, *Music of the English Parish Church*, I:141-203.

<sup>335</sup> *Ibid.*, I:212.

9 *p* His sov - 'reign pow'r\_ with - out\_ our aid, Made us of clay and  
*p* His sov - 'reign pow'r\_ with - out\_ our aid, Made us of clay and

16 formed us men, And when\_ like wan - d'ring sheep\_ we stray'd, He\_brought us\_  
 formed us men, And when like wan - d'ring sheep we stray'd, He brought us

23 to\_ his fold\_ a - gain, He\_brought us\_ to\_ his fold\_ a - gain.  
 to his fold\_ a - gain, He brought us to his fold\_ a - gain.

**Figure 11. Martin Madan, DENMARK in Oliver Holden, *The Union Harmony*, vol. II**

**(Boston: Thomas and Andrews, 1793), 77-80, m. 22-41.**

The following discussion of musical style in the works of Samuel Babcock, Lemuel Babcock, and the pieces of ambiguous attribution uses these two styles as points of reference.

#### 4.1 SAMUEL BABCOCK

Seventy-five pieces composed by Samuel Babcock are extant, first published from 1793 to 1806.

Four of these works were later published in alternate versions. Most of Babcock's music first

appeared in his own tunebook, *The Middlesex Harmony* (1795, second edition 1803). The text for an additional piece survives (a memorial song composed in memory of George Washington), but the music does not. From the perspective of quantity, he fits Cooke's criteria for the typical psalmist.

Samuel Babcock differed from many of his contemporaries by composing primarily for three voices rather than four. He paid careful attention to text setting and, as a result, composed more set pieces (22) and tunes with extension (15) than many of his colleagues. He also wrote plain tunes (26), fusing tunes (8), and anthems (4). His musical style also demonstrates a response to the burgeoning reform movement that was beginning to target sacred music at the end of the eighteenth century. Samuel Babcock combined elements from the previous generation of psalmists (William Billings, for example) and the Methodist and more recent and European styles of sacred music (for example, Martin Madan and Samuel Arnold).

Samuel Babcock's preference for music in three parts was considered modern. The norm for four-part music was such that during this period some compilers went so far as to add a fourth part to pieces originally composed for only three voices.<sup>336</sup> The *Worcester Collection* (1791) preface states, "In order to accommodate the singers of each part of sacred musick, in several instances where a fourth part has been wanting, the Editor has had the deficiency supplied by skillful persons."<sup>337</sup>

So Samuel Babcock chose to compose in a style that at least some of his contemporaries considered "deficient." But other American psalmists of the period considered it modern and

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<sup>336</sup> This was done—probably by Hans Gram—for example, to pieces included in the third edition of the *Worcester Collection* (1791).

<sup>337</sup> *Laus Deo! Worcester Collection of Sacred Harmony [Worcester Collection]*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Boston: Thomas and Andrews, 1791), Preface.

up-to-date. Among these were Samuel Holyoke,<sup>338</sup> Oliver Holden, Jacob Kimball (1761-1826), and Timothy Olmsted (1759-1848), each of whom composed a significant number of tunes for three voices.<sup>339</sup>

Besides writing more set pieces and psalm tunes with extension, and favoring three-part settings, Samuel Babcock generally used an ABB form and tended towards duple meters, particularly 2/4. By the time of the second edition of the *Middlesex Harmony*, all of his published psalm tunes with extension (15) were in an ABB form and duple meter.

Of Samuel Babcock's fifteen psalm tunes with extension, only three are in four parts (SABBATH, TRURO, and WILMINGTON). SABBATH and WILMINGTON are representative examples. Both include changes of texture, and WILMINGTON has one of the more interesting counter (i.e., alto) parts of any of Samuel Babcock's four part music. FLORENCE, IMMANUEL, and STRATTON are representative examples of three-voice pieces in the form. IMMANUEL demonstrates changes of texture. Both FLORENCE and STRATTON are good examples of Methodist influence in Samuel Babcock's music.

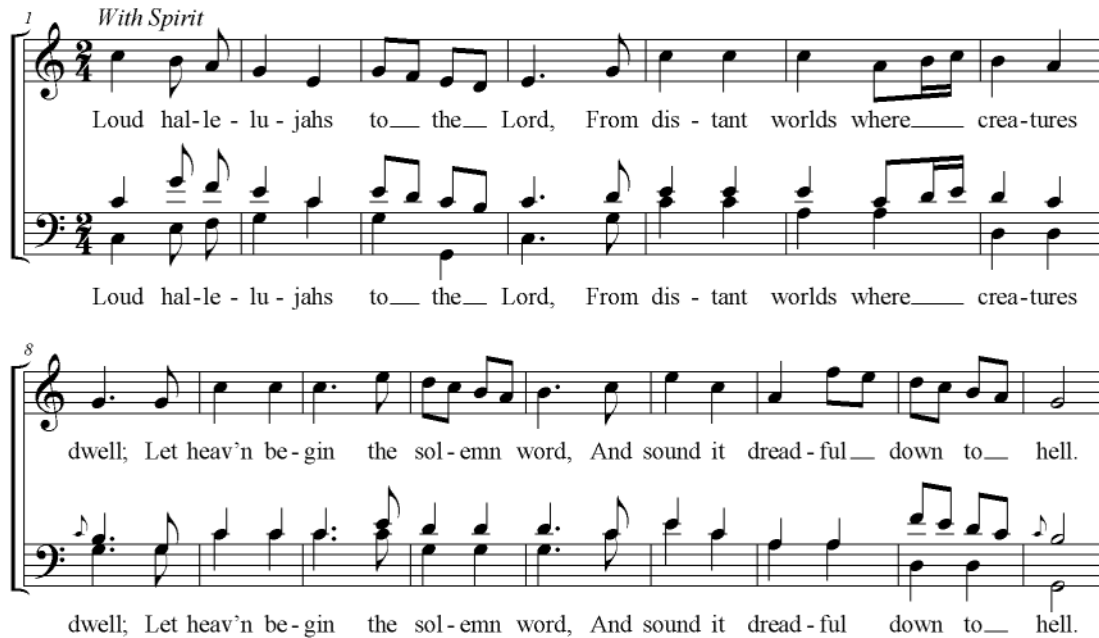
Harmonically, with a few notable exceptions, these psalm tunes are comparable to others of the period. Like many of his contemporaries, Samuel Babcock's counterpoint sometimes has parallel perfect fifths and octaves and incomplete triads at cadence points. However, unlike many psalmmodists, Samuel Babcock typically wrote bass lines that were instrumental in style, filled with large leaps and repeated notes (see Figure 12 and Figure 13).

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<sup>338</sup> Holyoke's *Harmonia Americana*, which included more works for three parts than four, was published in 1791, the same year as the 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. of the *Worcester Collection*. Holyoke was described as the American Madan in Bentley, *Diary of William Bentley*, 1:233.

<sup>339</sup> All of these composers were from the same generation as Samuel Babcock.


*With Spirit*



Loud hal-le - lu - jahs to the Lord, From dis - tant worlds where crea-tures  
 Loud hal-le - lu - jahs to the Lord, From dis - tant worlds where crea-tures

8  
 dwell; Let heav'n be-gin the sol-emn word, And sound it dread - ful down to hell.  
 dwell; Let heav'n be-gin the sol-emn word, And sound it dread - ful down to hell.

Figure 12. Samuel Babcock, RANDOLPH, m. 1-16



1  
 In deep dis - tress I oft have cried To God, who  
 In deep dis - tress I oft have cried To God, who

7  
 nev - er yet de - nied To res - cue me op - pressed with wrongs;  
 nev - er yet de - nied To res - cue me op - pressed with wrongs;  
 nev - er yet de - nied To res - cue me op - pressed with wrongs;

Figure 13. Samuel Babcock, CRETE, m. 1-13

Evidently he was striving to compose in a thorough-bass influenced style, as opposed to a linear, additive one. Samuel Babcock's counterpoint is often characterized by parallel thirds or

sixths between the tenor and treble (see Figure 14). While some of the earlier pieces utilize imitative counterpoint, most of the later extended tunes shun imitation and rely instead upon sectional solos, duets, and trios to create textural variety.

9 *Soft* Glad hom - age pay with aw - ful mirth, And *Loud*

Glad hom - age pay with aw - ful mirth, And

14 sing be - fore him songs of praise,

sing be - fore him songs of praise,

Figure 14. Samuel Babcock, CAMBRIDGE, m. 9-17

Most of Samuel Babcock’s melodies are conjunct; many are scalar (see Figure 15) or triadic (see Figure 16). The melodies in his later published music are often less florid than their earlier counterparts, displaying much less sixteenth-note motion and fewer ornaments. Samuel Babcock’s melodies are often very “catchy.”

15  
8 The Lord will pro - vide, So long as 'tis writ-ten, The Lord will pro - vide.

Figure 15. Samuel Babcock, STOW, tenor, m. 15-21



Figure 16. Samuel Babcock, CALEDONIA, soprano, m. 1-4

Another way that Samuel Babcock’s music may be considered “modern” is in his approach to rhythm and meter. Instead of strictly following the tempi traditionally associated with meters and moods of time, Babcock’s music demonstrates more flexibility. As Crawford explains, “during the period . . . each time signature stood for its own ‘mood of time’ and hence implied a particular tempo.”<sup>340</sup> Towards the end of the eighteenth century, meters in psalmody were beginning to lose these relationships to tempi, and composers supplied tempo indications to their music.

Babcock explains the tempi associated with common time, triple time, and compound time in their various moods in the rudiments section of the second edition of *Middlesex Harmony*.<sup>341</sup> Yet in his music he does not follow these prescriptions strictly with the faster moods of time (2/4, 3/4, and 3/8). In conjunction with meter, Babcock uses written tempo indications in many of his works. Babcock composed many pieces in 2/4 time and paired the meter with tempo indications ranging from “slow” to “brisk” in eighteen pieces (nearly 25 percent of his works). Many of the tunes in faster meters also include meter changes.<sup>342</sup> Frequently these works also include dynamics, another more modern addition. One other meter

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<sup>340</sup> Crawford, *Core Repertory*, xvi. Crawford further suggests the following metronome markings: in 4/4 time the quarter equal 60; in 2/2 time the half note equal 60; in 2/4 the quarter note equal 120; in 3/2 the half note equal 60; and in 3/4 the quarter note equal 80.

<sup>341</sup> Babcock, *Middlesex Harmony*, 2nd ed., vi-vii. Common time includes the duple meters and an increase in tempo with each “mood.” For example, 2/4 (fourth mood) is faster than 4/4 (first mood). The same is true of triple and compound meters.

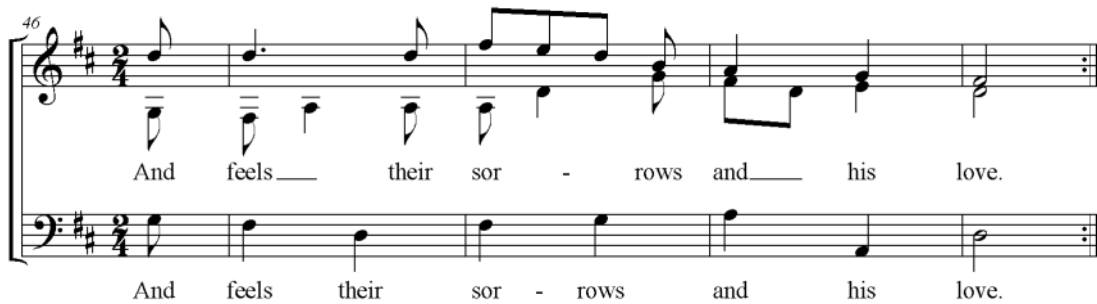
<sup>342</sup> This is the case in nineteen works, just over 25 percent.

used frequently by Babcock deserves mention. The 6/4 meter is relatively rare in psalmody, but Babcock composed six pieces in the meter, and used 6/4 in sections of five additional multi-meter works.<sup>343</sup>

Syncopation is not common in Samuel Babcock’s music, but he used it on occasions where the word-rhythms demanded it. It is fairly rare in the psalmody repertory generally. Syncopation can be found in six works, two anthems and four set pieces. One example from the anthems includes the treble solo in “Comfort Ye My People” (see Figure 17). Here the use of syncopation enhances text setting. It is also present in other pieces at cadence points, such as the middle voice in the set piece SMYRNA (see Figure 18).<sup>344</sup>



**Figure 17. Samuel Babcock, “Comfort Ye, My People”, m. 42-47**



**Figure 18. Samuel Babcock, SMYRNA, m. 46-50**

Babcock also used hemiola, but only once (see m. 8-10 in DOXOLOGY, Figure 19). Again this is very rare in psalmody.

<sup>343</sup> The combined total is 15 percent of his music.

<sup>344</sup> The other two uses of syncopation at cadences are in the set pieces ANDOVER and PRETORIUM.



The image shows a musical score for a doxology by Samuel Babcock. It consists of three systems of music, each with a vocal line (treble clef) and a piano accompaniment (bass clef). The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 6/8. The tempo is marked "Slow".

**System 1:** The lyrics are "Now un - to the king e - ter - nal, im - mor - tal, in - vis - i - ble, the" in English and "Now un - to the king e - ter - nal, im - mor - tal, in - vis - i - ble, the" in German. The music begins with a measure rest in the vocal line.

**System 2:** The lyrics are "on - ly wise God, \_\_\_\_\_ be glo - ry and hon - our through" in English and "on - ly wise God, \_\_\_\_\_ be glo - ry and hon - our through" in German. The music features a repeat sign with first and second endings.

**System 3:** The lyrics are "Je - sus Christ for - ev - er and ev - er. A - men, \_\_\_\_\_ men." in English and "Je - sus Christ for - ev - er and ev - er. A - men, \_\_\_\_\_ men." in German. The music also features a repeat sign with first and second endings.

Figure 19. Samuel Babcock, DOXOLOGY

In the areas of meter, rhythm, and the inclusion of performance instructions, Babcock was influenced by the modern, Methodist style.

In many ways, Samuel Babcock's plain psalm-tune settings are similar to his psalm tunes with extension. Among the twenty-six he composed, Babcock chose three-voice settings (18) more than twice as often as four-voice settings (8). Often, too, he set more than one stanza of text. Again, we see the attempt to employ a variety of text meters, including Methodist meters. Here too, the same standardization of formal design and compositional preferences are found in the works published later; Samuel Babcock again chose ABB form and duple meter, as well as

instrumental-style bass lines.<sup>345</sup> EPHRATAH, NATIVITY, NORTH-KINGSTON, and PLACENTIA are all representative examples for three voices. Two of his Christmas pieces (EPHRATAH and NATIVITY) are very energetic and melodically tuneful, and may be described as having a martial feel to them (see Figure 20).



Figure 20. Samuel Babcock, EPHRATAH, soprano, m. 9-13

NORTH-KINGSTON includes the Methodist trait of pairing voices in thirds and/or sixths (see Figure 21).

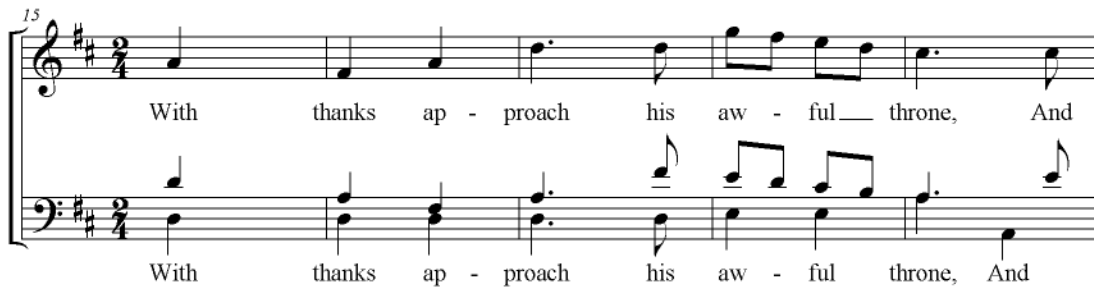


Figure 21. Samuel Babcock, NORTH-KINGSTON, m. 15-19

NEWTON is a good example of Samuel Babcock's handling of four voices in a plain tune (see Figure 22).

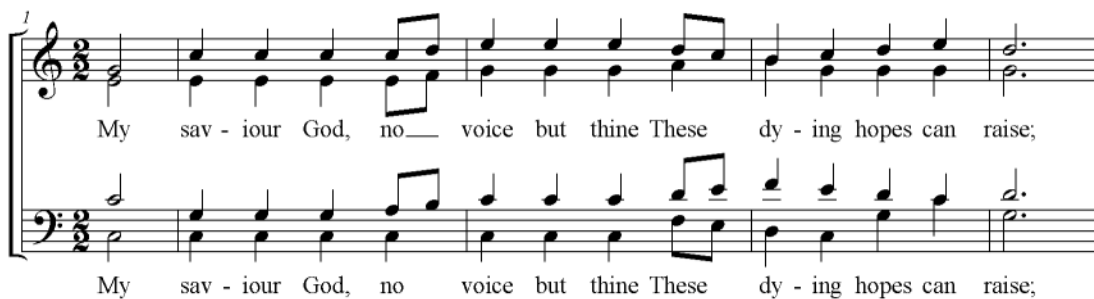


Figure 22. Samuel Babcock, NEWTON, m. 1-5

<sup>345</sup> TRURO does not have a sectional repeat as the others do, but the last line of text is repeated with rhythmic repetition.

Harmonically, the plain tunes are also consistent as a group. The use of parallel thirds and sixths between the upper voices is present, as well as the common Methodist cadence pattern of I6/4-V-I. POMFRET has this cadence (see Figure 23).

6  
 Thy hands have brought sal - va - tion down, And  
 Thy hands have brought sal - va - tion down, And  
 Thy hands have brought sal - va - tion down, And

8  
 writ the bless - ings in thy word.  
 writ the bless - ings in thy word.  
 writ the bless - ings in thy word.

Figure 23. Samuel Babcock, POMFRET, m. 6-9

The four-voice plain psalm tunes display a greater use of textural variety as well as a higher percentage of triadic melody lines and ornamentation than do the tunes with extension (see Figure 24).

8  
*Piano*  
 Ar - rayed in robes of light, Be - girt with sov' - reign might,  
 Ar - rayed in robes of light, Be - girt with sov' - reign might,  
 Ar - rayed in robes of light, Be - girt with sov' - reign might,

Figure 24. Samuel Babcock, GIHON, m. 8-12

Despite the growing movement against fusing music, Samuel Babcock published seven new fusing tunes after 1800 (he had only published one before that date).<sup>346</sup> All are in 2/2, with a variety of metrical texts represented. Six are set for three voices, while two are for four voices.

As with the extended and plain tunes discussed above, Samuel Babcock employed a formulaic approach to the fusing tune. In the three-part fusing tunes the fusing sections range from four to eight measures and present one to three lines of text. GRATITUDE, PALMER, and SUNDAY are representative examples of three-voice fusing tunes. The invariable order of imitative entries is bass, followed by tenor, then treble for the three-voice pieces. In all but one of the tunes, Samuel Babcock uses the same means to end the fusing and bring the voices together. Typically, he prolongs the bass's final note for two measures or longer, while the tenor reaches its final pitch one measure after the bass and holds until the treble catches up. Similar to a traditional fuge, the imitative motive usually has both a rhythmic and a melodic profile, but sometimes only rhythmic similarity connects the fugal entries.<sup>347</sup> Two tunes, ELEVATION and LUBEC, have canons at the octave in all three voices. LUBEC, in particular, has clear presentation of the text (see Figure 25). In GRATITUDE and PALMER, only two of the voices participate in a brief canon at the octave.<sup>348</sup>

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<sup>346</sup> Four additional fusing tunes are among the ambiguous attributions from Joseph Stone and Abraham Wood's *Columbian Harmony*, [Worcester, MA, 1793]. These tunes, ADMIRATION, WARREN, WESTBOROUGH, and WRENTHAM, display some stylistic characteristics unlike those pieces known to be by Samuel Babcock. Please note that psalmodists used the spelling "fuge" rather than "fugue."

<sup>347</sup> The strictness to the melody and/or rhythm of the motive and length of the imitative treatment varies among psalmodists—as does the degree of participation by all the voice parts.

<sup>348</sup> The few other psalmodists who utilized canons include Read, Belcher, Holden, Belknap, Ingalls, and Dare. See Fawcett-Yeske, "Fusing Tune in America," 492.

11

Nor let our voic-es cease To sing the sav-iour's name;

Nor let our voic-es cease sa - To sing the sav-iour's name;

Nor let our voic-es cease \_\_\_\_\_ dor To sing the sav-iour's name;

**Figure 25. Samuel Babcock, LUBEC, m. 11-17**

In the four-voice fusing tunes (DORCHESTER and VIENNA), the order of entries is bass, tenor, treble, and counter. The method used to end the fuge employs rests in the voices and longer notes in the tenor (see Figure 26).

9  
 Your voices raise, Ye  
 Your  
 Your voices raise, Ye cherubim And  
 Your voices raise, Ye cherubim And seraphim, To  
 cherubim And seraphim, To sing his praise,—  
 13  
 voices raise, Ye cherubim And seraphim, To  
 seraphim, To sing his praise,— And  
 sing his praise, Your voices raise, Ye  
 16  
 And seraphim, To sing his praise,  
 sing his praise, And seraphim, To sing his praise,  
 seraphim, To sing his praise,  
 cherubim And seraphim, To sing his praise,

Figure 26. Samuel Babcock, VIENNA, m. 9-19

Fawcett-Yeske includes a brief discussion of Samuel Babcock’s fusing tunes in her dissertation. Explaining the attacks on fusing tunes and the varying responses of psalmidists, she observes: “The early 1800s boast an unusual juxtaposition: the heyday of the fusing tune in America, and the call for sacred music in which that same form came under direct attack.”<sup>349</sup> She goes on to sort composers writing fusing tunes at the time into three groups: traditionalists,

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<sup>349</sup> Ibid., 237-238.

innovators, and reformists. “[T]he reformist attitude is most apparent in the works of Oliver Holden, Jacob Kimball, Samuel Holyoke, Samuel Babcock, John Cole, Joel Harmon, and Walter Janes.”<sup>350</sup> As Fawcett-Yeske explains:

His [Samuel Babcock’s] later fusing tunes [those from *Middlesex Harmony*, 2nd edition] suggest a concern for the clarity of the text and a preference for transparency in texture achieved by writing three- rather than four-voice tunes—concerns and style traits that he decidedly shared with Holden and Holyoke, among others. But at the heart of his style are the open fifths, incomplete chords, the characteristic imitation, and the spirit of creativity which were typical of American psalmody.<sup>351</sup>

Samuel Babcock’s twenty-two set pieces and four anthems are musically similar to each other as well as to the psalm tunes described above.<sup>352</sup> The set-pieces and anthems use frequent ornamentation (grace notes), changes in texture and dynamics, changes of meter, internal sectional repeats, and marks of distinction.<sup>353</sup> See Figure 27 for changes in texture and dynamics and Figure 28 for texture changes in a four-part work. Here Samuel Babcock also repeats words, phrases, and lines of text more freely than in the other forms.

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<sup>350</sup> Ibid., 238.

<sup>351</sup> Ibid., 333.

<sup>352</sup> Although three set-pieces are similar in form to the extended tunes described above, in each one, Babcock has set only one or two verses of a metrical text, and one or more of the other verses will not fit the setting. Babcock’s preference for three-voice settings is apparent in the set-pieces (only two of the thirteen are for four voices), but in the anthems, four-voice settings were preferred three to one.

<sup>353</sup> There is an increasing similarity among the compositions published later. In the Preface of the second edition of *Middlesex Harmony*, marks of distinction are used to indicate that certain words should be sung very distinctly. See Babcock, *Middlesex Harmony*, 2nd ed., v.

22 *Piano*  
 O glo - r'ous hour! O blest a - bode!  
 O glo - r'ous hour! O blest a - bode! I shall be near,  
 29 *Piano* *Forte*  
 I shall be near, I shall be near, and like my God! —  
 I shall be near, I shall be near, and like my God!

Figure 27. Samuel Babcock, MILTON, m. 22-34

23  
 Should I dis - trib - ute all my store, To feed the bow - els of the  
 poor; To gain a mar - tyr's glo - r'ous name;  
 27  
 Or give my bod - y to the flame, To gain a mar - tyr's glo - r'ous name;  
 Or give my bod - y to the flame, To gain a mar - tyr's glo - r'ous name;  
 To gain a mar - tyr's glo - r'ous name;

Figure 28. Samuel Babcock, CHARITY, m. 23-32

Only two of the set pieces are for four voices, but three of the four anthems are in four parts. Representative set pieces include CHRISTMAS, CONSECRATION, HAMBURG, SMYRNA, and WATERTOWN. All of these are for three voices; NORFOLK is a typical four-part set piece. CHRISTMAS, CONSECRATION, and SMYRNA include text painting. SMYRNA has pace and tempo



changes between sections to reflect the different moods.<sup>354</sup> SMYRNA has triadic melodies, especially in the opening measures (see Figure 29). CONSECRATION and HAMBURG both show the influence of Methodist hymnody.

Now let my Lord, my sav - iour, smile,  
 Now let my Lord, my sav - iour, smile,

Figure 29. Samuel Babcock, SMYRNA, m. 1-4

HAMBURG and WATERTOWN both use imitation. This is the case in the upper voices in the 6/8 section of WATERTOWN. See an excerpt of HAMBURG in Figure 30, similar to the imitative play in the voices in NEEDHAM.

The joy - ful cher - ubs clapped their wings, And sound-ed grace,  
 The joy - ful cher - ubs clapped their wings, And sound - ed  
 and sound-ed grace, and sound - ed grace on all their strings.  
 grace, and sound - ed grace on all their strings.

Figure 30. Samuel Babcock, HAMBURG, m. 31-41

<sup>354</sup> Text painting is discussed in more detail below.

HAMBURG is unusual in several ways. The imitation and presence of text overlap at the beginning and end of the pieces are like a fugging tune, and the independence of the bass line is similar to, but not as extensive as, that in CALEDONIA.<sup>355</sup> The driving quarters in the bass in m. 35 and 38 offer a striking and effective contrast to the upper voices with eighth rests and eighth-note pick-ups. This is cleverly prepared by the eighth-note pickup in the tenor in m. 12 and the same rhythm used at the beginning of the phrase in m. 27. After CALEDONIA and NEEDHAM—described below—it is perhaps the next most unusual piece Samuel Babcock composed.

A more detailed discussion of the typical set piece ASHFORD demonstrates Samuel Babcock's approach to musical form along with many of his stylistic characteristics. See the tune in Figure 31 and Figure 22 (continued) and the formal diagram in Figure 32. This piece in 2/4 meter and the key of D major is typical of a work praising God. Further, it shows how Babcock integrates elements of Methodist style psalmody in his music. Composed in three parts, the melodies, harmony, and text declamation are all representative of Samuel Babcock's music. This piece was first printed in 1795 in the first edition of *Middlesex Harmony*. This three-voice setting of the final three stanzas of a hymn in the Particular Meter [7.7.7.7] by John Newton offers examples of Samuel Babcock's text manipulation while maintaining a driving quarter-note declamation throughout.

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<sup>355</sup> Both Kroeger and Fawcett-Yeske classify CALEDONIA and HAMBURG as fugging tunes. See Kroeger, *American Fugging-Tunes*, 11 and Fawcett-Yeske, "Fugging Tune in America," 335, 447.

1 *Piano* *Forte*

Je - sus is be - come at length My sal - va - tion and my

Je - sus is be - come at length My sal - va - tion and my

8

strength; And his prais - es shall pro - long, While I live,

strength; And his prais - es shall pro - long, While I live,

15

While I live, While I live, my\_\_ pleas - ant\_\_ song.

While I live, While I live, my\_\_ pleas - ant\_\_ song.

22

Praise ye then his glo - r'ous name,\_\_\_ Pub - lish his ex - alt - ed

Praise ye then his glo - r'ous name,\_\_\_ Pub - lish his ex - alt - ed

29

fame! Still his worth your praise\_\_\_ ex - ceeds, Ex - cel - lent are\_\_\_

fame! Still his worth your praise\_\_\_ ex - ceeds, Ex - cel - lent are\_\_\_

Figure 31. Samuel Babcock, ASHFORD

36

all his deeds. Raise a - gain the joy - ful sound,

all his deeds. Raise a - gain the joy - ful sound,

43

Let the na - tions roll it `round! Zi - on shout, Zi - on shout,

Let the na - tions roll it `round! Zi - on shout, Zi - on shout,

51

Zi - on shout, for this is he, God the sav - iour dwells in

Zi - on shout, for this is he, God the sav - iour dwells in

58

thee, For this is he, God the sav - iour dwells in

thee, For this is he, God the sav - iour dwells in

64

thee, God the sav - iour dwells in thee.

thee, God the sav - iour dwells in thee.

Figure 31 (continued). Samuel Babcock, ASHFORD

Groups of Measures and Repeat Signs:	4 4   : 4 4 4 :   - 4 4 4 4 -   : 4 4 4 4 4 2 4 ≠
Simple Analysis in Key of D:	I I   : V I V :   - V V V I -   : I V I I V I I ≠
Form:	A B   : C D E :   - F G C H -   : <sup>rhythm</sup> of A J D <sup>rhythm</sup> of A B' <sup>rhythm</sup> of A E ≠

**Figure 32. Samuel Babcock, ASHFORD Form and Melodies.**

The first row indicates the number of measures in each phrase. The roman numerals in the second row indicate the harmonies at cadence points. The form letters in the third row indicate the melodies in each section.

Set pieces are typically through composed, but Babcock includes two larger repeated sections (m. 9-20 and m. 39-68) as well as repeating four-measure phrases to provide unity. The shorter repeats are unusual. For example, the phrases in measures 5-8 (B), 9-12 (C), 13-16 (D), and 17-20 (E) each return at least once in the piece. The rhythmic figure eighth, quarter, quarter, dotted-quarter in m. 3-4 that ends A returns later as well. The most creative use of this figure is in m. 59-60 where it is paired with the text “For this is he,” referring to Jesus. For this one repetition all three voices come together to sing octave Ds (the tonic) emphasizing the text’s meaning. This is further emphasized by being the only two-measure phrase in the piece.

Babcock creates textural variety by beginning with a duet between the upper voices and punctuating the piece with two measures of rest (m. 21 and 38). The measures of rest separate the stanzas of the hymn. The melodies and harmonies are very typical of Babcock’s style throughout. Methodist style elements include the overall texture (two equal upper voices paired with a harmony-inspired bass), use of dynamics at the beginning, grace notes in the tenor (m. 29 and 46), and the cadential patterns (note the final I6/4-V-I cadence).

The text itself is in a Methodist meter, all sevens. Babcock repeats bits of the text for emphasis. In his first stanza, line four, “While I live,” is repeated twice (m. 13-18). The next stanza is unaltered. In the final stanza, Babcock repeats “Zion shout,” from line three, two times (m. 47-52) and pairs it with the same declamatory quarter-note pattern set off before and after with rests used for the previous “While I live” repetition. After line four, Babcock repeats the final four syllables of the third line, “For this is he,” for the two-measure phrase already mentioned (m. 59-60). Then he repeats the entire fourth line, “God the savior dwells in thee,” to end the piece.

Three of Samuel Babcock's four anthems are in four parts and one is in three parts. The emphasis on four-part music is an exception with only this genre. The two that stand out are "Comfort Ye, My People" and "O Come, Let Us Sing Unto the Lord." These are the two anthems that Daniel picked to highlight, and he characterizes Babcock as part of the "anti-Billings faction of composers."<sup>356</sup> Daniel places Samuel Babcock squarely in the reform movement's camp.

The treble solos and closing "hallelujah" section of "O Come, Let Us Sing Unto the Lord" are noteworthy. The solos are tuneful and contrast with the surrounding four-part texture, emphasizing the treble voice rather than the tenor. The "hallelujah" section is the most melismatic section in all of Samuel Babcock's music and concludes the anthem with an ecstatic affirmation. The closing plagal "Amen" cadence is unusual in an anthem by an American psalmist.

Daniel offered a modern edition of "O Come, Let Us Sing Unto the Lord."<sup>357</sup> He described the anthem as follows:

'O come, let us sing unto the Lord' contains all of the features that characterize Babcock's style. Only the melismatic figuration of the tenor part in the "Hallelujah" section and the final plagal cadence are not typical of the other three anthems. It is worthy of note, also, that the combination of the 2/4 metric signature with the tempo indication "Slow" at measure 66 is prophetic of the early nineteenth century when metric signatures lost their temporal significance.<sup>358</sup>

Daniel calls Babcock's compositional technique in 1795:

very adequate . . . although the two polyphonic sections in "O come, let us sing unto the Lord" (m. 16-21 and 84-88), where he was not able to maintain the imitation in the fourth entry, reveal that he was not a finished craftsman. But the

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<sup>356</sup> Daniel, *Anthem in New England*, 137.

<sup>357</sup> *Ibid.*, 267-272.

<sup>358</sup> *Ibid.*, 138.

satisfactory handling of metric, rhythmic, harmonic, and melodic materials produces a competent and attractive music.<sup>359</sup>

Samuel Babcock paid careful attention to descriptive text setting. Karl Kroeger, in his article on word painting in the music of William Billings, has pointed out that, “Overt word painting of the text . . . is rare in Anglo-American psalm tunes of the eighteenth century,” although word painting is more commonly found in anthems, set pieces, and fugging tunes.<sup>360</sup> Samuel Babcock employed each of the five word-painting devices that Kroeger found in Billings’s music, although Babcock’s use of these devices is often quite subtle and unobtrusive.<sup>361</sup> His use of word painting increased in his later-published compositions.

In the psalm tunes, Samuel Babcock used melodic direction, onomatopoeia, pace and tempo, and texture to better convey the meaning of the text being set. For example, in CHRISTMAS he used onomatopoeia for the word “Shout” in the first measure of the tune by setting off a held chord with rests. “Hail” at the beginning of the second line is treated similarly. Changes of pace and tempo illustrate the text, “To bleed and die for thee. ‘Tis done, ‘tis done, the precious ransom’s paid” in RESIGNATION (see Figure 33), with the slower tempo and longer note values representing Jesus’ death on the cross and the livelier tempo and quicker notes celebrating salvation.



10  
8

To bleed and die for thee. 'Tis done, 'tis done, the pre- cious ran-som's paid.

**Figure 33. Samuel Babcock, RESIGNATION, tenor, m. 10-17**

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<sup>359</sup> Ibid.

<sup>360</sup> Kroeger, “Word Painting in the Music of William Billings,” 44.

<sup>361</sup> Ibid., 49.



Samuel Babcock painted the texts in *MENOTOMY* and *NORFOLK* by the use of texture. In the second verse of *MENOTOMY*, dynamics and texture combine to relate the meaning of the text (see Figure 34). A treble solo, marked “piano,” is enough for “weak and languishing” “mortals.” The solo melody itself is not “weak and languishing,” but relies upon soft dynamic of the high voices for effect. Then three voices re-enter “forte” to express “warm affections” and “grateful love.”

17

But all the notes which mor - tals\_ know Are weak, and lan - guish-ing,\_\_\_ and\_\_\_

25 *Forte*

low; Then let our warm af - fec - tions

Then let our warm af - fec - tions

29

move, In glad re - turns of\_\_\_ grate - ful love!

move, In glad re - turns of grate - ful love!

Figure 34. Samuel Babcock, *MENOTOMY*, m. 17-33

A similar effect is created in the four-voice extended psalm tune *NORFOLK*. Here a duet marked piano, between treble and tenor on the text “Awake, my voice, in heav’nly lays,” is followed by a four-part shout, “Tell the loud wonders he hath done,” reinforced with the instruction “forte.”

In *ELIM*, Samuel Babcock used a combination of melodic direction and tessitura to illustrate the text “For his blessings far extend.” At the beginning of this phrase, the voices are in close position, and the treble “extends” upward while the bass’s descent continues set to the text, “knows no end” (see Figure 35). At the widest point, the treble and bass are separated by two octaves and a fifth.

9  
 For his bless - ings far ex - tend,  
 For his bless - ings far ex - tend,

13  
 And his mer - cy knows no end.  
 And his mer - cy knows no end.

Figure 35. Samuel Babcock, *ELIM*, m. 9-16

In *QUINCY*, onomatopoeia emulates the sound of a trumpet call for the text “The trumpet sounds,” where all parts “sound” like a bugle call.

One of Samuel Babcock’s most obvious uses of melodic direction is in the fugal tune *ELEVATION*. All three voices enter with imitative entries portraying the heavenly location of “Celestial grace.” (The tenor and treble entries are precisely canonic.) The triadic motive rises through three octaves (see Figure 36).

6 Let the wide earth re -  
 Let the wide earth re - sound the deeds, Ce -

10 les - tial grace has done, Let the wide earth re -  
 done, Let the wide earth re -

14 sound the deeds, Ce - les - tial grace has done, done.  
 sound the deeds, Ce - les - tial grace has done, done.  
 sound the deeds, Ce - les - tial grace has done, done.

**Figure 36. Samuel Babcock, ELEVATION, m. 6-17**

As one would expect, word painting is even more clearly present in set pieces and anthems than in the psalm tunes. The three voices of CONSECRATION each display different types of melodic activity; the tenor and treble consistently move in opposite directions while the bass repeats the same pitch, suggesting the “sweet variety” of linear directions (see Figure 37).

20  
And sweet var - i - et - y, var - i - et - y of sound

And sweet \_\_\_\_\_ var - i - et - y of sound

Figure 37. Samuel Babcock, CONSECRATION, m. 20-24

Changes of pace, meter, and tempo are combined in CAMBRIDGE to illustrate the text “To endless ages shall endure” (see Figure 38). The beginning of the line progresses in a brisk 3/8; at the words “shall endure,” however, the tempo is marked “slow,” the meter changes to 6/8, and the note values lengthen.

68  
To end - less ag - es shall en - dure, \_\_\_\_\_ dure.

To end - less ag - es shall en - dure, \_\_\_\_\_ dure.

Figure 38. Samuel Babcock, CAMBRIDGE, m. 68-73

The changes of key and tempo in SMYRNA reflect the changing emotions of the text. The piece opens in D major with the text “Now let my Lord, my saviour, smile . . .” The tempo slows and the mode changes to minor for the text, “But O! it swells my sorrows high . . .” and then returns to a lively D major section for the final, “Yet why, my soul, Why these complaints? . . . Still on his heart he bears his saints, And feels their sorrows and his love.” The embellishment matched fittingly to the word “hallelujah,” a melisma in the anthem “O Come, Let Us Sing Unto the Lord,” provides one final example of Samuel Babcock’s use of word-painting techniques (see Figure 39).



Figure 39. Samuel Babcock, “O Come, Let Us Sing Unto the Lord,” m. 87-91, tenor

Two of Samuel Babcock’s set pieces are unusual, and deserve special notice. They are his most original and musically interesting compositions. The most striking thing about Babcock’s setting of this Particular Meter text (10.11.10.11) in NEEDHAM is the alternation between two textures (see Figure 40). The first and third lines are homophonic, while the second and fourth lines are set in imitative counterpoint first and then repeated in a homophonic setting. The imitative entries for “such trifles” illustrates the text.

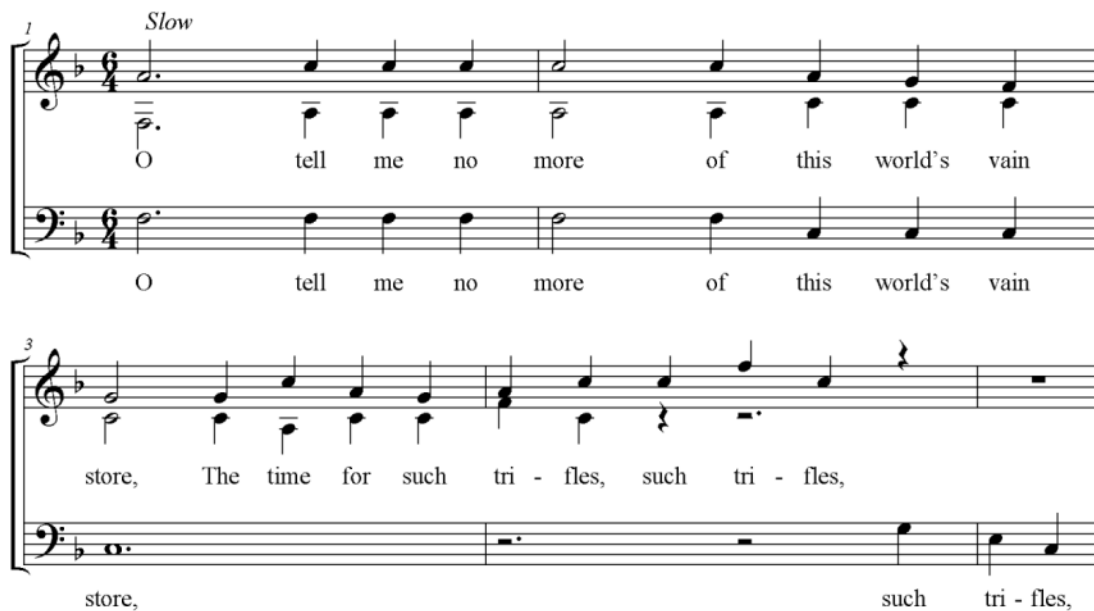


Figure 40. Samuel Babcock, NEEDHAM, m. 1-5

CALEDONIA is the most unusual set piece Samuel Babcock composed, due to both its text and the manner of its setting (see Figure 41). This 7.7.7.7 Particular Meter text by John Newton was apparently set by no other New England psalmodist. Babcock’s unique setting includes a

quasi-ostinato use of the bass for the text “I will praise thee,” which supplies a chant-like contrast to the more lyrical lines of the treble and tenor.

40  
I will praise thee ev' - ry day, I will  
I will praise thee, I will

45  
praise thee ev' - ry day, Now thine an - ger's turned a - way,  
praise thee, I will praise thee

52  
ev' - ry day, I will praise thee ev' - ry day.  
ev' - ry day, I will praise thee ev' - ry day.

Figure 41. Samuel Babcock, CALEDONIA, m. 40-58

## 4.2 LEMUEL BABCOCK

The only pieces confirmed to be by Lemuel Babcock are EUPHRATES and SOLITUDE. Both are four-voice plain tunes with a Long Meter text. EUPHRATES is only sixteen measures long; the tune is in the key of d minor and in 3/2 meter. SOLITUDE is even shorter, only twelve measures. It is also in a minor key (e minor) and the meter is 2/2. Both settings seem focused more on the

music—particularly the harmony and contrapuntal interplay between the tenor and treble voices—and less on the text. The settings are more neumatic than syllabic.

In *EUPHRATES* the four parts sound together throughout the piece with no rests or changes in texture. The four voices are equal melodically, in contrast to Samuel Babcock’s four-part music, which focuses melodic interest in the treble and tenor. The only striking dissonance in the work is a minor second in measure 15 between the treble and counter (see Figure 42); it is resolved when the treble moves from F to G. The clash results from a retardation in the treble, which does not seem related to the text, as is generally the case with dissonances in Samuel Babcock’s music.

Figure 42 shows a musical score for two staves. The top staff is in treble clef and the bottom staff is in bass clef. The music is in 3/2 time and has a key signature of one flat. The lyrics are "And Si - on was our mourn - ful theme." The score shows a dissonance in measure 15 between the treble and counter parts.

Figure 42. Lemuel Babcock, *EUPHRATES* m. 13-17

A parallel octave is present in measure 13 between the counter and tenor parts.<sup>362</sup> The rest of the piece seems to have been carefully composed to comply with good four-voice counterpoint. A dotted-quarter, eighth, half-note rhythmic figure appears throughout the tune. It often appears in paired voices, e.g., m. 3 and 4 between the treble and tenor and all three upper voices in m. 5. It is an important unifying gesture that appears frequently in each of the voices and gives a feeling of lilt and grace to the music. Examples of voice exchange of the rhythmic motive are seen in m. 3, 4, and 5 (see Figure 43).

<sup>362</sup> Both this dissonance and the parallel octaves seem out of place in this work that otherwise avoids problems in the counterpoint.

The image shows a musical score for two staves, treble and bass clef, in 3/2 time. The lyrics are: "When we, our wear - ied limbs to rest,". The score includes various note values such as quarter notes, eighth notes, and rests. There is a first ending bracket over the first measure of the treble staff.

**Figure 43. Lemuel Babcock, EUPHRATES m. 1-5**

SOLITUDE is similar to EUPHRATES in style. For example, there is a pairing of voices with a rhythmic motif, in this case with eighth notes (tenor and bass in m. 3; middle voices in m. 5; all three upper voices in m. 8; etc.). Also set in four parts, it is in a minor key, sets a L.M. text, and is short (13 m.). The declamation is neumatic rather than syllabic. Short melismas are used for the words “languished” in m. 2-3 and “plead” in m. 9. SOLITUDE has a minor dominant cadence at the end, which in itself is rather unusual.<sup>363</sup> The tune rhythmically has two notes against three in m. 6, with quarter-note triplets in the treble and counter against quarter notes in the tenor (see Figure 44). Harmonically there are dissonances between the top voices in m. 3 beats 1-2 (a clashing major second) and in the inner voices on the last beat of m. 5 (clashing major seconds and voice crossing).<sup>364</sup> These are created with accented passing tones and retardation. Two times the voices cross; for instance, see the treble and tenor in m. 4 and m. 7 (see Figure 44). Such crossing in the tenor and counter is typical of “old style” psalmody, but is not characteristic of Samuel Babcock’s music.

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<sup>363</sup> Most psalmody ends tunes in minor keys with an open fifth, as Lemuel Babcock does in EUPHRATES.

<sup>364</sup> SOLITUDE employs a larger vocabulary of non-harmonic tones than is present in most of these pieces.



Be - neath my sins he groaned and died;  
 Be - neath my sins he groaned and died;

Figure 44. Lemuel Babcock, SOLITUDE m. 4-7

### 4.3 AMBIGUOUS ATTRIBUTIONS

The five pieces of ambiguous attribution include one plain tune (SPRINGFIELD) and four fugging tunes (ADMIRATION, WARREN, WESTBOROUGH, and WRENTHAM). All five are different stylistically from the music by Samuel Babcock. While only two pieces by Lemuel Babcock are extant, some of his stylistic fingerprints present in EUPHRATES and SOLITUDE also appear in the ambiguous attributions.

Basic similarities between the ambiguous attributions and Lemuel Babcock's music include the following: all of the ambiguous works are for four voices; all except for SPRINGFIELD are in the meters 3/2 or 2/2; the text meter most frequently set is long meter (three of the five tunes); the focus is on the music rather than the text; and the setting is neumatic (and sometimes melismatic) rather than syllabic. More specific characteristics include use of triplets (especially duplets against triplets), certain characteristics of the counterpoint (especially the use of dissonance), and the presence of voice exchange.

In comparing the two plain tunes SPRINGFIELD and SOLITUDE, both share an unusual dissonance (major second) near the beginning that is resolved in the same way: the first two

beats of m. 3 in each between the upper two voices (see Figure 45 and Figure 46). Another major second between the counter and tenor is present in m. 21 of *SPRINGFIELD*. Both *SPRINGFIELD* and *SOLITUDE* include multiple voice exchange and both use triplets. While voice exchanges certainly appear in Samuel Babcock's music, triplets do not.<sup>365</sup>

The image shows a musical score for two staves in 3/4 time, key of D major. The lyrics are "Je - sus drinks the bit - ter cup,". The first staff has a treble clef and the second has a bass clef. Both staves feature a triplet of eighth notes in the third measure, indicated by a bracket with the number "3".

Figure 45. Ambiguous Attribution, *SPRINGFIELD*, m. 1-4

The image shows a musical score for two staves in 3/2 time, key of D major. The lyrics are "See where he lan - guished on the cross;". The first staff has a treble clef and the second has a bass clef. Both staves feature a triplet of eighth notes in the third measure, indicated by a bracket with the number "3".

Figure 46. Lemuel Babcock, *SOLITUDE*, m. 1-4

The four ambiguous fusing tunes provide a broader sample for comparison than the single ambiguous plain tune. They share similarities between them, but all are quite different from fusing tunes known to be by Samuel Babcock. All four of the ambiguous fusing tunes are set in four parts, rather than three. The imitative counterpoint is not handled as strictly as in Samuel Babcock's practice; as a result either the imitation or the harmony is not maintained. In

<sup>365</sup> There is only one example of triplets in Samuel Babcock's music, the ornamental sixteenth-note triplets in the tenor of *POMFRET* in m. 7.

comparison, Samuel Babcock's part-writing seems restricted and conservative. The voices in the ambiguously attributed fugal tunes are brought back together differently from the fugal tunes by Samuel Babcock. Finally, maintaining the clarity of the text does not appear to be a high a priority.

Kroeger's descriptions of the four ambiguous fugal tunes show them to have longer fugal sections and less consistency in the order of the fugal entries in the voices.<sup>366</sup> In addition, they differ from those by Samuel Babcock in the method used to bring the voices back together, the number of beats between fugal entries, and the variety of phrase-by-phrase structure. The consistency of Samuel Babcock's approach to the form is confirmed in comparison not only with the ambiguous fugal tunes but also when considered with the total of almost 1,300 fugal tunes Kroeger cataloged and described.

For example, consider the order of entries in Samuel Babcock's three-voice fugal tunes. He used the order bass, tenor, treble six times. The total number of such tunes in Kroeger's catalog is about sixty and Samuel Babcock's represent about 10 percent of the total. His two four-voice fugal tunes each uses a different order of entry, which are the two most common: tenor, bass, treble, counter; and bass, tenor, treble, counter. Samuel Babcock's four-voice fugal tunes are thus much more typical of the genre as a whole than those for three voices, which are, however, consistent with each other. Samuel Babcock's technique for bringing the voices back together is also consistent. In seven of his eight fugal tunes, he gives the bass (and often the tenor) a held note to allow the upper voice(s) to "catch up." He is also consistent in the number of beats between fugal entries (typically two). Finally, the phrase-by-phrase structure of Samuel Babcock's fugal tunes is typical of other composers and consistent within the pieces, especially

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<sup>366</sup> Kroeger, *American Fugal-Tunes*, 10-12.

the three-voice fusing tunes. The texture pattern of homophonic and fusing sections that Kroeger coded “HHFH” is especially common; it is present in ELEVATION, GRATITUDE, PALMER, and RESOLUTION.<sup>367</sup> Fawcett-Yeske has similarly noted the consistency among Samuel Babcock’s later published fusing tunes. “This [his] movement toward simplicity, through reduction in the number of voices, brevity of fuge, clarity of text, and uniformity of vocal lines suggests a concerted effort to temper the fusing tune into a less formidable genre, one less apt to draw objection amidst mounting disfavor.”<sup>368</sup> This supports the conclusion that Lemuel Babcock, not Samuel Babcock, composed the ambiguous fusing tunes.

ADMIRATION has an integrated fusing section. The melisma on the word “whirling” in Figure 47, an attempt to word-paint the text, exceeds in length anything that Samuel Babcock ever attempted, even in his anthems. In ADMIRATION the melisma could have served to bring the voices together, but instead, the textual overlap continues. It is also noteworthy that the strict imitation is maintained only for the first four notes of each entrance.

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<sup>367</sup> Ibid. “H” means a homophonic setting of a phrase of text, and “F” means a fusing setting.

<sup>368</sup> Fawcett-Yeske, “Fusing Tune in America,” 338.

**Figure 47. Ambiguous Attribution, ADMIRATION, m. 4-16**

In WARREN, the voice exchange between the treble and tenor in m. 2 and the quarter note triplets in m. 4 in the treble are stylistic features seldom found in Samuel Babcock’s music. In m. 2 the neumatic setting of “downy” and “vanities” in m. 8 is noteworthy, because these elements are consistent with Lemuel Babcock’s music, but not with Samuel Babcock’s style see Figure 48).

The fugal entrances in m. 10-13 are not literal in their melodic imitation, but are achieved through similar rhythm. The starting scale degrees of the entrances are not typical. Instead of alternating entrances on scale degrees 1 and 5, for example, these entrances are on 1, 3, 3, and 7, resulting in dissonances and parallel fifths in the counterpoint in m. 14-17. Also noteworthy are the weak harmonic direction and irregular resolutions of dissonance in m. 10-16, especially the III chords in inversions in m. 13 and 14.

1  
Sleep, down - y sleep, come close my

5  
eyes, Tired with be - hold - ing van - i - ties:

Figure 48. Ambiguous Attribution, WARREN, m. 1-9

In WRENTHAM the contrapuntal entrances are literal (see m. 10-20), but the underlying harmony lacks a sense of forward motion. The resulting b naturals in m. 14 in the tenor and m. 19 in the treble cause contrapuntal anomalies, such as weak counterpoint. There are parallel fifths and octaves between the treble and tenor with the bass in m. 19-20.

WESTBOROUGH is the most unusual of the group. In m. 37 (see Figure 49), a three against two rhythmic pattern is used. It is similar to SOLITUDE (m. 6) with quarter-note triplets in the counter against straight quarter-notes in the tenor and treble. Quarter-note triplets occur once more in m. 34 in the treble.

35  
He once de - fied the Lord;

He once de - fied the Lord;

Figure 49. Ambiguous Attribution, WESTBOROUGH, m. 35-38

Only the first two entrances in the bass and tenor are imitative, in this case at the unison for five notes. The treble entrance is not imitative, and the counter does not participate in the fuge at all. The rhythm of the fugal subject is introduced earlier in the piece, in m. 1 in the tenor and counter, in m. 13 in the bass, and m. 14-15 in the upper three voices. Finally, the key change in m. 31 is rare in a fugging tune. As Fawcett-Yeske explained, “In comparing ADMIRATION, WARREN, WESTBOROUGH, and WRENTHAM to the other fugging tunes of Samuel Babcock, the present investigation found WESTBOROUGH to be especially out of character from the other fugging tunes attributed to Babcock, ambiguous or otherwise.”<sup>369</sup>

My comparison of the musical style of the ambiguous attributions leaves me confident that they were not composed by Samuel Babcock. While only two confirmed pieces by Lemuel Babcock are extant, the ambiguous works share many stylistic fingerprints with them. I believe that—even without considering extra-musical evidence—these works were most likely composed by Lemuel Babcock.

#### 4.4 SUMMARY

Cooke’s criteria regarding musical style are somewhat subjective. Adjectives like “plain” and “sturdy” mean different things to different people. Some of Samuel Babcock’s music is what I would call plain and sturdy, while to others it is more ornate and complicated. Much of it has the plain and sturdy motivation of praising God in song. The rest of Cooke’s criteria are more quantifiable. Did Samuel Babcock compose the specified amount of music, several dozen

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<sup>369</sup> Ibid., 333.

pieces? Did he compose in the minor mode a significant amount of the time? Did he write fusing tunes? The answer to these questions is yes. Further, his music is representative of the influences of the period he was active in. His music seems to exhibit a synthesis of the musical style of the previous generation of psalmodists as well as the more modern Methodist style advocated by reformers of sacred music during the final decade of the eighteenth century.

In comparison, Lemuel Babcock's two confirmed pieces do not meet Cooke's criteria. This is true even if the five ambiguous attributions are all credited to him. Although he composed in minor modes, wrote sturdy and plain music, he simply did not compose enough. Further research may reveal additional music in manuscript tunebooks that were never printed.

Differences between Samuel Babcock's musical style and the two confirmed Lemuel Babcock pieces shed some light on authorship of the ambiguous attributions. But with only two confirmed works by Lemuel Babcock, the comparison sample is very small indeed. The five ambiguous attributions are significantly different from Samuel Babcock's music. Based upon their style, I feel confident that they were not written by Samuel. They were very likely composed by Lemuel Babcock, for they are consistent with his known style and were published in tunebooks that catered to rural psalmodists. Publication and other forms of dissemination are the topic of the following chapter.



## 5.0 TEXTS, TUNE TITLES, AND TEXT SETTING

Nym Cooke's criteria for a representative psalmodist include four points related to the texts set: they should be predominantly by Isaac Watts; there should be no overtly patriotic music, but they might include a dirge or memorial for George Washington; there should be no musical jokes; and there should be perhaps only one piece on the nativity.<sup>370</sup> This chapter examines the texts set by Samuel Babcock and Lemuel Babcock, along with those in the ambiguous attributions, in light of Cooke's criteria. Although not included by Cooke, the composers' approach to text setting will also be discussed. Finally, the ambiguous attributions are examined in comparison with the music by Samuel and Lemuel Babcock.

This chapter will discuss both the poets and sources of the texts, and describe the characteristics of the poems, focusing on their poetic meters and topics. The texts set by Samuel Babcock include several meters that were never set by other psalmodists and represent a wide range of theological viewpoints.

Next it will consider the titles of the pieces, some of which are named for places. These are particularly significant for the ambiguous attributions, because some of them represent places where Samuel Babcock and Lemuel Babcock lived or taught singing schools. Finally, the chapter compares the text setting techniques used by the two Babcocks, in an effort to determine whether

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<sup>370</sup> With the exception of the first criterion, these characteristics seem intended to eliminate William Billings from consideration as a typical psalmodist.

they were setting the particular text at hand or writing music to be sung for any text in the given meter. This section covers prosody and text declamation; text-painting techniques were covered in Chapter 4. The discussion in this chapter is supported by detailed data on text authors and first lines in Appendix E, text meters in Appendix F, and topics/subjects of the music and first lines in Appendix G.

A clear and concise overview of the history of sacred poetry set to music in the eighteenth century in New England can be found in Richard Crawford's introduction to *American Sacred Music Imprints*.<sup>371</sup> As Crawford explains, "By the 1780s and 1790s, most Congregational churches in New England . . . were singing from one of the works of Isaac Watts,"<sup>372</sup> favoring Watts's *Psalms of David Imitated, Hymns and Spiritual Songs*, and *Horae Lyricae*.<sup>373</sup> Crawford surveyed local contemporary histories and the contents of the *Core Repertory* to reach his conclusion.<sup>374</sup> He notes that nearly 70 percent of the 101 *Core Repertory* works are settings of Watts's poetry.<sup>375</sup> Another version of the psalms in use, particularly by the Episcopal Church, was Tate and Brady's *A New Version of the Psalms of David*.<sup>376</sup> Other poets commonly set by the Babcocks' contemporaries included Philip Doddridge, Joseph Addison, John and Charles Wesley, and James Rely. Other English poets and hymn writers as well as hymns by American hymn writers could also be found in various anthologies.<sup>377</sup>

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<sup>371</sup> Britton et al., *American Sacred Music Imprints*, 11-14.

<sup>372</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>373</sup> Watts, *Horae Lyricae and Watts, Psalms of David*.

<sup>374</sup> Crawford, *Core Repertory*.

<sup>375</sup> *Ibid.*, 48, n.24.

<sup>376</sup> Other versions of the psalms, such as the *Bay Psalm Book* and Sternhold and Hopkins (*Old Version*), were almost never used.

<sup>377</sup> Crawford, *Core Repertory*, 13.

## 5.1 TEXTS SET

Like most American psalmodyists of the time, Samuel Babcock set Isaac Watts (1674-1748) more than any other author. Thirty-seven of his seventy-eight texts (47 percent) are from the “Father of Hymnody,” comprising eighteen of Watts’s hymns, thirteen of the psalms, and five of the *Horae Lyricae* poems.<sup>378</sup> Samuel Babcock turned to Watts predominately for the texts of the compositions in *Middlesex Harmony*, second edition; over 70 percent of his Watts settings appear in this tunebook.<sup>379</sup> Two of the five ambiguous attributions (40 percent) are settings of Watts, one from Watts’s hymns and one from the *Horae Lyricae*.

Samuel Babcock set seven texts from Nahum Tate (1652-1715) and Nicholas Brady’s (1659-1726) *New Version* psalms (10.5 percent of his total), again predominately in *Middlesex Harmony*, second edition. Lemuel Babcock selected a *New Version* text for EUPHRATES.

After Watts and Tate and Brady’s *New Version*, the next most frequent choice for Samuel Babcock was John Newton (1725-1807) with six texts. The next most common is the Bible, with the texts for his four anthems and DOXOLOGY from that source.<sup>380</sup> He set three texts by Philip Doddridge (1702-1751), two by Anna Barbauld (1743-1825), and four of the texts are anonymous. His remaining thirteen texts (17 percent) are from thirteen different poets: John Bakewell, Thomas Carew, Richard Rosewell Eliot, John Gambold, Thaddeus Mason Harris, Samuel Medley, James Merrick, John Relly, George Richards, Elizabeth Scott, Anne Steele,

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<sup>378</sup> One poem from *Horae Lyricae* was set twice as HAMBURG and WESTON.

<sup>379</sup> Twenty-seven of the thirty-eight pieces.

<sup>380</sup> The English-language Bible in use in New England at the time was the King James Version. Thomas and Andrews published a King James Bible in 1791. Many other publishers did so as well throughout the century.

Charles Wesley, and Samuel Wesley Sr. The remaining three pieces of ambiguous attribution are settings of Thomas Flatman, Charles Wesley, and one that is anonymous.

## 5.2 CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TEXTS

Samuel Babcock set texts with unusual meters, something quite different from his contemporaries. Temperley has noted that after the four most common text meters, C.M., L.M., D.C.M, and S.M., the number of texts set declines sharply.<sup>381</sup> These four meters were used over 60 percent of the time in the repertory up to 1820. However, they represent only 30 percent of the texts selected by Babcock. Temperley considers text meters set 100 times or less to be “unusual.”<sup>382</sup> Thirteen of Samuel Babcock’s texts meet this criterion (17 percent). Indeed some of the meters are among the rarest documented in the *Hymn Tune Index*, for example: P.M. 7.7.7.7.7 (BABEL), P.M. 8.8.6.8.8.14 (CONSECRATION), P.M. 10.11.10.11 (NEEDHAM), and P.M. 8.7.8.7.7.7 (OMICRON). The choice of so many unusual meters may have worked against the popularity of the first edition of Samuel Babcock’s tunebook, *Middlesex Harmony*. Evidence suggests that this tunebook was intended to be a supplement to other collections containing the more common meters.

Lemuel Babcock’s EUPHRATES and SOLITUDE each set a L.M. text, the second most common according to the *Hymn Tune Index*. Three of the five texts of the pieces with ambiguous

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<sup>381</sup>Temperley, *Hymn Tune Index*, 1:63. The poetic meters are defined by the number of syllables per line. Short Meter (S.M.) has four lines of 6.6.8.6 syllables, Common Meter (C.M.), four lines of 8.6.8.6 syllables, Long Meter (L.M.), four lines of 8.8.8.8 syllables, Hallelujah Meter (H.M.) eight lines of 6.6.6.6.4.4.4.4 syllables, and Particular Meter (P.M.) designates any other pattern. Meters designated with a D for “double” refer to setting of two stanzas. For example, D.C.M. is 8.6.8.6.8.6.8.6. All except P.M. use the iambic foot as the basic design; P.M. often uses the iambic foot, but may use others, such as trochaic or anapestic, as well.

<sup>382</sup>*Ibid.*

composer attribution are also in L.M. One is in C.M; the remaining text, SPRINGFIELD, is in the P.M. 7.6.7.6.7.7.8.6. This is the only tune the *Hymn Tune Index* catalogs with this meter.<sup>383</sup>

The texts chosen by Samuel Babcock focus heavily on the positive, with many pieces adoring and praising God and Jesus. They demonstrate a variety of poetic meters and texts suitable for Congregational church services, as one would expect for a sacred composer/choir leader.

Samuel Babcock's texts meet three of Cooke's four requirements: predominantly Isaac Watts, patriotic music, and no musical jokes. But where Cooke calls for a single Christmas tune as the last requirement, Samuel Babcock composed three such pieces (CHRISTMAS, EPHRATAH, and NATIVITY).<sup>384</sup> As discussed earlier, the Congregational church did not officially celebrate Christmas; starting in the 1760s however, tunebooks regularly included at least one piece for the nativity. Babcock's CHRISTMAS was first printed in *Middlesex Harmony*, while EPHRATAH and NATIVITY were both first printed in *Middlesex Harmony*, second edition. The texts set in CHRISTMAS and EPHRATAH were written by George Richards and Nahum Tate, respectively. Richards was a Universalist while Tate was Anglican; both of these churches did officially celebrate the holiday.

On two occasions Babcock set texts for a particular secular purpose, the lost memorial for George Washington, "Elegant Tribute" (1800), and the "Masonic Song" for the 1802 Watertown celebration of the anniversary of St. John the Baptist, an important Masonic festival. The Washington piece fits Cooke's criteria, as does Samuel Babcock's lack of composing a musical

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<sup>383</sup> I have identified a printing of SPRINGFIELD dating from 1821 with an alternate text. See Henry Little, *Wesleyan Harmony*, 2nd ed. (Hallowell, ME: Goodale, Glazier, and Co., 1821). The *Hymn Tune Index* coverage stops at 1820.

<sup>384</sup> This is less Christmas music than was composed by William Billings, however, which is seemingly Cooke's concern. However, Billings also composed significantly more music than Babcock.

joke. The topics of additional selected texts set by Babcock will be discussed in more detail below, in the section on tune titles.

The text of Lemuel Babcock's EUPHRATES is a version of Psalm 137 on the Babylonian captivity. His SOLITUDE is a setting of "Love on a Cross and a Throne" from Watts's *Horae Lyricae*. Lemuel Babcock's texts meet the text topic criteria outlined by Cooke.

With the exception of the Christmas text set as WRENTHAM, the ambiguous attribution texts are also more somber than those set by Samuel Babcock. Two focus on the suffering and death of Christ (ADMIRATION and SPRINGFIELD), one is about the last judgment and hell (WESTBOROUGH), and the remaining text is about sleep/regeneration (WARREN).

Not only did Samuel Babcock seek variety in text meters, he also set some very unusual texts. Twelve of his chosen texts were not set by anyone else:<sup>385</sup> ASHFORD, CHRISTMAS, HAMBURG, RAMA, ROXBURY, SMYRNA, "Masonic Song," "Elegant Tribute," TRIUMPH, WATERTOWN, WESTON, and WILMINGTON.<sup>386</sup> However, four of these twelve are by Watts. Ten of his texts were set only one other time, and another ten were set five or fewer times; twelve were set six to ten times. In all, 60 percent of Samuel Babcock's texts were set ten or fewer times by other composers in this repertory up to 1820. Babcock clearly selected texts for different reasons than many of his contemporaries.

Samuel Babcock set two of these unusual texts more than once. He must have been especially drawn to John Newton's hymn "I Will Praise Thee Ev'ry Day" and Watts's "Confession and Pardon." He set the first stanza of the Newton hymn as CALEDONIA and stanzas three through five as ASHFORD. The first stanza was only set one other time by another

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<sup>385</sup> According to the *Hymn Tune Index*.

<sup>386</sup> Because they were composed for a specific event, one would not expect to find additional settings of the two texts by local authors for special occasions ("Masonic Song" and "Elegant Tribute").

psalmist, while the third was never set. The Watts settings include the seventh and eighth stanzas as WESTON and the sixteenth (and final) stanza as HAMBURG. Both are unique in the *Hymn Tune Index*, and Babcock chose not to set the first stanza of “Confession and Pardon” in either piece.<sup>387</sup>

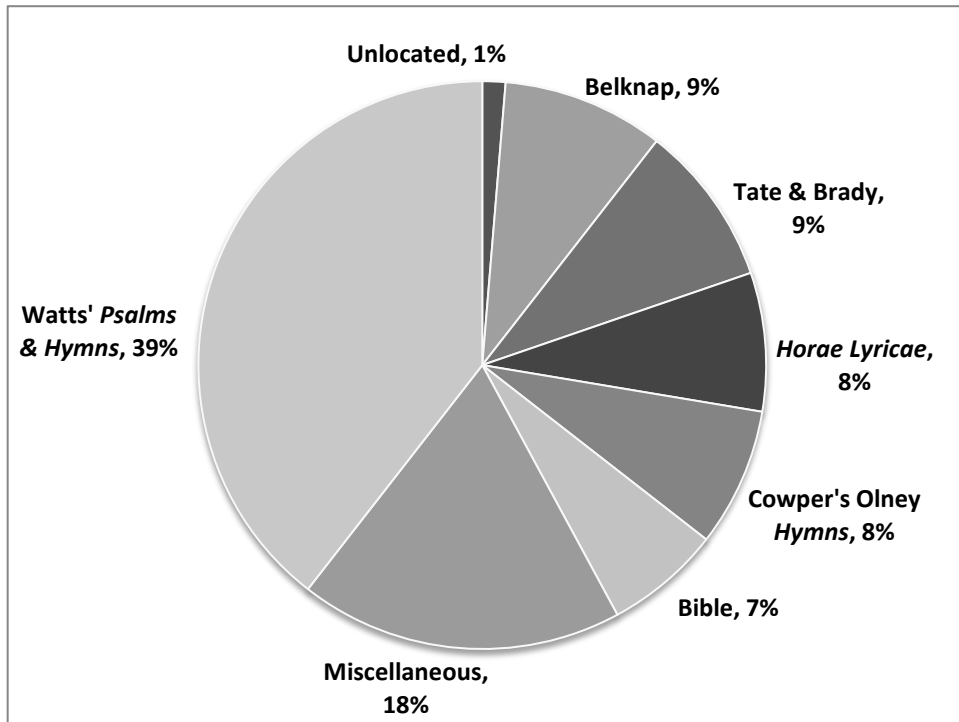
Lemuel Babcock’s choice of the *New Version* text for EUPHRATES is not remarkable, with forty-three other settings documented by Temperley. On the other hand, the text for SOLITUDE has only one other setting. The texts of the ambiguous attributions are also extremely rare; each was set only five or fewer times. The text of ADMIRATION has no other settings in the *Hymn Tune Index*; that for WRENTHAM has two other settings; and both SPRINGFIELD and WARREN have three. WESTBOROUGH, the most popular of the group, was set only five other times.

Samuel Babcock’s primary source was Watts’s *Psalms and Hymns*, which provided nearly 40 percent of his texts. Jeremy Belknap’s *Sacred Poetry* and Tate and Brady’s *New Version* are second with 9 percent each. Both Watts’s *Horae Lyricae* and Newton and Cowper’s *Olney Hymns* are next, with nearly 8 percent each. The Bible provided the texts for 6 percent of Babcock’s music. The remaining sources each supplied only one or two texts each. Only one poem remains unlocated, ROXBURY, and this text has no other settings.<sup>388</sup> The pie chart in Figure 50 shows Samuel Babcock’s text sources with percentages.

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<sup>387</sup> The first stanza is: “Alas, my aching heart! Here the keen torment lies; It racks my waking hours with smart, And fright my slumb’ring eyes.” Perhaps this stanza did not appeal to Samuel Babcock because of its focus on guilt. The stanzas he chose focus on redemption.

<sup>388</sup> There are no other settings in Temperley’s *Hymn Tune Index* or in the Hymn Society’s index. Mary Louise VanDyke, e-mail message to the author, 27 May 2009. Van Dyke suggested that perhaps Samuel Babcock wrote this text himself.



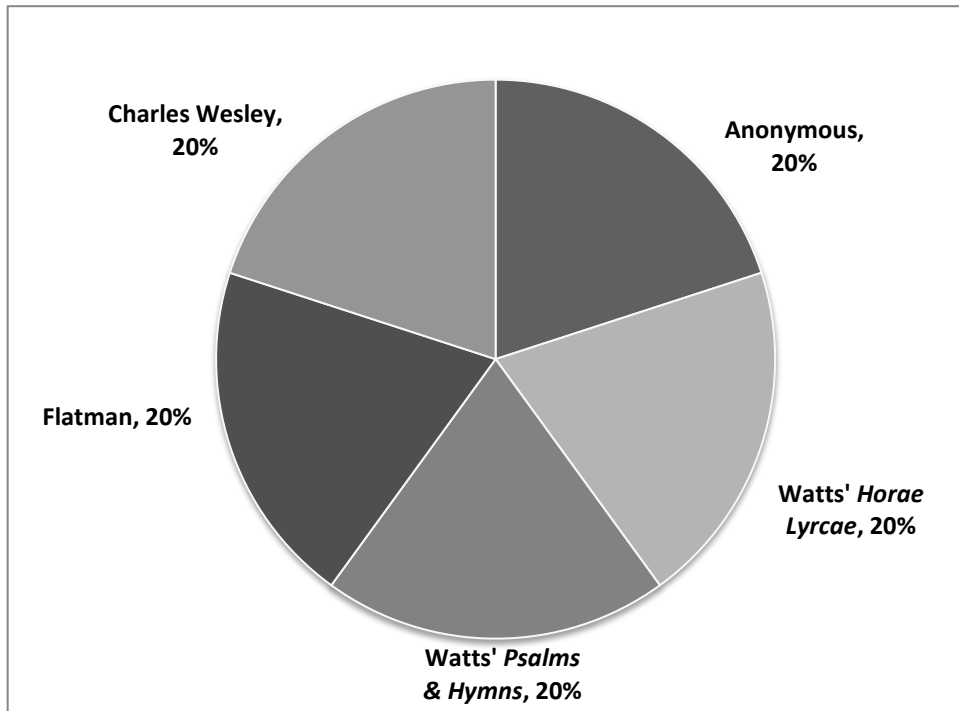
**Figure 50. Sources of Samuel Babcock's Texts**

As mentioned above, Lemuel Babcock's text for EUPHRATES is from the *New Version* and SOLITUDE is from Watts's *Horae Lyricae*. Two of the five ambiguous attribution texts are by Watts: one from the *Horae Lyricae* and one hymn from *Psalms and Hymns*. The remaining three include one poem each by Charles Wesley and Thomas Flatman, along with one anonymous hymn (WRENTHAM) found so far only in the Munden collection from 1788.<sup>389</sup> The pie chart in Figure 51 shows the sources for the five ambiguous attributions.

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<sup>389</sup> John Munden. *Church Music, Vol. 1st* (London: J. Bland, [1788]).





**Figure 51. Text Sources for Five Ambiguous Attributions**

With only two attributed tunes, Lemuel Babcock's output is hard to judge. One of the two is a setting of Watts; neither is a musical joke, a Christmas piece, nor a patriotic tune. If one presumes for a moment that the ambiguous attributions are by Lemuel Babcock as well, there is a larger pool of seven tunes. If that were the case, 43 percent would be settings of Watts; there would be one Christmas piece; and there would be no jokes or patriotic works. Lemuel Babcock would not meet the criteria based on its primary concern that a vast majority of texts be chosen from Isaac Watts's collections. Further his choice of texts is more conventional than Samuel Babcock's selections.

### 5.3 TUNE TITLES

The titles of psalm and hymn tunes were used primarily as a means of identification. Tunes were often named for places, people, or the text being set (its title, topic, or purpose).<sup>390</sup> Tune titles may also provide clues to the purpose or mood of a piece of music. Sometimes they are helpful in determining authorship. For instance, knowing that Lemuel Babcock lived in Wrentham and taught a singing school in Westborough suggests that these ambiguous attributions were composed by him rather than Samuel Babcock who, so far as we know, visited neither place. Musicologists nonetheless examine tune titles for any insights they provide.<sup>391</sup> Sometimes a connection is obvious, and other times may seem farfetched. However, as Karl Kroeger and Richard Crawford have noted with regard to Daniel Read's titles, although "such suggestions [regarding the significance of tune titles] seem to be stretching the point, enough titles do connect with their texts to encourage a search for more."<sup>392</sup> The same may be said for the titles of pieces by Samuel Babcock, Lemuel Babcock, and the ambiguous attributions.

Samuel Babcock often used local place names as tune titles, including his hometowns of Milton, Cambridge, and Watertown.<sup>393</sup> Other places he often used as titles are towns very close to his primary places of residence, for example those within Middlesex County. Others are located in the adjacent counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, Essex, and Worcester. A few are farther away, for example, in northeast Connecticut. Psalmody scholars have long thought that local

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<sup>390</sup> See Karl Kroeger and Richard Crawford, *Daniel Read Collected Works*, Music of the United States of America 4; Recent Researches in American Music 24 (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, 1995), xxi-xxii.

<sup>391</sup> A comprehensive study of tune titles remains to be done.

<sup>392</sup> Kroeger and Crawford, *Daniel Read*, xxi.

<sup>393</sup> My authority for these locations is *The Oxford Essential Geographical Dictionary* (New York: Berkley Books, 1999).

place name titles might sometimes represent venues where singing masters held singing schools. This possibility seems much more likely the closer the locale is to the musician's home town(s).

In making such observations, however, several factors must be considered. Boundaries have changed between towns, counties, and states. In light of this, a consideration of mileage is often useful. Dorchester and Roxbury, for example, have become part of Boston but used to be distinct towns. Many of the towns themselves have had name changes since the Babcocks' time or no longer exist; an extreme case is Greenwich, Massachusetts, now beneath the Quabbin Reservoir. Many of these town names are very common, and towns with the same name exist in several states. For example, there is an Andover in Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont, as well as Massachusetts. On the other hand, some names are unique, and raise the question of their choice as a title; examples include Ashford and Truro, names used in New England only in Connecticut and Massachusetts (Cape Cod), respectively.<sup>394</sup> The appearance of "clusters" of place names also seems to support the theory that a musician may have traveled farther from home to hold a group of singing schools. Three towns in Connecticut, Pomfret, Ashford, and Vernon, may represent a trip Samuel Babcock made; on the map the three towns appear in a straight line between Watertown and Hartford.<sup>395</sup>

The following list of twenty-seven Samuel Babcock titles are local place names:  
ANDOVER, ASHFORD, CAMBRIDGE, DORCHESTER, FLORENCE, HARVARD, LEXINGTON, MEDFORD,  
MENOTOMY, MILTON, NEEDHAM, NEWTON, NORFOLK, NORTH-KINGSTON, PALMER, POMFRET,  
QUINCY, RANDOLPH, ROXBURY, STOW, STRATTON, TRURO, VERNON, WALTHAM, WATERTOWN,

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<sup>394</sup> Ashford and Truro are also towns in England.

<sup>395</sup> Vernon may have been a reference to George Washington's home, Mount Vernon, rather than the Connecticut town.

WESTON, and WILMINGTON. As can be seen from the map in Figure 52, all of them are located in Massachusetts, except for the three Connecticut towns mentioned above.

Florence has become part of Northampton.<sup>396</sup> HARVARD is very likely a reference to Harvard College, rather than the town of the same name. Menotomy is an earlier name for the town now called Arlington. NORTH-KINGSTON remains a bit of a puzzle: Kingston, Massachusetts, may have had a sister town of North-Kingston at one point, or perhaps Babcock was referring to North Kingstown, Rhode Island, located almost sixty miles from Boston, much farther south than any of the other “local” places. Stratton is the name not of a town, but of a famous tavern located in Waltham.<sup>397</sup> Finally, as noted above, Truro is a unique place name for a town in Cape Cod. Its location is farther east and more remote (across Cape Cod Bay) than the other place names.<sup>398</sup>

The following nineteen towns seem most likely to be singing school sites for Samuel Babcock: Andover, Cambridge, Dorchester, Harvard, Lexington, Medford, Menotomy, Milton, Needham, Newton, Norfolk, Quincy, Randolph, Roxbury, Stow, Waltham, Watertown, Weston, and Wilmington. The *Watertown Records* confirm that Samuel Babcock taught singing schools in his home town in 1798 and 1804.<sup>399</sup> While no other singing schools have been confirmed, Babcock fits Nym Cooke’s profile for itinerant singing masters.<sup>400</sup>

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<sup>396</sup> Because Florence, Massachusetts, is located farther west than any other town/title, Babcock may have been referring to Florence, Italy.

<sup>397</sup> Babcock also named a piece WALTHAM and since taverns were often the sites of singing schools this seems plausible. This particular tavern is still known today because in 1789 John Adams stopped there for breakfast on his trip to New York for his inauguration as Vice President. No other Stratton has been identified in Massachusetts; Stratton, Vermont, seems too far away and too mountainous to be a likely host of a winter singing school.

<sup>398</sup> Truro is also a cathedral town in Cornwall, England.

<sup>399</sup> *Watertown Records: Comprising the Seventh Book of Town Proceedings*, 36, 79, 94, 191, 345.

<sup>400</sup> Nym Cooke, “Itinerant Yankee Singing Masters in the Eighteenth Century,” in *Itinerancy in New England and New York*, ed. Peter Benes, 16-36 (Boston: Boston University, 1986), 22.



Another possibility presents itself for some of these titles, one related to politics rather than singing schools. Samuel Babcock may have named compositions for the sites of the major Massachusetts battles of the Revolutionary War, in which he fought. Major battles occurred at Cambridge, Harvard, Lexington, Medford, Menotomy, and Roxbury.<sup>401</sup> In addition, this might explain Babcock's choice of Delaware as a title, considering George Washington's famous crossing of the Delaware River on Christmas night 1776 for a surprise attack on the British (the Battle of Trenton).

Four of the five ambiguous attributions also have titles drawn from local Massachusetts towns, as shown in Figure 53. These are SPRINGFIELD, WARREN, WESTBOROUGH, and WRENTHAM. Of the four, Springfield and Warren are farther west in the state, located in Hampden and Worcester County, respectively. Warren might also refer to the famous patriot Joseph Warren, who died during the Battle of Bunker Hill. Westborough is also in Worcester County, but thirty miles east of Warren. Wrentham is in Norfolk County.

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<sup>401</sup> Only Concord is missing from the list.

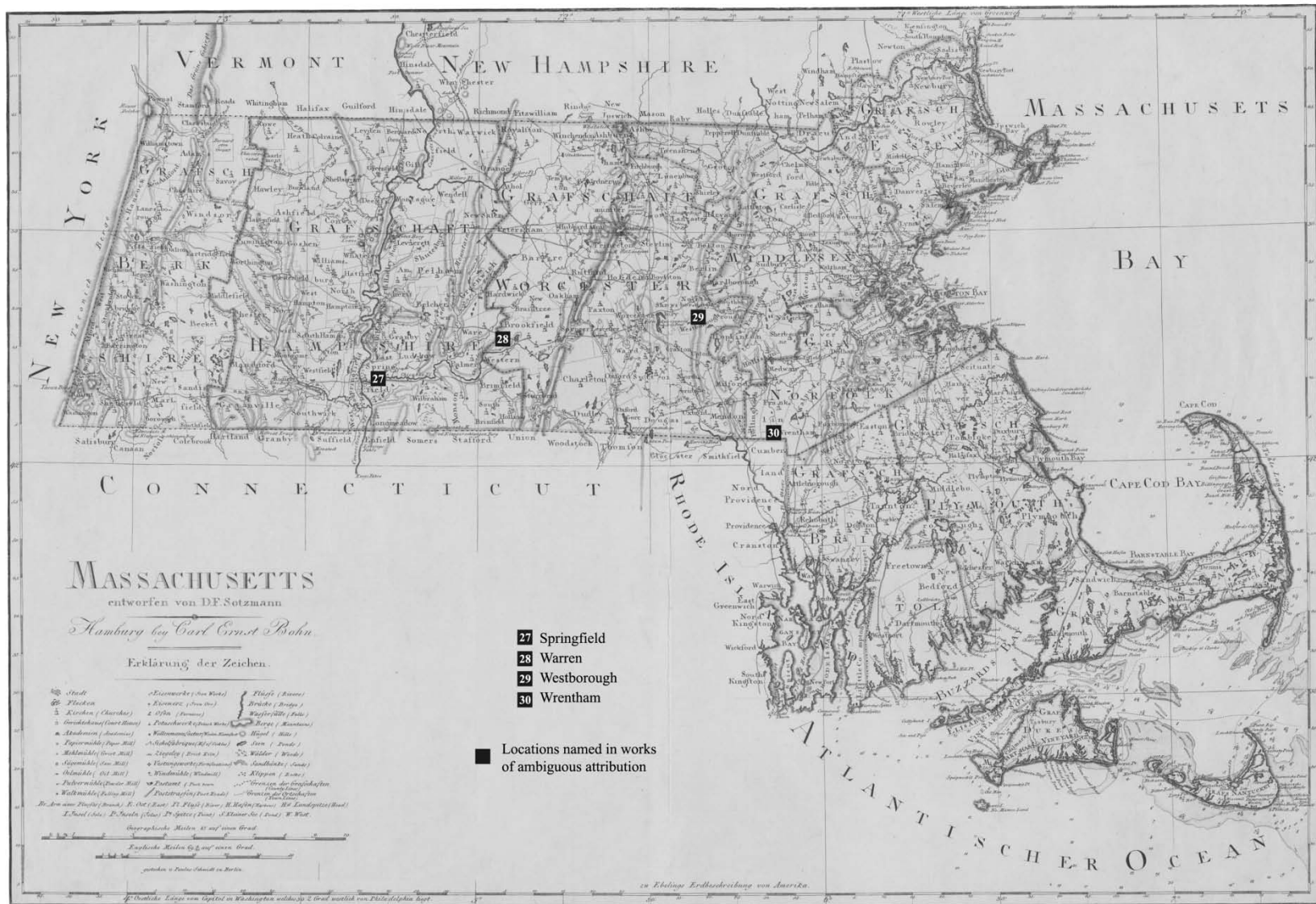


Figure 53. Map of Place Names in Titles of Ambiguous Attributions.

D.F. Sotzmann, *Massachusetts* (Hamburg, C.E. Bohn, [ca. 1797?]). (Courtesy of Harvard Map Collection)

Like Samuel, Lemuel Babcock also fits Cooke's profile for itinerant singing masters.<sup>402</sup> He was also born and died in a small town (Milton) and lived in them all his life (Dorchester, Quincy, and Braintree). He was Congregationalist and he married and had children. Also like Samuel, Lemuel earned his living only partially as a musician; he was also a cordwainer. Again, evidence exists for one singing school taught by Lemuel. Ebenezer Parkman's *Diary*, discussed earlier, repeatedly mentions a singing school taught by Lemuel in Westborough, Massachusetts, in the winter of 1778-79. This fact makes it seem likely that the ambiguous piece WESTBOROUGH is by Lemuel. Two other ambiguous attributions with place name titles, SPRINGFIELD and WARREN, are located in central Massachusetts. The fourth, WRENTHAM, is one of the towns where Lemuel Babcock lived.<sup>403</sup> The remaining ambiguous attribution, ADMIRATION, has a topical title rather than a place-name title.

An examination of all thirty-one place names in this category clearly shows that if indeed these titles represent singing-school sites, Samuel and Lemuel Babcock covered some of the same territory in the central and eastern part of the state. For example, consider the proximity of NORFOLK (Samuel), WRENTHAM (ambiguous), and PALMER (Samuel) located between SPRINGFIELD and WARREN (both ambiguous). Samuel Babcock's titles include three of the towns where Lemuel lived, Milton, Dorchester, and Quincy. Chronology would explain part of this, since Lemuel was twelve years older. It also increases the likelihood that the two at least knew of each other if they were active in the same area.

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<sup>402</sup> He was Congregationalist, a Massachusetts native, lived in small towns, was married with children, and he supported himself through a combination of musical and non-musical activities. See Cooke, "Itinerant Yankee Singing Masters," 22.

<sup>403</sup> Lemuel Babcock returned to Wrentham after the conclusion of the singing school in Westborough. See Forbes, *The Hundredth Town*, 87.



Ten of Samuel Babcock's titles are non-local place names: CALEDONIA, CHINA, DELAWARE, FLANDERS, HAMBURG, LIMA, LUBEC, MINORCA, PLACENTIA, and VIENNA. Several of these places were involved in political and/or military affairs with England during the eighteenth century: Caledonia (Scotland), Flanders, Hamburg, Lima, Lubec (Lübeck, Germany, or perhaps Lubec, Maine), Minorca, Placentia, and Vienna. The Spanish island of Minorca was captured by the British in 1708 during the War of the Spanish Succession, by the French in 1756 during the Seven Years War, returned to the British in 1763 by the Treaty of Paris, taken by the French and Spanish in 1782 during the American Revolution, returned to England in 1798 in the French Revolutionary Wars, and finally awarded back to Spain in 1802 by the Peace of Amiens. Placentia was the French headquarters on Newfoundland in 1713 (the end of the War of the Spanish Succession), when it was ceded to Great Britain by the Treaty of Utrecht. Caledonia united with England to form Great Britain in 1707 and was the site of the Jacobite rebellion of 1715. Lima, the capital of the Spanish dominions in South America, was the center of the Spanish trade monopoly until the Treaty of Utrecht, mentioned above. It stayed loyal to Spain during the early nineteenth-century struggles for Latin-American independence. Indeed, each of these places had relations with Great Britain with regard to trade and/or independence during the time. As one who fought in two wars during his lifetime, Babcock was involved and interested in politics; it is not unlikely that he picked these place names as titles because of these events, rather than as random choices.

DELAWARE was likely chosen as a title because of its importance in the Revolutionary War, as noted above. CHINA could be a reference to China, Maine, or it may have to do with emerging evangelism. CHINA is a setting of a hymn by Watts with an evangelical tone:

These western shores, our native land,  
Lie safe in the almighty's hand!  
Our foes of vict'ry dream in vain,  
And wear the captivating chain.

One of Watts's writings published in 1731 describes China as "the most superstitious of all nations, with all her boasted superiority of sense and reason: She has lost the true God."<sup>404</sup>

Both Samuel and Lemuel Babcock used Biblical place names as tune titles. Samuel did so eleven times, while Lemuel did so once. Some of the places chosen by Samuel Babcock seem fairly obscure, for not only do some have more common names today, but they are also mentioned only a few times in the King James Bible of his time.

The Biblical place names (mostly towns) used by Samuel as titles are Babel, Cana, Crete, Elim, Ephratah, Gihon, Horeb, Palmyra, Pretorium, Rama, and Smyrna. The texts and music corresponding with each of these titles may demonstrate Babcock's knowledge of the Bible, including Biblical symbolism, and demonstrate his careful attention to tune title selection. Each will be discussed, in turn, below. These selections emphasize both the Exodus story and water symbolism.

Babel is another name for Babylon, the site of the Israelites' captivity. The name is mentioned in the first stanza of the hymn. Here the Jews lamented the fall of Zion, or Jerusalem, and their grief at being enslaved. The anonymous text set by Babcock is a version of Psalm 137 with six stanzas in the Methodist meter 7.7.7.7.7. Babcock used the extended tune form, repeating both the text and music of the last two lines of each stanza. The final stanzas of the hymn offer hope and conclude, "All thy woes shall have an end, God himself will be thy friend."

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<sup>404</sup>Edward Parsons, ed., *The Works of the Rev. Isaac Watts* (Leeds: E. Baines, [1800?], 2:72. See *The Strength and Weakness of Human Reason*, Conference II. Perhaps Babcock knew Watts's views on China, or perhaps it was one of several places mentioned in relation to the growing evangelical movement toward the end of the century.

Cana of Galilee was the site of Jesus's first miracle (John 2:11) where he changed water into wine at a wedding; later he healed a nobleman's son there as well (John 4:46). The text for CANA is a hymn by Anna Barbauld about praising God for his bounty and blessings. Wine is specifically mentioned in the poem twice, in stanzas two and four. Babcock set this text as a short extended tune (24 mm. including repeat), likely in hopes of having all eight verses sung. The final stanza contains a change of tone: "Yet to thee our souls shall raise, Grateful vows and solemn praise; And, when ev'ry blessing's flown, Love thee for thyself alone."

The choice of the Greek isle of Crete as the title for a setting of Psalm 120 may refer to Paul's quotation from "one of their own prophets" (Epimenides) in his epistle to Titus: "Cretans are always liars, evil brutes, lazy gluttons." (Titus 1:12). These are the types of people the hymn petitions God to save us from. Paul later sent Titus to set up a church at Crete, where the people were immoral. Babcock used the extended tune form, with the repetition of text and music emphasizing the second half of each stanza.

Elim was the second encampment of the Israelites during their exodus from Egypt (see Ex 15:27 and Num 33:9). It was the first place they rested after the parting of the Red Sea and had "twelve wells of water and threescore and ten palm trees" (Ex. 15:27). In Num. 33:9 Elim's water is described as "twelve fountains." Their first encampment, Marah, had bitter water which had to be sweetened (Ex. 15:23-25). Samuel Babcock chose ELIM as the title for his setting of a hymn by James Merrick that praises God for mercy and blessings. The second stanza urges the worship of the Lord, "Who of gods is God supreme." Here, too, Babcock used the extended tune form (also 24 mm., like CANA, above). An alternate version, Elim [II], modifies the text and music to Long Meter.

Ephratah, or Ephrath, was the first name given to Bethlehem (see Gen. 35:19 and 48:7). Bethlehem is the town in Palestine where Christ was born (Matt. 2:1, 2 and Luke 2:15-18). Luke 2:8-20 describes the appearance of the angel of the Lord to the shepherds, the topic of Samuel Babcock's extended tune EPHRATAH.

The Gihon River is one of the four head-waters that flow from Eden (Gen. 2:13) and is memorable as the scene of the anointing and proclamation of Solomon as king (1 Kings 1:33, 38, 45). The Gihon is used as a symbol of God and his continued reign. Psalm 93, on the eternal and sovereign God, includes water references in the verses. Here the banks of the Gihon rule the waters as God rules the world he created. Despite waves dashing upon the shores (stanza 3), floods, and swelling tides (stanza 4), Jehovah will "reign" and "maintain" the Gihon. The Watts psalm uses the P.M. 6.6.8.6.6.8. Babcock's setting is an extended tune with a musical repeat of the second half of each stanza.

Horeb is another name for Sinai. The smiting of the rock at Horeb (Ex. 17:6-7) to bring forth water seems to be the reference for Samuel Babcock's HOREB. During the Exodus, Moses led the Jews to Rephidim, where there was no water. The Lord told Moses to go to the rock in Horeb, strike it with his rod, and it would give water. In HOREB the "rock" is the "heart of stone" in Charles Wesley's hymn. Rather than the giving of holy water, the miracle is that of holy redemption. The text calls for opening of the heart rather than allowing hard-heartedness to "let him [Jesus] die in vain" (stanza 3). Babcock used the extended tune form in his setting.

Palmyra, also known as Tadmor, Tamar, and Thadmore, is an ancient city in Syria built by Solomon. Palmyra is discussed in 1 Kings 9:18 and 2 Chronicles 8:4 as one of Solomon's storage cities built to facilitate trade with the East. It can be interpreted as a symbol of Solomon's wealth and power. Perhaps this title refers to the storing up of material wealth as opposed to

eternal salvation in God. Watts's text decries riches, boastfulness, and vanity regarding earthly possessions and accomplishments. Babcock carefully set all five stanzas of Watts Hymns III, No. 7 in L.M. as one of his longest set pieces (127 measures).<sup>405</sup>

The Pretorium (or Prætorium) is the hall in Pontius Pilate's palace where Jesus was prepared for crucifixion. The term is used in Mark 15:16. Again Babcock set the entire six-stanza hymn by Watts (Hymns II, No. 95) in the set piece (his longest in the form) bearing this title. In this hymn about the crucifixion both the Romans' and Jews' roles are discussed, but the poet finally concludes that "Twas you, my cruel sins, His chief tormentors were."

Rama, or Ramah, is the city where Rachel was "weeping for her children, and would not be comforted, because they are not," after Herod's edict in Matthew 2:18 that all male children aged two and under in and near Bethlehem were to be killed. The L.M. text set as a plain tune by Babcock remains unlocated. However, the stanza of this text is about maintaining faith despite the loss of earthly comforts and loved ones.

Smyrna is one of the seven churches of Asia that received a message from St. John the Divine in Revelation (1:11 and 2:8-11). The poor and afflicted people of Smyrna were sent a message of grace or comfort. This text, Watts Hymns II, no. 50, is also about grace. In Rev. 2:8-11 the people of Smyrna are told not to fear their earthly suffering for "be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life." (Rev. 2:10) The Watts hymn relates joy at the Lord's happiness and sorrow when He suffers (stanzas 1-2). Yet "Still while he frowns, his bowels move" (stanza 3), showing that we need not fear the Lord's suffering any more than our own.

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<sup>405</sup> Only PRETORIUM at 116 measures is a bit longer. Both of these set pieces are comparable in length to his anthems, which range from 98 to 191 measures.

Babcock carefully used the first three stanzas of the hymn for a set piece to emphasize their meaning by changing key and tempo accordingly.

Lemuel Babcock, like Samuel, turned to Psalm 137 and the story of the Jews' captivity in Babylon on the banks of the Euphrates River as a subject for EUPHRATES. Lemuel Babcock chose the Tate and Brady version of the psalm, in nine stanzas of L.M. This version of the psalm is much less hopeful than the one chosen by Samuel. This reflects the different perspectives of the poets. Tate and Brady tried to stay close to the Biblical Psalm, while Watts attempted a Christian paraphrase. Lemuel set the text using the plain tune form.

According to the *Hymn Tune Index* and the *Index to Anglo-American Psalmody*, the texts chosen by Samuel Babcock, as well as their corresponding titles, were rarely set by other composers. This seems to be an indication of his individuality in these areas. Table 6 lists the twelve works with Biblical titles.

**Table 6. Samuel and Lemuel Babcock's Works with Biblical Titles**

<b>Title</b>	<b>Number of Times Text Used by Other Composers</b>	<b>Number of Times Title Used by Other Composers</b>	<b>Composer</b>
Babel	2	4	Samuel
Cana	14	3	Samuel
Crete	6	1	Samuel
Elim	16	2	Samuel
Ephratah	47	2	Samuel
Euphrates	35	6	Lemuel
Gihon	31	0	Samuel
Horeb	9	2	Samuel
Palmyra	0	3	Samuel
Pretorium	7	0	Samuel

Title	Number of Times Text Used by Other Composers	Number of Times Title Used by Other Composers	Composer
Rama	0	0	Samuel
Smyrna	0	5	Samuel

The next category of titles includes those related to the subject or purpose of the tune.<sup>406</sup> Many titles are derived from the text itself, for example, the first line may be used as the title, or if the poem or hymn has a title that may be used. Others may reflect the hymn’s topic or liturgical purpose. Twenty-seven of Samuel Babcock’s titles and two of the ambiguous attributions fall into this category.

Samuel Babcock’s works will be discussed first. The twenty-seven include all four anthems along with the following tunes: AUSPICIOUS MORN, CHARITY, CHRISTIAN’S HOPE, CHRISTMAS, CONSECRATION, CRUCIFIXION, DISSOLUTION, DOXOLOGY, ELEVATION, GRATITUDE, HUMILITY, IMMANUEL, INTERCESSION, MORNING HYMN, NATIVITY, OMICRON, RESIGNATION, RESOLUTION, SABBATH, SONG, SPRING, SUNDAY, and TRIUMPH. These can be divided into the following categories: Biblical texts, Watts’s hymns and *Horae Lyricae* poems, psalms by Watts and others, and miscellaneous hymns.

The Biblical texts include the four anthems, “Comfort Ye, My People,” “Lord, Thou Hast Been Our Dwelling Place,” “O Come, Let Us Sing Unto the Lord,” and “Remember Now Thy Creator,” all of which take their titles from the first line of text, as was the informal convention of the time. In Babcock’s tunebook, he gave them titles designating the Psalm that was set, for

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<sup>406</sup> Throughout this section I used the “Topic” index in Kroeger and Kroeger’s *Index to Anglo-American Psalmody*.

example “Anthem: Psalm 90” for “Lord, Thou Hast Been Our Dwelling Place.” Also in the Biblical text category is the DOXOLOGY, with its text from I. Tim. 1:17.

Watts’s *Hymns* provide the texts for five tunes (CHARITY, CHRISTIAN’S HOPE, DISSOLUTION, ELEVATION, and MORNING HYMN), and three are from his *Horae Lyricae* (CONSECRATION, INTERCESSION, and NATIVITY). The connections between titles and their topical texts are readily apparent when one reads the whole hymn.

CHARITY is a setting of Watts Hymns I, No. 134, a poem about love for God. CHRISTIAN’S HOPE sets Watts Hymns I, No. 18, a text on death and resurrection, “The labours of their mortal life End in a large reward.” DISSOLUTION was the title chosen for the setting of Watts Hymns II, No. 28, another hymn about death and eternal life. ELEVATION, Watts Hymns II, No. 104, is about raising voices in praise of God. Finally, MORNING HYMN, Watts Hymns II, No. 6, is simply a hymn for welcoming the new day.

The three texts taken from the *Horae Lyricae* were also given titles that reflect the poem’s title or topic. CONSECRATION is a setting of the fourth stanza of the poem “Self-consecration,” which is a plea to God to make one holy, to be “An instrument of praise to thee.” Samuel Babcock chose stanzas three and four of Watts’s “The Law and Gospel” to set in INTERCESSION. These verses show Jesus’ grace on the cross and his prayers to God on behalf of his crucifiers. Finally, NATIVITY is a setting of stanzas five and six of Watts’s “The Nativity of Christ.”

Watts *Psalms* provide four texts. Samuel Babcock’s titles for these also have clear topical associations: CRUCIFIXION, GRATITUDE, HUMILITY, and RESOLUTION. For example, he chose CRUCIFIXION for his setting of Psalm 22 on Christ’s death on the cross. GRATITUDE is a setting of Psalm 116, second part, a text on showing thanks to God by serving the church. For Watts’s



Psalm 39, third part, a humble death-bed appeal, Babcock chose the title HUMILITY. Watts's short meter version of Psalm 55 is about personal commitment to daily devotion; for this text Babcock selected the title RESOLUTION.

The final group of ten Samuel Babcock tunes with miscellaneous topical titles (AUSPICIOUS MORN, CHRISTMAS, IMMANUEL, OMICRON, RESIGNATION, SABBATH, SONG, SPRING, SUNDAY and TRIUMPH) includes settings of several different hymn writers. Here again the titles match the texts. AUSPICIOUS MORN is a setting of a poem by Anna Barbauld for Easter Sunday, the resurrection of Christ being the event that made the morning auspicious. George Richards' hymn on the nativity is titled CHRISTMAS. Babcock's setting of John Bakewell's hymn praising Jesus is titled IMMANUEL, an appellation for Christ. OMICRON reflects the pseudonym of the hymn's author, John Newton.<sup>407</sup> The title RESIGNATION is used for Samuel Wesley's hymn "On the Crucifixion," to represent Jesus's acceptance of his death. The title chosen for Philip Doddridge's text on Sunday worship is titled SABBATH. "Song for the Anniversary of St. John the Baptist" is self-explanatory as a piece composed for the Masonic celebration in 1802. SPRING is a setting of an anonymous hymn praising the season. Another text devoted to the Sabbath is the *New Version* Psalm 118 titled SUNDAY. Finally, TRIUMPH was selected for the setting of Elizabeth Scott's poem on the resurrection of Christ which begins, "All hail, triumphant Lord!"

Lemuel Babcock chose a title reflecting the nature of the text from *Horae Lyricae* for SOLITUDE. This is also true of one of the pieces with ambiguous attributions, ADMIRATION, a setting of a Watts poem from the *Horae Lyricae*. SOLITUDE is the title for a setting of "Love on a

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<sup>407</sup> Newton used "Omicron" for his famous *Omicron Letters*. Omicron is also the fifteenth Greek letter, O. The only other Greek letters used as titles by psalmodists are Alpha and Omega with the biblical context "I am the first and the last." Titles with these tunes were typically positioned first and last, respectively, in the tunebooks containing them. For example, Oliver Holden placed his OMEGA last in his two-volume *Union Harmony* (first edition, 1793), a tunebook Babcock surely knew because it included his first published work (CHINA). OMICRON is placed third in *Middlesex Harmony*, 1st edition, possibly to indicate the trinity.

Cross and a Throne” and perhaps reflects the loneliness of Christ during his crucifixion, deserted by his friends and disciples. Taken from “Desiring to Love Christ,” the stanzas set in ADMIRATION describe motivation for admiring or loving Jesus.

#### 5.4 TEXT SETTING

Samuel Babcock was very particular about text declamation. He selected his texts carefully, and his settings demonstrate sensitivity to their meaning, by making sure they were clearly understood when sung. His settings are primarily syllabic, and are strongly focused on the qualities of the poem being set. Many of his settings are so individual that they cannot be sung with other texts in the same meter.<sup>408</sup> The high number of set pieces and tunes with extension and his creativity with manipulating texts show this to be true. Only a handful of Samuel Babcock’s plain tunes could be sung successfully with an alternate text. Examples of this minority include BABEL, CANA, ELIM, and SPRING (see Figure 54). CANA is one Samuel Babcock’s simplest text settings, and any P.M. [7.7.7.7] text could be substituted for Anna Barbauld’s hymn.

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<sup>408</sup> Many tunes of the day were constructed in such a way that retained a salient feature of metrical psalmody, allowing other poems of the same meter to be substituted for the one that was set.

1  
 Praise to God, im-mor - tal praise, For the love that crowns our days;  
 Praise to God, im-mor - tal praise, For the love that crowns our days;

9  
 Boun-teous source of ev' - ry joy, Let thy praise our songs em - ploy.  
 Boun-teous source of ev' - ry joy, Let thy praise our songs em - ploy.

Boun-teous source of ev' - ry joy, Let thy praise our songs em - ploy.

Figure 54. Samuel Babcock, CANA

A more typical example of Samuel Babcock's text setting is the opening two phrases of the plain tune, QUINCY (see Figure 55).

1  
 The God of glo - ry sends his sum - mons forth,  
 The God of glo - ry sends his sum - mons forth,

6  
 Calls the south na - tions, and a - wakes the north,  
 Calls the south na - tions, and a - wakes the north,

Figure 55. Samuel Babcock, QUINCY, m. 1-9

The syllabic setting of this Particular Meter text [10.10.10.10.11.11] becomes more interesting in the fifth line. Although this meter is the seventeenth most popular according to the *Hymn Tune Index*, Babcock uses a fermata in m. 22 on the fourth syllable (see Figure 56).<sup>409</sup> Because of this fermata, stanzas 4, 10, and 12 of this Watt’s Psalm do not work well with the music. The fifth line of these stanzas is as follows: “There’s no distinction here; join all your voices” (stanza 4) and “God is the judge of hears; no fair disguises” (stanzas 10 and 12). The setting does work with the other eleven stanzas. This is unexpected in a plain tune, which would ordinarily be readily interchangeable with other texts.

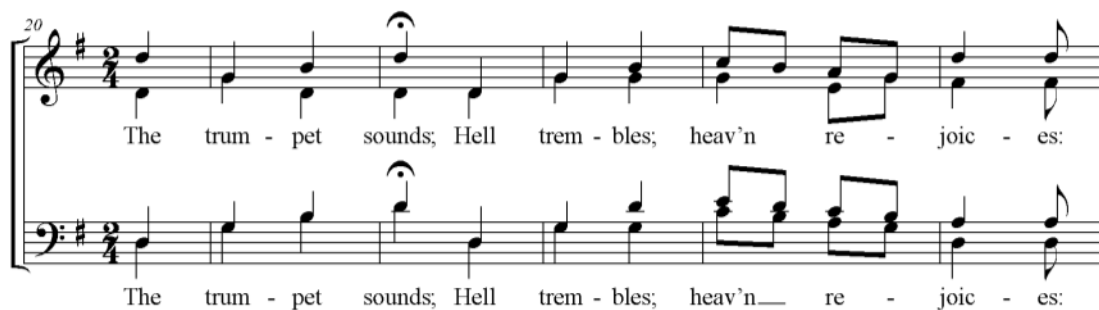


Figure 56. Samuel Babcock, QUINCY, m. 20-25

Samuel Babcock used similar techniques in his set pieces. Repeated words and fermatas punctuated with rests emphasize the word “forgive” in INTERCESSION, giving poignancy and relevance to the setting (see Figure 57). Similarly, Babcock repeats the word “father” in the last line of the second stanza.

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<sup>409</sup> Temperley, *Hymn Tune Index*, 1:63.

21  
Dwells on his dy - ing lips, For-give, for-give, for - give!  
Dwells on his dy - ing lips, For-give, for-give, for - give!

Figure 57. Samuel Babcock, INTERCESSION, m. 22-26

Similar examples are present in the set pieces CHARITY and DELAWARE (see Figure 58 and Figure 59).

37  
Nor tongues, nor gifts, nor fier - y zeal,  
Nor tongues, nor gifts, nor fier - y zeal,

Figure 58. Samuel Babcock, CHARITY, m. 37-40

32 *Moderato*  
My heart, my hand, my ear, my tongue,  
My heart, my hand, my ear, my tongue,

Figure 59. Samuel Babcock, DELAWARE, m. 32-35

When setting the text in WATERTOWN, Babcock used marks of distinction (performed as accents) rather than fermatas (see Figure 60).<sup>410</sup>

<sup>410</sup> Marks of distinction did not make the notes shorter, just more emphatic.

7  
 My Lord, my life, my way, my end,  
 My Lord, my life, my way, my end,

**Figure 60. Samuel Babcock, WATERTOWN, m. 7-11**

Samuel Babcock’s ability to write a piece that is fully interchangeable with another text is demonstrated by CAMBRIDGE and CAMBRIDGE [II]. This set piece was published in *Middlesex Harmony*, second edition, with the note, “N.B. Psalm 97, first part, by Dr. Watts, may be sung in this tune.” Indeed, all four stanzas of this text work well, despite the changes of meter, tempo, dynamics, and repeats present.

A similar example is the pair of variants, ELIM and ELIM [II]. The text for the original is by James Merrick in the Particular Meter [7.7.7.7]. Babcock’s music is a plain tune. The variant is in Long Meter, and no other setting of the variant text has been identified.<sup>411</sup> Babcock’s motivation may have been to increase the utility of his music. The additional syllable in each line is accommodated with the simple addition of a pick-up to each phrase.

With his goal of textual clarity, Samuel Babcock’s choice of textures was designed to emphasize the text’s message. This is true even with his fusing tunes, the form highly criticized for treatment of the text. In the preface to the second edition of his tunebook, *Middlesex Harmony*, Babcock wrote:

He [Babcock] has now published a concise Introduction, together with a great variety of Psalm and Hymn Tunes, suited to the various metres now in general

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<sup>411</sup> Mary Louise Van Dyke suggested that this text may have been modified by Samuel Babcock himself; e-mail message to the author, 27 May 2009. The text is the same as Merrick’s but with an extra syllable added to each line to turn the P.M. into L.M.

use. He has not consulted his own inclination entirely in introducing fugging music into pieces intended for public worship: But as it has been the general practice, wherever he has given in to it, he has endeavored to preserve the sense of the lines entire, so as not to ‘make a jargon of words.’<sup>412</sup>

Here the link to Samuel Holyoke is explicit, since Babcock’s reference to fugging tunes making “a jargon of words” quotes the preface to Holyoke’s *Harmonia Americana* (1791): “Perhaps some may be disappointed, that fugging pieces are in general omitted. But the principal reason why few were inserted was the trifling effect produced by that sort of music; for the parts, falling in, one after another, conveying a different idea, confound the sense, and render the performance a mere jargon of words.”<sup>413</sup>

Babcock’s rhetoric on fugging via this quotation from the introduction to *Harmonia Americana* demonstrates that he was in all probability familiar with Holyoke’s tunebooks as well as the wider discussion of the day with respect to the appropriateness of fugging music. It also places Babcock in the camp of the reform movement.

The clarity and brevity of Samuel Babcock’s setting of “Nor let our voices cease” in mm. 11-14 of LUBEC contrasts sharply with the relatively long, melismatic, and wandering fugal section of the ambiguous attribution, ADMIRATION, mm. 5-16 (see Figure 61 and Figure 62).

Nor let our voices cease To sing the saviour's name;

Nor let our voices cease sa - To sing the saviour's name;

Nor let our voices cease \_\_\_\_\_ dor To sing the saviour's name;

Figure 61. Samuel Babcock, LUBEC, m. 11-16

<sup>412</sup> Babcock, *Middlesex Harmony*, 2nd ed., [ii].

<sup>413</sup> Holyoke, *Harmonia Americana*, [4].

4 Stand in a - maze, ye whirl - ing  
Stand in a - maze, ye whirl - ing

10 skies! Je - sus the God, with na - ked arms, Hangs on a cross,  
whirl - ing skies! Je - sus the God, with na - ked arms,  
skies! Je - sus the God, with na - ked arms, Hangs on a cross,  
skies! Je - sus the God, with na - ked arms, Hangs on a cross,

**Figure 62. Ambiguous Attribution, ADMIRATION, m. 5-16**

Another notable example is Samuel Babcock's ELEVATION. Here the fuge is longer, including two lines of text (see mm. 6-11). However, to make sure the text is understood, Babcock repeats the same two lines in a homophonic setting to end the piece (see Figure 63). Samuel Babcock's GRATITUDE uses the same technique. Such repetition of the entire text of the fuge is not found in any of the tunes with ambiguous attributions.



6 Let the wide earth re -  
 Let the wide earth re - sound the deeds, Ce -

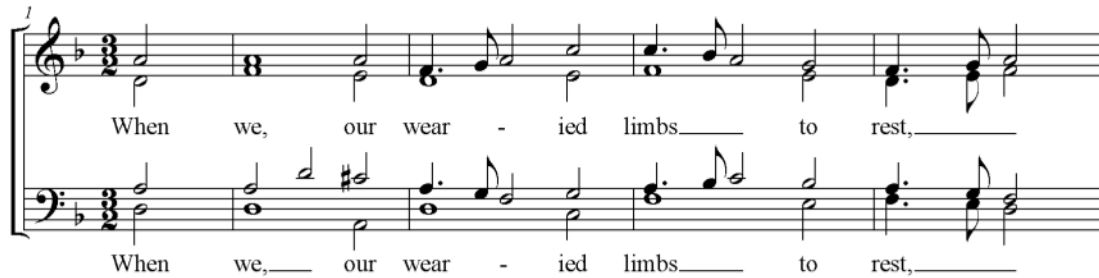
10 Let the wide earth re -  
 les - tial grace has done, Let the wide earth re -  
 done, Let the wide earth re -

14 sound the deeds, Ce - les - tial grace has done, done.  
 sound the deeds, Ce - les - tial grace has done, done.  
 sound the deeds, Ce - les - tial grace has done, done.

Figure 63. Samuel Babcock, ELEVATION, m. 6-25.

Lemuel Babcock's text setting in EUPHRATES presents the text very clearly with only short passing notes on unaccented beats to vary the whole-note half-note pattern in this 3/2 piece. The first stanza of the *New Version* psalm is set in a manner that had largely gone out of style by the beginning of the nineteenth century. Lemuel Babcock's settings are more neumatic and sometimes more melismatic than Samuel's. In the opening phrase of EUPHRATES, the dotted figures are used to emphasize the metrical stress of the text (see Figure 64). This effect is further

heightened by Lemuel Babcock’s use of tonal stress and pitch duration to emphasize the strong syllables.<sup>414</sup>



**Figure 64. Lemuel Babcock, EUPHRATES, m. 1-4**

His setting of SOLITUDE is similar to EUPHRATES (See Figure 65). This results in Lemuel Babcock’s music being more “interchangeable” with other texts that would fit the music. This is particularly true because Lemuel Babcock rarely repeats bits of text, at least in the two confirmed attributions.

The ambiguous attributions are set in the same manner as the music known to be by Lemuel. For example, the opening two phrases of WARREN in Figure 66 and the last phrase in Figure 67, could be sung to many L.M. texts. The same is true of SPRINGFIELD and the other tunes with ambiguous attributions.



**Figure 65. Lemuel Babcock, SOLITUDE, m. 1-4**

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<sup>414</sup> Both consonance and duration are used for emphasis.

1  
Sleep, down - y sleep, come close my

5  
eyes, Tired with be - hold - ing van - i - ties:

Figure 66. Ambiguous Attribution, WARREN, m. 1-9

21  
day, The toils and fol - lies of the day.

The toils and fol - lies of the day.

The toils and fol - lies of the day.

The toils and fol - lies of the day.

Figure 67. Ambiguous Attribution, WARREN, m. 21-25

The setting in the ambiguous attribution WESTBOROUGH is also more melismatic than the music by Samuel Babcock. See the opening phrase in Figure 68.

1  
Sing to the Lord,

Sing to the Lord,

Figure 68. Ambiguous Attribution, WESTBOROUGH, m. 1-3

As in the music by Lemuel Babcock, once a rhythmic figure is established it persists as a unifying element throughout the tune, regardless of the text. The dotted-eighth/sixteenth pattern that recurs in Figure 69 establishes a rhythmic profile for the fugal section of the tune.<sup>415</sup>

Stand trem - bling, trem - bling, trem - bling at his pow'r.

Stand trem - bling, trem - bling, trem - bling at his pow'r.

**Figure 69. Ambiguous Attribution, WESTBOROUGH, m. 12-17**

Returning to Samuel Babcock, in addition to selecting unusual texts in unfamiliar meters, he often chose to set internal stanzas of psalms, hymns, and other poems. This occurs twenty times, roughly 27 percent of his verse settings. As Crawford noted, this raises the question of whether these pieces were intended to be strophic.<sup>416</sup> This is particularly true when the stanzas set are the final ones, as is the case eight of the twenty times. Further, in another two examples, bringing the total to ten, the remaining stanzas do not fit the music. Based upon the examples already discussed, these choices appear to be intentional.

Every time Samuel Babcock chose a text from the Watts *Horae Lyricae* collection, he set an internal verse. Perhaps the imagery of the interior stanzas attracted his attention. This pattern continues in Lemuel Babcock's SOLITUDE and the ambiguously attributed setting ADMIRATION, both *Horae Lyricae* texts. The same procedure was followed in the ambiguous attribution SPRINGFIELD where an internal stanza of Wesley's hymn was set.

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<sup>415</sup> This rhythmic figure also appears in m. 1, 19-21, and 23-24.

<sup>416</sup> Richard Crawford, "Watts for Singing: Metrical Poetry in American Sacred Tunebooks, 1761-1785." *Early American Literature* 11, no. 2 (1976): 144-145.

One wonders why Babcock chose to set internal verses. Perhaps this practice is why so many of his texts were set rarely (or never) by other composers. An examination of the settings of the first stanzas of these texts in the *Hymn Tune Index* shows that in four of the twenty texts the first stanzas were frequently set: HARVARD, MEDFORD, NATIVITY, and STRATTON. The remainder, however, show generally ten or fewer settings, indicating that Samuel Babcock selected internal stanzas regardless of the familiarity of the opening stanza. Perhaps he selected stanzas because they inspired him musically or topically.

This is also true in Lemuel Babcock's SOLITUDE, and the ambiguous attributions. Internal verses are set in three of the six pieces, as noted above. The first stanza of ADMIRATION was never set, while that for SOLITUDE was set once, and that of SPRINGFIELD was set twice.

In addition to selecting internal stanzas, Samuel Babcock sometimes took other liberties with his texts. An examination of his text manipulation indicates careful attention and intent, as seen in AUSPICIOUS MORN, HARVARD, MENOTOMY, MILTON, RESIGNATION, and SUNDAY.

AUSPICIOUS MORN is a setting of the first and third (final) stanzas of Anna Barbauld's hymn "For Easter Sunday." Babcock did not set the middle stanza with an obvious reference to the resurrection. Instead, he kept the two more general stanzas of praise.

To create a unique six-line stanza to set in HARVARD, Babcock took the first three lines from stanza five, the first two from stanza six, and concluded with the fourth line again from stanza five. Mixing the lines emphasizes what comes from the "fruitful rain"—the grass and corn. The return emphasizes that the rain does not fall in vain.

He did the same in MENOTOMY, pulling two lines each from stanzas two and three after setting stanza one unaltered. This hymn points out that human voices cannot give the praise God deserves. By using the first two lines of stanza 2 and the last two lines of stanza three, Babcock

points out this failing, but affirms that the singers will try anyway, with “warm affection” and “grateful love,” to do their best. The result is a positive interpretation of the text’s message.

In MILTON Samuel Babcock set the final two stanzas of the psalm in reverse order. By starting with the last stanza, the stage is set for the believer waiting for salvation at the end of the world. Then the return to the previous stanza praises God for that salvation. For RESIGNATION, Babcock selected stanzas one and three focusing on what happened to Jesus on the cross, while leaving out the middle stanza that addresses what happened in the material world as he died. For SUNDAY he set stanza twenty-four followed by nineteen. The title and the hymn itself are a call to worship. The title is probably taken from stanzas 24 and 25, “This day is God’s,” then moves “back” to stanza 19, “open wide the temple gates,” referring to the opening of the church doors for Sunday worship.

## 5.5 SUMMARY

Samuel Babcock took great care with every aspect of the texts he set, from selecting them to setting them; he often chose titles reflecting their meaning, and sometimes changed the order of lines to focus the textual message. He seems to have had variety as a goal with regard to text meter, regardless of the effect of setting unusual meters. His motivation for this variety may have been an effort to appeal to different churches. For example, he set texts by Congregationalists, Methodists, Universalists, and Anglicans. I also think he picked texts that inspired him musically. Belknap’s *Sacred Poetry* was used as a text source by many composers, but Samuel Babcock picked poems from it that others had not chosen. Finally, Samuel Babcock employed a subtle treatment with regard to text painting, and clarity was a goal in his settings as well (see the

discussion in Chapter 4). Clearly composing music for use with multiple texts was not a primary concern for him. Rather he paired the text and music much more intimately than many of his colleagues.

In comparison, Lemuel Babcock's settings of EUPHRATES and SOLITUDE seem to follow the earlier interchangeable model. For example, the Long Meter text set in EUPHRATES is one that was widely used by other composers, and the music would work equally well for many other texts.

As described above, the ambiguous attributions display the same text-setting characteristics as the pieces by Lemuel Babcock. This is especially true when extra-musical evidence, such as the place-name titles of WESTBOROUGH and WRENTHAM, is considered. Based on the text setting alone, one must conclude that they are most likely by Lemuel Babcock.

## 6.0 DISSEMINATION AND PUBLICATION

Cooke suggested that the representative psalmodist not be too prolific and that his music should not have become inordinately popular. Both Samuel Babcock and Lemuel Babcock met these criteria. The music by Samuel Babcock, Lemuel Babcock, and the ambiguous attributions saw limited dissemination in both manuscript and published formats. Studying the publishers and compilers who first printed this music offers information about the associations of both Babcocks as well as evidence regarding the authorship of the ambiguous attributions. A careful comparison of the two editions of Samuel Babcock's tunebook, *Middlesex Harmony*, demonstrates that the second was a composite edition. We can also learn something about how Samuel Babcock's music was distributed by examining advertisements and other relevant newspaper notices, by comparing the two edition of his tunebook, *Middlesex Harmony*, and by examining the book-stock records of his publisher, Thomas and Andrews.

### 6.1 MANUSCRIPTS

No manuscripts including music by Samuel Babcock have been identified. However, in the preface to his tunebook *Middlesex Harmony* (1795), Babcock wrote, "copies from the following Work having been frequently taken, and by passing through different hands doubtless become



erroneous.”<sup>417</sup> This suggests that his music had circulated in manuscript form. Two manuscripts dating from ca. 1782 have been identified that include the tunes SOLITUDE (by Lemuel Babcock) and SPRINGFIELD (an ambiguous attribution).<sup>418</sup> As we shall see, these manuscripts are closely related in contents and date. This fact supports the suggestion that SPRINGFIELD was also composed by Lemuel Babcock.

“Manuscript circulation seems to have been especially important in the 1770s and early 1780s, when American composers began to contribute to a musical repertory essentially imported from Europe, and found that wartime conditions hindered publication.”<sup>419</sup> Richard Crawford and David McKay go further to suggest that some composers encouraged the circulation of their music in manuscripts, and surmise that a considerable time lag between being copied in a manuscript and publication in a tunebook might have been typical. This final point is based on two pieces by William Billings in what is known as the Waterhouse manuscript that was copied in 1781, but which were not published until thirteen years later in 1794.

The Waterhouse manuscript was copied by Susanna “Sukey” Heath in Brookline, Massachusetts, from 30 May 1780 to 17 March 1781. The date in the front is 1 July 1782, and it bears the title “Collection from Sundry Authors.” In the mid-1970s, the manuscript was owned by Dorothy Waterhouse of Boston, which explains the manuscript’s designation given by Crawford and McKay.<sup>420</sup> It contains twenty-eight pieces, twenty-four of them sacred and four of

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<sup>417</sup> Babcock, *Middlesex Harmony*, Preface. This statement is quoted in full below.

<sup>418</sup> I have not examined manuscript tunebooks other than those held at the Waltz Music Library at the University of Colorado at Boulder. I identified the two manuscripts discussed here because they were written about in the literature on psalmody.

<sup>419</sup> Crawford and McKay, “Music in Manuscript,” 47.

<sup>420</sup> *Ibid.*

them secular. Seventeen are by William Billings.<sup>421</sup> Among the pieces is SOLITUDE attributed to “LB.”

SOLITUDE, on page four of the manuscript, was copied on 9 March 1781, but without the counter part.<sup>422</sup> Crawford and McKay suggest that the Waterhouse manuscript’s SOLITUDE was composed by Lemuel Babcock.<sup>423</sup> SOLITUDE first appeared in print some twelve years later in Stone and Wood’s *Columbian Harmony* (1793). In addition to lacking the counter part, the Waterhouse manuscript version of SOLITUDE sets a different Watts psalm text (Psalm 17) from the version published by Stone and Wood with a text from Watts’ *Horae Lyricae*. The Psalm 17 version was later published by Solomon Howe with the attribution “L. Babcock” in the *Psalm Singer’s Amusement* (1804) and the *Young Man’s Instructive Companion* (1810). Both of Howe’s tunebooks also include EUPHRATES with the same attribution, which is the primary basis of their attribution to Lemuel Babcock.

Crawford and McKay ask another important question that has implications for the music, not only in the Waterhouse manuscript but also in another manuscript in the Clements Library at the University of Michigan. “Exactly where Sukey Heath obtained the music is the chief mystery of the Waterhouse manuscript. That at least some of it came from William Billings himself is a real possibility. The best evidence for contact is that so large a portion of the manuscript is given over to pieces by Billings—pieces in versions not available in printed sources.”<sup>424</sup> This association between Lemuel Babcock, the composer of SOLITUDE, and William Billings, ties in with Solomon Howe’s association with Billings, which we will explore further below.

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<sup>421</sup> Kroeger, “William Billings’s Music in Manuscript Copy,” 319.

<sup>422</sup> It is interesting to note that in 1781 Lemuel Babcock was 33 years old, but Samuel Babcock was only 21.

<sup>423</sup> Crawford and McKay, “Music in Manuscript,” 54.

<sup>424</sup> *Ibid.*, 62.

Karl Kroeger refers to the manuscript in the Clements Library as SMA-CL because it is a nine-leaf supplement (the sides numbered 105-122) to a copy of William Billings's tunebook *The Singing Master's Assistant* (Boston: Draper and Folsom, 1778).<sup>425</sup> Of the seven manuscripts Kroeger has identified containing Billings's music, he views the Clements manuscript as second in importance only to the Waterhouse manuscript. Of the 31 pieces in the Clements manuscript, 15 are by Billings.

Kroeger has noted that the Clements manuscript is:

intriguing because thirteen of these tunes [by Billings], along with five others not attributable to Billings, are also found in the Waterhouse manuscript. Moreover, the tunes are found in the same vocal scoring with largely the same variants as in the Waterhouse manuscript. The connection between the two manuscript collections is drawn even closer by the presence of two pairs of tunes . . . all by Billings—copied together on the same pages in the same order. Two other pairs . . . are also in the same order but a page turn intervenes. These facts argue for a close relationship between the Waterhouse manuscript and SMA-CL. The copyists certainly had access to the same basic collection of pieces, and the two manuscripts may even have been copied at the same time by different people.<sup>426</sup>

The third piece in the Clements manuscript is SPRINGFIELD<sup>427</sup> by “Mr. Badcocke” [i.e., Babcock].<sup>428</sup> The position in the manuscript is interesting in itself (and in light of Kroeger's comments above), because SOLITUDE is also the third tune in the Waterhouse manuscript. The Clements manuscript contains only the tenor and bass parts of SPRINGFIELD. Kroeger suggests that the composer of SPRINGFIELD was “possibly Lemuel Badcock, a Massachusetts singing master of c.1780.”<sup>429</sup> This seems to be on the basis of Crawford and McKay's article, which Kroeger footnotes. As Kroeger further speculates, because of the relationship between the

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<sup>425</sup> Kroeger, “William Billings's Music in Manuscript Copy.”

<sup>426</sup> *Ibid.*, 320.

<sup>427</sup> SPRINGFIELD was first published by Andrew Law in *Select Harmony* from 1779.

<sup>428</sup> The first three compositions in the Clements manuscript were not included in the Waterhouse manuscript. Oksana Linda, Clements Library, e-mail message to author, 24 Nov. 2008.

<sup>429</sup> Kroeger, “William Billings's Music in Manuscript Copy,” 321.

contents of the two manuscript, the date they were copied may also be similar.<sup>430</sup> The Clements manuscript is undated, but has to have been copied after 1778 when the *Singing Master's Assistant* was published.<sup>431</sup> The Waterhouse manuscript is dated 1782, although most of the copying was done in March 1781 (including SOLITUDE). It seems very likely then that the Clements manuscript was copied between 1778 and 1781. All of these similarities between the two manuscripts, especially the contents and dating, make it highly likely that both SOLITUDE and SPRINGFIELD were composed by Lemuel Babcock.

## 6.2 FIRST PRINTINGS

Nine published tunebooks contain first printings of music by Samuel Babcock, Lemuel Babcock, and the ambiguous attributions. I will first discuss the six tunebooks that contain first printings by Samuel Babcock, then the three with Lemuel Babcock and ambiguous Babcock attributions. Appendix D provides a list of the first printings.

Tunebook attributions are given a great deal of weight by scholars in the process of determining authorship, even though the tunebooks do not always provide complete information. The composers' names (usually only last names) are sometimes given on the pages of music and sometimes only in the index or table of contents. However, pieces were sometimes printed without any composer attribution at all, or with only "unknown" indicated. This is the case, for example, in Andrew Law's *Select Harmony*. Other times a first name (or more often an initial)

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<sup>430</sup> Ibid., 320.

<sup>431</sup> Although manuscript pages were sometimes bound into tunebooks when the whole book was bound, that does not seem to be the case here.

was provided when necessary to distinguish between composers with the same last name. For example, *Columbian Harmony* has only one attribution with a first-name initial, “N. Billings,” for NEW SPRINGFIELD, to distinguish Nathaniel Billings from William Billings as the composer of the tune.

The attributions in the tunebooks that first printed the music by the Babcocks offer many clues to the two composers’ chronologies and relationships with other composers, compilers, and publishers. For instance, it makes logical sense that the first pieces printed would most likely have been by the older Babcock rather than the younger one. The geographical locations of the composers, compilers, and publishers add additional clues. The groupings of the pieces in individual tunebooks are important as well. No single tunebook includes works by both Samuel Babcock and Lemuel Babcock.

When a compiler included new tunes attributed to “Babcock” along with pieces that had appeared previously under Samuel Babcock’s name—as Daniel Belknap did in *Evangelical Harmony*—it seems secure that the new printings were also composed by Samuel Babcock. When considered alongside information about the composers and compilers’ relationships with each other—and the manuscripts discussed earlier—the pieces of the attribution puzzle begin to fit into place.

Considering more than just the printed attributions themselves is essential. Of the nine tunebooks discussed here that include first printings of the pieces being studied, the only complete attributions for Samuel Babcock appear in the two editions of his own tunebook, *Middlesex Harmony* (1795 and 1803). The most complete attribution for Lemuel Babcock is “L. Babcock” for two pieces in Solomon Howe’s *Psalm Singer’s Amusement*.

The other six tunebooks give only the attribution “Babcock.” The works attributed to “Babcock” by Oliver Holden, Daniel Belknap, and Abijah Forbush are connected to Samuel Babcock because the composer had a relationship with these compilers and/or lived in close proximity to the publisher. For similar reasons, those printed by Andrew Law, Joseph Stone & Abraham Wood, and Solomon Howe are most likely by Lemuel Babcock. These findings conform with the musical and textual evidence for attributions presented in earlier chapters of this dissertation.

Samuel Babcock’s music was first printed in the following six tunebooks dating from 1793 to 1806. (The tunebook title is followed by its copyright or publication date in parentheses, title(s) of pieces or number of first printings included, and the attribution—Samuel Babcock, Lemuel Babcock, or ambiguous.)

*Union Harmony*, Vol. 1 (copyrighted 1 August 1793): CHINA—“Babcock”

Samuel Babcock’s tune CHINA was first printed in Oliver Holden’s *Union Harmony*, volume one, published in 1793. The book’s index gives only the composers’ last names, so CHINA was simply attributed to “Babcock.” On the piece itself, printed on page 16, the word “Original” is used to indicate that it was a first printing.<sup>432</sup> This is the first confirmed piece by Samuel Babcock to be published. Despite the attribution lacking his first name or initial, Samuel Babcock’s relationship with both the compiler and the publisher, considered along with the piece’s musical style, make this attribution secure.

*Middlesex Harmony* (copyrighted 22 December 1795): 26 first printings—“Samuel Babcock”  
(see list in Appendix C)

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<sup>432</sup> An asterisk was also used to distinguish the first printings in the Index.

The first edition of Samuel Babcock's tunebook *Middlesex Harmony* was published in Boston by Thomas and Andrews in December 1795 (see the title page in Figure 70). It contains twenty-six pieces, all of them first printings. In his preface, Babcock spelled out his motivation for publishing this collection:

Copies from the following Work having frequently been taken, and by passing through different hands doubtless become erroneous, the Author, therefore, after much solicitation, relying on the candour and generosity of the Public, is induced to let the following Pieces appear in print. And although he is conscious of their imperfection, he still enjoys this consolation, that gentlemen whose musical abilities, as well as every other advantage, have been vastly superiour to his, will not severely censure even what they cannot applaud. He thought it unnecessary, in so small a work, to add the Introduction, especially when the market is furnished with so great a variety of music books, almost all of which have the Introduction inserted. That the Work may prove beneficial to his fellow men, and instrumental of promoting the glory and praise of that infinitely exalted Being, whose name we celebrate, is the devout wish of The Author.<sup>433</sup>

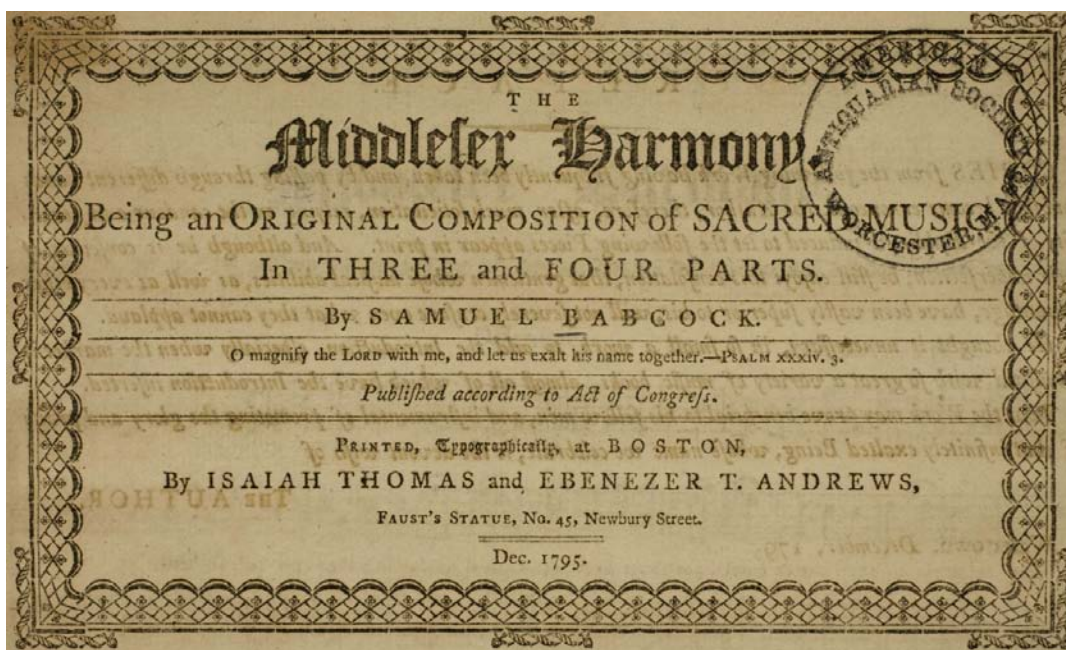


Figure 70. Title Page for *Middlesex Harmony*, First Edition.

(Courtesy of American Antiquarian Society)

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<sup>433</sup> Babcock, *Middlesex Harmony*, Preface.

In addition to promoting his music in its correct form, Babcock may also have been targeting an audience similar to the one Holden intended for his *Plain Psalmody, or, Supplementary Music* (1800), discussed below.<sup>434</sup> The intended audience for *Middlesex Harmony* was probably singing societies. Such an audience, as well as the length of the tunebook, probably explains the omission of a rudiments section.

The connection between the upper class that Babcock mentioned in his preface, the Methodist style of his music, and musical reform is notable. As Crawford has pointed out, “During the 1790s, an advocacy of European psalmody came to be seen in some American quarters as a means, in Hitchcock’s phrase, of ‘cultural improvement’—a way of rising above one’s hereditary station.”<sup>435</sup> One of the styles of European music that the reformers singled out as a worthy model for American psalmodists during this time was the Methodist style of psalmody (described in Chapter 4 of this dissertation).<sup>436</sup>

*Evangelical Harmony* (copyrighted 13 August 1800): MORNING HYMN; NORFOLK; SUNDAY—  
“Babcock”

Daniel Belknap’s *Evangelical Harmony* includes six tunes by Samuel Babcock: three were first printings; the others (DORCHESTER, FLANDERS, and NEWTON) previously appeared in *Middlesex Harmony*. The attributions in this tunebook are only composers’ last names. All six pieces by Samuel Babcock are simply attributed “Babcock” on the pages of music.<sup>437</sup>

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<sup>434</sup> Or perhaps Holden followed Babcock’s example, since Babcock’s tunebook was published first and a call for subscribers to the second edition of *Middlesex Harmony* had been published in 1798.

<sup>435</sup> Crawford, “‘Ancient Music,’” op. cit., 237.

<sup>436</sup> See Crawford’s writings, including “‘Ancient Music’”; “A Hardening of the Categories”; and *Andrew Law, American Psalmist*, 263-66.

<sup>437</sup> The tunes are grouped together on pp. 49-55.



Babcock's relationships to Daniel Belknap and the publisher Thomas and Andrews have been established. Samuel Babcock and Belknap may have been acquainted. "Mr. S. Babcock, Watertown" is listed as a subscriber who purchased six copies *Evangelical Harmony*.<sup>438</sup>

Four of Belknap's tunebooks include music by Samuel Babcock. Further, during the winter of 1809 Belknap taught a singing school in Watertown where Samuel lived.<sup>439</sup> This may have been arranged by Samuel Babcock, who had previously taught singing schools sponsored by the town.<sup>440</sup>

*Plain Psalmody* (title page dated November 1800): ELIM and IMMANUEL—"Babcock"

Oliver Holden's *Plain Psalmody*, also published by Thomas and Andrews in Boston, includes two first printings of pieces by Samuel Babcock. ELIM and IMMANUEL appear together on pp. 19-20: both are attributed to "Babcock" in the index.<sup>441</sup> *Plain Psalmody* shares with Babcock's first edition of *Middlesex Harmony* the somewhat unusual omission of an introductory section on the rudiments of singing and both tunebooks were compiled with the intent of presenting mostly new music. Holden composed most of the new pieces in *Plain Psalmody*. Holden explained his purpose for *Plain Psalmody* in his "Advertisement":

Performers are unwilling to throw aside their books and purchase a new edition merely to obtain a few *new tunes*. The "Supplementary Music" contains *many* new tunes adapted to the various metres, in Watts, Tate and Brady, Rippon,

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<sup>438</sup> Other subscribers include Joseph Stone, Abraham Wood, and Asa Brigham who was Samuel Babcock's son-in-law.

<sup>439</sup> *Watertown Records: Comprising the Seventh Book of Town Proceedings*, 440.

<sup>440</sup> *Evangelical Harmony* is similar to the second edition of *Middlesex Harmony* (1803) in that it was Belknap's second tunebook, much larger than his first, and included a theoretical introduction. Belknap's first tunebook, *Harmonist's Companion* (1797), is similar to the first edition of *Middlesex Harmony* (1795) in that it was a single-composer tunebook, it was published by Thomas and Andrews two years after *Middlesex Harmony*, it was relatively small with only twenty-seven pieces, and it did not include the theoretical introduction. Unlike the second edition of *Middlesex Harmony*, however, *Evangelical Harmony* included music by other composers besides Belknap. Although *Evangelical Harmony* included multiple composers, most (51 out of 77) of the pieces were first printings. Belknap may have been inspired by Babcock's precedent.

<sup>441</sup> None of the composer attributions includes a first name or initial.

Belknap, &c. and is intended as a *Supplement* to the larger singing books which are or may be circulating through the country.<sup>442</sup>

With respect to their intended use, however, the similarity ends. The statement “For the use of worshipping societies and singing schools” appears on the title page of *Plain Psalmody*. But in the preface to the second edition of *Middlesex Harmony*, Babcock explained that his first edition had not been intended for singing school use, “being published without the rules, and consisting chiefly of music not calculated for that purpose.”<sup>443</sup>

*Middlesex Harmony*, 2nd ed. (title page is dated January 1803): 41 first printings—“Samuel Babcock” (see list in Appendix C)

Babcock’s second edition of *Middlesex Harmony* was printed in Boston by Thomas and Andrews in 1803 (see Figure 71).

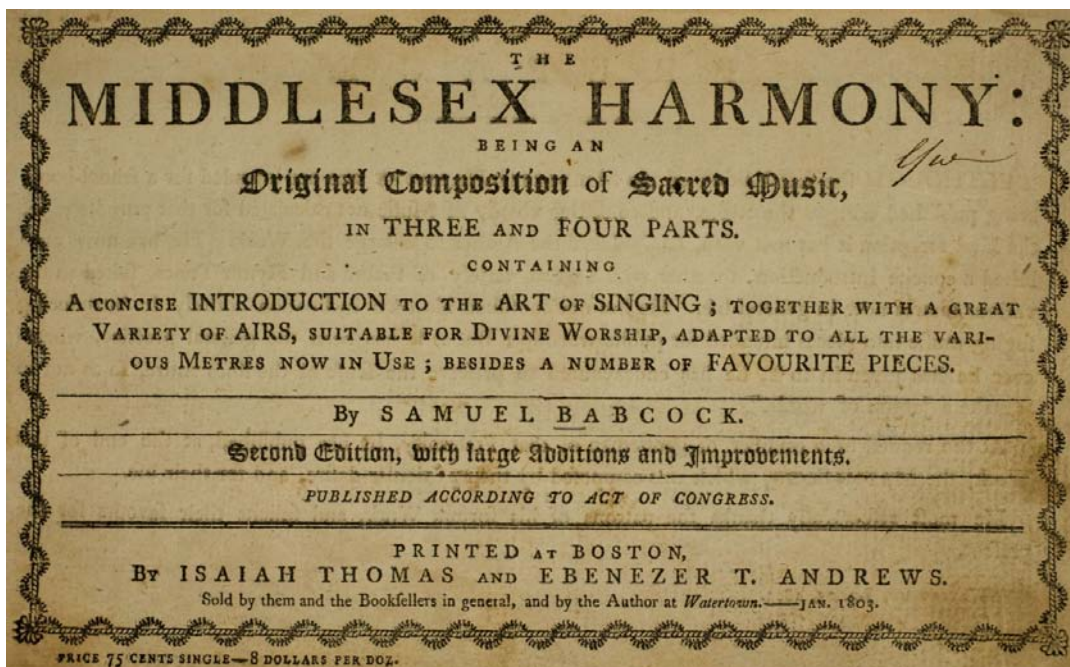


Figure 71. Title Page of *Middlesex Harmony*, Second Edition.

(Courtesy of American Antiquarian Society)

<sup>442</sup> Oliver Holden, *Plain Psalmody, or Supplementary Music: An Original Composition, Set in Three and Four Parts* (Boston: Thomas & Andrews, 1800), Advertisement.

<sup>443</sup> Babcock, *Middlesex Harmony*, 2nd ed., Preface.

By stating in the 1803 preface that the first edition of the tunebook had not been intended for singing schools, Babcock implies that the second edition *was* compiled with this purpose in mind; the inclusion of a rudiments section in the new edition supports this conclusion. Babcock’s introduction acknowledges the kind reception his first edition had received and hence his motivation to compile a new, expanded one: “He [Babcock] has now published a concise Introduction, together with a great variety of Psalm and Hymn Tunes, suited to the various metres now in general use.”

Table 7 summarizes the contents of both editions of *Middlesex Harmony*.

**Table 7. Contents of *Middlesex Harmony***

	First Edition, 1795.	Second Edition, 1803.
Preface	Yes	yes
Rudiments	No	yes
Pages	56	116
Number of Pieces	26	71 (46 new)
Newly Typeset	56 pages (7 gatherings)	64 pages (8 gatherings)

Babcock’s “Introduction to the Art of Singing” is similar in length and content to such sections in other tunebooks. It consists of nine pages covering the gamut, clefs, rules to find “mi,” notes and rests, musical characters, time, and musical terms. The second edition omits only one piece from the first edition (DOXOLOGY), and adds forty-one new compositions. See Table 8 for a comparison of the musical contents of the two editions.

In *Middlesex Harmony*, second edition, most of the first printings are for three voices, but these represent a slightly lower percentage than in the first edition. More plain tunes are included

than in his earlier tunebook, and there is one new anthem for four voices. The remainder of the new pieces consists of nine tunes with extension, nine set-pieces, and six fugging tunes.<sup>444</sup> The new pieces included in the second edition may be viewed as supplementary to those of the first, since they do not deviate radically in any stylistic respect. They are distributed among the tune types in proportions different from the first edition. *Middlesex Harmony*, second edition, includes fewer set pieces and anthems, but more plain tunes and fugging tunes.

**Table 8. Musical Contents of *Middlesex Harmony***

	First Edition	New Pieces in the Second Edition	Entire Contents of the Second Edition
3 voices	81%	74%	77.5%
4 voices	19%	26%	22.5%
Plain Tunes	23%	39%	32%
Tunes w/Extension	19%	22%	21%
Fugging Tunes	4%	15%	11%
Set Pieces	42%	22%	26%
Anthems	12%	2%	10%

Financial consideration of tunebook publishing undoubtedly affected the number and types of compositions published. Questions remain about who bore the financial burden for publishing the first edition of *Middlesex Harmony*. It is unlikely that Thomas and Andrews subsidized Babcock’s first edition. As Crawford and McKay state in *William Billings of Boston*: “though they [Thomas and Andrews] did bring out a number of collections by relative

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<sup>444</sup>Seven of the set pieces, six of the plain psalm tunes, and five of the fugging tunes are set for three voices.

unknowns, they were not given to taking chances; there are indications that tunebooks by the likes of Babcock, Belcher, Belknap, Holyoke, Kimball, and even Holden were either paid for by the compiler, or costs were defrayed by subscription.”<sup>445</sup> Babcock’s second edition, however, was paid for by subscription.

The publishers widely advertised both editions of *Middlesex Harmony* in newspapers (see Appendix H for a list of the advertisements I have identified). The first edition was advertised in Boston and beyond, as far north as Newburyport and as far west as Concord, from 1796 through 1802. Thomas advertised it in his own Worcester newspaper, the *Massachusetts Spy*. The second edition was published in 1803, the same year as the eighth edition of the bestselling *Worcester Collection*. Thomas and Andrews promoted the second edition of *Middlesex Harmony* by including it in an advertisement on the final page of the eighth edition of the *Worcester Collection*.

The support of subscribers and the recycling of almost the entire contents of the first edition minimized the printing costs.<sup>446</sup> In an increasingly saturated market for sacred music, Babcock’s was the only single-composer tunebook that Thomas and Andrews published in a second edition. The firm advertised this edition less widely, but it was publicized in Boston newspapers from 1804 to 1810, the year Thomas and Andrews issued their last music imprint.

*Psalmody’s Assistant*, 2nd ed. (copyrighted 10 September 1806): AUSPICIOUS MORN and ROXBURY—“Babcock”

Abijah Forbush compiled the second edition of *Psalmody’s Assistant*, published in Boston by Manning and Loring, and included two Samuel Babcock tunes that had not yet

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<sup>445</sup> McKay and Crawford, *William Billings*, 165-66.

<sup>446</sup> This recycling of material is discussed below.

appeared in print. The attribution to “Babcock” appears both on the pages of music as well as in the tunebook index.<sup>447</sup> The book contains three other Samuel Babcock pieces, GRATITUDE, LEXINGTON, and LIMA, which were first published in the second edition of *Middlesex Harmony* (1803).

Forbush was living in Upton, Massachusetts, in 1803 but by 1806 had moved to Shelburne, Massachusetts. Samuel Babcock had connections with Daniel Belknap (see above), and Belknap was acquainted with Forbush. Belknap also had four new works published for the first time in this edition of Forbush’s *Psalmody’s Assistant*. David Warren Steel has pointed out that the two were probably acquainted because they lived in close proximity for a time and Forbush “drew on the music of . . . composers in Belknap’s circle (e.g., Babcock, Eager, Hamilton, Holt).”<sup>448</sup>

David Belknap compiled a related tunebook, *Village Compilation*, copyrighted just one month later (October 1806), printed in Boston by J. T. Buckingham, and containing the same two new works by Samuel Babcock, AUSPICIOUS MORN and ROXBURY, but also six other tunes by him that had previously appeared in compilations by Babcock, Holden, and Belknap himself (ELIM, FLANDERS, IMMANUEL, NEWTON, NORFOLK, and SUNDAY).

The following three tunebooks printed two tunes by Lemuel Babcock and the five ambiguous attributions. They were published between 1779 and 1804. These tunebooks are discussed together as a group, because one of them, *Columbian Harmony*, includes both a Lemuel Babcock confirmed attribution as well as ambiguous attributions.

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<sup>447</sup> Only last names are given for all the composers. The first printings are indicated with an asterisk.

<sup>448</sup> David Warren Steel, *Daniel Belknap (1771-1815): The Collected Works*, Music of the New American Nation, vol. 14 (New York: Garland Publishing, 1999), xxii.

*Select Harmony* (title page dated 1779): SPRINGFIELD—“Babcock”

The first published piece attributed to “Babcock” was SPRINGFIELD,<sup>449</sup> printed on page 60 of Andrew Law’s tunebook *Select Harmony* in 1779. The composer attributions appear only in the tunebook index as last names. Andrew Law was living in Cheshire, Connecticut, when *Select Harmony* was published in nearby Farmington (see Figure 72 for the location). Springfield, Massachusetts, is north of Farmington on the Connecticut River. Since SPRINGFIELD appears in the Clements manuscript, it is likely by Lemuel Babcock. While it is not known how either Babcock would have come in contact with Andrew Law, scholars have speculated.<sup>450</sup> Crawford and Lowens group SPRINGFIELD with the pieces Law “purchased from the original compilers.”<sup>451</sup> Although Crawford assumed the composer was Samuel Babcock, the copyright notice just says “Babcock.”<sup>452</sup> In *Grove Music Online*, Crawford and Nym Cooke<sup>453</sup> point out that, “Active in music for half a century, Law was the most travelled American musician of his age, and the most prolific compiler of sacred music collections.”<sup>454</sup> Crawford explains that little is known about Law’s personal life from 1778 to 1782, but what is known indicates that Law spent the years “in New England, publishing tunebooks, traveling to sell them, and, on at least two occasions,

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<sup>449</sup> Springfield is located furthest west in Massachusetts of all the ambiguous attributions with place name titles.

<sup>450</sup> See Irving Lowens, “Andrew Law and the Pirates,” in *Music and Musicians in Early America* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1964), 58-88.

<sup>451</sup> Crawford, *Andrew Law, American Psalmist*, 310, 384.

<sup>452</sup> I have examined the original documents, which have been digitized by the Arts and Humanities Research Council. See Arts and Humanities Research Council, “Andrew Law’s Petition (1781),” *Primary Sources on Copyright (1450-1900)*. [http://www.copyrighthistory.org/cgi-bin/kleioc/0010/exec/ausgabe/%22us\\_1781%22](http://www.copyrighthistory.org/cgi-bin/kleioc/0010/exec/ausgabe/%22us_1781%22) (accessed 24 Nov. 2008).

<sup>453</sup> *Grove Music Online*, s.v. “Law, Andrew,” (by Richard Crawford and Nym Cooke), <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (accessed 23 Feb. 2008).

<sup>454</sup> Few specifics are known about Law’s travels during the years before *Select Harmony*, and nothing indicates that he traveled to Springfield, Massachusetts, himself. He did know a member of a prominent musical family from there, though, mentioning Lucius Chapin in a 1781 letter. Crawford, *Andrew Law, American Psalmist*, 76n.

teaching singing.”<sup>455</sup> The compiler “took pains to insure that his [first] collection [*Select Harmony*] would be unique in content”<sup>456</sup> and he kept SPRINGFIELD in his second edition of the tunebook (1782), even though he cut the number of plain tunes from 25 to 14.<sup>457</sup>

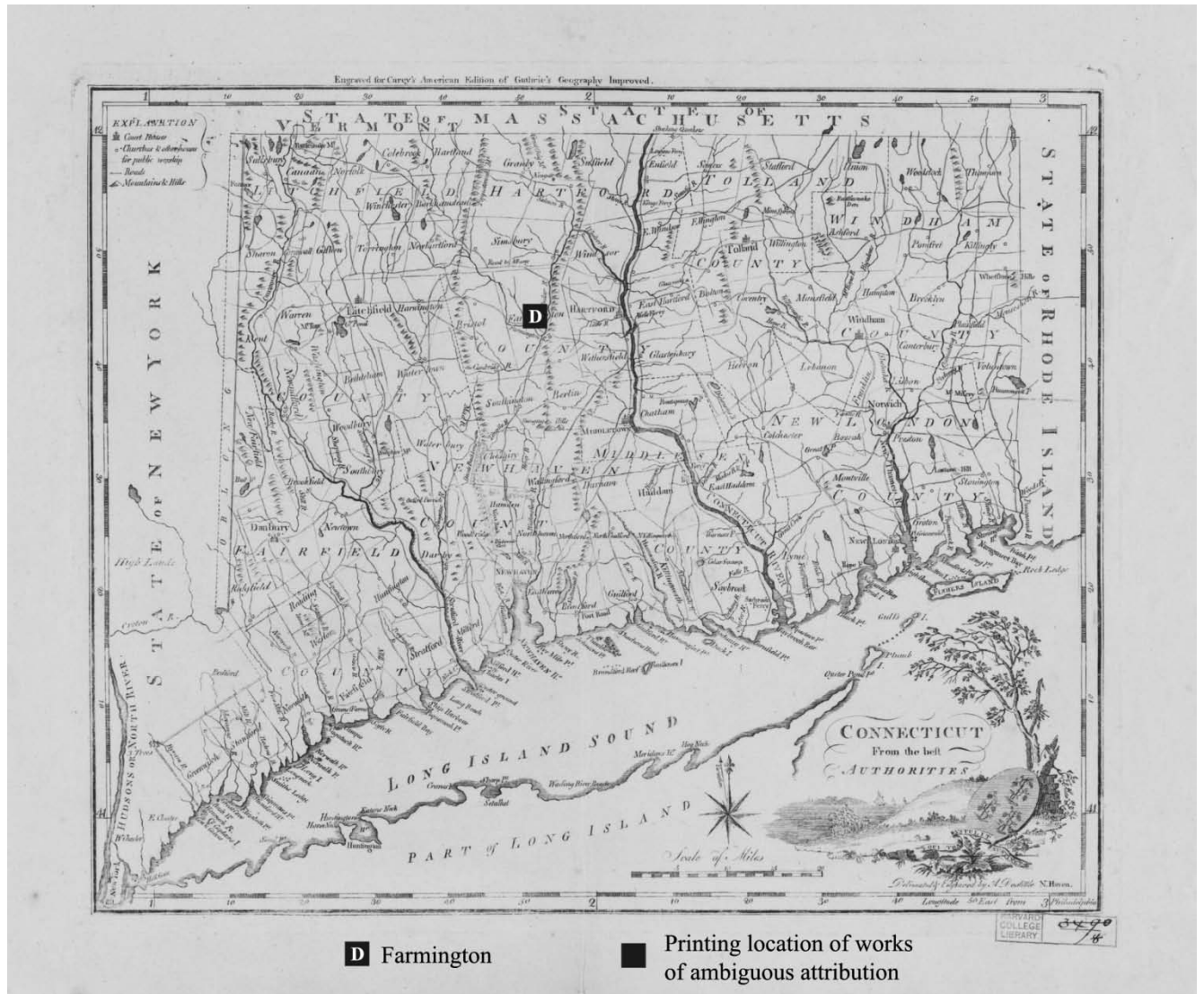


Figure 72. Location of Farmington, Connecticut.

Amos Doolittle, *Connecticut* ([Philadelphia: M. Carey, 1795]). (Courtesy of Harvard Map Collection)

<sup>455</sup> Ibid., 34.

<sup>456</sup> Ibid., 10.

<sup>457</sup> Ibid., 19.



*Columbian Harmony* (copyrighted 13 September 1793): SOLITUDE, ADMIRATION, SPRINGFIELD [II], WARREN, WESTBOROUGH, and WRENTHAM—“Babcock”

The *Columbian Harmony*, compiled by Joseph Stone and Abraham Wood, contains six pieces attributed “By Babcock” on the pages of music (the index for the most part does not include composers’ names): ADMIRATION (p. 2), WESTBOROUGH (pp. 10-11), SOLITUDE (p. 21), WARREN (p. 22), SPRINGFIELD [II] (p. 27), and WRENTHAM (pp. 72-73). SOLITUDE is by Lemuel Babcock. This is the only appearance in print of WARREN, WESTBOROUGH, and WRENTHAM.

Joseph Stone was from Ward (now called Auburn), Massachusetts, and Abraham Wood was from Northborough, Massachusetts, both near Worcester, about 50 miles west of Boston. They composed most of the pieces in the tunebook. In his introduction to the collected edition of music by Abraham Wood, Karl Kroeger mentions that *Columbian Harmony* “contained music by other central Massachusetts composers, such as Lemuel Babcock, Thomas Baird, Nathaniel Billings, Amariah Hall, Nahum Mitchell, and Timothy Swan.”<sup>458</sup> Nym Cooke noted that Westborough, where Lemuel Babcock taught a singing school in 1778-79, was “next door to Wood’s Northboro [*sic*]” and that the works in *Colombian Harmony* were “surely” composed by Lemuel Babcock.<sup>459</sup>

The compilers took care to distinguish between at least some of the composers. Even though they included no tunes by William Billings, for example, they attributed NEW SPRINGFIELD to the lesser-known N[athaniel] Billings. The tunebook contains two pieces with the title WARREN. In the Index, “By Wood” appears after the second WARREN to distinguish

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<sup>458</sup> Karl Kroeger, *Abraham Wood: The Collected Works* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1996), xxii.

<sup>459</sup> Cooke, “American Psalmodists in Contact and Collaboration,” 1:42.

between the two. Further study of tunebook attributions would be necessary to confirm the idea that first names or initials were only given when necessary.

The compilers' attention to detail in the attributions in *Columbian Harmony* would suggest that all six tunes attributed to "Babcock" were by the same Babcock, rather than two different composers with the same last name. Also, because the first piece attributed to Samuel Babcock had been published only the month before in Boston, it seems unlikely that Stone and Wood knew of the musical hatter from Watertown. (See also the discussion of musical style and text setting in chapters 4 and 5, which reinforce these findings.)

***Psalm Singer's Amusement*** (ca. 1804): EUPHRATES—"L. Babcock"

This tunebook was probably assembled by Solomon Howe<sup>460</sup> and printed by his son John in Greenwich, Massachusetts.<sup>461</sup> Howe acquired the plates for William Billings's tunebook of the same title and reprinted them with additional, newly typeset music in the front, along with an explanatory note about the music being printed at different times.<sup>462</sup> Among the new pieces are EUPHRATES and SOLITUDE, both attributed to "L. Babcock."<sup>463</sup> Pieces by William Billings and Abraham Wood are also included in the new section. *The Young Man's Instructive Companion* ([1804-1810?]) is a closely related tunebook that also includes EUPHRATES and SOLITUDE

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<sup>460</sup> Howe was born in Westborough, Massachusetts, worked for William Billings in Boston in 1778, and lived in Brookfield, Massachusetts, from about 1779 to 1783 and later in Greenwich, Massachusetts, from ca. 1799 to 1805. Howe's relationship with William Billings offers one possibility for how he obtained Lemuel Babcock's music, and one that ties in with both the Waterhouse and Clements manuscripts.

<sup>461</sup> Britton et al., *American Sacred Music Imprints*, 493-496.

<sup>462</sup> *Ibid.*, 492.

<sup>463</sup> The title page includes the following note, "N.B. As this book was printed at different times, the first eight pages are called Additional."

attributed to “L. Babcock.” Because it includes a comparable note about being printed at different times, similar contents, and attributions, it may also have been compiled by Howe.<sup>464</sup>

Both EUPHRATES and SOLITUDE also appear with the same attribution in an extant manuscript of ca. 1810 held by the Moravian Music Foundation (M/SS 6509).<sup>465</sup> The contents of the manuscript include pages 1-8 of *Psalm Singer’s Amusement*<sup>466</sup> along with pages 3-16 of Howe’s 1804 tunebook *Farmer’s Evening Entertainment*, which contained only his own music.<sup>467</sup>

The locations for the first printings of music by Samuel and Lemuel Babcock thus seem to form a pattern. All of Samuel Babcock’s first printings were published in Boston by Thomas and Andrews except the two tunes published by Manning and Loring in 1806. The pieces by Lemuel Babcock and the ambiguous attributions first appeared farther west. See Figure 73 for a map comparing the publication locations of Samuel Babcock, Lemuel Babcock, and the ambiguous attributions in Massachusetts (leaving only the ambiguously attributed SPRINGFIELD, which appeared in central Connecticut, as shown in Figure 72, above).

In summary, the evidence from the manuscripts and first printings clearly points towards Lemuel Babcock as the composer of the ambiguous attributions. This is corroborated by the evidence presented in previous chapters of this dissertation.

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<sup>464</sup> Britton et al, *American Sacred Music Imprints*, 632-638. *The Young Man’s Instructive Companion* lacks the portion printed from the original Billings plates and adds a new eight-page section.

<sup>465</sup> Temperley, *Hymn Tune Index* [Online], see entry \*UC 10.

<sup>466</sup> Ibid., Temperley dates *Psalm Singer’s Amusement* ca. 1804 and *Young Man’s Instructive Companion* as before 1810. See Temperley, *Hymn Tune Index* [Online], entries #PSA, #YMICa, and \*UC 10.

<sup>467</sup> Crawford dates both in the 1804-1810 range. Britton et al., *American Sacred Music Imprints*, 493-496.



### 6.3 THE SECOND EDITION OF *MIDDLESEX HARMONY* (1803)

The two editions of Samuel Babcock's tunebook, *Middlesex Harmony*, offer a glimpse into the business practices of the leading sacred-music publisher in early America, Thomas and Andrews. The first edition was published in 1795 at the height of the firm's music-publishing activities, and the second was issued in 1803 when the publisher was issuing fewer imprints. In addition, the reception of the two editions provides insight into the market for sacred music in Massachusetts at the turn of the nineteenth century. As mentioned above, the publication of the second edition of a single-composer tunebook was unusual for Thomas and Andrews. In October 1798 a call for subscribers to an enlarged second edition appeared in the Boston newspaper *Columbian Centinel*.

In contrast with the publication of formula tunebooks, Thomas and Andrews issued nine tunebooks in ten editions that were each devoted entirely to the music of one contemporary American composer. Samuel Babcock's was the only one of these tunebooks to be published in a second edition. As Table 9 demonstrates, the contents of these single-composer tunebooks are very different from the formula made popular by the best-selling *Worcester Collection*. Their contents are also very different from the reform tunebooks published from 1805 to 1810, which elevated English psalmody over that composed in America.<sup>468</sup>

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<sup>468</sup> See Chapter 2 for a discussion of formula and reform tunebooks.

**Table 9. Contents of Single-Composer Tunebooks Published by Thomas and Andrews, 1789-1803<sup>469</sup>**

	# of Pieces	American	English	Unknown	First Printings	Core Repertory
<i>Divine Songs</i> 1789	11	11	0	0	10	0
<i>Harmonia Americana</i> (1791)	79	79	0	0	79	0
<i>American Harmony</i> (1792)	13	13	0	0	13	0
<i>The Rural Harmony</i> (1793)	71	71	0	0	69	0
<i>The Harmony of Maine</i> (1794)	63	62	0	1	62	0
<i>The Continental Harmony</i> (1794)	51	51	0	0	46	0
<i>The Middlesex Harmony</i> (1795)	26	26	0	0	26	0
<i>The Harmonist's Companion</i> (1797)	27	27	0	0	27	0
<i>The Middlesex Harmony</i> (1803)	71	71	0	0	43	0
<i>A Collection of Psalm Tunes and Anthems</i> (1803)	34	34	2	0	27	1

Most tunebooks were published by subscription. With the support of subscribers and by recycling almost the entire contents of the first edition of *The Middlesex Harmony*, costs were minimized for printing the second edition. A physical examination of the two editions leads to this conclusion, which is supported by a survey of the Thomas and Andrews records, below. Because the two tunebooks are identical from page 1 to page 54, even retaining the errors, Thomas and Andrews seem to have recycled unsold copies of the first edition to create the

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<sup>469</sup> Wood, *Divine Songs*; Holyoke, *Harmonia Americana*; Holden, *American Harmony*; Kimball, *Rural Harmony*; Belcher, *Harmony of Maine*; Billings, *Continental Harmony*; Babcock, *Middlesex Harmony*; Belknap, *Harmonist's Companion*; Babcock, *Middlesex Harmony*, 2nd ed.; Cole, *Psalm Tunes and Anthems*.

second.<sup>470</sup> This would have reduced the amount of typesetting required—and the corresponding financial investment needed—to create the second edition.<sup>471</sup> See Table 10, which compares the gatherings of the two editions.

**Table 10. Comparison of the Gatherings of the First and Second Editions of *Middlesex Harmony***

First Edition, 1795. 7 Gatherings with the Following Signatures:	Second Edition, 1803. 15 Gatherings with the Following Signatures:
	[A1] title page – p. [viii]
[A] title page – p. 8	[A] pp. 3 – 8 (incomplete)
B pp. 9 – 16	B pp. 9 – 16
C pp. 17 – 24	C pp. 17 – 24
D pp. 25 – 32	D pp. 25 – 32
E pp. 33 – 40	E pp. 33 – 40
F pp. 41 – 48	F pp. 41 – 48
G pp. 49 – [56]	G pp. 49 – 54 (incomplete)
	H pp. 55 – 62
	I pp. 63 – 70
	K pp. 71 – 78
	L pp. 79 – 86
	M pp. 87 – 94
	N pp. 95 – 102
	O pp. 103 – 110

The probable reuse of previously printed pages seems also to be confirmed by a page-by-page comparison of typesetting errors and irregularities in the music<sup>472</sup> (see Figure 74 through

<sup>470</sup> Babcock certainly knew about many of the errors in first edition; he corrected six of them in the errata included in *Middlesex Harmony*, 2nd edition.

<sup>471</sup> This would have reduced the number of pages needing to be newly set from 110 to 64.

Figure 77). Figure 74 and Figure 75 show page 8 from each edition; the circled typesetting irregularities including the circled brace extension and the long stems, are identical in both. The next two figures show page 39 from each edition; the circled error in the bass was corrected by hand in this copy of the first edition, but remains uncorrected in the second edition. This typesetting error was noted in the errata published in the second edition.

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<sup>472</sup> If the second edition had been newly typeset, it is highly likely that new errors would have been introduced that were not present in the first edition.



8 Continued.

Zion and thy fall. When our mournful thro'ts recall, Thee O Zion and thy fall.

*Christmas.* Words by Mr. George Richards.

Shout, shout for joy, rejoice O earth, Hail, hail this glorious morn, Rejoice, rejoice in Jesus' birth, To

Figure 74. *Middlesex Harmony*, 1st Ed., Page 8. (Courtesy of American Antiquarian Society)

8 Continued.

Zion and thy fall. When our mournful thro'ts recall, Thee O Zion and thy fall.

*Christmas.* Words by Mr. George Richards.

Shout, shout for joy, rejoice O earth, Hail, hail this glorious morn, Rejoice, rejoice in Jesus' birth, To

Figure 75. *Middlesex Harmony*, 2nd Ed., Page 8. (Courtesy of American Antiquarian Society)

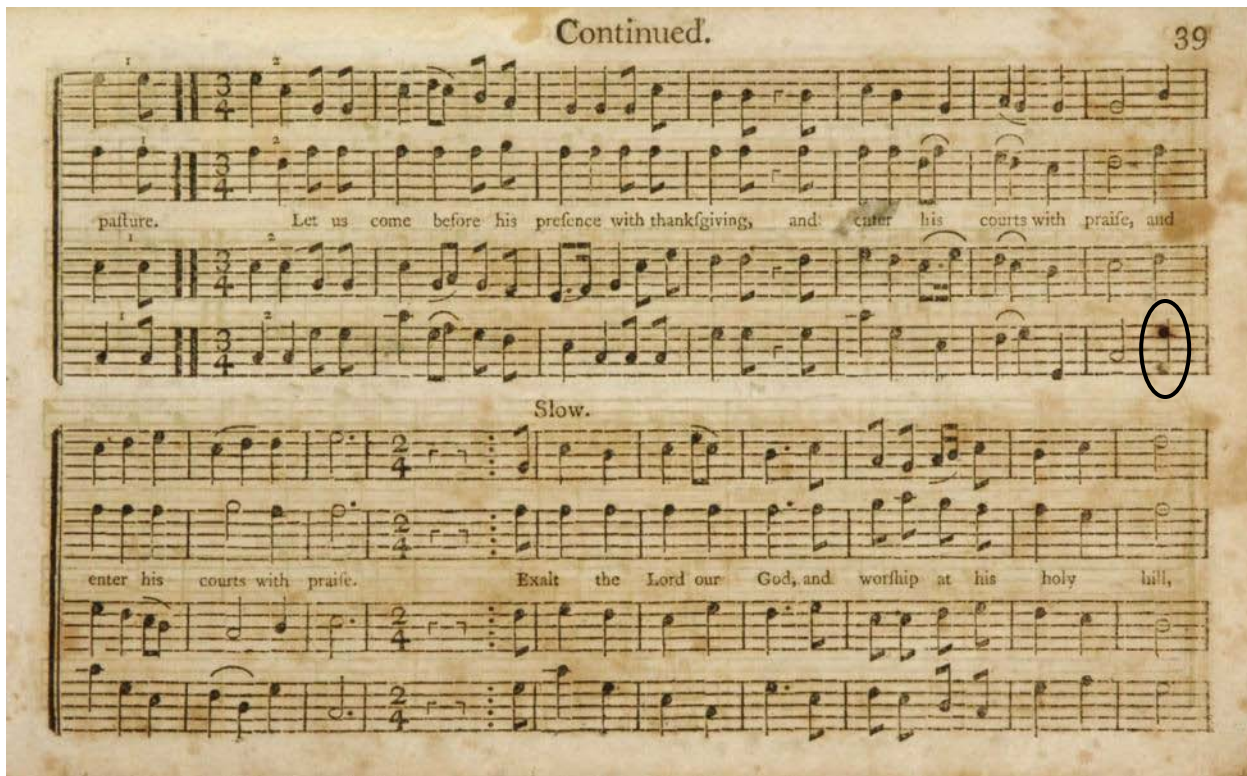


Figure 76. *Middlesex Harmony*, 1st Ed., Page 39. (Courtesy of Clements Library, Univ. of Michigan)

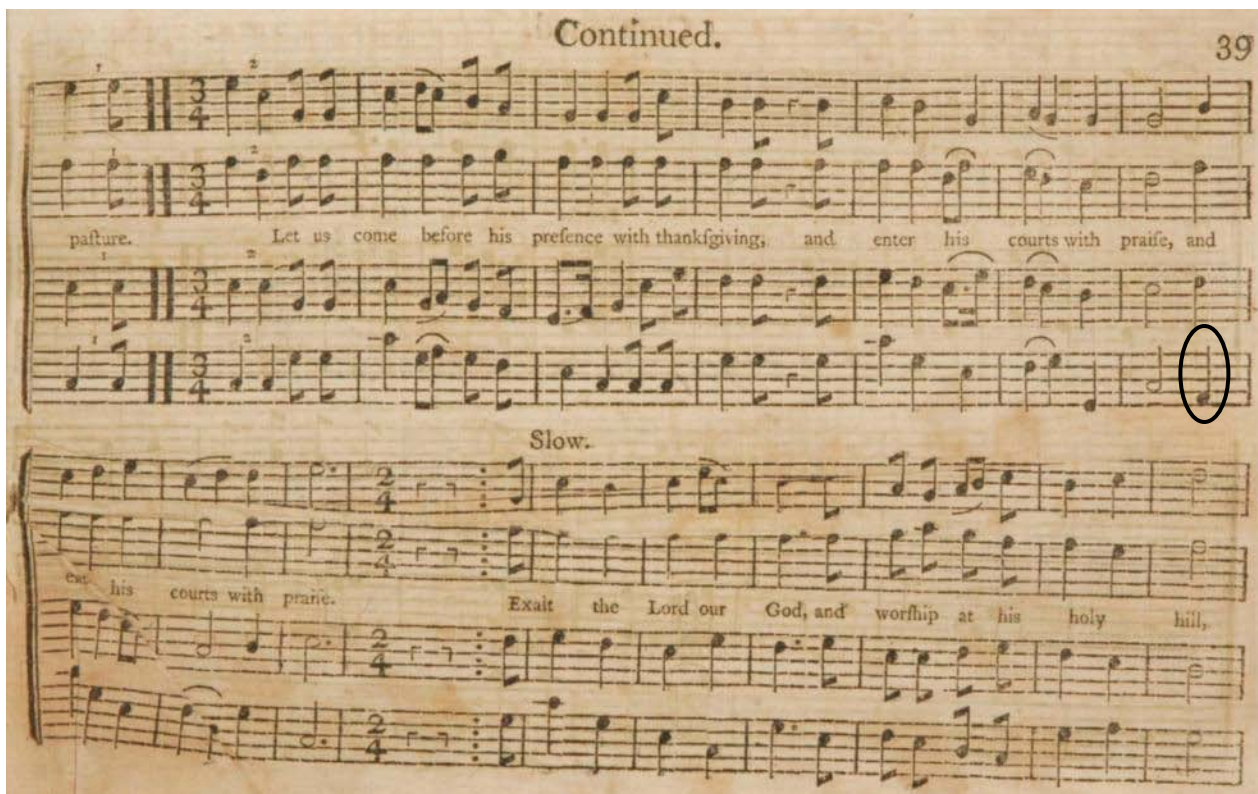


Figure 77. *Middlesex Harmony*, 2nd Ed., Page 39. (Courtesy of Clements Library, Univ. of Michigan)

At 110 pages, *Middlesex Harmony*, second edition is one of the longer single-composer tunebooks issued by Thomas,<sup>473</sup> and the last long one they issued; considering the market at the turn of the nineteenth century, its publication would seem to have been an unwise business decision. As Kroeger explains, by the early 1800s, “so many books were being issued by these printers [Thomas and Andrews, Ranlet, Wright, Mann, and Manning and Loring] that the market could not begin to absorb them, and the sales of even the familiar tunebooks were adversely affected.”<sup>474</sup> Because the second edition contained many new pieces in addition to a rudiments section, one wonders why it was not issued as a new title, without including the pieces from the first edition.<sup>475</sup> Perhaps both the publisher and composer thought that the new edition would be more desirable, i.e., more “complete” with all of Babcock’s music and the rudiments section. As Kroeger noted:

Thomas did this type of “recycling” at least once before with a tunebook. The *Modern Collection* (1800) was created as a composite of parts taken from the two volumes of Holden’s *Union Harmony* (primarily volume two) along with the seventh edition of the *Worcester Collection*.<sup>476</sup> This was apparently an effort on Thomas’ part to move the unselling copies of the second volume of *Union Harmony*, which contained mostly anthems.<sup>477</sup>

The high number of copies recorded in the publisher’s book-stock accounts, below, may indicate that the strategy was not successful.

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<sup>473</sup> The longer ones are Billings’ *Continental Harmony* (1794) with 199 pages; Holyoke’s *Harmonia Americana* (1791) with 119 pages; and Kimball’s *Rural Harmony* (1793), 111 pages. The shortest is Holden’s *American Harmony* (1792) with 32 pages. The length was likely a result of the compiler’s ability to pay for the printing.

<sup>474</sup> Kroeger, “Thomas as Music Publisher,” 331.

<sup>475</sup> Only the last piece from the first edition of *Middlesex Harmony*, DOXOLOGY, is omitted in the second edition.

<sup>476</sup> See Britton et al., *American Sacred Music Imprints*, entry 243 on pages 305-07 for a breakdown of the contents of the *Modern Collection*.

<sup>477</sup> Karl Kroeger, e-mail message to the author, 25 Mar. 2002.

The motivation with the *Modern Collection* was to make a more complete tunebook out of unsold copies of the second volume of *Union Harmony*, first edition, which appealed to a smaller audience because it consisted mainly of anthems. It seems logical that the same goals may have been at play if there were a significant number of the first edition of *Middlesex Harmony*: the wider variety of music and the rudiments section in the second edition likely would have appealed to a larger share of the tunebook market.<sup>478</sup>

#### 6.4 THE PUBLISHER'S BOOK-STOCK RECORDS<sup>479</sup>

Thomas and Andrews seemed to take inventory of their book stock primarily during the spring and summer months, when business was slower.<sup>480</sup> A few inventories taken in January also survive. While the records are incomplete, they do provide evidence of what titles and how many copies the publisher kept on hand at particular times.<sup>481</sup> Comparison of the data from successive inventories provides evidence suggesting whether an individual title was selling. Also, the stock accounts list deductions for titles that were not selling. These range from a “class 1” deduction or depreciation of value of five percent, to a “class 5” of twenty-five percent. Finally, the “accounts

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<sup>478</sup> Two other instances of “mongrel” editions by publishers exist. The first is Daniel Read’s *Columbian Harmonist*, 3rd edition, which was issued by Read and others (see Britton et al., *American Sacred Music Imprints, 1698-1810*, entries 418-427 on pages 501-513). The second is Solomon Howe’s *Psalm Singer’s Amusement and Young Man’s Instructive Companion*, which include ambiguous Babcock attributions (Ibid., entries 410-410B (pages 493-496) and 543-545D (pages 632-638), respectively).

<sup>479</sup> Isaiah Thomas Papers, Accounts of Stock (Boxes 8 and 10), American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA.

<sup>480</sup> As much as a century later, *The American Dictionary of Printing and Bookmaking* (New York: H. Lockwood, 1894), 302 advised that “An inventory of every printing-office should be taken either at the close of the year or on July 1, when business is the lightest.”

<sup>481</sup> The inventories show that *Middlesex Harmony*, 2nd edition, was also sold in the Worcester store as well as the one in Boston. Thomas also had stores in Walpole, NH, and Baltimore, MD, that stocked Thomas and Andrews publications. He also had exchange agreements with other publishers in New York and Philadelphia.

of stock” list the titles in categories such as “American octavos,” “unlettered books,” those sold “by the dozen,” and so on.<sup>482</sup> These records offer valuable evidence about the titles in the Thomas and Andrews catalog. Throughout this section, please refer to Appendix I, which is a transcription of the relevant stock records.

The first conclusion to be drawn from the Thomas inventories is that the first edition of *Middlesex Harmony* sold better than the second edition. This is not surprising, and one might expect that the sales of the first edition encouraged the publication of the second edition eight years later. Those who had purchased the first edition might not have wanted to buy the second because they already owned much of the content. Samuel Babcock’s most creative and original music is included in the first edition, and the reform movement, which was gaining momentum, may have acted to suppress sales of new single-composer collections. The difference in sales may also be attributable to the difference in audience for which the tunebooks were designed. As discussed earlier, the first edition was designed for singing societies while the second was marketed for larger audience including singing schools.

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<sup>482</sup> Octavos are printed on paper folded into eight leaves. The typical American octavo was 6 by 9 ½ inches. Unlettered books had no identifying markings (title, author, etc.) on the covers or spines, apparently titles were left unlettered to save time and money. Tunebooks, like school texts, were often sold “by the dozen” at a discounted price per tunebook because buyers often needed multiple copies. See *The American Dictionary of Printing and Bookmaking*, cited above.

In October 1798 Samuel Babcock placed an advertisement in the *Columbian Centinel*:

NOTICE

Gentlemen holding subscription papers, or proposals for printing an enlarged Edition of the *Middlesex Harmony*, are hereby requested to return the papers to Messrs. Thomas and Andrews, printers, Boston, or the subscriber at Watertown, by the last week in October next, at furthest. Those gentlemen who have books for sale in the first Edition, are hereby requested to return them immediately, or make payment for such as have been sold.

Watertown, Sept. 29

SAMUEL BABCOCK<sup>483</sup>

In his preface to the second edition of the *Middlesex Harmony*, Babcock mentions the “kind reception” that met the first edition which “has induced the Author to enlarge the work.” Babcock continues thus, “He [the author] most respectfully thanks the patrons of his former Work, and solicits their favours for the present.”<sup>484</sup>

The first edition of *Middlesex Harmony* is listed in the Thomas inventories of stock for: August 1799, May 12, 1801, and August 1802, with values of only \$16.71, \$21.20, and \$8.17, respectively. All three inventories are for the Boston store, and they represent 109 copies of the tunebook in 1799, 67 copies in 1801, and 56 copies in 1802.<sup>485</sup> The number of copies of *Middlesex Harmony* after its publication in 1795 declined over the years, indicating that it was selling. The tunebook was not listed in the inventories taken in April 1796 and May 1797, which most likely were for the Boston store as well. The absence of the book from these inventories may indicate that the store had exhausted its supply at those times.

These inventory numbers make sense in light of the subscription notice for the second edition. Babcock asked that copies be returned by October 1799, hence the increase in stock in

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<sup>483</sup> *Columbian Centinel*, 3 Oct. 1798.

<sup>484</sup> *Middlesex Harmony*, 2nd ed., [ii].

<sup>485</sup> See Appendix I for more detail.

1801. The second edition was published in January 1803, which explains by the drop in stock in 1802 if those copies were used in creating the second edition.

Unfortunately, the records for the years following the publication of the second edition of *Middlesex Harmony* in 1803 are spotty at best. There are no surviving inventories for the Boston store for 1803-1808, nor are there records for 1810, 1812, or 1816. Records including one or both editions are extant for 1811, 1814, 1815, 1817, and 1818. Accounts of stock for 1809 and 1813 exist, but curiously do not include either edition of *Middlesex Harmony*.

While it is unknown how well the second edition of *Middlesex Harmony* sold in the first eight years after its publication, sales had clearly dropped off almost entirely by 1811. Copies of the first edition were also not selling after 1811. Undoubtedly, sales were adversely affected by the saturation of the market beginning around 1800 and the growth of the reform movement from 1810 on.<sup>486</sup> In May 1811, Thomas and Andrews had 134 copies (valued at \$100.50) of “Babcock’s Musick” in their unlettered book stock; this is most likely *Middlesex Harmony*, second edition. These copies remain in the inventories in 1814 and 1815. Between 1815 and 1817, however, the numbers show that about twelve copies had sold. The remaining 122 copies (valued at \$91.50) are still present in the 1818 inventory, suggesting that the sales potential of the second edition of *Middlesex Harmony* was effectively exhausted.

Without inventory records between 1803 and 1811, the period right after the publication of the second edition of *Middlesex Harmony*, it is difficult to assess its popularity through the number of copies sold. Samuel Babcock sold copies of his tunebook himself, and Thomas had

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<sup>486</sup> See Kroeger on the market ca. 1800 in “Isaiah Thomas,” 331. Print run sizes for textbooks were apparently much higher than for other types of popular books. See the *American Dictionary of Printing and Bookmaking*, s.v. “Edition.”

other bookstores and exchange agreements with other publishers. There are no records documenting the totality of these sales.

However, one can assume that it sold best right in the years immediately following its publication in 1803. Even into the years approaching 1820, however, when sales were virtually at a standstill, Thomas and Andrews had significantly more copies of several other tunebooks in stock, suggesting that Babcock's second edition was a relatively good seller at a time when the market was saturated with tunebooks.

The Thomas stock accounts would be much more telling if we knew the size of the two editions of *Middlesex Harmony*, but unfortunately we do not. No extant contracts, letters, or more detailed records have been located. In fact, very little basic work has been done in this area. As Crawford notes, "A thorough investigation of the tunebooks as an object of trade" remains undone.<sup>487</sup> In lieu of this, however, we have the best educated guesses of both Crawford and Kroeger, which suggest fairly large editions. Crawford has suggested that Andrew Laws's press runs were an average of 2,000 to 3,000, and Kroeger has cited evidence that the editions for the *Worcester Collection* published by Thomas and Andrews ran between 1,000 and 4,000 copies.<sup>488</sup> The Thomas accounts provide a few clues as well. For example, 1,113 copies of the *Bridgewater Collection* are listed in the 1814 records, and the 1815 accounts show 1,825 copies of Holden's *Union Harmony*, vol. 1. These numbers indicate that the size of these editions were higher than 1,000 copies. Kroeger has postulated that the editions of *Middlesex Harmony* were probably about 1,000 copies.<sup>489</sup>

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<sup>487</sup> Britton et al., *American Sacred Music Imprints*, 44.

<sup>488</sup> Crawford, *Andrew Law, American Psalmist*, 215n, 220, 237n; and Kroeger, "Worcester Collection," 72n, 104, 133, and 140.

<sup>489</sup> Karl Kroeger, e-mail message to the author, 26 Mar. 2002.



An edition of 1,000 copies seems reasonable. Thomas certainly would not have expected *Middlesex Harmony* or any of the single-composer tunebooks to sell as well as the *Worcester Collection*. On the other hand, after the expense of setting the type for the tunebook, it would also make good business sense to print more copies than the minimum thought needed beyond what the compiler could pay for. As Crawford explains, “Since typesetting was a considerable part of the cost, the larger the press run, the more cheaply a copy of a book could be produced . . . [T]he economic advantage of typographical printing lay in volume.”<sup>490</sup>

Using the estimate that the editions were 1,000, it is possible to use the inventory figures to project possible sales of each edition of *Middlesex Harmony* during the years right after publication. While this is largely guesswork, it represents one plausible scenario.

*Middlesex Harmony*, second edition was published in January 1803. The inventories for 1818 show just over 500 copies remaining in all categories. Again assuming the size of the edition was 1,000 copies, then only half of the edition sold. If about 500 copies did sell between 1803 and 1818, again, most probably moved between 1803 and 1805. The inventories suggest that only about 12 copies sold after May 1815.

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<sup>490</sup> Britton et al., *American Sacred Music Imprints*, 37.

## 6.5 MOST-OFTEN PRINTED TITLES

A discussion of which pieces by Lemuel Babcock and Samuel Babcock were most frequently printed is in order. Appendix J lists every Babcock title and where it appeared in print; Appendix K lists every tunebook and hymnal in which a Babcock composition was printed.<sup>491</sup>

One of the ambiguous attributions, SPRINGFIELD, is the most frequently printed. It appeared 27 times from 1779 through 1831. This is probably more a result of it being the first composition attributed to “Babcock” published before the first copyright law in 1790 and its unusual text meter, rather than a reflection of it being held in high esteem.<sup>492</sup> Its number of printings is below that of the core repertory as defined by Crawford.<sup>493</sup> However, Daniel Jones has pointed out that most of the core-repertory pieces were first published before copyright was taken seriously by publishers in 1790. His comparison of the number of printings of music by Elias Mann (a contemporary of Samuel Babcock) is relevant.<sup>494</sup> Only five of the 101 core repertory titles were first published after 1790. Clearly it is no coincidence that SPRINGFIELD is the only one of the pieces in this study that was first printed *before* 1790.

The meter of SPRINGFIELD, 7.6.7.6.7.7.8.6, was only set this one time according to the *Hymn Tune Index*.<sup>495</sup> Using the Billings tune AMHERST from *Singing Master’s Assistant* (1778-1786) as an example, Richard Crawford has explained the need for tunebooks to include music

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<sup>491</sup> While bibliographic control of eighteenth-century tunebooks is excellent because of *American Sacred Music Imprints* and the *Hymn Tune Index*, with coverage through 1810 and 1820, respectively, indexing in the nineteenth-century is sorely lacking after 1820. I have searched for printings of these pieces after 1820 in the collections available to me.

<sup>492</sup> Andrew Law’s *Select Harmony*, in which it first appeared, was a source of tunes for many compilers.

<sup>493</sup> The lowest number of printings for a core repertory pieces is 44, while the highest is 226.

<sup>494</sup> See Daniel Jones, “Early American Psalmody and the Core Repertory: A Perspective,” in *Vistas of American Music*, ed. Susan Porter and John Graziano (Warren, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 1999), 39-62.

<sup>495</sup> Temperley, *Hymn Tune Index*, 2:324.

for unusual meters, in this case Hallelujah Meter. Printed seventy-four times, “AMHERST owed its circulation chiefly to its metrical structure.”<sup>496</sup> Without it, the tunebook would be viewed as incomplete, because there were a few popular hymns that were cast in that meter. The goal of completeness among compilers may have contributed to the printings of SPRINGFIELD as well.

The other ambiguous tunes and the two by Lemuel Babcock were not frequently printed. Ten of Samuel Babcock’s pieces, however, were printed five or more times. Even being printed twice is significant according to Richard Crawford. “It is a striking fact that, of approximately 7,500 different sacred compositions printed in America before 1811, roughly two-thirds appeared only once.”<sup>497</sup> The most frequently printed Samuel Babcock piece is ELIM (13 times). The ten compositions of Samuel Babcock that appeared at least five times support Dan Jones’s hypothesis, because half were first published in 1795. The others were first published between 1800 and 1803. The ten pieces represent a good cross section of forms and meters. Overall the group is a fair representation of Samuel Babcock’s music.

## 6.6 SUMMARY

Both Samuel Babcock and Lemuel Babcock meet Cooke’s criterion for the archetypal psalmist that their music not be inordinately popular; his criterion that the representative psalmist not be too prolific (e.g., not as prolific as William Billings) is best met by Samuel Babcock. Cooke suggested that “perhaps one tunebook” is appropriate; Samuel Babcock compiled one tunebook in two editions, and the second edition includes the recycled remainders of the first edition. The

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<sup>496</sup> Crawford, “Billings and American Psalmody, 139.

<sup>497</sup> Britton et al., *American Sacred Music Imprints*, 38-39.

study of the dissemination of their compositions demonstrates that Samuel Babcock's contacts for publication were exclusively in Boston and were primarily members of his own generation; Lemuel Babcock's tunes were published in central Massachusetts by psalmodists from his (older) generation. The most frequently published piece is one of the ambiguous attributions. The appearance of these ambiguous attributions in a manuscript and in a tunebook associated with Lemuel Babcock supports the hypothesis that these works were composed by Lemuel rather than Samuel Babcock. Finally, the examination of book stocks and numbers of printings of the Babcock's music seems to support other scholars' conclusions about the negative impact of the 1790 copyright law on psalmody distribution in general.

## 7.0 CONCLUSION

Samuel Babcock is an archetypal New England psalmist of the period between 1790 and 1810. His biography and compositions almost perfectly match Nym Cooke's criteria for the Everyman psalmist: someone not as exceptional as William Billings, the only psalmist who has achieved iconic status among musicologists and therefore has come somewhat misleadingly to represent the entire period (1720-1820). While Billings's life and many musical accomplishments deserve the attention they have received, the music scholars and students have also needed a deeper understanding of the role of the average musician who was active as a composer, singer, and singing master during the period.

Cooke's criteria include ten requirements based upon his broad study of psalmists:<sup>498</sup>

- The man spent "all or most of his life in small New England towns," though he was free to move about;
- A Congregationalist;
- Large family;
- Income derived "only partly from teaching and perhaps publishing sacred music" and more from "farming, common-school teaching, a craft, a trade, or (very likely) a combination of occupations";

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<sup>498</sup> Cooke, "William Billings," 61.

- Held “a few public offices” or stood out “in his community for his leadership, his unusual literacy, or both”;
- “Not . . . too prolific as a composer or compiler—perhaps several dozen pieces, one tunebook”;
- “The music itself will be plain, sturdy, often in the minor mode; it may have a hint of folksong influence; and it will certainly include some fudging”;
- His music should not “attain an inordinate level of popularity”;
- Minimum “settings of anything but the most standard kinds of sacred texts: Isaac Watts’s hymns and Psalm versifications . . . preferred as text sources.”
- It will include, “No patriotic pieces, except perhaps a dirge on the death of George Washington; no musical jokes; perhaps one piece on the Nativity.”

This study documents Samuel Babcock’s life and works, which match the biographical, compositional, and reception-based considerations in Cooke’s criteria for the typical psalmodist. The only ways in which he might be seen as deviating slightly from Cooke’s hypothetical model is in having selected a broader range of texts and composing more Christmas music than Cooke suggested (three pieces rather than one). Despite selecting a wide range of sacred poetry to set to music, Babcock still relied most heavily upon the writings of Isaac Watts. The minor deviations are most likely a result of the period in which Babcock was active. The number of texts available to psalmodists working at the end of the eighteenth century was expanding along with the growth of new Protestant denominations. Acceptance of Christmas celebrations in these churches was also becoming more wide-spread. Samuel Babcock meets Cooke’s criteria for composing several dozen pieces and compiling a tunebook of his own music. That tunebook was published in a

second, expanded edition; however the second edition incorporated the unsold remainders of the first edition, and thus was not a totally new compilation.

Careful consideration of Cooke's criteria has suggested some slight modifications may be helpful in identifying other typical psalmodists. Some of the negative elements, perhaps intended to eliminate Billings, might be better replaced with positive criteria. For example, since Billings was probably the only composer to have written musical jokes and one of a small group who wrote overtly patriotic music, it might be more useful to posit that the typical psalmodist wrote exclusively serious, sacred music with the exception of some occasional pieces. As a group, psalmodists seem to have been patriotic. While only about ten have been known to write overtly patriotic music, others showed their patriotism by fighting in the Revolution and/or the War of 1812. Cooke's criteria do a fine job of balancing the conflicting goals of someone not too popular yet with enough documented musical activities and published music to make study possible. Perhaps that was his motivation behind suggesting particular quantities of music. Suggesting that the psalmodist not have very many tunes in the Core Repertory might be an objective alternative to the more subjective "not inordinately popular."

This study suggests that it may be helpful to add the following considerations. Did the psalmodist fight in the Revolutionary War or the War of 1812? Did he teach singing schools? Was he known locally as a fine singer? Was he active as part of a network of composers, compilers, and publishers? Did that network include familial relationships? Was he active during the period from 1790 to 1810, when the publication of American psalmody reached its peak?

More attention to musical style would also be useful. However, as Richard Crawford has complained, an overall study of the musical style of the First New England School remains undone. He suggests that "when a close study of the sacred style of 18<sup>th</sup>-century New England is

undertaken, stylistic diversity is likely to be one of its chief topics.”<sup>499</sup> For instance, was Samuel Babcock’s integration of some of the stylistic fingerprints of the Methodist style unusual? More study of the reactions of psalmody to the reform of sacred music during the period from 1795 through 1810 is needed to answer this question. Variations in response to the burgeoning reform movement may be the norm, with more than one form of response being typical. This study of Methodist influence on Samuel Babcock raises the question about the relationship between sacred and secular styles during the period.

The life and music of Samuel Babcock’s cousin Lemuel have been used as an illustrative point of departure throughout this study. Many of the differences between the two result from their separation by age and location. Lemuel Babcock was born in 1748, twelve years before Samuel. This placed him within William Billings’s generation of psalmody, and indeed he was associated with this group. His music was published in central Massachusetts and he taught at least one singing school there. Lemuel Babcock’s life is a match with Cooke’s criteria, but he simply does not have enough surviving music to meet the publication criteria for a typical psalmody. Only two confirmed pieces by Lemuel have been identified, although this dissertation finds that the ambiguous Babcock attributions are most likely by him, and additional research may confirm this. Even so, the number of Lemuel’s tunes would be considerably smaller than Cooke suggests. Still, Lemuel Babcock may be representative of more typical psalmody in the generation of William Billings.

Part II of this dissertation is a critical edition of the works by Samuel Babcock, Lemuel Babcock, and the pieces with ambiguous “Babcock” attributions. The five works with the unclear attributions gave rise to the study of Lemuel Babcock in an effort to determine their

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<sup>499</sup> *New Grove Dictionary of American Music*, s.v. “Psalmody, 3: Musical Style,” by Richard Crawford.



authorship. The creation of authoritative versions of the music in this edition was instrumental to this study.

In addition to confirming that the ambiguous attributions are by Lemuel Babcock, several other projects suggest themselves. The first is a full biography of Samuel Babcock, a typical New England psalmist. Another is a study devoted to all the musical Babcocks, including piano makers Alpheus and Lewis. Further exploration of the number and degree of genealogical relationships between psalmists is another. In addition to the relationships explored here, Lemuel Babcock was also distantly related to Supply Belcher by marriage. How complex and wide-ranging is the nexus of family relationships among psalmists, and how significant were such relationships in their musical activities?

Several bibliographical projects would advance the study of early American sacred music. One would be an inventory of the location and contents of manuscript tunebooks. If the information gleaned from the two manuscripts discussed here is any indication, such a study could be very insightful. Another is an extension of both the *Hymn Tune Index* and *American Sacred Music Imprints* further into the nineteenth century. Such a project is currently proposed by Temperley but still in its infancy. This would assist with studies of the long-term reception of the repertory, for example in retrospective collections.

In the area of music printing and publishing, a study of additional mongrel tunebook editions would give greater insight into the practice of reusing material already published. Additional composite tunebooks have been identified, but they have not been explored. This practice may help illustrate the market for sacred music at the turn of the nineteenth century.

Samuel Babcock is an excellent example, an archetypal psalmist. Between working as a hatter, being a husband and father, fighting in two wars, and being a good citizen, he sang, led

his church choir, taught singing schools, and composed music. Praising God through sacred song was an integral part of his religious life in addition to being a creative musical outlet. Perhaps this is the most typical characteristic of all psalmodists.

The enhancement of sacred texts through the music he composed was clearly an important undertaking for Samuel Babcock. He took care with both the poetry he selected and the ways that he set it to music. The following excerpt from Psalm 34 was published on the title page of the first edition of *Middlesex Harmony* and also was set to music in the tune STRATTON: “O magnify the Lord with me and let us exalt his name together.” The psalm-singer’s invitation sums up the wish and motivation behind Samuel Babcock’s music.

## **APPENDIX A**

### **COMPOSITIONS BY SAMUEL BABCOCK, LEMUEL BABCOCK, AND AMBIGUOUS BABCOCK ATTRIBUTIONS**

For a list to the tunebook abbreviations used in all appendices, please refer to Appendix B.

### A.1 COMPOSITIONS BY SAMUEL BABCOCK

Tune Name	Length	Key	Type	Poetic Meter	Text Author	Text Source
ANDOVER	45 m.	e	Plain Tune	P.M. [7.6.7.6.7.8.7.6]	John Relly	Boston First Universal
ASHFORD	110 m.	D	Set Piece	P.M. [7.7.7.7]	John Newton	Newton, <i>Olney</i>
AUSPICIOUS MORN	41 m.	D	Set Piece	C.M.	Anna Barbauld	Barbauld, <i>Poems</i>
BABEL	21 m.	a	Tune with Extension	P.M. [7.7.7.7.7]	Thomas Carew	Carew, <i>Poems</i>
CALEDONIA	87 m.	D	Set Piece	P.M. [7.7.7.7]	John Newton	Newton, <i>Olney</i>
CAMBRIDGE	118 m.	D	Set Piece	L.M.	Tate and Brady	<i>New Version</i> Psalm 100
CAMBRIDGE [II]	118 m.	D	Set Piece	L.M.	Isaac Watts	Watts, <i>Psalms</i> 97i
CANA	24 m.	F	Plain Tune	P.M. [7.7.7.7]	Anna Barbauld	Belknap, <i>Poetry</i>
CHARITY	64 m.	e	Set Piece	L.M.	Isaac Watts	Watts, <i>Hymns</i> I No. 134
CHINA	25 m.	D	Plain Tune	L.M.	Isaac Watts	Watts, <i>Hymns</i> II No. 1
CHRISTIAN'S HOPE	49 m.	a	Set Piece	C.M.	Isaac Watts	Watts, <i>Hymns</i> I No. 18
CHRISTMAS	74 m.	D	Set Piece	C.M.	George Richards	Boston First Universal
Comfort Ye, My People	189 m.	D	Anthem	—	—	Bible, Isaiah 40
CONSECRATION	42 m.	C	Set Piece	P.M. [8.8.6.8.8.14]	Isaac Watts	Watts, <i>Horae</i>

Tune Name	Length	Key	Type	Poetic Meter	Text Author	Text Source
CRETE	47 m.	a	Tune with Extension	P.M. [8.8.8.8.8.8]	Tate and Brady	<i>New Version</i> Psalm 120
CRUCIFIXION	42 m.	a	Tune with Extension	L.M.	Isaac Watts	Watts, <i>Psalms</i> 22
DELAWARE	60 m.	D	Set Piece	C.M.	Isaac Watts	Watts, <i>Horae</i>
DISSOLUTION	52 m.	e	Tune with Extension	C.M.	Isaac Watts	Watts, <i>Hymns</i> II No. 28
DORCHESTER	51 m.	e	Fuging Tune	L.M.	Isaac Watts	Watts, <i>Hymns</i> II No. 122
DOXOLOGY	22 m.	D	Plain Tune	—	—	Bible, I Timothy 1:17
Elegant Tribute	—	—	Occasional Piece	P.M. [10.10.10.10.10.10. 10.10.10.10.11.11]	Richard Rosewell Eliot	<i>Columbian Centinel</i>
ELEVATION	25 m.	C	Fuging Tune	S.M.	Isaac Watts	Watts, <i>Hymns</i> II No. 104
ELIM	24 m.	G	Plain Tune	P.M. [7.7.7.7]	James Merrick	Belknap, <i>Poetry</i>
ELIM [II]	24 m.	G	Plain Tune	L.M.	James Merrick	Unlocated
EPHRATAH	25 m.	G	Plain Tune	C.M.	Nahum Tate	Worcester, <i>Hymns</i>
FLANDERS	21 m.	d	Tune with Extension	C.M.	Tate and Brady	<i>New Version</i> Psalm 11
FLORENCE	37 m.	F	Tune with Extension	H.M.	Isaac Watts	Watts, <i>Hymns</i> I No. 148
GIHON	22 m.	G	Plain Tune	P.M. [6.6.8.6.6.8]	Isaac Watts	Watts, <i>Psalms</i> 93ii
GRATITUDE	25 m.	a	Fuging Tune	C.M.	Isaac Watts	Watts, <i>Psalms</i> 116ii
HAMBURG	59 m.	E <sup>b</sup>	Set Piece	L.M.	Isaac Watts	Watts, <i>Horae</i>

<b>Tune Name</b>	<b>Length</b>	<b>Key</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Poetic Meter</b>	<b>Text Author</b>	<b>Text Source</b>
HARVARD	44 m.	C	Set Piece	P.M. [8.8.8.8.8.8]	Isaac Watts	Watts, <i>Psalms</i> 147
HOREB	33 m.	d	Tune with Extension	P.M. [7.7.7.7.7.7]	Charles Wesley	Wesley, <i>Hymns</i>
HUMILITY	21 m.	a	Plain Tune	C.M.	Isaac Watts	Watts, <i>Psalms</i> 39ii
IMMANUEL	48 m.	G	Tune with Extension	P.M. [8.7.8.7]	John Bakewell	Belknap, <i>Poetry</i>
INTERCESSION	48 m.	e	Set Piece	L.M.	Isaac Watts	Watts, <i>Horae</i>
LEXINGTON	25 m.	e	Plain Tune	C.M.	Philip Doddridge	Watts, <i>Appendix</i>
LIMA	25 m.	G	Plain Tune	S.M.	Isaac Watts	Watts, <i>Hymns</i> I No. 51
Lord, Thou Hast Been Our Dwelling Place	113 m.	a	Anthem	—	—	Bible, Psalm 90
LUBEC	32 m.	C	Fuging Tune	S.M.	Isaac Watts	Watts, <i>Hymns</i> III No. 9
MEDFORD	17 m.	D	Tune with Extension	S.M.	Isaac Watts	Watts, <i>Psalms</i> 118
MENOTOMY	51 m.	D	Set Piece	L.M.	Anne Steele	Belknap, <i>Poetry</i>
MILTON	82 m.	F	Set Piece	L.M.	Isaac Watts	Watts, <i>Psalms</i> 17
MINORCA	19 m.	b	Plain Tune	P.M. [8.8.6.8.8.6]	Anonymous	Belknap, <i>Poetry</i>
MORNING HYMN	37 m.	E <sup>b</sup>	Plain Tune	C.M.	Isaac Watts	Watts, <i>Hymns</i> II No. 6
MORNING HYMN [II]	44 m.	E	Plain Tune	C.M.	Isaac Watts	Watts, <i>Hymns</i> II No. 6
NATIVITY	32 m.	D	Plain Tune	C.M.	Isaac Watts	Watts, <i>Horae</i>
NEEDHAM	25 m.	F	Set Piece	P.M. [10.11.10.11]	John Gambold	Methodist Episcopal
NEWTON	26 m.	C	Plain Tune	C.M.	Philip Doddridge	Watts, <i>Appendix</i>

Tune Name	Length	Key	Type	Poetic Meter	Text Author	Text Source
NORFOLK	46 m.	A	Set Piece	L.M.	Isaac Watts	Watts, <i>Hymns</i> II No. 43
NORTH-KINGSTON	44 m.	D	Plain Tune	C.M.	Isaac Watts	Watts, <i>Psalms</i> 95
O Come, Let Us Sing Unto The Lord	155 m.	C	Anthem	—	—	Bible, Psalms 95, 99, and 100
OMICRON	32 m.	F	Plain Tune	P.M. [8.7.8.7.7.7]	John Newton	Newton, <i>Olney</i>
PALMER	25 m.	C	Fuging Tune	L.M.	Isaac Watts	Watts, <i>Psalms</i> 63
PALMYRA	127 m.	e	Set Piece	L.M.	Isaac Watts	Watts, <i>Hymns</i> III No. 7
PLACENTIA	23 m.	F	Plain Tune	P.M. [8.8.8.8.8.8.8.8]	John Newton	Newton, <i>Olney</i>
POMFRET	9 m.	G	Plain Tune	L.M.	Isaac Watts	Watts, <i>Hymns</i> II No. 131
PRETORIUM	115 m.	e	Set Piece	C.M.	Isaac Watts	Watts, <i>Hymns</i> II No. 95
QUINCY	43 m.	G	Plain Tune	P.M. [10.10.10.10.11.11]	Isaac Watts	Watts, <i>Psalms</i> 50ii
RAMA	18 m.	a	Plain Tune	L.M.	Samuel Medley	Unlocated
RANDOLPH	35 m.	C	Plain Tune	P.M. [8.8.8.8.8.8]	Isaac Watts	Watts, <i>Psalms</i> 148
Remember Now Thy Creator	113 m.	a	Anthem	—	—	Bible, Ecclesiastes 12
RESIGNATION	51 m.	d	Set Piece	C.M.	Samuel Wesley, Sr.	Wesley, <i>Collection</i>
RESOLUTION	25 m.	a	Fuging Tune	S.M.	Isaac Watts	Watts, <i>Psalms</i> 55
DECISION [RESOLUTION II]	25 m.	a	Fuging Tune	S.M.	Philip Doddridge	Rippon, <i>Selection</i>
ROXBURY	20 m.	F	Plain Tune	P.M. [6.6.6.6.8.8]	Anonymous	Unlocated

Tune Name	Length	Key	Type	Poetic Meter	Text Author	Text Source
SABBATH	37 m.	C	Tune with Extension	L.M.	Philip Doddridge	Belknap, <i>Poetry</i>
SMYRNA	75 m.	D, d, D	Set Piece	L.M.	Isaac Watts	Watts, <i>Hymns</i> II No. 50
Song for the Anniversary of St. John the Baptist	49 m.	G	Occasional Piece	P.M. [11.12.11.12.12.12]	Thaddeus Mason Harris	MH2
SPRING	12 m.	G	Plain Tune	P.M. [8.8.8.8]	Anonymous	Belknap, <i>Poetry</i>
STOW	21 m.	G	Tune with Extension	P.M. [5.5.5.5.6.5.6.5]	John Newton	Newton, <i>Olney</i>
STRATTON	28 m.	E <sup>b</sup>	Tune with Extension	C.M.	Tate and Brady	<i>New Version</i> Psalm 34
SUNDAY	28 m.	G	Fuging Tune	C.M.	Tate and Brady	<i>New Version</i> Psalm 118
TRIUMPH	23 m.	C	Plain Tune	H.M.	Elizabeth Scott	Leavitt, <i>Seamen's</i>
TRURO	21 m.	D	Tune with Extension	P.M. [5.5.5.5.6.5.6.5]	Tate and Brady	<i>New Version</i> Psalm 149
VERNON	23 m.	G	Tune with Extension	L.M.	Isaac Watts	Watts, <i>Psalms</i> 45i
VIENNA	29 m.	E <sup>b</sup>	Fuging Tune	H.M.	Tate and Brady	<i>New Version</i> Psalm 148
WALTHAM	32 m.	D	Plain Tune	L.M.	Isaac Watts	Watts, <i>Hymns</i> I No. 137
WATERTOWN	56 m.	F	Set Piece	C.M.	John Newton	Newton, <i>Olney</i>
WESTON	28 m.	b	Plain Tune	S.M.	Isaac Watts	Watts, <i>Horae</i>
WILMINGTON	18 m.	e	Tune with Extension	C.M.	Isaac Watts	Watts, <i>Hymns</i> I No. 5



## A.2 COMPOSITIONS BY LEMUEL BABCOCK

<b>Tune Name</b>	<b>Length</b>	<b>Key</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Poetic Meter</b>	<b>Text Author</b>	<b>Text Source</b>
EUPHRATES	17 m.	d	Plain Tune	L.M.	Tate and Brady	<i>New Version Psalm 137</i>
SOLITUDE	13 m.	e	Plain Tune	L.M.	Isaac Watts	<i>Watts, Horae</i>

## A.3 AMBIGUOUS BABCOCK ATTRIBUTIONS

<b>Tune Name</b>	<b>Length</b>	<b>Key</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Poetic Meter</b>	<b>Text Author</b>	<b>Text Source</b>
ADMIRATION	22 m.	D, d	Fuging Tune	L.M.	Isaac Watts	<i>Watts, Horae</i>
ADMONITION [ADMIRATION II]	22 m.	d	Fuging Tune	L.M.	Isaac Watts	<i>Watts, Horae</i>
SPRINGFIELD	32 m.	b	Plain Tune	P.M. [7.6.7.6.7.7.8.6]	Charles Wesley	<i>Wesley, Hymns</i>
SPRINGFIELD [II]	32 m.	b	Plain Tune	P.M. [7.6.7.6.7.7.8.6]	Charles Wesley	<i>Wesley, Hymns</i>
WARREN	41 m.	a	Fuging Tune	L.M.	Thomas Flatman	<i>MacKenzie, Selection</i>
WESTBOROUGH	46 m.	C, c	Fuging Tune	C.M.	Isaac Watts	<i>Watts, Hymns II No. 62</i>
WRENTHAM	40 m.	F	Fuging Tune	L.M.	Anonymous	CM

## APPENDIX B

### ABBREVIATIONS AND SHORT TITLES

These abbreviations and short titles are used throughout the dissertation.

Abbreviation	Citation
AC	Huntington, Jonathan. <i>Albany Collection Of Sacred Harmony</i> . Albany, NY: A. Wright, 1800.
AHa	_____. <i>Apollo Harmony</i> . Northampton, MA: H. Graves, 1807.
AHb	_____. <i>Apollo Harmony</i> . Northampton, MA: H. Graves, [1808].
AMH1	Shumway, Nehemiah. <i>American Harmony</i> . Philadelphia: J. M’Culloch, 1793.
AMH2	_____. <i>American Harmony</i> . 2nd ed. Philadelphia: J. M’Culloch, 1801.
AN	Marshall, Leonard. <i>Antiquarian: A Collection of the Most Popular and Useful Ancient Church Music</i> . . . Boston: C.H. Keith, 1849.
Barbauld, <i>Poems</i>	Barbauld, Anna. <i>Poems</i> . London: Printed for J. Johnson, 1773.
Belknap, <i>Poetry</i>	Belknap, Jeremy. <i>Sacred Poetry: Consisting of Psalms and Hymns</i> . Boston: Thomas Wells, 1820.
BH1	Lewis, Freeman. <i>Beauties of Harmony</i> . Pittsburgh: Cramer, Spear & Eichbaum, 1814.

Abbreviation	Citation
BH2	_____. <i>Beauties of Harmony</i> . 2nd ed. Pittsburgh: Cramer, Spear & Eichbaum, 1816.
BHC	Copeland, Daniel. <i>Supplement to the Billings and Holden Collection of Ancient Psalmody</i> . Boston: Kidder & Wright, 1838.
Bible	<i>Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments</i> . Boston: Thomas and Andrews, 1814.
Boston First Universal	<i>Psalms, Hymns and Spiritual Songs: Selected and Original, Designed for the Use of the Church Universal</i> . Boston: Thomas and Andrews, 1792.
Carew, <i>Poems</i>	Carew, Thomas. <i>The Poems and Masque of Thomas Carew</i> . Edited by Joseph W. Ebsworth. London: Reeves and Turner, 1893.
CC	Sweetser, Benjamin. <i>Cumberland Collection of Church Music: Being a Selection of the Best Psalm and Hymn Tunes, Anthems, Fancy Pieces, &amp; from European and American Authors</i> . Portland, ME: W. Hyde, 1839.
CH	Stone, Joseph, and Abraham Wood. <i>Columbian Harmony</i> . [Worcester, MA, 1793].
CHS	Sandford, E., and J[ohn] Rhea. <i>Columbian Harmony</i> . Baltimore: S. J. Adams, 1793.
CHT3	Read, Daniel. <i>Columbian Harmonist</i> . 3rd ed. Dedham, MA: H. Mann, 1806.
CM	Munden, John. <i>Church Music, Vol. 1st</i> . London: J. Bland, [1788].
<i>Columbia Centinel</i>	"Further Respectful Testimonials Sacred to George Washington, Deceased: Funeral Honors at Watertown." <i>Columbia Centinel</i> , 8 January 1800.
CRH	Holyoke, Samuel. <i>Christian Harmonist</i> . Salem: J. Cushing, 1804.
DH1	Fobes, Azariah. <i>Delaware Harmony</i> . Philadelphia: W. M'Culloch, 1809.

Abbreviation	Citation
DH2	_____. <i>Delaware Harmony</i> . 2nd ed. Philadelphia: W. M'Culloch, 1814.
ECH2	Woodward, Charles. <i>Ecclesiae Harmonia: a Selection of Sacred Music</i> . 2nd ed. Philadelphia: W.W. Woodward, 1809.
EH	Belknap, Daniel. <i>Evangelical Harmony</i> . Boston: Thomas and Andrews, 1800.
EI	Little, William, and William Smith. <i>Easy Instructor, or, A New Method of Teaching Sacred Harmony</i> . [Philadelphia: W. Little and W. Smith, 1801].
ES2	Adams, Benoni. <i>Evening Star</i> . 2nd ed. Utica, NY: W. Williams, 1820.
FH	[Norman, John?]. <i>Federal Harmony</i> . Boston: [J. Norman, 1788].
HH	French, Jacob. <i>Harmony of Harmony</i> . Northampton, MA: A. Wright, 1802.
JTH	Johnson, Alexander. <i>Johnson's Tennessee Harmony</i> . Cincinnati: Morgan, Lodge & Co., 1818.
KH	Metcalf, Samuel. <i>Kentucky Harmonist</i> . Cincinnati: Morgan, Lodge and Co., 1818.
Leavitt, <i>Seamen's</i>	Leavitt, Joshua. <i>Seamen's Devotional Assistant and Mariners' Hymns</i> . New York: American Seamen's Friend Society, 1838.
MacKenzie, <i>Selection</i>	MacKenzie, John. <i>A Choice Selection of Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs</i> . Woodstock, VT: D. Watson, 1819.
MAH1	<i>Massachusetts Harmony</i> . Boston: J. Norman, [1784].
MAH2	<i>Massachusetts Harmony</i> . [2nd ed.]. Boston: J. Norman, [1785].
MC	[Holden, Oliver]. <i>Modern Collection of Sacred Music</i> . Boston: Thomas and Andrews, 1800.

Abbreviation	Citation
MCT2	West, Elisha. <i>Musical Concert</i> . 2nd ed. Northampton, MA: A. Wright, 1807.
MDH	Frost, Rufus. <i>Medford Harmony</i> . Boston: J.T. Buckingham, 1805.
Medley, <i>Hymns</i>	Medley, Samuel. <i>Hymns</i> . 1st American ed. Boston: Manning and Loring, 1801.
Methodist Episcopal	<i>Collection of Hymns for the Use of the Methodist Episcopal Church</i> . New York: B. Waugh and T. Mason, 1836.
MH1	Babcock, Samuel. <i>Middlesex Harmony: Being an Original Composition of Sacred Music in Three and Four Parts</i> . Boston: Thomas and Andrews, 1795.
MH2	_____. <i>Middlesex Harmony: Being an Original Composition of Sacred Music in Three and Four Parts</i> . 2nd ed. Boston: Thomas and Andrews, 1803.
MSC	Belknap, Daniel. <i>Middlesex Collection of Sacred Harmony</i> . Boston: Thomas and Andrews, 1802.
NES1	Read, Joel. <i>New-England Selection</i> . Boston: J.T. Buckingham, 1808.
NES2	_____. <i>New-England Selection</i> . 2nd ed. Boston: Manning and Loring, 1812.
<i>New Version</i>	Brady, Nicholas, and Nahum Tate. <i>A New Version of the Psalms of David Fitted to the Tunes Used in Churches [New Version]</i> . London: J. Roberts, 1749.
Newton, <i>Olney</i>	Newton, John, and William Cowper. <i>Olney Hymns in Three Books</i> . London: W. Oliver, 1779. (I, II, and III refer to Books I, II, and III, respectively.)
NH4	Maxim, Abraham, and J.C. Washburn. <i>Northern Harmony</i> . 4th ed. Hallowell, ME: E. Goodale, A. Maxim, Turner, and J.C. Washburn, 1816.

Abbreviation	Citation
NHZa	Bayley, Daniel. <i>New Harmony of Zion, or, Complete Melody</i> . Newburyport, MA: D. Bayley, 1788.
NHZb	_____. <i>New Harmony of Zion, or, Complete Melody</i> . Newburyport, MA: D. Bayley, [1788].
NS1a	Seymour, Lewis, and Thaddeus Seymour. <i>New-York Selection of Sacred Music</i> . [New York: L. Seymour, T. Seymour, and J.C. Totten, 1809].
NS1b	_____. <i>New-York Selection of Sacred Music</i> . [Rev. ed.] New York: L. Seymour, T. Seymour, and J.C. Totten, 1809.
NS1c	_____. <i>New-York Selection Of Sacred Music</i> . New York: L. Seymour, T. Seymour, and J.C. Totten, [1811].
NS2	_____. <i>New-York Selection Of Sacred Music</i> . 2nd ed. New York: L. Seymour, T. Seymour, and J.C. Totten, 1816.
PA2	Forbush, Abijah. <i>Psalmist's Assistant</i> . 2nd ed. Boston: Manning and Loring, 1806.
PH	Washburn, Japheth Coombs. <i>Parish Harmony, or, Fairfax Collection</i> . Exeter, NH: C. Norris & Co., 1813.
PP	[Holden, Oliver]. <i>Plain Psalmody, or, Supplementary Music</i> . Boston: Thomas and Andrews, 1800.
PS	Armstrong, John. <i>Pittsburgh Selection of Psalm Tunes</i> . Pittsburgh: Cramer, Spear & Eichbaum, 1816.
PSA	[Howe, Solomon]. <i>Psalm-Singer's Amusement</i> . [Greenwich, MA?: J. Howe, 1804?].
Rippon, Selection	Rippon, John. <i>Selection of Hymns from the Best Authors, Intended to be an Appendix to Dr. Watt's Psalms and Hymns</i> . Elizabethtown, NJ: S. Kollock, 1792.
SC1	Stoughton Musical Society. <i>Stoughton Collection of Church Music</i> . Boston: Marsh and Capen, 1829.

Abbreviation	Citation
SC4	_____. <i>Stoughton Collection of Church Music</i> . 4th ed. Boston: Marsh, Capen and Lyon, 1831.
SH1	Law, Andrew. <i>Select Harmony</i> . Farmington, CT: [W. Law], 1779.
SH2	_____. <i>Select Harmony</i> . [2nd ed.]. Farmington, CT: [W. Law, 1781-82].
SHB	[Bayley, Daniel]. <i>Select Harmony</i> . Newburyport, MA: D. Bayley, [1784].
SHCP	<i>Sacred Harmony, or, A Collection of Psalm Tunes</i> . Boston: C. Cambridge, [1788].
SHS	[Shumway, Nehemiah]. <i>Sacred Harmony: Being a Collection of Many Excellent Psalm and Hymn Tunes</i> . Philadelphia: J. M'Culloch, 1806.
SKH	Davisson, Ananias. <i>Supplement to the Kentucky Harmony</i> . Harrisonburg, VA: A. Davisson, 1820.
TH1	Washburn, Japheth Coombs. <i>Temple Harmony</i> . Hallowell, ME: E. Goodale and J.C. Washburn, 1818.
TH2	_____. <i>Temple Harmony</i> . 2nd ed. Hallowell, ME: Goodale, Glazier & Co. and J.C. Washburn, 1820.
UH1	Holden, Oliver. <i>Union Harmony, or, Universal Collection of Sacred Music</i> . Vol. 1. Boston: Thomas and Andrews, 1793.
UH3	_____. <i>Union Harmony, Vol. 1</i> . 3rd ed. Boston: Thomas and Andrews, 1801.
UHB2	Humbert, Stephen. <i>Union Harmony, or, British America's Sacred Vocal Music</i> . 2nd ed. St. John, New Brunswick: S. Humbert, 1816.
USSH	Pilsbury, Amos. <i>United States' Sacred Harmony</i> . Boston: Thomas and Andrews, 1799.
VC1	Belknap, Daniel. <i>Village Compilation</i> . Boston: J.T. Buckingham, 1806.

Abbreviation	Citation
VC2	_____. <i>Village Compilation</i> . 2nd ed. Boston: J.T. Buckingham, 1806.
Watts, <i>Appendix</i>	Watts, Isaac. <i>Appendix Containing a Number of Hymns, Taken Chiefly from Dr. Watt's Scriptural Collection</i> . Boston: J. Edwards, 1762.
Watts, <i>Horae</i>	_____. <i>Horae Lyricae: Poems, Chiefly of the Lyric Kind</i> . New York: E. Duyckinck, 1813.
Watts, <i>Hymns</i>	_____. <i>Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs of the Rev. Isaac Watts</i> . New ed. Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1847. (I, II, and III refer to Books I, II, and III, respectively.)
Watts, <i>Psalms</i>	_____. <i>Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs of the Rev. Isaac Watts</i> . New ed. Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1847.
WC7	Holden, Oliver. <i>Laus Deo! The Worcester Collection of Sacred Harmony [Worcester Collection]</i> . 7th ed. Boston: Thomas and Andrews, 1800.
Wesley, <i>Collection</i>	Wesley, John. <i>Collection of Psalms and Hymns</i> . Charlestown, SC: L. Timothy, 1737.
Wesley, <i>Hymns</i>	Wesley, John, and Charles Wesley. <i>Hymns on the Lord's Supper</i> . Bristol: Felix Farley, 1745.
WH	Little, Henry. <i>Wesleyan Harmony . . . Designed for the Methodist Societies . . .</i> Hallowell, ME: E. Goodale, 1820.
Winchell, <i>Psalms</i>	Winchell, James. <i>Arrangement of the Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs of the Rev. Isaac Watts</i> . Boston: J. Loring; Gould, Kendall and Lincoln, 1832.
Worcester, <i>Hymns</i>	Worcester, Samuel. <i>Select Hymns: The Third Part of Christian Psalmody</i> . 5th ed. Boston: Samuel T. Armstrong, 1821.
YMIC	[Howe, Solomon]. <i>Young Man's Instructive Companion</i> . [3rd ed.] [Northampton, MA?: S. Howe?, 1804-1810].



## APPENDIX C

### *MIDDLESEX HARMONY CONTENTS*

<b>Title</b>	<i>Middlesex Harmony (1795), 26 Pieces</i>	<i>Middlesex Harmony, 2nd ed. (1803), 71 Pieces</i>
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ASHFORD	Pages 22-24	Pages 22-24
BABEL	Pages 7-8	Pages 7-8
CALEDONIA	Pages 29-31	Pages 29-31
CAMBRIDGE	-----	Pages 63-65
CANA	-----	Page 97
CHARITY	-----	Pages 77-78
CHRISTIAN'S HOPE	-----	Pages 107-108
CHRISTMAS	Pages 8-10	Pages 8-10
Comfort Ye, My People	Pages 41-48	Pages 41-48
CONSECRATION	-----	Page 106
CRETE	-----	Page 84
CRUCIFIXION	-----	Page 62
DELAWARE	Pages 3-4	Pages 3-4

<b>Title</b>	<b><i>Middlesex Harmony (1795), 26 Pieces</i></b>	<b><i>Middlesex Harmony, 2nd ed. (1803), 71 Pieces</i></b>
DISSOLUTION	Pages 5-6	Pages 5-6
DORCHESTER	Pages 50-51	Pages 50-51
DOXOLOGY	Page 55	-----
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FLORENCE	-----	Page 66
GIHON	-----	Page 75
GRATITUDE	-----	Page 95
HAMBURG	Pages 12-13	Pages 12-13
HARVARD	-----	Page 98
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HUMILITY	-----	Page 82
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INTERCESSION	Pages 15-16	Pages 15-16
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LIMA	-----	Page 101
Lord, Thou Hast Been Our Dwelling Place	Pages 18-21	Pages 18-21
LUBEC	-----	Page 85
MEDFORD	-----	Page 65
MENOTOMY	-----	Page 105

<b>Title</b>	<b><i>Middlesex Harmony (1795), 26 Pieces</i></b>	<b><i>Middlesex Harmony, 2nd ed. (1803), 71 Pieces</i></b>
MILTON	Pages 26-27	Pages 26-27
MINORCA	-----	Page 86
MORNING HYMN	-----	Page 93
NATIVITY	-----	Page 67
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NORFOLK	-----	Pages 57-58
NORTH-KINGSTON	-----	Page 70
O Come, Let Us Sing Unto the Lord	Pages 36-41	Pages 36-41
OMICRON	Pages 6-7	Pages 6-7
PALMER	-----	Page 100
PALYMRA	Pages 32-36	Pages 32-36
PLACENTIA	-----	Page 68
POMFRET	Page 31	Page 31
PRETORIUM	-----	Pages 79-82
QUINCY	-----	Pages 72-73
RAMA	-----	Page 73
RANDOLPH	-----	Page 83
Remember Now Thy Creator	-----	Pages 87-91
RESIGNATION	Pages 13-14	Pages 13-14
RESOLUTION	-----	Page 92
SABBATH	-----	Page 76

<b>Title</b>	<b><i>Middlesex Harmony (1795), 26 Pieces</i></b>	<b><i>Middlesex Harmony, 2nd ed. (1803), 71 Pieces</i></b>
SMYRNA	-----	Pages 103-104
Song for the Anniversary of St. John the Baptist	-----	Pages 108-110
SPRING	-----	Page 97
STOW	Page 11	Page 11
STRATTON	-----	Page 69
SUNDAY	-----	Page 55
TRIUMPH	-----	Page 74
TRURO	-----	Page 61
VERNON	-----	Page 99
VIENNA	-----	Page 71
WALTHAM	-----	Page 59
WATERTOWN	Pages 48-50	Pages 48-50
WESTON	Page 52	Page 52
WILMINGTON	-----	Page 60

## APPENDIX D

### FIRST PRINTINGS OF MUSIC

See Appendix B for abbreviations. Printing information is not provided for alternate versions.

#### D.1 SAMUEL BABCOCK

Title	Date	Tunebook
ANDOVER	1795	MH1
ASHFORD	1795	MH1
AUSPICIOUS MORN	1806	PA2
BABEL	1795	MH1
CALEDONIA	1795	MH1
CAMBRIDGE	1803	MH2
CANA	1803	MH2
CHARITY	1803	MH2
CHINA	1793	UH1
CHRISTIAN'S HOPE	1803	MH2
CHRISTMAS	1795	MH1
Comfort Ye, My People	1795	MH1

<b>Title</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Tunebook</b>
CONSECRATION	1803	MH2
CRETE	1803	MH2
CRUCIFIXION	1803	MH2
DELAWARE	1795	MH1
DISSOLUTION	1795	MH1
DORCHESTER	1795	MH1
DOXOLOGY	1795	MH1
ELEVATION	1803	MH2
ELIM	1800	PP
EPHRATAH	1803	MH2
FLANDERS	1795	MH1
FLORENCE	1803	MH2
GIHON	1803	MH2
GRATITUDE	1803	MH2
HAMBURG	1795	MH1
HARVARD	1803	MH2
HOREB	1795	MH1
HUMILITY	1803	MH2
IMMANUEL	1800	PP
INTERCESSION	1795	MH1
LEXINGTON	1803	MH2
LIMA	1803	MH2
Lord, Thou Hast Been Our Dwelling Place	1795	MH1
LUBEC	1803	MH2
MEDFORD	1803	MH2
MENOTOMY	1803	MH2
MILTON	1795	MH1

<b>Title</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Tunebook</b>
MINORCA	1803	MH2
MORNING HYMN	1800	EH
NATIVITY	1803	MH2
NEEDHAM	1795	MH1
NEWTON	1795	MH1
NORFOLK	1800	EH
NORTH-KINGSTON	1803	MH2
O Come, Let Us Sing Unto the Lord	1795	MH1
OMICRON	1795	MH1
PALMER	1803	MH2
PALMYRA	1795	MH1
PLACENTIA	1803	MH2
POMFRET	1795	MH1
PRETORIUM	1803	MH2
QUINCY	1803	MH2
RAMA	1803	MH2
RANDOLPH	1803	MH2
Remember Now Thy Creator	1803	MH2
RESIGNATION	1795	MH1
RESOLUTION	1803	MH2
ROXBURY	1806	PA2
SABBATH	1803	MH2
SMYRNA	1803	MH2
Song for the Anniversary of St. John the Baptist	1803	MH2
SPRING	1803	MH2
STOW	1795	MH1

<b>Title</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Tunebook</b>
STRATTON	1803	MH2
SUNDAY	1800	EH
TRIUMPH	1803	MH2
TRURO	1803	MH2
VERNON	1803	MH2
VIENNA	1803	MH2
WALTHAM	1803	MH2
WATERTOWN	1795	MH1
WESTON	1795	MH1
WILMINGTON	1803	MH2

## **D.2 LEMUEL BABCOCK**

<b>Title</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Tunebook</b>
EUPHRATES	1804	PSA
SOLITUDE	1793	CH

## **D.3 AMBIGUOUS ATTRIBUTIONS**

<b>Title</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Tunebook</b>
ADMIRATION	1793	CH
SPRINGFIELD	1779	SH1
WARREN	1793	CH
WESTBOROUGH	1793	CH
WRENTHAM	1793	CH



## APPENDIX E

### TEXT AUTHORS AND FIRST LINES

Texts for alternate versions are not included.

#### E.1 PIECES ATTRIBUTED TO SAMUEL BABCOCK

<b>Title</b>	<b>Text Author</b>	<b>First Line</b>
ANDOVER	John Relly	My redeemer let me be
ASHFORD	John Newton	Jesus is become at length
AUSPICIOUS MORN	Anna Barbauld	Again the Lord of life and light
BABEL	Thomas Carew	Sitting by the streams that glide
CALEDONIA	John Newton	I will praise thee ev'ry day
CAMBRIDGE	Tate and Brady	With one consent let all the earth
CANA	Anna Barbauld	Praise to God, immortal praise
CHARITY	Isaac Watts	Had I the tongues of Greeks and Jews

<b>Title</b>	<b>Text Author</b>	<b>First Line</b>
CHINA	Isaac Watts	Nature with all her pow'rs shall sing
CHRISTIAN'S HOPE	Isaac Watts	Hear what the voice of heav'n proclaims
CHRISTMAS	George Richards	Shout, shout for joy, rejoice, O earth
Comfort Ye, My People	Bible	Comfort ye, comfort ye, my people
CONSECRATION	Isaac Watts	Change me, O God, my flesh shall be
CRETE	Tate and Brady	In deep distress I oft have cried
CRUCIFIXION	Isaac Watts	Now let our mournful songs record
DELAWARE	Isaac Watts	In awful state the conq'ring God
DISSOLUTION	Isaac Watts	Stoop down my thoughts that used to rise
DORCHESTER	Isaac Watts	My God permit me not to be
DOXOLOGY	Bible	Now unto the king eternal
Elegant Tribute	Richard Rosewell Eliot	Illustrious Shade! Accept These Artless Lays
ELEVATION	Isaac Watts	Raise your triumphant songs
ELIM	James Merrick	Lift your voice, and thankful sing
EPHRATAH	Nahum Tate	While shepherds watched their flocks by night
FLANDERS	Tate and Brady	Since I have placed my trust in God
FLORENCE	Isaac Watts	Immense compassion reigns
GIHON	Isaac Watts	The Lord Jehovah reigns
GRATITUDE	Isaac Watts	What shall I render to my God

<b>Title</b>	<b>Text Author</b>	<b>First Line</b>
HAMBURG	Isaac Watts	“Rise,” saith the prince of mercy, “rise”
HARVARD	Isaac Watts	Sing to the Lord, exalt him high
HOREB	Charles Wesley	Hearts of stone, relent, relent
HUMILITY	Isaac Watts	God of my life, look gently down
IMMANUEL	John Bakewell	Hail! thou once despised Jesus!
INTERCESSION	Isaac Watts	Pardon and grace and boundless love
LEXINGTON	Philip Doddridge	Indulgent God! with pitying eyes
LIMA	Isaac Watts	To God, the only wise
Lord, Thou Hast Been Our Dwelling Place	Bible	Lord, Thou hast been our dwelling place
LUBEC	Isaac Watts	Let all our tongues be one
MEDFORD	Isaac Watts	Hosanna to the King
MENOTOMY	Anne Steele	To Jesus, our exalted Lord
MILTON	Isaac Watts	My flesh shall slumber in the ground
MINORCA	Anonymous	Almighty King of Heav’n above
MORNING HYMN	Isaac Watts	Once more, my soul, the rising day
NATIVITY	Isaac Watts	Thus Gabriel sang, and straight around
NEEDHAM	John Gambold	O tell me no more of this world’s vain store
NEWTON	Philip Doddridge	My savior God, no voice but thine
NORFOLK	Isaac Watts	Now for a tune of lofty praise

<b>Title</b>	<b>Text Author</b>	<b>First Line</b>
NORTH-KINGSTON	Isaac Watts	Sing to the Lord Jehovah's name
O Come, Let Us Sing Unto the Lord	Bible	O come let us sing
OMICRON	John Newton	Let us love and sing and wonder
PALMER	Isaac Watts	I'll lift my hands, I'll raise my voice
PALMYRA	Isaac Watts	When I survey the wond'rous cross
PLACENTIA	John Newton	How tedious and tasteless the hours
POMFRET	Isaac Watts	Let everlasting glories crown
PRETORIUM	Isaac Watts	Infinite grief, amazing woe!
QUINCY	Isaac Watts	The God of glory sends his summons forth
RAMA	Samuel Medley	Dost thou my earthly comforts slay
RANDOLPH	Isaac Watts	Loud hallelujahs to the Lord
Remember Now Thy Creator	Bible	Remember now, remember now, remember thy creator
RESIGNATION	Samuel Wesley, Sr.	Behold the saviour of mankind
RESOLUTION	Isaac Watts	Let sinners take their course
ROXBURY	Anonymous	The Lord, he reigns above
SABBATH	Philip Doddridge	Lord of the Sabbath hear our vows
SMYRNA	Isaac Watts	Now let my lord, my savior smile
Song for the Anniversary of St. John the Baptist	Thaddeus Mason Harris	Begin now the song the occasion requires
SPRING	Anonymous	How sweetly along the gay mead

<b>Title</b>	<b>Text Author</b>	<b>First Line</b>
STOW	John Newton	The birds without barn
STRATTON	Tate and Brady	O magnify the Lord with me
SUNDAY	Tate and Brady	This day is God's, let all the land
TRIUMPH	Elizabeth Scott	All hail, triumphant Lord!
TRURO	Tate and Brady	O praise ye the Lord
VERNON	Isaac Watts	Now be my heart inspired to sing
VIENNA	Tate and Brady	Ye boundless realms of joy
WALTHAM	Isaac Watts	Now to the pow'r of God supreme
WATERTOWN	John Newton	Jesus my shepherd and my friend
WESTON	Isaac Watts	Jesus the savior stands
WILMINGTON	Isaac Watts	'Tis God that lifts our comforts high

## **E.2 PIECES ATTRIBUTED TO LEMUEL BABCOCK**

<b>Title</b>	<b>Text Author</b>	<b>First Line</b>
EUPHRATES	Tate and Brady	When we, our wearied limbs to rest
SOLITUDE	Isaac Watts	See where he languished on the cross

### E.3 PIECES OF AMBIGUOUS ATTRIBUTION

<b>Title</b>	<b>Text Author</b>	<b>First Line</b>
ADMIRATION	Isaac Watts	Infinite grace! almighty charms!
SPRINGFIELD	Charles Wesley	Jesus drinks the bitter cup
WARREN	Thomas Flatman	Sleep, downy sleep, come close my eyes
WESTBOROUGH	Isaac Watts	Sing to the Lord, ye heav'nly hosts
WRENTHAM	Anonymous	Methinks I hear the heav'ns resound

## APPENDIX F

### TEXT METERS

#### F.1 PIECES ATTRIBUTED TO SAMUEL BABCOCK

Poetic Meter	Tune Name
CM	AUSPICIOUS MORN
CM	CHRISTIAN'S HOPE
CM	CHRISTMAS
CM	DELAWARE
CM	DISSOLUTION
CM	EPHRATAH
CM	FLANDERS
CM	GRATITUDE
CM	HUMILITY
CM	LEXINGTON
CM	MORNING HYMN
CM	MORNING HYMN [II]
CM	NATIVITY
CM	NEWTON
CM	NORTH-KINGSTON
CM	PRETORIUM

Poetic Meter	Tune Name
CM	RESIGNATION
CM	STRATTON
CM	SUNDAY
CM	WATERTOWN
CM	WILMINGTON
HM	FLORENCE
HM	TRIUMPH
HM	VIENNA
LM	CAMBRIDGE
LM	CAMBRIDGE [II]
LM	CHARITY
LM	CHINA
LM	CRUCIFIXION
LM	DORCHESTER
LM	ELIM [II]
LM	HAMBURG
LM	INTERCESSION
LM	MENOTOMY
LM	MILTON
LM	NORFOLK
LM	PALMER
LM	PALMYRA
LM	POMFRET
LM	RAMA
LM	SABBATH
LM	SMYRNA
LM	VERNON
LM	WALTHAM
PM 5.5.5.5.6.5.6.5	STOW
PM 5.5.5.5.6.5.6.5	TRURO



Poetic Meter	Tune Name
PM 6.6.6.6.8.8	ROXBURY
PM 6.6.8.6.6.8	GIHON
PM 7.6.7.6.7.8.7.6	ANDOVER
PM 7.7.7.7	ASHFORD
PM 7.7.7.7	CALEDONIA
PM 7.7.7.7	CANA
PM 7.7.7.7	ELIM
PM 7.7.7.7.7	BABEL
PM 7.7.7.7.7.7	HOREB
PM 8.12.6.12	DOXOLOGY
PM 8.7.8.7	IMMANUEL
PM 8.7.8.7.7.7	OMICRON
PM 8.8.6.8.8.14	CONSECRATION
PM 8.8.6.8.8.6	MINORCA
PM 8.8.8.8	SPRING
PM 8.8.8.8.8.8	CRETE
PM 8.8.8.8.8.8	HARVARD
PM 8.8.8.8.8.8	RANDOLPH
PM 8.8.8.8.8.8.8.8	PLACENTIA
PM 10.10.10.10	Elegant Tribute
PM 10.10.10.10.11.11	QUINCY
PM 10.11.10.11	NEEDHAM
PM 11.12.11.12.12.12	Song for the Anniversary of St. John the Baptist
SM	ELEVATION
SM	LIMA
SM	LUBEC
SM	MEDFORD
SM	RESOLUTION
SM	RESOLUTION [II] (DECISION)
SM	WESTON

## F.2 PIECES ATTRIBUTED TO LEMUEL BABCOCK

Poetic Meter	Tune Name
LM	EUPHRATES
LM	SOLITUDE

## F.3 PIECES OF AMBIGUOUS ATTRIBUTION

Poetic Meter	Tune Name
CM	WESTBOROUGH
LM	ADMIRATION
LM	ADMONITION [ADMIRATION II]
LM	WARREN
LM	WRENTHAM
PM 7.6.7.6.7.7.8.6	SPRINGFIELD
PM 7.6.7.6.7.7.8.6	SPRINGFIELD [II]

## APPENDIX G

### TOPICS/SUBJECTS OF MUSIC AND FIRST LINES

Most of the information in this appendix is taken from the topic index in Karl and Marie Kroeger's *An Index to Anglo-American Psalmody in Modern Critical Editions* (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, 2000).

#### G.1 PIECES ATTRIBUTED TO SAMUEL BABCOCK

Topic/Subject of Text	Tune Name	First Line
Ascension of Christ	DELAWARE	In awful state the conq'ring God
Atonement	IMMANUEL	Hail, thou once despised Jesus!
Babylonian captivity	BABEL	Sitting by the streams that glide
Birth of Christ	CHRISTMAS	Shout, shout for joy, rejoice, O earth
Birth of Christ	NATIVITY	Thus Gabriel sang, and straight around
Birth of Christ	EPHRATAH	While shepherds watched their flocks by night
Charity/Love	CHARITY	Had I the tongues of Greeks and Jews
Christ's ascension	NORFOLK	Now for a tune of lofty praise

<b>Topic/Subject of Text</b>	<b>Tune Name</b>	<b>First Line</b>
Christ's crucifixion	RESIGNATION	Behold the savior of mankind
Christ's crucifixion	PRETORIUM	Infinite grief! amazing woe!
Christ's crucifixion	CRUCIFIXION	Now let our mournful songs record
Christ's crucifixion	INTERCESSION	Pardon and grace, and boundless love
Church	VERNON	Now be my heart inspired to sing
Consecration/Trust	CONSECRATION	Change me, O God! my flesh shall be
Creation	MINORCA	Almighty King of Heav'n above
Creation	HARVARD	Sing to the Lord, exalt him high
Death	DISSOLUTION	Stoop down, my thoughts, that used to rise
Death and resurrection	CHRISTIAN'S HOPE	Hear what the voice of heav'n proclaims
Death of George Washington	Elegant Tribute	Illustrious shade! Accept these artless lays
Exaltation of Christ	TRIUMPH	All hail, triumphant Lord!
Exaltation of Christ	ASHFORD	Jesus is become at length
Exaltation of Christ	WATERTOWN	Jesus! my shepherd and my friend
Faithfulness	RAMA	Dost thou my earthly comforts slay
Fast Day	Comfort Ye, My People	Comfort ye, comfort ye, my people
Fast Day	Lord, Thou Hast Been Our Dwelling Place	Lord, thou hast been our dwelling place
Funeral	Remember Now Thy Creator	Remember now, remember now
God's grace	CRETE	In deep distress I oft have cried
God's perfection	ELEVATION	Raise your triumphant songs
God's perfection	ROXBURY	The Lord, he reigns above
Grace	HAMBURG	"Rise," saith the prince of mercy, "rise"
Grace	SMYRNA	Now let my lord, my savior, smile
Grace	NEEDHAM	O tell me no more of this world's vain store
Intercession of Christ	OMICRON	Let us love, and sing, and wonder

<b>Topic/Subject of Text</b>	<b>Tune Name</b>	<b>First Line</b>
Judgment day	RESOLUTION [III] (DECISION)	And will the judge descend!
Judgment day	CAMBRIDGE [II]	He reigns! The Lord, the saviour reigns
Judgment day	QUINCY	The God of glory sends his summons forth
Law and gospel	POMFRET	Let everlasting glories crown
Lord's supper	LUBEC	Let all our tongues be one
Masonic	Song for the Anniversary of St. John the Baptist	Begin now the song the occasion requires
Morning	MORNING HYMN	Once more, my soul, the rising day
Morning	MORNING HYMN [II]	Once more, my soul, the rising day
Morning/Worship	AUSPICIOUS MORN	Again the Lord of life and light
Offices of Christ	FLORENCE	Immense compassion reigns
Perseverance	LIMA	To God, the only wise
Praising God	CALEDONIA	I will praise thee ev'ry day
Praising God	ELIM	Lift up your voice and thankful sing
Praising God	ELIM [II]	Lift your voice, and thankful sing
Praising God	RANDOLPH	Loud hallelujahs to the Lord
Praising God	DOXOLOGY	Now unto the king eternal
Praising God	TRURO	O praise ye the Lord!
Praising God	STRATTON	O! magnify the Lord with me
Praising God	CANA	Praise to God, immortal praise
Praising God	CAMBRIDGE	With one consent let all the earth
Praising God	VIENNA	Ye boundless realms of joy
Public worship	GRATITUDE	What shall I render to my God
Redemption	HOREB	Hearts of stone, relent, relent
Redemption	LEXINGTON	Indulgent God, with pitying eyes
Redemption	WESTON	Jesus, the savior, stands
Redemption	ANDOVER	My redeemer let me be
Resignation	WILMINGTON	'Tis God that lifts our comforts high

<b>Topic/Subject of Text</b>	<b>Tune Name</b>	<b>First Line</b>
Sabbath	PALMER	I'll lift my hands, I'll raise my voice
Sabbath	SABBATH	Lord of the sabbath, hear our vows
Sabbath/Church	SUNDAY	This day is God's; let all the land
Saints and sinners	MILTON	My flesh shall slumber in the ground
Saints and sinners	FLANDERS	Since I have placed my trust in God
Salvation	NEWTON	My savior God, no voice but thine
Salvation	WALTHAM	Now to the pow'r of God supreme
Sickness	HUMILITY	God of my life, look gently down
Sovereign God	GIHON	The Lord Jehovah reigns
Spring/Thanksgiving	SPRING	How sweetly along the gay mead
Thanksgiving	CHINA	Nature with all her pow'rs shall sing
Thanksgiving	O Come, Let Us Sing Unto the Lord	O come, let us sing
Thanksgiving	MENOTOMY	To Jesus, our exalted Lord
Trust and confidence	PLACENTIA	How tedious and tasteless the hours
Trust and confidence	STOW	The birds without barn
Vanity	PALMYRA	When I survey the wond'rous cross
Worship	MEDFORD	Hosanna to the king
Worship	RESOLUTION	Let sinners take their course
Worship	DORCHESTER	My God permit me not to be
Worship	NORTH-KINGSTON	Sing to the Lord Jehovah's name

## G.2 PIECES ATTRIBUTED TO LEMUEL BABCOCK

Topic/Subject of Text	Tune Name	First Line
Babylonian captivity	EUPHRATES	When we, our weary limbs to rest
Christ's crucifixion	SOLITUDE	See where he languished on the cross

## G.3 PIECES OF AMBIGUOUS ATTRIBUTION

Topic/Subject of Text	Tune Name	First Line
Birth of Christ	WRENTHAM	Methinks I hear the heav'ns resound
Christ's crucifixion	ADMIRATION	Infinite grace! almighty charms!
Christ's crucifixion	ADMONITION [ADMIRATION II]	Infinite grace! almighty charms!
Christ's crucifixion	SPRINGFIELD	Jesus drinks the bitter cup
Christ's crucifixion	SPRINGFIELD [II]	Jesus drinks the bitter cup
Judgment day	WESTBOROUGH	Sing to the Lord, ye heav'nly hosts
Regeneration	WARREN	Sleep, downy sleep, come close my eyes

## APPENDIX H

### ***MIDDLESEX HARMONY* ADVERTISEMENTS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS**

The first edition of *Middlesex Harmony* was advertised widely in Boston and beyond as far north as Newburyport and as far west as Concord in Massachusetts from 1796 through 1802. The second, enlarged edition (1803) was advertised in Boston from 1804 through 1810. Most of these newspaper advertisements promote several tunebooks published by Thomas and Andrews in Boston.

#### **H.1 *MIDDLESEX HARMONY*, FIRST EDITION, 1795 (MH1)**

Copyright announcement (22 December 1795) For sale: Boston, Charlestown, Newton, Concord and the author in Watertown. \$4 per doz., .40 cents single. Dated “Feb. 16”

*Massachusetts Mercury* (Boston) 2/19/1796

*Massachusetts Mercury* (Boston) 2/23/1796

*Massachusetts Mercury* (Boston) 2/26/1796

*Massachusetts Mercury* (Boston) 3/1/1796

*Massachusetts Mercury* (Boston) 3/8/1796



## Advertisements

*Massachusetts Mercury* (Boston) 2/19/1796 – “The *Middlesex Harmony*, being an original composition of Sacred Music, in three and four Parts, by Samuel Babcock . . . 4 Dollars pr. dozen, and 40 Cents single.”

*Massachusetts Mercury* (Boston) 2/23/1796 – Ditto

*Massachusetts Mercury* (Boston) 2/26/1796 – Ditto

*Massachusetts Mercury* (Boston) 3/1/1796 – Ditto

*Massachusetts Mercury* (Boston) 3/8/1796 – Ditto

*Massachusetts Spy* (Worcester) 1/4/1797 – “Just received, and for sale at the Worcester Bookstore, price 40 Cents single, and 4 Dollars per dozen”

*Columbian Centinel* (Boston) 11/4/1797

*Newburyport Herald* (Newburyport) 12/1/1797

*Salem Gazette* (Salem) 12/5/1797 Thomas & Andrews ad with several tunebooks

*Salem Gazette* (Salem) 12/12/1797 Ditto

*Massachusetts Spy* (Worcester) 12/13/1797

*Salem Gazette* (Salem) 12/22/1797 Ditto

*Columbian Centinel* (Boston) 10/3/1798 Subscription ad?

*Columbian Centinel* (Boston) 11/17/1798

*Independent Chronicle* (Boston) 11/15 to 11/19/1798

*Independent Chronicle* (Boston) 11/19 to 11/22/1798

*Columbian Centinel* (Boston) 11/24/1798

*Independent Chronicle* (Boston) 11/29 to 12/3/1798

*Independent Chronicle* (Boston) 12/6 to 12/10/1798

*Independent Chronicle* (Boston) 12/17 to 12/20/1798

*Columbian Centinel* (Boston) 11/16/1799

*Columbian Centinel* (Boston) 11/30/1799

*Columbian Centinel* (Boston) 12/7/1799

*Massachusetts Mercury* (Boston) 10/28/1800

*Independent Chronicle* (Boston) 10/30 to 11/3/1800

*Massachusetts Mercury* (Boston) 11/4/1800

*Salem Gazette* (Salem) 11/4/1800

*Salem Gazette* (Salem) 11/14/1800

*Massachusetts Spy* (Worcester) 11/26/1800

*Salem Gazette* (Salem) 12/2/1800

*Independent Chronicle* (Boston) 2/2 to 2/5/1801

*Independent Chronicle* (Boston) 3/2 to 3/5/1801

*Salem Gazette* (Salem) 3/3/1801

*Columbian Centinel* (Boston) 12/16/1801

*Independent Chronicle* (Boston) 12/21/1801

*Independent Chronicle* (Boston) 12/28/1801

*Independent Chronicle* (Boston) 11/1/1802

*Independent Chronicle* (Boston) 11/8/1802

*Independent Chronicle* (Boston) 11/15/1802

*Independent Chronicle* (Boston) 11/22/1802

*Independent Chronicle* (Boston) 12/16/1802

## Subscription notice for MH2

*Columbian Centinel* (Boston) 10/3/1798

“Gentlemen holding subscription papers, or proposals for printing an enlarged Edition of the *Middlesex Harmony*, are hereby requested to return the papers to Messrs. Thomas and Andrews, printers, Boston, or the subscriber at Watertown, by the last week in October next, at furthest. Those gentlemen who have books for sale in the first edition, are hereby requested to return them immediately, or make payment for such as have been sold. Watertown, Sept. 29. Samuel Babcock.”

## **H.2 MIDDLESEX HARMONY, SECOND EDITION, 1803 (MH2)**

### Advertisements

*Independent Chronicle* (Boston) 2/24/1803

*Independent Chronicle* (Boston) 10/22/1804

*Independent Chronicle* (Boston) 10/29/1804

*Independent Chronicle* (Boston) 11/8/1804

*Independent Chronicle* (Boston) 11/15/1804

*Independent Chronicle* (Boston) 11/22/1804

*Independent Chronicle* (Boston) 11/28/1804

*Independent Chronicle* (Boston) 12/27/1804

*Independent Chronicle* (Boston) 1/17/1805

*Repertory* (Boston) 1/18/1805 Thomas & Andrews ad with several tunebooks “75 cents single, and 8 dolls. Per dozen”

*New-England Palladium* (Boston) 1/22/1805

*Repertory* (Boston) 1/22/1805

*Independent Chronicle* (Boston) 1/31/1805

*Repertory* (Boston) 2/1/1805 Thomas & Andrews ad with several tunebooks “75 cents single, and 8 dolls. Per dozen”

*Repertory* (Boston) 2/5/1805 Thomas & Andrews ad with several tunebooks “75 cents single, and 8 dolls. Per dozen”

*Independent Chronicle* (Boston) 2/18/1805 Thomas & Andrews ad with several tunebooks “75 cents single, and 8 dolls. Per dozen”

*Repertory* (Boston) 12/10/1805 Thomas & Andrews ad with several tunebooks “75 cents single, and 8 dolls. Per dozen”

*Independent Chronicle* (Boston) 12/23/1805

*Independent Chronicle* (Boston) 11/24/1806

*Independent Chronicle* (Boston) 12/4/1806

*Repertory* (Boston) 12/11/1807

*Repertory* (Boston) 1/1/1808

*Repertory* (Boston) 1/19/1808

*Repertory* (Boston) 12/30/1808

*Repertory* (Boston) 1/6/1809

*Independent Chronicle* (Boston) 1/9/1809

*Repertory* (Boston) 1/13/1809 Thomas & Andrews ad with several tunebooks “75 cents single, and 8 dolls. Per dozen”

*Repertory* (Boston) 1/20/1809 Thomas & Andrews ad with several tunebooks “75 cents  
single, and 8 dolls. Per dozen”

*Repertory* (Boston) 10/23/1810

*Independent Chronicle* (Boston) 10/25/1810

*Repertory* (Boston) 10/30/1810 Thomas & Andrews ad with several tunebooks “75 cents  
single, and 8 dolls. Per dozen”

*Independent Chronicle* (Boston) 11/1/1810

*Repertory* (Boston) 11/6/1810

*Independent Chronicle* (Boston) 11/22/1810

*Repertory* (Boston) 11/27/1810

*Independent Chronicle* (Boston) 11/29/1810 Ditto

*Independent Chronicle* (Boston) 11/29/1810

*Repertory* (Boston) 12/4/1810

## APPENDIX I

### THOMAS ACCOUNTS OF STOCK

Transcription of *Middlesex Harmony* entries from the Thomas Accounts of Stock, Thomas Papers, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts

#### **Account of Stock, August 1799 Thomas and Andrews, Boston (Box 8)**

American Octavos (p. 18)

58	<i>Middlesex Harmony</i>	@ .16	\$9.28
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Books by the Dozen (p. 33)

4 ¼ Doz.	<i>Middlesex Harmony</i>	@ 1.75	\$7.43 3/4
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#### **Account of Stock, May 12, 1801 Thomas and Andrews, Boston (Box 8)**

American Books, Pamphlets, etc. (p. 36)

11	Babcock's Music, half bound	@ .40	\$ 4.40
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56	Babcock's Music, blue	@ .30	\$16.80
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"Copyrights, 35 in all" (p. 50-51)

*Middlesex Harmony* not listed

**Account of Stock, August 1802 Thomas and Andrews, Boston (Box 8)**

Books by the Dozen (p. 31)

4 2/3 doz.	<i>Middlesex Harmony</i>	@1.75	\$ 8.17
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**Account of Stock, May 1811 Thomas and Andrews, Boston (Box 9)**

Unlettered Books (p. 48)

134	Babcock's Musick	@ .75	\$100.50
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**Account of Stock, May 1814 Thomas and Andrews, Boston (Box 9)**

Unlettered Books (p. [2])

134	Babcock's Music	@ .75	[\$100.50]
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Sheets Class 4, 20% Deduction (p. [1])

252	Babcock's Music	@ .10	[\$25.20]
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150	Babcock's Music, pt. 1	@.03	[\$4.50]
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Commission Articles (p. [1])

Names: "Babcock's Music, Paper" To Whom Belonging: "author" (no number given)

**Account of Stock, May 1, 1815 Thomas and Andrews, Boston (Box 10)**

Unlettered Books (p. [2])

134	Babcock's Music	@ .75	\$100.50
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Class 4, 20% Deduction (p. [1])

252	Babcock's Music	@ .10	\$25.20
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150	Babcock's Music, Part 1	@ .03	\$4.50
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Pamphlets (p. [1])

11	Babcock's Music, 1/2 Bound	@ .40	\$ 4.40
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42	Babcock's Music, Paper	@ .30	\$12.60
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**Account of Stock, May 1, 1817 Thomas and Andrews, Boston (Box 10)**

Unlettered Books (p. 48)

122	Babcock's Music	@ .75	\$91.50
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Pamphlets (p. 58)

11	Babcock's Music ½ Bound	@ .40	\$ 4.40
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120	Babcock's Music Paper	@ .30	\$36.00
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Class 4, 20% Deduction (p. 69)

252	Babcock's Music	@ .10	\$25.20
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150	Babcock's Music, Part 1	@ .03	\$ 4.50
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**Account of Stock, May 1818, Thomas and Andrews, Boston (Box 10)**

Unlettered Books (p. 55)

122	Babcock's Music	@ .75	\$91.50
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Pamphlets (p. 66)

11	Babcock's Music, ½ Bound	@ .40	\$ 4.40
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120	Babcock's Music, Paper	@ .30	\$36.00
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Books in Sheets, Class 4, 20 % Deduction (p. 79)

252	Babcock's Music	@ .10	\$25.20
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150	Babcock's Music, Part 1	@ .03	\$ 4.50
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**Account of Stock, Worcester**

**Account of Stock, 1816, Worcester (Box 10)**

Dozen Books (p. [2])

1/12 doz.	<i>Middlesex Harmony</i>		\$ .58
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## APPENDIX J

### NUMBER OF PRINTINGS

#### J.1 SAMUEL BABCOCK

See Appendix B for abbreviations.

<b>Title</b>	<b>Number of Printings</b>	<b>Tunebooks/Hymnal</b>
ANDOVER	2	MH1 1795 MH2 1803
ASHFORD	2	MH1 1795 MH2 1803
AUSPICIOUS MORN	3	VC1 1806 PA2 1806 VC2 1807
BABEL	2	MH1 1795 MH2 1803
CALEDONIA	2	MH1 1795 MH2 1803
CAMBRIDGE	1	MH2 1803
CANA	1	MH2 1803
CHARITY	1	MH2 1803

<b>Title</b>	<b>Number of Printings</b>	<b>Tunebooks/Hymnal</b>
CHINA	1	UH1 1793
CHRISTIAN'S HOPE	1	MH2 1803
CHRISTMAS	2	MH1 1795 MH2 1803
Comfort Ye, My People	2	MH1 1795 MH2 1803
CONSECRATION	1	MH2 1803
CRETE	1	MH2 1803
CRUCIFIXION	6	MH2 1803 PH 1813 NH4 1816 TH1 1818 TH2 1820 CC 1839
DELAWARE	2	MH1 1795 MH2 1803
DISSOLUTION	2	MH1 1795 MH2 1803
DORCHESTER	6	MH1 1795 EH 1800 MH2 1803 CHT3a1806 NES1 1808 NES2 1812
DOXOLOGY	1	MH1 1795
ELEVATION	1	MH2 1803

<b>Title</b>	<b>Number of Printings</b>	<b>Tunebooks/Hymnal</b>
ELIM	13	MC 1800 PP 1800 WC7 1800 UH3 1801 MSC 1802 MH2 1803 VC1 1806 VC2 1807 UHB2 1816 TH1 1818 TH2 1820 BHC 1838 AN 1849
EPHRATAH	1	MH2 1803
FLANDERS	8	MH1 1795 EH 1800 MSC 1802 MH2 1803 VC1 1806 VC2 1807 DH1 1809 DH2 1814
FLORENCE	1	MH2 1803
GIHON	1	MH2 1803
GRATITUDE	3	MH2 1803 MDH 1805 PA2 1806
HAMBURG	2	MH1 1795 MH2 1803
HARVARD	1	MH2 1803
HOREB	4	MH1 1795 MH2 1803 DH1 1809 DH2 1814
HUMILITY	1	MH2 1803

<b>Title</b>	<b>Number of Printings</b>	<b>Tunebooks/Hymnal</b>
IMMANUEL	8	MC 1800 PP 1800 WC7 1800 UH3 1801 MSC 1802 MH2 1803 VC1 1806 VC2 1807
INTERCESSION	4	MH1 1795 MH2 1803 ES2 1820 CC 1839
LEXINGTON	2	MH2 1803 PA2 1806
LIMA	2	MH2 1803 PA2 1806
Lord, Thou Hast Been Our Dwelling Place	2	MH1 1795 MH2 1803
LUBEC	1	MH2 1803
MEDFORD	1	MH2 1803
MENOTOMY	1	MH2 1803
MILTON	2	MH1 1795 MH2 1803
MINORCA	1	MH2 1803
MORNING HYMN	2	EH 1800 MH2 1803
NATIVITY	1	MH2 1803

<b>Title</b>	<b>Number of Printings</b>	<b>Tunebooks/Hymnal</b>
NEEDHAM	6	MH1 1795 MH2 1803 NS1a 1809 NS1b 1810 NS1c 1811 NS2 1816
NEWTON	12	MH1 1795 EH 1800 MSC 1802 HH 1802 MH2 1803 VC1 1806 VC2 1807 AHa 1807 MCT2 1807 AHb 1808 DH1 1809 DH2 1814
NORFOLK	6	EH 1800 MSC 1802 MH2 1803 VC1 1806 VC2 1807 PH 1813
NORTH-KINGSTON	1	MH2 1803
O Come, Let Us Sing Unto the Lord	2	MH1 1795 MH2 1803
OMICRON	2	MH1 1795 MH2 1803
PALMER	1	MH2 1803
PALMYRA	2	MH1 1795 MH2 1803
PLACENTIA	1	MH2 1803
POMFRET	2	MH1 1795 MH2 1803

<b>Title</b>	<b>Number of Printings</b>	<b>Tunebooks/Hymnal</b>
PRETORIUM	1	MH2 1803
QUINCY	1	MH2 1803
RAMA	1	MH2 1803
RANDOLPH	1	MH2 1803
Remember Now Thy Creator	1	MH2 1803
RESIGNATION	2	MH1 1795 MH2 1803
RESOLUTION	2	MH2 1803 CRH 1804
ROXBURY	1	PA2 1806
SABBATH	1	MH2 1803
SMYRNA	1	MH2 1803
SONG	1	MH2 1803
SPRING	1	MH2 1803
STOW	2	MH1 1795 MH2 1803
STRATTON	1	MH2 1803
SUNDAY	6	EH 1800 MSC 1802 MH2 1803 VC1 1806 VC2 1807 NES1 1808
TRIUMPH	1	MH2 1803
TRURO	1	MH2 1803
VERNON	1	MH2 1803
VIENNA	1	MH2 1803

<b>Title</b>	<b>Number of Printings</b>	<b>Tunebooks/Hymnal</b>
WALTHAM	1	MH2 1803
WATERTOWN	2	MH1 1795 MH2 1803
WESTON	5	MH1 1795 HH 1802 MH2 1803 AHa 1807 AHb 1808
WILMINGTON	1	MH2 1803

## **J.2 LEMUEL BABCOCK**

<b>Title</b>	<b>Number of Printings</b>	<b>Tunebooks/Hymnal</b>
EUPHRATES	2	PSA 1804 YMIC 1810
SOLITUDE	4	CH 1793 PSA 1804 YMIC 1810 CC 1839

**J.3 AMBIGUOUS ATTRIBUTION**

Title	Number of Printings	Tunebooks/Hymnal
ADMIRATION	2	CH 1793 EI 1801
SPRINGFIELD	26	SH1 1779 SH2 1782 MAHa 1784 SHB 1784 MAHb1785 FH 1788 SHCP 1788 NHZa 1788 NHZb 1788 CHS 1793 AMH11793 CH 1793 USSH 1799 AC 1800 AMH21801 SHS 1806 ECH2 1809 BH1 1814 BH2 1816 PS 1816 JTH 1818 KH 1818 SKH 1820 WH 1820 SC1 1829 SC4 1831
WARREN	1	CH 1793
WESTBOROUGH	1	CH 1793
WRENTHAM	1	CH 1793



## APPENDIX K

### TUNEBOOKS/HYMNALS INCLUDING BABCOCK ATTRIBUTIONS

See Appendix B for abbreviations.

An asterisk indicates a first printing.

#### K.1 SAMUEL BABCOCK ATTRIBUTIONS

Abbr.	Date	Compiler	Title	Imprint	Work(s) Included
AHa	1807	Jonathan Huntington	<i>Apollo Harmony</i>	Northampton: H. Graves	NEWTON SUNDAY
AHb	1808	Jonathan Huntington	<i>Apollo Harmony</i>	Northampton: H. Graves	NEWTON SUNDAY
AN	1849	Leonard Marshall	<i>Antiquarian</i>	Boston: C.H. Keith, 1849	ELIM
BHC	1838	Daniel Copeland	<i>Supplement to the Billings and Holden Collection</i>	Boston: Kidder & Wright, 1838	ELIM

<b>Abbr.</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Compiler</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Imprint</b>	<b>Work(s) Included</b>
CC	1839	Benjamin Sweetser	<i>Cumberland Collection</i>	Portland, Maine: W. Hyde, 1839	INTERCESSION CRUCIFIXION
CHT3a	1806	Daniel Read	<i>Columbian Harmonist</i>	Dedham: H. Mann	DORCHESTER
CRH	1804	Samuel Holyoke	<i>Christian Harmonist</i>	Salem: J. Cushing	RESOLUTION
DH1	1809	Azariah Fobes	<i>Delaware Harmony</i>	Philadelphia: W. M'Culloch	FLANDERS HOREB NEWTON
DH2	1814	Azariah Fobes	<i>Delaware Harmony</i>	Philadelphia: W. M'Culloch	FLANDERS HOREB NEWTON
EH	1800	Daniel Belknap	<i>Evangelical Harmony</i>	Boston: Thomas and Andrews	DORCHESTER FLANDERS MORNING HYMN* NEWTON NORFOLK* SUNDAY*
ES2	1820	Benoni Adams	<i>Evening Star</i>	Utica: W. Williams	INTERCESSION
HH	1802	Jacob French	<i>Harmony of Harmony</i>	Northampton: A. Wright	NEWTON WESTON
MC	1800	[Oliver Holden]	<i>Modern Collection</i>	Boston: Thomas and Andrews	ELIM IMMANUEL
MCT2	1807	Elisha West	<i>Musical Concert</i>	Northampton: A. Wright	NEWTON
MDH	1805	Rufus Frost	<i>Medford Harmony</i>	Boston: J.T. Buckingham	GRATITUDE
MH1	1795	Samuel Babcock	<i>Middlesex Harmony</i>	Boston: Thomas and Andrews	ANDOVER* ASHFORD* BABEL*

Abbr.	Date	Compiler	Title	Imprint	Work(s) Included
					CALEDONIA* CHRISTMAS* Comfort Ye, My People* DELAWARE* DISSOLUTION* DORCHESTER* DOXOLOGY* FLANDERS* HAMBURG* HOREB* INTERCESSION* Lord, Thou Hast Been Our Dwelling Place* MILTON* NEEDHAM* NEWTON* O Come, Let Us Sing Unto The Lord* OMICRON* PALYMRA* POMFRET* RESIGNATION* STOW* WATERTOWN* WESTON*
MH2	1803	Samuel Babcock	<i>Middlesex Harmony</i>	Boston: Thomas and Andrews	ANDOVER ASHFORD BABEL CAMBRIDGE* CANA* CALEDONIA CHARITY* CHRISTIAN'S HOPE* CHRISTMAS Comfort Ye, My People CONSECRATION* CRETE* CRUCIFIXION* DELAWARE

Abbr.	Date	Compiler	Title	Imprint	Work(s) Included
					DISSOLUTION DORCHESTER ELEVATION* ELIM EPHRATAH* FLANDERS FLORENCE* GIHON* GRATITUDE* HAMBURG HARVARD* HOREB HUMILITY* IMMANUEL* INTERCESSION LEXINGTON* LIMA* Lord, Thou Hast Been Our Dwelling Place LUBEC* MEDFORD* MENOTOMY* MILTON MINORCA* MORNING HYMN* NATIVITY* NEEDHAM NEWTON NORFOLK* NORTH-KINSTON* O Come, Let Us Sing Unto The Lord* OMICRON PALMER* PALYMRA PLACENTIA* POMFRET PRETORIUM* QUINCY* RAMA* RANDOLPH* Remember Now Thy

Abbr.	Date	Compiler	Title	Imprint	Work(s) Included
					Creator* RESIGNATION RESOLUTION* SABBATH* SMYRNA* Song for the Anniversary of St. John the Baptist* SPRING* STOW STRATTON* SUNDAY* TRIUMPH* TRURO* VERNON* VIENNA* WALTHAM* WATERTOWN WESTON WILMINGTON*
MSC	1802	Daniel Belknap	<i>Middlesex Collection</i>	Boston: Thomas and Andrews	ELIM FLANDERS IMMANUEL NEWTON NORFOLK SUNDAY
NES1	1808	Joel Read	<i>New-England Selection</i>	Boston: J.T. Buckingham	DORCHESTER SUNDAY
NES2	1812	Joel Read	<i>New-England Selection</i>	Boston: Manning and Loring	DORCHESTER
NH4	1816	Abraham Maxim and J.C. Washburn	<i>Northern Harmony</i>	Hallowell, Me.: Goodale, Maxim, Turner, & Washburn	CRUCIFIXION

<b>Abbr.</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Compiler</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Imprint</b>	<b>Work(s) Included</b>
NS1a	1809	Lewis and Thaddeus Seymour	<i>New-York Selection</i>	New York: Compilers and J.C. Totten	NEEDHAM
NS1b	1810	Lewis and Thaddeus Seymour	<i>New-York Selection</i>	New York: Compilers and J.C. Totten	NEEDHAM
NS1c	1811	Lewis and Thaddeus Seymour	<i>New-York Selection</i>	New York: Compilers and J.C. Totten	NEEDHAM
NS2	1816	Lewis and Thaddeus Seymour	<i>New-York Selection</i>	New York: Compilers and J.C. Totten	NEEDHAM
PA2	1806	Abijah Forbush	<i>Psalmist's Assistant</i>	Boston: Manning and Loring	AUSPICIOUS MORN* GRATITUDE LEXINGTON LIMA ROXBURY*
PH	1813	J.C. Washburn	<i>Parish Harmony</i>	Exeter: C. Norris	CRUCIFIXION NORFOLK
PP	1800	[Oliver Holden]	<i>Plain Psalmody</i>	Boston: Thomas and Andrews	ELIM* IMMANUEL
TH1	1818	J.C. Washburn	<i>Temple Harmony</i>	Hallowell, Me.: Goodale and Washburn	CRUCIFIXION ELIM
TH2	1820	J.C. Washburn	<i>Temple Harmony</i>	Hallowell, Me.: Goodale, Glazier & Co., and Washburn	CRUCIFIXION ELIM

<b>Abbr.</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Compiler</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Imprint</b>	<b>Work(s) Included</b>
UH1	1793	Oliver Holden	<i>Union Harmony</i>	Boston: Thomas and Andrews	CHINA
UH3	1801	Oliver Holden	<i>Union Harmony</i>	Boston: Thomas and Andrews	ELIM IMMANUEL
UHB2	1816	Stephen Humbert	<i>Union Harmony, or British . . .</i>	St. John, New Brunswick: Humbert	ELIM
VC1	1806	Daniel Belknap	<i>Village Compilation</i>	Boston: J.T. Buckingham	AUSPICIOUS MORN ELIM FLANDERS IMMANUEL NEWTON NORFOLK SUNDAY
VC2	1807	Daniel Belknap	<i>Village Compilation</i>	Boston: J.T. Buckingham	AUSPICIOUS MORN ELIM FLANDERS IMMANUEL NEWTON NORFOLK SUNDAY
WC7	1800	Oliver Holden	<i>Worcester Collection</i>	Boston: Thomas and Andrews	ELIM IMMANUEL

## K.2 AMBIGUOUS ATTRIBUTIONS OR ATTRIBUTIONS TO LEMUEL BABCOCK

<b>Abbr.</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Compiler</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Imprint</b>	<b>Work(s) Included</b>
AC	1800	Jonathan Huntington	<i>Albany Collection</i>	Albany: A. Wright, 1800	SPRINGFIELD

<b>Abbr.</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Compiler</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Imprint</b>	<b>Work(s) Included</b>
AMH1	1793	Nehemiah Shumway	<i>American Harmony</i>	Philadelphia: J. M'Culloch	SPRINGFIELD
AMH2	1801	Nehemiah Shumway	<i>American Harmony</i>	Philadelphia: J. M'Culloch, 1801	SPRINGFIELD
BH1	1814	Freeman Lewis	<i>Beauties of Harmony</i>	Pittsburgh: Cramer, Spear & Eichbaum, 1814	SPRINGFIELD
BH2	1816	Freeman Lewis	<i>Beauties of Harmony</i>	Pittsburgh: Cramer, Spear & Eichbaum, 1814	SPRINGFIELD
CC	1839	Benjamin Sweetser	<i>Cumberland Collection</i>	Portland, Maine: W. Hyde, 1839	SOLITUDE
CH	1793	Joseph Stone and Abraham Wood	<i>Columbian Harmony</i>	[N.p.: Stone and Wood, 1793]	ADMIRATION* SOLITUDE* SPRINGFIELD WARREN* WESTBOROUGH* WRENTHAM*
CHS	1793	E. Sandford and J. Rhea	<i>Columbian Harmony</i>	Baltimore: S. & J. Adams, 1793	SPRINGFIELD
ECH2	1809	Charles Woodward	<i>Ecclesiae Harmonia</i>	Philadelphia: W.W. Woodward, 1809	SPRINGFIELD
EI	1801	William Little and William Smith	<i>Easy Instructor</i>	[Philadelphia: Compilers, 1801]	ADMIRATION



<b>Abbr.</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Compiler</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Imprint</b>	<b>Work(s) Included</b>
FH	1788	[John Norman?]	<i>Federal Harmony</i>	Boston: Compiler, [1788]	SPRINGFIELD
JTH	1818	Alexander Johnson	<i>Johnson's Tennessee Harmony</i>	Cincinnati: Morgan, Lodge & Co., 1818	SPRINGFIELD
KH	1818	Samuel Metcalf	<i>Kentucky Harmonist</i>	Cincinnati: Morgan, Lodge and Co., 1818	SPRINGFIELD
MAHa	1784	N/A	<i>Massachusetts Harmony</i>	Boston: J. Norman	SPRINGFIELD
MAHb	1785	N/A	<i>Massachusetts Harmony</i>	Boston: J. Norman	SPRINGFIELD
MOR	1810	[Howe?]	<i>Untitled</i>	[Northampton: Howe?, ca. 1810]	EUPHRATES SOLITUDE
NHZa	1788	Daniel Bayley	<i>New Harmony of Zion</i>	Newburyport: D. Bayley, 1788	SPRINGFIELD
NHZb	1788	Daniel Bayley	<i>New Harmony of Zion</i>	Newburyport: D. Bayley, 1788	SPRINGFIELD
PS	1816	John Armstrong	<i>Pittsburgh Selection</i>	Pittsburgh: Cramer, Spear & Eichbaum, 1816.	SPRINGFIELD
PSA	1804	Solomon Howe	<i>Psalm-Singer's Amusement</i>	[Greenwich?: Compiler, ca. 1804]	EUPHRATES* SOLITUDE
SC1	1829	Stoughton Musical Society	<i>Stoughton Collection</i>	Boston: Marsh and Capen	SPRINGFIELD

<b>Abbr.</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Compiler</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Imprint</b>	<b>Work(s) Included</b>
SC4	1831	Stoughton Musical Society	<i>Stoughton Collection</i>	Boston: Marsh, Capen and Lyon	SPRINGFIELD
SH1	1779	Andrew Law	<i>Select Harmony</i>	Farmington, 1779	SPRINGFIELD*
SH2	1782	Andrew Law	<i>Select Harmony</i>	Farmington, [ca. 1782]	SPRINGFIELD
SHB	1784	Daniel Bayley	<i>Select Harmony</i>	Newburyport: D. Bayley	SPRINGFIELD
SHCP	1788	N/A	<i>Sacred Harmony, or, A Collection . . .</i>	Boston: C. Cambridge, [1788]	SPRINGFIELD
SHS	1806	[Nehemiah Shumway]	<i>Sacred Harmony: Being a Collection . . .</i>	Philadelphia: M. M'Culloch	SPRINGFIELD
SKH	1820	Ananias Davisson	<i>Supplement to the Kentucky Harmony</i>	Harrisonburg: Compiler, 1820	SPRINGFIELD
USSH	1799	Amos Pilsbury	<i>United States' Sacred Harmony</i>	Boston: Thomas and Andrews, 1799	SPRINGFIELD
WH	1820	Henry Little	<i>Wesleyan Harmony</i>	Hallowell: E. Goodale, 1820	SPRINGFIELD
YMIC	1810	[Solomon Howe?]	<i>Young Man's Instructive Companion</i>	[Northampton?: Compiler?, ca. 1810]	EUPHRATES SOLITUDE

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**PART II: CRITICAL EDITION**

## 8.0 EDITORIAL POLICY

### 8.1 INTRODUCTION

The pieces in this edition are arranged in three groups: works by Samuel Babcock, the two titles known to be by Lemuel Babcock, and the pieces with ambiguous Babcock attributions. As documented in Part I of this study, the final group is most likely by Lemuel Babcock.

The total number of pieces included here is eighty-nine, including eighty-three pieces and six variant versions. Seventy-six are by Samuel Babcock (including four alternate versions), two are by Lemuel Babcock, and five are ambiguous attributions (including two alternate versions).

My published edition, *Samuel Babcock (ca. 1760-1813): The Collected Works*, was issued as volume 11 in the series *Music of the New American Nation*.<sup>500</sup> It included eighty-two pieces: seventy-five firm attributions to Samuel and six tunes which, at that time, I thought were ambiguous attributions, along with an alternate version of one of the ambiguous titles. My recent research has confirmed that one of these ambiguous pieces can be attributed to Lemuel Babcock.

This dissertation presents the works of both Babcocks along with the ambiguous attributions in a single critical edition. Comparison of accurate texts, including alternate contemporary versions, facilitates the stylistic analysis of the ambiguous attributions. It supports the conclusion that these titles were composed by Lemuel Babcock rather than Samuel Babcock.

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<sup>500</sup> Sampsel, *Samuel Babcock*.



All the pieces originally published in the author's 1999 edition were newly edited for this study, drawing on an additional ten years of research. The seven pieces new to this edition, (8.5%) appear in modern notation here for the first time. In addition to EUPHRATES by Lemuel Babcock, the text to a piece titled "Elegant Tribute," composed by Samuel Babcock for the Watertown memorial for George Washington is given (the music is not extant). The other five new pieces are additional alternate versions of music by Samuel Babcock and the ambiguous attributions that have been identified since 1999, namely CAMBRIDGE [II], ELIM [II], MORNING HYMN [II], and RESOLUTION [II] (DECISION) by Samuel Babcock along with ADMONITION, an alternate version of the ambiguously attributed piece ADMIRATION.

This edition also reflects additional research on the texts set to music. In 1999, four of the texts set by Samuel Babcock remained unidentified (BABEL, RAMA, ROXBURY, and WRENTHAM). Now authors have been identified for BABEL (Thomas Carew) and RAMA (Samuel Medley). And a source for the text for WRENTHAM has been found. The texts set in MINORCA, SPRING, and WRENTHAM remain anonymous, but contemporary sources have been found. Now only one of the texts, ROXBURY, remains unlocated in a contemporary poetic source. No other musical setting or publication of this text has been found; it may have been written by a local, unpublished poet. This further study has also made it possible to determine the major text sources used primarily by Samuel Babcock.

The scores were prepared with the software program Finale (the Garland edition used MusicEase Software). Errors present in both the music and especially the texts in the published edition have been corrected here.

## 8.2 SOURCES

The musical and textual sources for this edition are all late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century publications. The tunebooks are all American in origin. Most of the texts are taken from American hymnals and collections of poetry, but a few are British in origin. Only two works have been found in contemporary manuscripts, SOLITUDE by Lemuel Babcock and the ambiguous attribution SPRINGFIELD. These manuscripts are discussed in Chapter 6 of Part I of this dissertation. A comprehensive search for Babcock pieces in manuscript tunebooks was beyond the scope of this project.

In determining the most authoritative version of Samuel Babcock's music, primary consideration was given to the second edition (1803) of his own tunebook, *The Middlesex Harmony* (Boston: Thomas and Andrews). This is followed by the first edition of this tunebook published in 1795. Next most likely to stem directly from the composer are the collections published in or near Boston or compiled by musicians with whom Babcock was known to have associated. If none of the above applies, the earliest printing of a particular piece was deemed the most authoritative. For the pieces by Lemuel Babcock and the ambiguous attributions, the earliest printings are probably the most authoritative and were used as the sources for this edition. The alternate versions included here were selected on the basis of having been compiled or published by individuals associated with Samuel and Lemuel Babcock.

## 8.3 MUSICAL NOTATION

The primary goal of the editor was to modernize the notation to facilitate study and performance.

This edition follows the editorial policy of the series *Music of the New American Nation*.<sup>501</sup>

### 8.3.1 Clefs

Eighteenth-century tunebooks typically use an alto clef for the counter (alto) voice; this edition replaces the alto clef with a treble clef. While the period tunebooks use a treble clef for the tenor voice, the part was sung an octave lower than notated. This edition uses an octave treble clef (or octavating treble clef) for the tenor part. The original tunebooks use treble clef and bass clef for those voice parts, respectively; these clefs have been retained in this edition.

### 8.3.2 Time signatures

The original meter signatures have been retained except for the third mood of common time. This time signature is indicated in the period sources by a reverse “C” or a reverse “C” with a vertical line through it. In this edition, the modern meter 2/2 has been substituted for it.

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<sup>501</sup> See Sampsel, *Samuel Babcock*, xv-xix.

### **8.3.3 Repeat signs**

Neither the first nor the second edition of *Middlesex Harmony* included printed closing repeats; these have been tacitly provided by the editor in this edition. The symbol :S: was used in some sources as a repeat sign; the editor has replaced this symbol with modern repeat signs.

### **8.3.4 Melismas, slurs, and ties**

Melismas are indicated by a line beginning from the appropriate word of text and extending under the notes of the ornament. Slurs in the original sources have been replaced by the editor with ties as appropriate, as in the case of repeated notes over a bar line. Repeated notes within a measure have only been treated as a tie when they were used to represent a duration for which no note value exists (five eighth notes, for instance).

### **8.3.5 Accidentals**

Courtesy accidentals have been editorially supplied for clarification as appropriate. Sometimes these pieces include dissonances that seem to be intentional, and accidentals in parentheses are used for clarification in these cases. Performers may choose to raise the leading tone in pieces in minor keys or the fourth scale degree in pieces in major keys. It remains unclear to scholars how common this practice was during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in America.

### 8.3.6 Initial rests

Some works begin with a measure of rest in the original sources. These have been tacitly removed.

### 8.3.7 Other notation concerns

The editorial policy statement for the series *Music of the New American Nation* also discusses notation of dotted notes, beaming of note groups, and rebarring of measures. While these are common problems in the psalmody repertory overall, they have not been an issue in the music presented here.

## 8.4 TEXTS

This edition also follows the editorial policy for *Music of the New American Nation* in dealing with texts.<sup>502</sup> As with the editions originally published in that series, the overall goal has been to modernize spellings and contractions while making capitalization and punctuation consistent. Contemporary text sources (psalters, hymnbooks, and collections of poetry) have been given priority as authorities over the texts as printed in the tunebooks. Exceptions to this policy are made when the only printed source of the text identified is in a tunebook.

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<sup>502</sup> See Sampsel, *Samuel Babcock*, xvii-xviii.

## **9.0 SAMUEL BABCOCK EDITION**

The eighty pieces in this section of the edition were composed by Samuel Babcock. Seventy-five pieces include the music and texts; these were all printed for the first time in Boston. The text for an additional piece, "Elegant Tribute," is also provided, although the music is not extant. Four alternate editions, published by compilers known to have an association with Samuel Babcock, are also included.

# ANDOVER

John Relly

P.M. [7.6.7.6.7.8.7.6]

My re - deem - er, let me be Quite hap - py

My re - deem - er, let me be Quite hap - py

My re - deem - er, let me be Quite hap - py

at thy feet, Still to know my - self and thee, Be

at thy feet, Still to know my - self and thee, Be

at thy feet, Still to know my - self and thee, Be

this my bit - ter sweet: Look up - on my in - fant

this my bit - ter sweet: Look up - on my in - fant

this my bit - ter sweet: Look up - on my in - fant

state, And with a fa - ther's yearn - ing bless; Don't thy

state, And with a fa - ther's yearn - ing bless; Don't thy

state, And with a fa - ther's yearn - ing bless; Don't thy

25

ran - somed child for - get, Nor leave me in dis - tress.

ran - somed child for - get, Nor leave me in dis - tress.

ran - somed child for - get, Nor leave me in dis - tress.

2. I have foolishly abus'd  
My saviour's bleeding love;  
All thy gifts, my God, misus'd,  
When by temptation drove:  
Justly I deserve to be  
Forsaken by my Lord and God;  
Yet shall justice plead for me,  
For whom thou shed'st thy blood.
3. Thy blest smiles, my gracious Lord,  
Shall cheer my drooping heart;  
I'm instructed in thy word  
That thou unchanging art:  
Draw me to the depth profound  
Of all thy sorrows, blood and sweat,  
Passing on, through ev'ry wound,  
Unto thy mercy seat.
4. There, reclining on thy breast,  
Th'eternal sabbath find;  
Proving in thee perfect rest  
To my poor lab'ring mind!  
Waiting 'till the Lord I see,  
And be like him forever pure,  
At the heav'nly jubilee  
This bliss to me is sure.



# ASHFORD

John Newton

P.M. [7.7.7.7]

*Piano* *Forte*

Je - sus is be - come at length My sal - va - tion and my  
Je - sus is be - come at length My sal - va - tion and my  
My sal - va - tion and my

8

strength; And his prais - es shall pro - long, While I live,  
strength; And his prais - es shall pro - long, While I live,  
strength; And his prais - es shall pro - long, While I live,

15

While I live, While I live, my pleas - ant song.  
While I live, While I live, my pleas - ant song.  
While I live, While I live, my pleas - ant song.

22

Praise ye then his glo - r'ous name, Pub - lish his ex - alt - ed  
Praise ye then his glo - r'ous name, Pub - lish his ex - alt - ed  
Praise ye then his glo - r'ous name, Pub - lish his ex - alt - ed

29

fame! Still his worth your praise— ex - ceeds, Ex - cel - lent are—

fame! Still his worth your praise— ex - ceeds, Ex - cel - lent are

fame! Still his worth your praise ex - ceeds, Ex - cel - lent are

36

all his deeds. Raise a - gain the joy - ful sound,

all his deeds. Raise a - gain the joy - ful sound,

all his deeds. Raise a - gain the joy - ful sound,

43

Let the na - tions roll it 'round! Zi - on shout, Zi - on shout,

Let the na - tions roll it 'round! Zi - on shout, Zi - on shout,

Let the na - tions roll it 'round! Zi - on shout, Zi - on shout,

51

Zi - on shout, for this is he, God the sav - iour dwells in

Zi - on shout, for this is he, God the sav - iour dwells in

Zi - on shout, for this is he, God the sav - iour dwells in

58

thee, For this is he, God the sav - iour dwells in

thee, For this is he, God the sav - iour dwells in

thee, For this is he, God the sav - iour dwells in

64

thee, God the sav - iour dwells in thee.

thee, God the sav - iour dwells in thee.

thee, God the sav - iour dwells in thee.

# AUSPICIOUS MORN

Anna Barbauld

C.M.

*Moderato*

A - gain the Lord of life and light A - wakes the  
A - gain the Lord of life and light A - wakes the  
A - gain the Lord of life and light A - wakes the

7  
kind - ling ray; Un - seals the eye - lids of the morn, And  
kind - ling ray; Un - seals the eye - lids of the morn, And  
kind - ling ray; Un - seals the eye - lids of the morn, And

13  
pours in - creas - ing day. This day be grate - ful  
pours in - creas - ing day. This day be grate - ful  
pours in - creas - ing day. This day be grate - ful

18  
*Piano*  
hom - mage paid, And loud ho - san - nas sung; Let glad - ness dwell in  
hom - mage paid, And loud ho - san - nas sung; Let glad - ness dwell in  
hom - mage paid, And loud ho - san - nas sung;

22 *Cresc.* *Forte*

ev' - ry heart, And praise on ev' - ry tongue, Let glad - ness dwell in

ev' - ry heart, And praise on ev' - ry tongue, Let glad - ness dwell in

And praise on ev' - ry tongue, Let glad - ness dwell in

26

ev' - ry heart, And praise on ev' - ry tongue, tongue.

ev' - ry heart, And praise on ev' - ry tongue, tongue.

ev' - ry heart, And praise on ev' - ry tongue, tongue.

# BABEL

Thomas Carew

P.M. [7.7.7.7.7]

Sit - ting by the streams that glide Down by Ba - bel's tow'r - ing

Sit - ting by the streams that glide Down by Ba - bel's tow'r - ing

Sit - ting by the streams that glide Down by Ba - bel's tow'r - ing

5

wall, With our tears we swelled the tide, Whilst our mind - ful thoughts re -

wall, With our tears we swelled the tide, Whilst our mind - ful thoughts re -

wall, With our tears we swelled the tide, Whilst our mind - ful thoughts re -

10

call Thee, O Si - on, and thy fall, When our mourn - ful thoughts re -

call Thee, O Si - on, and thy fall, When our mourn - ful thoughts re -

call Thee, O Si - on, and thy fall, When our mourn - ful thoughts re -

15

call Thee, O Si - on, and thy fall, fall.

call Thee, O Si - on, and thy fall, fall.

call Thee, O Si - on, and thy fall, fall.

2. Our neglected harps unstrung,  
Not acquainted with the hand  
Of the skilful tuner, hung  
On the willow trees that stand  
Planted in the neighbour land.
3. Yet the spiteful foe commands  
Songs of mirth, and bids us lay  
To dumb harps our captive hands,  
And, to scoff our sorrows, say,  
“Sing us some sweet Hebrew lay!”
4. But, say we, “Our holy strain  
Is too pure for heathen land;  
Nor may we God’s hymns profane,  
Or move either voice or hand  
To delight a savage band.”
5. Holy Salem, if thy love  
Fall from my forgetful heart,  
May the skill, by which I move  
Strings of music tuned with art,  
From my withered hand depart.
6. May my speechless tongue give sound  
To no accents, but remain  
To my prison-roof fast bound,  
If my sad soul entertain  
Mirth, ’till thou rejoice again.
7. In that day remember, Lord!  
Edom’s breed, that in our groans  
They triumph; and with fire and sword  
Burn their city, hearse their bones,  
And make all one heap of stones.
8. Cruel Babel! thou shalt feel  
The revenger of our groans,  
When the happy victor’s steel,  
As thine ours, shall hew thy bones,  
And make all one heap of stones.
9. Men shall bless the hand that tears  
From the mothers’ soft embraces  
Sucking infants, and besmears  
With their brains the rugged faces  
Of the rocks and stony places.

# CALEDONIA

John Newton

P.M. [7.7.7.7]

I will praise thee ev' - ry\_\_ day, I will praise thee ev' - ry\_\_  
I will praise thee ev' - ry\_\_ day, I will praise thee ev' - ry\_\_  
I will praise thee, I will praise thee,

<sup>8</sup>  
day, Now thine an - ger's turned a - way, I will praise thee  
day, Now thine an - ger's turned a - way, I will praise thee  
I will praise thee ev' - ry day,

<sup>15</sup>  
ev' - ry\_\_ day,\_\_\_\_\_ Now thine an - ger's turned a - way, ev' - ry  
ev' - ry\_\_ day,\_\_\_\_\_ Now thine an - ger's turned a - way, ev' - ry  
I will praise thee, Now thine an - ger's turned a - way, I will

<sup>23</sup>  
day, I\_\_ will\_\_ praise thee ev' - ry\_\_ day.\_\_\_\_\_  
day, I\_\_ will\_\_ praise thee ev' - ry\_\_ day.\_\_\_\_\_  
praise thee ev' - ry day.\_\_\_\_\_



30

Com - for - ta - ble thoughts a - rise, From the bleed - ing sac - ri -

Com - for - ta - ble thoughts a - rise, From the bleed - ing sac - ri -

Com - for - ta - ble thoughts a - rise, From the bleed - ing sac - ri -

37

fice, Ev' - ry day I will praise thee ev' - ry day, I will

fice, Ev' - ry day I will praise thee ev' - ry day, I will

fice, Ev' - ry day I will praise thee, I will

45

praise thee ev' - ry day, Now thine an - ger's turned a - way,

praise thee ev' - ry day, Now thine an - ger's turned a - way,

praise thee, I will praise thee

52

ev' - ry day, I will praise thee ev' - ry day.

ev' - ry day, I will praise thee ev' - ry day.

ev' - ry day, I will praise thee ev' - ry day.

# CAMBRIDGE

## New Version Psalm 100

L.M.

*Soft* *Loud*

With one con - sent let all the earth To God their cheer - ful

With one con - sent let all the earth To God their cheer - ful

With one con - sent let all the earth To God their cheer - ful

8 *Soft* *Loud*

voic - es raise; Glad hom - age pay with aw - ful mirth, And

voic - es raise; Glad hom - age pay with aw - ful mirth, And

voic - es raise; Glad hom - age pay with aw - ful mirth, And

14

1 2

sing be - fore him songs of praise, praise. Con - vinced that

sing be - fore him songs of praise, praise. Con - vinced that

sing be - fore him songs of praise, praise. Con - vinced that

20

he is God a - lone, From whom both we and all pro - ceed;

he is God a - lone, From whom both we and all pro - ceed;

he is God a - lone, From whom both we and all pro - ceed;

27

We, whom he choos - es for \_\_\_ his own, The flock which he \_\_\_ vouch -

We, whom he choos - es for \_\_\_ his own, The flock which he \_\_\_ vouch -

We, whom he choos - es for his own, The flock which he vouch -

33

safes to feed. O en - ter then his tem - ple gates, Thence to his

safes to feed. O en - ter then his tem - ple gates, Thence to his

safes to feed. O en - ter then his tem - ple gates, Thence to his

41

courts de - vout - ly press, And still your grate - ful hymns re - peat, And still \_\_\_ his

courts de - vout - ly press, And still your grate - ful hymns re - peat, And still his

courts de - vout - ly press, And still your grate - ful hymns re - peat, And still \_\_\_ his

49

name with prais - es bless, bless. For he's \_\_\_ the Lord su - preme - ly

name with prais - es bless, bless. For he's \_\_\_ the Lord su - preme - ly

name with prais - es bless, bless. For he's the Lord su - preme - ly

56

good, His mer - cy is for - ev - er sure; — His truth, which

good, His mer - cy is for - ev - er sure; — His truth, which

good, His mer - cy is for - ev - er sure; His truth, which

62

all times — firm - ly stood, To — end - less ag - es shall en - dure, To

all times — firm - ly stood, To — end - less ag - es shall — en - dure, To

all times — firm - ly stood, To end - less ag - es shall — en - dure, — To

69

*Slow*

end - less ag - es shall en - dure, — dure.

end - less ag - es shall en - dure, — dure.

end - less ag - es shall en - dure, — dure.

# CAMBRIDGE [II]

Isaac Watts, Psalm 97i

L.M.

*Soft* *Loud*

He reigns! the Lord, the sav- iour reigns; Praise him in e - van -

He reigns! the Lord, the sav- iour reigns; Praise him in e - van -

He reigns! the Lord, the sav- iour reigns; Praise him in e - van -

8 *Soft* *Loud*

gel - ic strains; Let the whole earth in songs re - joice, And

gel - ic strains; Let the whole earth in songs re - joice, And

gel - ic strains; Let the whole earth in songs re - joice, And

14 1 2

dis - tant is - lands join their voice, voice. Deep are his

dis - tant is - lands join their voice, voice. Deep are his

dis - tant is - lands join their voice, voice. Deep are his

20

coun - sels, and un - known, But grace and truth sup - port his throne;

coun - sels, and un - known, But grace and truth sup - port his throne;

coun - sels, and un - known, But grace and truth sup - port his throne;

27

Though gloo-my clouds his ways sur - round, Jus - tice is their e -

Though gloo-my clouds his ways sur - round, Jus - tice is their e -

Though gloo-my clouds his ways sur - round, Jus - tice is their e -

33

ter - nal ground. In robes of judg - ment, lo! he comes, Shakes the wide

ter - nal ground. In robes of judg - ment, lo! he comes, Shakes the wide

ter - nal ground. In robes of judg - ment, lo! he comes, Shakes the wide

41

earth and cleaves the tombs; Be - fore him burns de - vour - ing fire; The moun - tains

earth and cleaves the tombs; Be - fore him burns de - vour - ing fire; The moun - tains

earth and cleaves the tombs; Be - fore him burns de - vour - ing fire; The moun - tains

49

melt, the seas re - tire, tire. His en - e - mies, with sore dis -

melt, the seas re - tire, tire. His en - e - mies, with sore dis -

melt, the seas re - tire, tire. His en - e - mies, with sore dis -

56

may, Fly from the sight, and shun the day; Then lift your

may, Fly from the sight, and shun the day; Then lift your

may, Fly from the sight, and shun the day; Then lift your

62

heads, ye saints, on high, And sing, for your re - demp - tion's nigh, And

heads, ye saints, on high, And sing, for your re - demp - tion's nigh, And

heads, ye saints, on high, And sing, for your re - demp - tion's nigh, And

69

*Slow*

1 2

sing, for your re - demp - tion's nigh, nigh.

sing, for your re - demp - tion's nigh, nigh.

sing, for your re - demp - tion's nigh, nigh.

# CANA

Anna Barbauld

P.M. [7.7.7.7]

Praise to God, im - mor - tal praise, For the love that crowns our days;

Praise to God, im - mor - tal praise, For the love that crowns our days;

Praise to God, im - mor - tal praise, For the love that crowns our days;

<sup>9</sup> Boun-teous source of ev' - ry joy, Let thy praise our songs em - ploy.

Boun-teous source of ev' - ry joy, Let thy praise our songs em - ploy.

Boun-teous source of ev' - ry joy, Let thy praise our songs em - ploy.

- |    |  |    |   |
|----|--|----|---|
| 2. | For the blessings of the field,<br>For the stores the gardens yield,<br>For the vine's exalted juice,<br>For the gen'rous olive's use;                 | 6. | Yet should rising whirlwinds tear<br>From its stem, the op'ning ear;<br>Should the fig-tree's blasted shoot<br>Drop its green untimely fruit;       |
| 3. | Flocks that whiten all the plain,<br>Yellow sheaves of ripened grain,<br>Clouds that drop their fatt'ning dews,<br>Suns that temp'rate warmth diffuse; | 7. | Should the vine put forth no more,<br>Nor the olive yield her store;<br>Though the sick'ning flocks should fall,<br>And the herds desert the stall; |
| 4. | All that spring with bounteous hand<br>Scatters o'er the smiling land:<br>All that lib'ral autumn pours<br>From her rich o'erflowing stores;           | 8. | Yet to thee our souls shall raise<br>Grateful vows and solemn praise;<br>And, when ev'ry blessing's flown,<br>Love thee for thyself alone.          |
| 5. | These to thee, our God, we owe,<br>Source, whence all our blessings flow;<br>And for these our souls shall raise<br>Grateful vows and solemn praise.   |    |   |



# CHARITY

Isaac Watts, Hymns I No. 134

L.M.

*Moderato*

Had I the tongues of Greeks and Jews, And no-bler speech than an-gels  
use; If love be ab-sent, I am found, Like tink-ling brass, an emp-ty sound.

Had I the tongues of Greeks and Jews, And no-bler speech than an-gels  
use; I am found, Like tink-ling brass, an emp-ty sound.

Had I the tongues of Greeks and Jews, And no-bler speech than an-gels  
use; If love be ab-sent, I am found, Like tink-ling brass, an emp-ty sound.

Had I the tongues of Greeks and Jews, And no-bler speech than an-gels  
use; I am found, Like tink-ling brass, an emp-ty sound.

5

Were I in-spired to preach, and tell All that is  
Were I in-spired to preach, and tell All that is  
Were I in-spired to preach, and tell All that is  
Were I in-spired to preach, and tell All that is

10

14

done in heav'n and hell; Or could my faith the

done in heav'n and hell; Or could my faith the

done in heav'n and hell; Or could my faith the

done in heav'n and hell; Or could my faith the

17

world re - move, Still, I am noth - ing,

world re - move, Still, I am noth - ing,

world re - move, Still, I am noth - ing,

world re - move, Still, I am noth - ing,

20

Still, I am noth - ing with - out love. Should I dis - trib - ute all my

Still, I am noth - ing with - out love.

Still, I am noth - ing with - out love.

Still, I am noth - ing with - out love.

25

store, To feed the bow-els of the poor; To gain a mar-tyr's—  
 Or give my bod-y to the flame, To gain a mar-tyr's  
 Or give my bod-y to the flame, To gain a mar-tyr's  
 To gain a mar-tyr's

31

glo - r'ous name; Be\_\_ ab-sent, all my hopes are\_\_  
 glo - r'ous name; Be ab-sent, all my hopes are  
 glo - r'ous name; Be\_\_ ab-sent, all my hopes are  
 glo - r'ous name; If love to God, and love to men, Be\_\_ ab-sent, all my hopes are

37

vain: Nor tongues, nor gifts, nor fier-y zeal, The work of love can e'er\_\_ ful - fil.  
 vain: Nor tongues, nor gifts, nor fier-y zeal, The work of love can e'er ful - fil.  
 vain: Nor tongues, nor gifts, nor fier-y zeal, The work of love can\_\_ e'er ful - fil.  
 vain: Nor tongues, nor gifts, nor fier-y zeal, The work of love can\_\_ e'er ful - fil.

# CHINA

Isaac Watts, Hymns II No. 1

L.M.

Na - ture, with all her pow'rs, shall sing God,  
Na - ture, with all her pow'rs, shall sing God,  
Na - ture, with all her pow'rs, shall sing God,  
Na - ture, with all her pow'rs, shall sing God,

6  
the cre - a - tor, and the king; Nor air, nor  
the cre - a - tor, and the king; Nor air, nor  
the cre - a - tor, and the king; Nor air, nor  
the cre - a - tor, and the king; Nor air, nor

11  
earth, nor skies, nor seas, De - ny the  
earth, nor skies, nor seas, De - ny the  
earth, nor skies, nor seas, De - ny the  
earth, nor skies, nor seas, De - ny the

15

tri - bute of their praise, praise.

tri - bute of their praise, praise.

tri - bute of their praise, praise.

tri - bute of their praise, praise.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>2. Begin to make his glories known,<br/>Ye seraphs, who sit near his throne;<br/>Tune your harps high, and spread the sound<br/>To the creation's utmost bound.</p>     | <p>6. Raise monumental praises high<br/>To him, who thunders through the sky,<br/>And, with an awful nod or frown,<br/>Shakes an aspiring tyrant down.</p>                |
| <p>3. All mortal things of meaner frame,<br/>Exert your force, and own his name;<br/>Whilst with our souls, and with our voice,<br/>We sing his honours, and our joys.</p> | <p>7. Pillars of lasting brass proclaim<br/>The triumphs of th'eternal name;<br/>While trembling nations read from far<br/>The honours of the God of war.</p>             |
| <p>4. To him be sacred all we have,<br/>From the young cradle to the grave:<br/>Our lips shall his loud wonders tell,<br/>And ev'ry word a miracle.</p>                    | <p>8. Thus let our flaming zeal employ<br/>Our loftiest thoughts, and loudest songs;<br/>Let there be sung, with warmest joy,<br/>Hosanna, from ten thousand tongues.</p> |
| <p>5. These western shores, our native land,<br/>Lie safe in the almighty's hand!<br/>Our foes of vict'ry dream in vain,<br/>And wear the captivating chain.</p>           | <p>9. Yet, mighty God, our feeble frame<br/>Attempts in vain to reach thy name;<br/>The strongest notes that angels raise<br/>Faint, in the worship and the praise.</p>   |

# CHRISTIAN'S HOPE

Isaac Watts, Hymns I No. 18

C.M.

Hear what the voice of heav'n pro - claims, For all the pi - ous —  
Hear what the voice of heav'n pro - claims, For all the pi - ous  
Hear what the voice of heav'n pro - claims, For all the pi - ous

7  
dead! Sweet is the mem'-ry of their names, And soft their sleep - ing — bed.  
dead! Sweet is the mem'-ry of their names, And soft their sleep - ing bed.  
dead! Sweet is the mem'-ry of their names, And soft their sleep - ing bed.

15  
They die in Je - sus, and are blest; How kind — their — slum - bers —  
They die in Je - sus, and are blest; How kind — their — slum - bers —  
They die in Je - sus, and are blest;

22  
are! From suff'-ring, and from sin re - leased, And freed — from — ev' - ry —  
are! From suff'-ring, and from sin re - leased, And freed — from — ev' - ry —  
From suff'-ring, and from sin re - leased, And freed from ev' - ry

29

snare. Far from the world of toil and strife,

snare. Far from the world of toil and strife, They're

snare. Far from the world of toil and strife, They're

32

The la - bours of their mor - tal life

pres - ent with the Lord; The la - bours of their mor - tal life

pres - ent with the Lord;

36

End, end, end in a large re - ward.

End, end, end in a large re - ward.

End, end, end in a large re - ward.

# CHRISTMAS

George Richards

C.M.

Shout, shout for joy, re-joice, O earth: Hail,  
Shout, shout for joy, re-joice, O earth: Hail,  
Shout, shout for joy, re-joice, O earth: Hail,

8

hail this glo - r'ous morn; Re - joice! re - joice in Je - sus'  
hail this glo - r'ous morn; Re - joice! re - joice in Je - sus'  
hail this glo - r'ous morn; Re - joice! re - joice in Je - sus'

14

birth, To - day are na - tions born, born. From Zi - on's hill to  
birth, To - day are na - tions born, born. From Zi - on's hill to  
birth, To - day are na - tions born, born. From Zi - on's hill to

21

worlds a - bove, Re - ech - oed back the strain; And gold - en  
worlds a - bove, Re - ech - oed back the strain; And gold - en  
worlds a - bove, Re - ech - oed back the strain; And gold - en



28

harps at-tuned to love, Thus swept Eph-ra-tah's plain, And

harps at-tuned to love, Thus swept Eph-ra-tah's plain, And

harps at-tuned to love, Thus swept Eph-ra-tah's plain, And

34

gold-en harps at-tuned to love, Thus swept Eph-ra-tah's plain.

gold-en harps at-tuned to love, Thus swept Eph-ra-tah's plain.

gold-en harps at-tuned to love, Thus swept Eph-ra-tah's plain.

41 *Piano*

— He comes! he comes! the sav-iour God: Good will,

— He comes! he comes! the sav-iour God: Good will,

— He comes! he comes! the sav-iour God: Good will,

47 *Forte*

peace, joy for men. Glad tid-ings shout to all a-broad.

peace, joy for men. Glad tid-ings shout to all a-broad.

peace, joy for men. Glad tid-ings shout to all a-broad.

54 *Brisk*

So be it, Lord, so be it, Lord, a - - men, \_\_\_\_\_

So be it, Lord, so be it, Lord, a - - men, \_\_\_\_\_

So be it, Lord, so be it, Lord, a - - men, \_\_\_\_\_

62 *Slow*

So be it, Lord, \_\_\_\_\_ a - - - men. \_\_\_\_\_

So be it, Lord, \_\_\_\_\_ a - - - men. \_\_\_\_\_

So be it, Lord, \_\_\_\_\_ a - - - men. \_\_\_\_\_

# Comfort Ye, My People

Bible, Isaiah 40

Com - fort ye,  
Com - fort ye,  
Com - fort ye, com - fort ye my peo - ple,  
Com - fort ye, com - fort ye my

6  
com - fort ye my peo - ple, com - fort ye my  
com - fort ye my peo - ple,  
com - fort ye my peo - ple, com - fort ye my  
peo - ple, com - fort ye, com - fort ye my

10  
peo - ple, saith your God.  
saith your God.  
peo - ple, saith your God.  
peo - ple, saith your God.

14

Speak com - fort - a - bly

Speak

Speak com - fort - a - bly un - to Je - ru - sa-lem,

Speak com - fort - a - bly un - to Je -

18

un - to Je - ru - sa-lem,

com - fort - a - bly un - to Je - ru - sa-lem,

Speak com - fort - a - bly un - to Je -

ru - sa-lem, Speak com - fort - a - bly

22

and cry un - to her that her

and cry un - to

ru - sa-lem, and cry un - to her that her war - fare is ac -

un - to Je - ru - sa-lem, Speak

26

war - fare is ac - com - plished, her sins are par - doned, her  
 her that her war - fare is ac - com - plished,  
 com - plished, that her sins are par - doned, and  
 com - fort - a - bly un - to Je - ru - sa - lem, and

30

sins are par - doned, her sins are par - doned, her  
 cry un - to her, and cry un - to her that her  
 cry un - to her, and cry un - to her that her

34

war - fare is ac - com - plished, that her sins are par - doned, her  
 war - fare is ac - com - plished, that her sins are par - doned, her  
 war - fare is ac - com - plished, that her sins are par - doned, her

38

sins are par - doned, her sins are par - doned, par - doned. For  
 her sins are par - doned, par - doned.  
 sins are par - doned, her sins are par - doned, par - doned.  
 sins are par - doned, her sins are par - doned, par - doned.

42

she hath re - ceiv - ed of the Lord's hand dou - ble for all her

47

sins, for she hath re - ceiv - ed of the Lord's hand dou - ble for  
 For she hath re - ceiv - ed of the Lord's hand  
 For she hath re - ceiv - ed of the Lord's hand dou - ble for  
 For she hath re - ceiv - ed of the Lord's hand dou - ble

52

all her sins, for she hath re - ceiv - ed of the Lord's hand

for she hath re - ceiv - ed of the Lord's hand

all her sins, for she hath re - ceiv - ed of the Lord's hand

for she hath re - ceiv - ed of the Lord's hand

57

dou - ble for all her sins. The voice of him that

dou - ble for all her sins.

dou - ble for all her sins.

dou - ble for all her sins.

64

cri - eth in the wild - er-ness: Pre - pare ye the way of the Lord, make

70

straight in the desert a high-way for our God, make

make

make

77

straight in the desert a high-way for our God.

a high-way for our God.

straight in the desert a high-way for our God.

straight in the desert a high-way for our God.

84 *Piano* *Cresc.*

Ev' - ry val - ley shall be ex - alt - ed, and ev' - ry moun - tain and

Ev' - ry val - ley shall be ex - alt - ed, and ev' - ry moun - tain and



90 *Forte*

hill made low, Ev' - ry val - ley shall be ex - alt - ed, and  
 Ev' - ry val - ley shall be ex - alt - ed, and  
 Ev' - ry val - ley shall be ex - alt - ed, and  
 hill made low, Ev' - ry val - ley shall be ex - alt - ed, and

96

ev' - ry moun - tain and hill made low. And the  
 ev' - ry moun - tain and hill made low. And the  
 ev' - ry moun - tain and hill made low. And the  
 ev' - ry moun - tain and hill made low. And the

102

glo - ry of the Lord, and the glo - ry of the  
 glo - ry of the Lord, and the glo - ry of the  
 glo - ry of the Lord, and the glo - ry of the  
 glo - ry of the Lord, and the glo - ry of the

108 *Slow*

Lord shall be re - veal - ed, and the glo - ry of the Lord shall be re -

Lord

Lord shall be re - veal - ed, and the glo - ry of the Lord shall be re -

Lord shall be re - veal - ed, and the glo - ry of the Lord shall be re -

114 *Brisk*

veal - ed, and all flesh shall see it, shall see it to - geth - er, and

and

veal - ed, and all flesh shall see it, shall see it to - geth - er, and

veal - ed, and all flesh shall see it, shall see it to - geth - er, and

119

all flesh shall see it to - geth - er, geth - er. Hal - le -

all flesh shall see it to - geth - er, geth - er.

all flesh shall see it to - geth - er, geth - er. Hal - le -

all flesh shall see it to - geth - er, geth - er. Hal - le -

124

lu - jah, a - men, Hal - le - lu - jah, a - men, Hal - le - lu - jah, a - men, lu - jah, a - men, a - men, Hal - le - lu - jah, a - men, a - men, Hal - le -

130

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

# CONSECRATION

Isaac Watts, Horae Lyricae

P.M. [8.8.6.8.8.14]

Change me, O God! my flesh shall be An in - stru -

Change me, O God! my flesh shall be An in - stru -

Change me, O God! my flesh shall be An in - stru -

The first system of the musical score for 'CONSECRATION'. It consists of three staves: a vocal line (treble clef), a piano line (treble clef with an 8), and a bass line (bass clef). The music is in 4/4 time. The lyrics are: 'Change me, O God! my flesh shall be An in - stru -'.

ment of praise to thee, And thou the song in - spire:

ment of praise to thee, And thou the song in - spire:

ment of praise to thee, And thou the song in - spire:

The second system of the musical score. It begins with a measure rest and a '6' above the first staff. The piano part has a 'Forte' dynamic marking. The lyrics are: 'ment of praise to thee, And thou the song in - spire:'.

My tongue shall keep the heav'n - ly chime, My cheer - ful

My tongue shall keep the heav'n - ly chime, My cheer - ful

My tongue shall keep the heav'n - ly chime, My cheer - ful

The third system of the musical score. It begins with a measure rest and a '12' above the first staff. The lyrics are: 'My tongue shall keep the heav'n - ly chime, My cheer - ful'.

pulse shall beat the time, And sweet var - i - et - y, var -

pulse shall beat the time, And sweet var - i - et - y, var -

pulse shall beat the time, And sweet var - i - et - y, var -

The fourth system of the musical score. It begins with a measure rest and a '18' above the first staff. The lyrics are: 'pulse shall beat the time, And sweet var - i - et - y, var -'.

23

i - et - y of sound shall in thy praise con - spire, spire.

i - et - y of sound shall in thy praise con - spire, spire.

i - et - y of sound shall in thy praise con - spire, spire.

2. The dearest nerve about my heart,  
 Should it refuse to bear a part  
 With my melodious breath,  
 I'd tear away the vital chord,  
 A bloody victim to my Lord,  
 And live without the impious string,  
 or show my zeal in death.

# CRETE

New Version Psalm 120

P.M. [8.8.8.8.8]

*Moderato*

In deep dis - tress I oft have cried To God, who  
In deep dis - tress I oft have cried To God, who  
In deep dis - tress I oft have cried To God, who

7  
nev - er yet de - nied To res - cue me op - pressed with wrongs;  
nev - er yet de - nied To res - cue me op - pressed with wrongs;  
nev - er yet de - nied To res - cue me op - pressed with wrongs;

14  
Once more, O Lord, de - liv' - rance send, From ly - ing  
Once more, O Lord, de - liv' - rance send, From ly - ing  
Once more, O Lord, de - liv' - rance send, From ly - ing

20  
lips my soul de - fend, And from the rage of sland' - ring  
lips my soul de - fend, And from the rage of sland' - ring  
lips my soul de - fend, And from the rage of sland' - ring

26

tongues, And from the rage of sland' - ring tongues.

tongues, And from the rage of sland' - ring tongues.

tongues, And from the rage of sland' - ring tongues.

2. What little profit can accrue,  
And yet what heavy wrath is due,  
O thou perfidious tongue, to thee?  
Thy sting upon thyself shall turn;  
Of lasting flames that fiercely burn,  
The constant fuel thou shalt be.
3. But O! how wretched is my doom,  
Who am a sojourner become  
In barren Mesech's desert soil!  
With Kedar's wicked tents inclos'd,  
To lawless savages expos'd,  
Who live on nought but theft and spoil.
4. My hapless dwelling is with those  
Who peace and amity oppose,  
And pleasure take in others' harms:  
Sweet peace is all I court and seek;  
But when to them of peace I speak,  
They straight cry out, "To arms, to arms."

# CRUCIFIXION

Isaac Watts, Psalm 22

L.M.

Now let our mourn-ful songs re - cord The dy - ing sor - rows

Now let our mourn-ful songs re - cord The dy - ing sor - rows

Now let our mourn-ful songs re - cord The dy - ing sor - rows

5

of our Lord; When he com - plained in tears and blood, As

of our Lord; When he com - plained in tears and blood, As

of our Lord; When he com - plained in tears and blood, As

10

one for - sak - en of his God. The Jews be -

one for - sak - en of his God. The Jews be -

one for - sak - en of his God. The Jews be -

15

held him thus for - lorn, And shook their heads, and laughed in

held him thus for - lorn, And shook their heads, and laughed in

held him thus for - lorn, And shook their heads, and laughed in



19

scorn; "He res-cued oth-ers from the grave, He res-cued oth-ers from the

scorn; "He res-cued oth-ers from the grave, He res-cued oth-ers from the

scorn; "He res-cued oth-ers from the

24

grave; Now let him try him-self to save."

grave; Now let him try him-self to save."

grave; Now let him try him-self to save."

2. "This is the man did once pretend  
 God was his father and his friend;  
 If God the blessed lov'd him so,  
 Why doth he fail to help him now?"  
 Barbarous people! cruel priests!  
 How they stood 'round like savage beasts!  
 Like lions gaping to devour,  
 When God had left him in their pow'r.
  
3. They wound his head, his hands, his feet,  
 'Till streams of blood each other meet;  
 By lot his garments they divide,  
 And mock the pangs in which he died.  
 But God his father heard his cry;  
 Rais'd from the dead, he reigns on high;  
 The nations learn his righteousness,  
 And humble sinners taste his grace.

# DELAWARE

Isaac Watts, Horae Lyricae

C.M.

*Moderato*

In aw - ful state the con - q'ring God As - cends his  
shin - ing throne, While tune - ful an - gels sound a - broad The  
vic - t'ries he has won, While tune - ful an - gels sound a -  
broad, The vic - t'ries he has won. Now let me

7  
shin - ing throne, While tune - ful an - gels sound a - broad The  
shin - ing throne, While tune - ful an - gels sound a - broad The  
shin - ing throne, While tune - ful an - gels sound a - broad The

13  
vic - t'ries he has won, While tune - ful an - gels sound a -  
vic - t'ries he has won, While tune - ful an - gels sound a -  
vic - t'ries he has won, While tune - ful an - gels sound a -

20  
broad, The vic - t'ries he has won. Now let me  
- broad, The vic - t'ries he has won. Now let me  
broad, The vic - t'ries he has won. Now let me

26

rise, and join their song, And be an an - gel too;

rise, and join their song, And be an an - gel too;

rise, and join their song, And be an an - gel too;

32

*Moderato* *Piano*

— My heart, my hand, my ear, my tongue, Here's joy - ful

— My heart, my hand, my ear, my tongue, Here's joy - ful

— My heart, my hand, my ear, my tongue, Here's joy - ful

38

*Forte*

work for you, Here's joy - ful work for you.

work for you, Here's joy - ful work for you.

work for you, Here's joy - ful work for you.

2. I would begin the music here,  
 And so my soul should rise:  
 Oh for some heav'nly notes to bear  
 My spirit to the skies!  
 There, ye that love my saviour, sit,  
 There I would fain have place  
 Amongst your thrones, or at your feet,  
 So I might see his face.

# DISSOLUTION

Isaac Watts, Hymns II No. 28

C.M.

Stoop down, my thoughts, that used to rise; Con -

verse a while with death; Think how a gasp - ing

mor - tal lies, And pants a - way his breath, And

pants a - way his breath. His quiv' - ring

14  
lips hang fee - bly down, His pulse are faint and few; Then,  
lips hang fee - bly down, His pulse are faint and few; Then,  
lips hang fee - bly down, His pulse are faint and few; Then,

21  
*Forte* *Piano*  
speech - less, with a dole - ful groan, He bids this world a -  
speech - less, with a dole - ful groan, He bids this world a -  
speech - less, with a dole - ful groan, He bids this world a -

27  
1 2  
dieu, He bids this world a - dieu, dieu!  
dieu, He bids this world a - dieu, dieu!  
dieu, He bids this world a - dieu, dieu!

2. But oh, the soul that never dies!  
At once it leaves the clay!  
Ye thoughts, pursue it where it flies,  
And track its wond'rous way.  
Up to the courts where angels dwell  
It mounts, triumphant there:  
Or devils plunge it down to hell,  
In infinite despair.

3. And must my body faint and die?  
And must this soul remove?  
Oh, for some guardian angel nigh,  
To bear it safe above.  
Jesus, to thy dear faithful hand  
My naked soul I trust;  
And my flesh waits for thy command,  
To drop into my dust.

# DORCHESTER

Isaac Watts, Hymns II No. 122

L.M.

My God, per - mit me not to be A stran - ger to my -

My God, per - mit me not to be A stran - ger to my -

My God, per - mit me not to be A stran - ger to my -

My God, per - mit me not to be A stran - ger to my -

The first system of the hymn, consisting of four staves (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass). The music is in G major and 3/2 time. The lyrics are: "My God, per - mit me not to be A stran - ger to my -".

5 self and thee; A - midst a thou - sand thoughts I rove, For -

self and thee; A - midst a thou - sand thoughts I rove, For -

self and thee; A - midst a thou - sand thoughts I rove, For -

self and thee; A - midst a thou - sand thoughts I rove, For -

The second system of the hymn, starting at measure 5. It consists of four staves. The lyrics are: "self and thee; A - midst a thou - sand thoughts I rove, For -".

10 get - ful of my high - est love.

get - ful of my high - est love.

get - ful of my high - est love.

get - ful of my high - est love.

The third system of the hymn, starting at measure 10. It consists of four staves. The lyrics are: "get - ful of my high - est love.".

*Piano*

Why should my pas-sions mix with earth, And thus de - base my

And thus de - base my

And thus de - base my

Why should my pas-sions mix with earth, And thus de - base my

18

heav'n - ly birth? Why

heav'n - ly birth?

heav'n - ly birth? Why should I cleave to things be - low,

heav'n - ly birth? Why should I cleave to

22

should I cleave to things be - low, And let my God, my

Why should I cleave to things be - low, And let my

Why should I cleave to things be - low, And let my God, my

things be - low, And let my God, my sav - iour

26

sav - iour go, Why should I cleave to things be - low, and  
 God, my sav - iour go, Why should I cleave to things be - low, and  
 sav - iour go, Why should I cleave to things be - low, and  
 go, Why should I cleave to things be - low, and

30

let my God, my sav - iour go, go?  
 let my God, my sav - iour go, go?  
 let my God, my sav - iour go, go?  
 let my God, my sav - iour go, go?

2. Call me away from flesh and sense;  
 One sovereign word can draw me thence;  
 I would obey the voice divine,  
 And all inferiour joys resign.  
 Be earth with all her scenes withdrawn;  
 Let noise and vanity be gone:  
 In secret silence of the mind,  
 My heav'n, and there my God, I find.



# DOXOLOGY

Bible, I Timothy 1:17

*Slow*

Now un - to the king e - ter - nal, im -  
Now un - to the king e - ter - nal, im -  
Now un - to the king e - ter - nal, im -

4  
mor - tal, in - vis - i - ble, the on - ly wise God,  
mor - tal, in - vis - i - ble, the on - ly wise God,  
mor - tal, in - vis - i - ble, the on - ly wise God,

8  
— be glo - ry and hon - our through Je - sus Christ for -  
— be glo - ry and hon - our through Je - sus Christ for -  
— be glo - ry and hon - our through Je - sus Christ for -

12  
1 2  
ev - er and ev - er. A - men, men.  
ev - er and ev - er. A - men, men.  
ev - er and ev - er. A - men, men.

## Elegant Tribute

Richard Rosewell Eliot

P.M. [10.10.10]

1.     Illustrious shade! Accept these artless lays,  
       The muse this tribute to thy mem'ry pays.  
       Thy loss, to no one private grief confined,  
       Demands the general sorrow of mankind;
  
2.     Thine was the first of fortune's gifts to claim,  
       And thine the triumph of unbounded fame.  
       Indulgent nature, emulously kind,  
       Gave to thy form the graces of the mind.
  
3.     Millions unborn thy mem'ry shall revere,  
       And wet thy marble with a pious tear:  
       Nor more to thee by mortals can be giv'n,  
       Much honored shade—the rest is left to Heav'n.

# ELEVATION

Isaac Watts, Hymns II No. 104

S.M.

Raise your tri - umph - ant\_ songs To an im - mor - tal

Raise your tri - umph - ant\_ songs To an im - mor - tal

Raise your tri - umph - ant\_ songs To an im - mor - tal

5  
tune; Let the wide earth re -

tune; Let the wide earth re - sound\_ the deeds, Ce -

tune; Let the wide earth re - sound the deeds, Ce - les - tial grace has

9  
sound\_ the deeds, Ce - les - tial grace has done, Let the wide earth re -

les - tial grace has done, Let the wide earth re -

done, Let the wide earth re -

13  
sound the\_ deeds, Ce - les - tial grace has done, done.

1 2  
sound\_ the\_ deeds, Ce - les - tial grace has done, done.

sound the\_ deeds, Ce - les - tial grace has done, done.

2. Sing how eternal love  
Its chief beloved chose;  
And bid him raise our ruined race,  
From their abyss of woes.
3. His hand no thunder bears,  
No terror clothes his brow;  
No bolts to drive our guilty souls  
To fiercer flames below.
4. 'Twas mercy filled the throne,  
And wrath stood silent by,  
When Christ was sent with pardons down,  
To rebels doomed to die.
5. Now, sinners, dry your tears,  
Let hopeless sorrow cease;  
Bow to the sceptre of his love,  
And take the offered peace.
6. Lord, we obey thy call;  
We lay a humble claim  
To the salvation thou hast brought;  
And love and praise thy name.

# ELIM

James Merrick

P.M. [7.7.7.7]

Musical score for the first system of 'ELIM'. It consists of three staves: a soprano staff, an alto staff, and a bass staff. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 2/4. The lyrics are: 'Lift your voice, and thank - ful sing Prais - es'. The soprano and alto parts have identical lyrics, while the bass part has a shorter line: 'Prais - es'.

Musical score for the second system of 'ELIM'. It consists of three staves. The lyrics are: 'to your heav'n - ly king; For his bless - ings far ex -'. The soprano and alto parts have identical lyrics, while the bass part has a shorter line: 'to your heav'n - ly king; For his bless - ings far ex -'. There is a repeat sign at the end of the system.

Musical score for the third system of 'ELIM'. It consists of three staves. The lyrics are: 'tend, And his mer - cy knows no end.'. The soprano and alto parts have identical lyrics, while the bass part has a shorter line: 'tend, And his mer - cy knows no end.'. There is a repeat sign at the end of the system.

- |    |   |    |  |
|----|---|----|--|
| 2. | Be the Lord your only theme,<br>Who of gods is God supreme;<br>He to whom all lords beside<br>Bow the knee, their faces hide:       | 5. | And the stars that gild the pole<br>Through unmeasur'd ether roll.<br>Thee, O sun, whose pow'rful ray<br>Rules the empire of the day;<br>You, O moon and stars, whose light<br>Cheers the darkness of the night. |
| 3. | Who asserts his just command,<br>By the wonders of his hand;<br>He whose wisdom, thron'd on high,<br>Built the mansions of the sky: | 6. | He with food sustains, O earth,<br>All which claim from thee their birth;<br>For his blessings wide extend,<br>And his mercy knows no end  |
| 4. | He who bade the wat'ry deep<br>In appointed bounds to keep,   |    |  |

# ELIM [II]

James Merrick

L.M.

Lift up your voice and thank - ful sing Loud prais - es

Lift up your voice and thank - ful sing Loud prais - es

Lift up your voice and thank - ful sing Loud prais - es

7  
to your heav'n - ly king; His heav'n - ly bless - ings far ex -

to your heav'n - ly king; His heav'n - ly bless - ings far ex -

to your heav'n - ly king; His heav'n - ly bless - ings far ex -

13  
tend, His love and mer - cy knows no end.

tend, His love and mer - cy knows no end.

tend, His love and mer - cy knows no end.

# EPHRATAH

Nahum Tate

C.M.

While shep - herds watched their flocks by night, All seat - ed on the  
While shep - herds watched their flocks by night, All seat - ed on the  
While shep - herds watched their flocks by night, All seat - ed on the

5

ground, The an - gel of the Lord came down, And glo - ry shone a - round.  
ground, The an - gel of the Lord came down, And glo - ry shone a - round.  
ground, The an - gel of the Lord came down, And glo - ry shone a - round.

*Piano*

"Fear not," said he, for might - y dread Had seized their trou - bled mind; "Glad  
"Glad  
"Fear not," said he, for might - y dread Had seized their trou - bled mind; "Glad

14

ti - dings of great joy I bring To you and all man - kind," kind."  
ti - dings of great joy I bring To you and all man - kind," kind."  
ti - dings of great joy I bring To you and all man - kind," kind."

2. "To you in David's town, this day,  
Is born of David's line,  
The saviour, who is Christ the Lord,  
And this shall be the sign:  
The heav'nly babe you there shall find,  
To human view displayed,  
All meanly wrapped in swaddling bands,  
And in a manger laid."
  
3. Thus spake the seraph; and forthwith  
Appeared a shining throng  
Of angels, praising God, who thus  
Addressed their joyful song:  
"All glory be to God on high,  
And to the earth be peace;  
Good will henceforth from heav'n to men,  
Begin, and never cease."



# FLANDERS

New Version Psalm 11

C.M.

Since I have placed my trust in God, A ref-uge al-ways

Since I have placed my trust in God, A ref-uge al-ways

Since I have placed my trust in God, A ref-uge al-ways

nigh, Why should I, like a tim' - rous bird, To

nigh, Why should I, like a tim' - rous bird, To

nigh, Why should I, like a tim' - rous bird, To

dis - tant moun-tains fly, To dis - tant moun-tains fly, fly?

dis - tant moun-tains fly, To dis - tant moun-tains fly, fly?

dis - tant moun-tains fly, To dis - tant moun-tains fly, fly?

2. Behold, the wicked bend their bow,  
And ready fix their dart,  
Lurking in ambush, to destroy  
The man of upright heart.

4. The Lord hath both a temple here,  
And righteous throne above;  
Where he surveys the sons of men,  
And how their counsels move.

3. When once the firm assurance fails,  
Which public faith imparts,  
'Tis time for innocence to fly  
From such deceitful arts.

5. If God, the righteous, whom he loves,  
For trial, does correct;  
What must the sons of violence,  
Whom he abhors, expect?

6. Snares, fire, and brimstone, on their heads  
Shall in one tempest show'r;  
This dreadful mixture his revenge  
Into their cup shall pour.

7. The righteous Lord will righteous deeds  
With signal favour grace;  
And to the upright man disclose  
The brightness of his face.

# FLORENCE

Isaac Watts, Hymns I No. 148

H.M.

*Moderato*

Im - mense com - pas - sion reigns In our Im - man - uel's

Im - mense com - pas - sion reigns In our Im - man - uel's

Im - mense com - pas - sion reigns In our Im - man - uel's

7

heart, When he des - cends to act A med - i - a - tor's part.

heart, When he des - cends to act A med - i - a - tor's part.

heart, When he des - cends to act A med - i - a - tor's part.

14

He is a friend And broth - er too, Di - vine - ly kind, Di -

He is a friend And broth - er too, Di - vine - ly kind, Di -

He is a friend And broth - er too, Di - vine - ly kind, Di -

20

vine - ly true, Di - vine - ly kind, Di - vine - ly true.

vine - ly true, Di - vine - ly kind, Di - vine - ly true.

vine - ly true, Di - vine - ly kind, Di - vine - ly true.

2. At length the Lord, the judge,  
His awful throne ascends,  
And drives the rebels far  
From favourites and friends:  
Then shall the saints  
Completely prove  
The heights and depths  
Of all his love.

# GIHON

Isaac Watts, Psalm 93ii

P.M. 6.6.8.6.8

The Lord Je - ho - vah\_ reigns, And roy - al state main - tains; His  
The Lord Je - ho - vah\_ reigns, And roy - al state main - tains; His  
The Lord Je - ho - vah\_ reigns, And roy - al state main - tains; His  
The Lord Je - ho - vah\_ reigns, And roy - al state main - tains; His

*Piano*

6  
head with aw - ful glo - ries crowned, Ar - rayed in robes of\_ light, Be -  
head with\_ aw - ful glo - ries crowned, Be -  
head with aw - ful glo - ries crowned, Ar - rayed in robes of\_ light, Be -  
head with aw - ful glo - ries crowned, Be -

12  
girt with sov'-reign might, And rays of maj - es - ty a - round, round.  
girt with sov'-reign might, And rays of\_ maj - es - ty a - round, round.  
girt with sov'-reign might, And rays of maj - es - ty a - round, round.  
girt with sov'-reign might, And rays of\_ maj - es - ty a - round, round.

2. Upheld by his commands,  
The world securely stands,  
And skies and stars obey thy word.  
Thy throne was fix'd on high,  
Before the starry sky:  
Eternal is thy kingdom, Lord.
3. In vain the noisy crowd,  
Like billows fierce and loud,  
Against thine empire rage and roar;  
In vain with angry spite  
The surly nations fight,  
And dash like waves against the shore.
4. Let floods and nations rage,  
And all their pow'rs engage,  
Let swelling tides assault the sky:  
The terrors of thy frown  
Shall beat their madness down;  
Thy throne forever stands on high.
5. Thy promises are true,  
Thy grace is ever new;  
There fix'd, thy church shall ne'er remove:  
Thy saints, with holy fear,  
Shall in thy courts appear,  
And sing thine everlasting love.

# GRATITUDE

Isaac Watts, Psalm 116ii

C.M.

What shall I ren - der to my God, For all his kind - ness  
What shall I ren - der to my God, For all his kind - ness  
What shall I ren - der to my God, For all his kind - ness

5  
shown? My  
shown? My feet shall vis - it  
shown? My feet shall vis - it thine a - bode, My

8  
feet shall vis - it thine a - bode, My songs ad - dress thy  
thine a - bode, My songs ad - dress thy throne,  
songs ad - dress thy throne,

11  
throne, My feet shall vis - it thine a - bode, My  
My feet shall vis - it thine a - bode, My  
My feet shall vis - it thine a - bode, My

14

songs ad - dress thy throne, throne.

songs ad - dress thy throne, throne.

songs ad - dress thy throne, throne.

2. Among the saints who fill thy house,  
My off'ring shall be paid;  
There shall my zeal perform the vows,  
My soul in anguish made.
3. How much is mercy thy delight,  
Thou ever blessed God!  
How dear thy servants in thy sight!  
How precious is their blood!
4. How happy all thy servants are!  
How great thy grace to me!  
My life which thou hast made thy care,  
Lord, I devote to thee.
5. Now I am thine, forever thine,  
Nor shall my purpose move;  
Thy hand hath loosed my bonds of pain,  
And bound me with thy love.
6. Here, in thy courts, I leave my vow,  
And thy rich grace record;  
Witness, ye saints, who hear me now,  
If I forsake the Lord.



# HAMBURG

Isaac Watts, Horae Lyricae

L.M.

“Rise,” saith the prince of mer - cy, “rise,” With  
“Rise,” saith the prince of mer - cy, “rise,” With  
“Rise,” saith the prince of mer - cy, “rise,” With

7  
joy and pit - y in his eyes: “Rise and be - hold my wound - ed  
8  
joy and pit - y in his eyes: “Rise and be - hold my wound - ed  
joy and pit - y in his eyes: “Rise and be - hold my wound - ed

14  
veins, Here flows the blood that washed thy stains, Here flows the  
8  
veins, Here flows the blood that washed thy stains, Here flows the  
veins, Here flows the blood that washed thy stains, Here flows the

20  
blood that washed thy stains.” “See my great fa - ther  
8  
blood that washed thy stains.” “See my great fa - ther  
blood that washed thy stains.”

26

rec-on-ciled." He said, and lo, the fa-ther smiled: The joy-ful

rec-on-ciled." He said, and lo, the fa-ther smiled: The joy-ful

He said, and lo, the fa-ther smiled: The joy-ful

33

cher-ubs clapped their wings, And sound-ed grace, and sound-ed

cher-ubs clapped their wings, And sound-ed grace, and sound-ed

cher-ubs clapped their wings, And sound-ed grace, and

38

grace, and sound-ed grace on all their strings.

grace, and sound-ed grace on all their strings.

sound-ed grace on all their strings.

# HARVARD

Isaac Watts, Psalm 147

P.M. [8.8.8.8.8]

Sing to the Lord, ex - alt him high, Who spreads the clouds all  
Sing to the Lord, ex - alt him high, Who spreads the clouds all  
Sing to the Lord, ex - alt him high, Who spreads the clouds all

7  
'round the sky; There he pre - pares the fruit - ful rain, He  
'round the sky; There he pre - pares the fruit - ful rain, He  
'round the sky; There he pre - pares the fruit - ful rain, He

13  
makes the grass the hills a - dorn, And clothes the smil - ing  
makes the grass the hills a - dorn, And clothes the smil - ing  
makes the grass the hills a - dorn,

19  
fields with corn, Nor lets the drops des - cend in vain, Nor  
fields with corn, Nor lets the drops des - cend in vain, Nor  
Nor lets the drops des - cend in vain, Nor

25

lets the drops de - scend in vain, vain.

lets the drops de - scend in vain, vain.

lets the drops de - scend in vain, vain.

# HOREB

Charles Wesley

P.M. [7.7.7.7.7]

*Andante*

Hearts of stone, re - lent, re - lent, Break, by Je - sus'

Hearts of stone, re - lent, re - lent, Break, by Je - sus'

Hearts of stone, re - lent, re - lent, Break, by Je - sus'

7

cross sub - dued; See his bod - y man - gled, rent, Cov - ered

cross sub - dued; See his bod - y man - gled, rent, Cov - ered

cross sub - dued; See his bod - y man - gled, rent, Cov - ered

14

*Forte*

with a gore of blood! Sin - ful soul, what hast thou done?

with a gore of blood! Sin - ful soul, what hast thou done?

with a gore of blood! Sin - ful soul, what hast thou done?

22

*Piano* *Forte*

Mur - dered God's e - ter - nal son! Sin - ful soul what hast thou

Mur - dered God's e - ter - nal son! Sin - ful soul what hast thou

Mur - dered God's e - ter - nal son! Sin - ful soul what hast thou

29 *Mezzo Piano*

done? Mur - dered God's e - ter - nal son!

done? Mur - dered God's e - ter - nal son!

done? Mur - dered God's e - ter - nal son!

2. Yes, our sins have done the deed,  
Drove the nails that fix him here,  
Crowned with thorns his sacred head,  
Pierced him with the soldier's spear,  
Made his soul a sacrifice;  
For a sinful world he dies.
  
3. Shall we let him die in vain?  
Still to death pursue our God?  
Open tear his wounds again,  
Trample on his precious blood?  
No; with all our sins we part,  
Saviour, take my broken heart!

# HUMILITY

Isaac Watts, Psalm 39iii

C.M.

*Moderato*

God of my life, look gen - tly down, Be - hold the pains I feel; But  
 God of my life, look gen - tly down, Be - hold the pains I feel; But  
 God of my life, look gen - tly down, Be - hold the pains I feel; But

8  
 I am dumb be - fore thy throne, Nor dare dis - pute thy will, will.  
 I am dumb be - fore thy throne, Nor dare dis - pute thy will, will.  
 I am dumb be - fore thy throne, Nor dare dis - pute thy will, will.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>2. Diseases are thy servants, Lord,<br/>         They come at thy command;<br/>         I'll not attempt a murm'ring word,<br/>         Against thy chast'ning hand.</p> <p>3. Yet may I plead, with humble cries,<br/>         Remove thy sharp rebukes;<br/>         My strength consumes, my spirit dies,<br/>         Through thy repeated strokes.</p> <p>4. Crushed as a moth beneath thy hand,<br/>         We moulder to the dust;<br/>         Our feeble pow'rs can ne'er withstand,<br/>         And all our beauty's lost.</p> | <p>5. This mortal life decays apace,<br/>         How soon the bubble's broke;<br/>         Adam and all his num'rous race<br/>         Are vanity and smoke.</p> <p>6. I'm but a sojourner below,<br/>         As all my fathers were;<br/>         May I be well prepared to go,<br/>         When I the summons hear.</p> <p>7. But if my life be spared a while,<br/>         Before my last remove,<br/>         Thy praise shall be my business still,<br/>         And I'll declare thy love.</p> |
|---|--|

# IMMANUEL

John Bakewell

P.M. [8.7.8.7]

*Moderato*

Hail, thou once de - spis - ed Je - sus! Thou didst free sal -  
Hail, thou once de - spis - ed Je - sus! Thou didst free sal -  
Thou didst free sal -

7  
va - tion bring; By thy death thou didst re - lease us From the  
va - tion bring; By thy death thou didst re - lease us From the  
va - tion bring; From the

14  
ty - rant's dead - ly sting. Hail, thou ag - o - niz - ing sav - iour,  
ty - rant's dead - ly sting. Hail, thou ag - o - niz - ing sav - iour,  
ty - rant's dead - ly sting. Hail, thou ag - o - niz - ing sav - iour,

21  
Thou didst bear our sin and shame! By thy mer - it  
Thou didst bear our sin and shame! By thy mer - it  
By thy mer - it



27

we find favour, Life is given through thy name.

we find favour, Life is given through thy name.

we find favour, Life is given through thy name.

2. Paschal lamb, by God appointed,  
All our sins on thee were laid;  
Great high priest by God anointed,  
Thou hast full atonement made!  
Contrite sinners are forgiven,  
Through the virtue of thy blood:  
Opened is the gate of heaven,  
Peace is made with man and God.
3. Jesus hail! enthron'd in glory,  
There forever to abide;  
All the heav'nly hosts adore thee,  
Seated at thy father's side.  
There for sinners thou art pleading,  
There thou dost our place prepare;  
Ever for us interceding,  
'Till in heaven we appear.
4. Glory, honour, pow'r and blessing,  
Thou art worthy to receive;  
Loudest praises, without ceasing,  
Meet it is for us to give.  
Help, ye bright angelic spirits,  
Lend your loudest, noblest lays;  
Join to sing our saviour's merits,  
And to celebrate his praise.

# INTERCESSION

Isaac Watts, Horae Lyricae

L.M.

*Affettuoso*



Par - don and grace, and bound - less love,  
Par - don and grace, and bound - less love,  
Par - don and grace, and bound - less love,

5  
Stream - ing a - long a sav - iour's blood,  
Stream - ing a - long a sav - iour's blood,  
Stream - ing a - long a sav - iour's blood,

9  
— And life, and joys, and crowns a - bove,  
And life, and joys, and crowns a - bove,  
— And life, and joys, and crowns a - bove,

14  
Dear pur - chased by a bleed - ing God.  
Dear pur - chased by a bleed - ing God.  
Dear pur - chased by a bleed - ing God.

19

Hark, how he prays, the charm - ing sound Dwells on his dy - ing

Hark, how he prays, the charm - ing sound Dwells on his dy - ing

Hark, how he prays,

23

lips, For - give, for - give, for - give! And

lips, For - give, for - give, for - give! And

For - give, for - give, for - give! And

27

ev' - ry groan and gap - ing wound Cries, fa - ther,

ev' - ry groan and gap - ing wound Cries, fa - ther,

ev' - ry groan and gap - ing wound Cries, fa - ther,

31

fa - ther, let the reb - els live.

fa - ther, let the reb - els live.

fa - ther, let the reb - els live.

# LEXINGTON

Philip Doddridge

C.M.

In - dul - gent God, with pit - ying eyes The sons of men sur -

In - dul - gent God, with pit - ying eyes The sons of men sur -

In - dul - gent God, with pit - ying eyes The sons of men sur -

5

vey, And see how youth - ful sin - ners sport In a de - struc - tive way. Ten

vey, And see how youth - ful sin - ners sport In a de - struc - tive way. Ten

vey, And see how youth - ful sin - ners sport In a de - struc - tive way. Ten

10

thou - sand dan - gers lurk a - round To bear them to the tomb; Each

thou - sand dan - gers lurk a - round To bear them to the tomb; Each

thou - sand dan - gers lurk a - round To bear them to the tomb; Each

14

in an hour may plunge them down, Where hope can nev - er come, come.

in an hour may plunge them down, Where hope can nev - er come, come.

in an hour may plunge them down, Where hope can nev - er come, come.

2. Reduce, O Lord, their wand'ring minds,  
Amused with airy dreams,  
That heav'nly wisdom may dispel,  
Their visionary schemes.  
With holy caution may they walk,  
And be thy word their guide;  
'Till each, the desert safely passed,  
On Zion's hill abide.

# LIMA

Isaac Watts, Hymns I No. 51

S.M.

To God, the on - ly wise, Our sav - iour, and our  
To God, the on - ly wise, Our sav - iour, and our  
To God, the on - ly wise, Our sav - iour, and our

5  
king, Let all the saints be - low the skies Their hum - ble prais - es bring. 'Tis  
king, Let all the saints be - low the skies Their hum - ble prais - es bring.  
king, Let all the saints be - low the skies Their hum - ble prais - es bring. 'Tis

10  
his al - might - y love, His coun - sel, and his care Pre - serves us safe from  
His coun - sel, and his care Pre - serves us safe from  
his al - might - y love, His coun - sel, and his care Pre - serves us safe from

15  
1 2  
sin and death, And ev' - ry hurt - ful snare, snare.  
sin and death, And ev' - ry hurt - ful snare, snare.  
sin and death, And ev' - ry hurt - ful snare, snare.

2. He will present our souls,  
Unblemished and complete,  
Before the glory of his face,  
With joys divinely great.  
Then all the chosen seed  
Shall meet around the throne;  
Shall bless the conduct of his grace,  
And make his wonders known.

# Lord, Thou Hast Been Our Dwelling Place

Bible, Psalm 90

*Moderato*

The musical score is written in 2/4 time with a key signature of one sharp (F#). It consists of four systems of three staves each (Soprano, Alto, and Bass). The lyrics are: "Lord, thou hast been our dwell-ing place, Lord, thou hast been our dwell-ing place in all gen - er - a - tions. Be - fore the moun - tains were brought forth, or ev - er thou hadst form - ed the earth and the world, ev - en from ev - er - last - ing to ev - er - last - ing, thou art God,". The tempo is marked "Moderato".

Lord, thou hast been our  
Lord, thou hast been our  
Lord, thou hast been our dwell-ing place, Lord, thou hast been our

6  
dwell-ing place in all gen - er - a - tions. Be - fore the moun - tains were  
dwell-ing place in all gen - er - a - tions. Be - fore the moun - tains were  
dwell-ing place in all gen - er - a - tions. Be - fore the moun - tains were

12  
brought forth, or ev - er thou hadst form - ed the earth and the world, ev - en from  
brought forth, or ev - er thou hadst form - ed the earth and the world, ev - en from  
brought forth, or ev - er thou hadst form - ed the earth and the world, ev - en from

18  
ev - er - last - ing to ev - er - last - ing, thou art God,  
ev - er - last - ing to ev - er - last - ing, thou art God,  
ev - er - last - ing to ev - er - last - ing, thou art God,



26

thou art God, ev-en from ev-er - last-ing to ev - er -

thou art God, ev-en from ev-er - last-ing to ev - er -

thou art God, ev-en from ev-er - last-ing to ev - er -

34

last-ing, thou art God. Thou turn-est man to de-

last-ing, thou art God. Thou turn-est man to de-

last-ing, thou art God. Thou turn-est man to de-

42

and say'st, "Re - turn, ye chil - dren of men," and say'st, "Re - turn, ye struc-tion; and say'st, "Re - turn, ye chil - dren of men," and say'st, "Re - turn, ye

and say'st, "Re - turn, ye chil - dren of men," and say'st, "Re - turn, ye

and say'st, "Re - turn, ye chil - dren of men," and say'st, "Re - turn, ye

49

chil - dren of men." For all our days are pass-ed a - way in thy chil - dren of men." chil - dren of men."

chil - dren of men."

chil - dren of men."

56

wrath: we spend our years as a tale that is told. We spend our

We spend our

We spend our

62

years as a tale that is told, told. So teach us to number our

years as a tale that is told, told. So teach us to number our

years as a tale that is told, told. So teach us to number our

68

days, to number our days, that we may apply our

days, to number our days, to number our days, that we may apply our

days, to number our days, that we may apply our

75

hearts un - to wis - dom, that we may ap - ply, that we may ap - ply our hearts un - to

hearts un - to wis - dom, that we may ap - ply, that we may ap - ply our hearts un - to

hearts un - to wis - dom, that we may ap - ply, that we may ap - ply our hearts un - to

82

wis-dom, that we may ap - ply, ap - ply our hearts un - to wis-dom, wis-dom.

wis-dom, that we may ap - ply, our hearts un - to wis-dom, wis-dom.

wis-dom, that we may ap - ply, our hearts un - to wis-dom, wis-dom.

# LUBEC

Isaac Watts, Hymns III No. 9

S.M.

Let all our tongues be one, To praise our God on  
Let all our tongues be one, To praise our God on  
Let all our tongues be one, To praise our God on

<sup>5</sup>  
high, Who from his bos - om sent his son, To bring us stran - gers  
high, Who from his bos - om sent his son, To bring us stran - gers  
high, Who from his bos - om sent his son, To bring us stran - gers

<sup>10</sup>  
nigh. Nor let our voic - es  
nigh. Nor let our voic - es cease  
nigh. Nor let our voic - es cease

<sup>14</sup>  
cease To sing the sav - iour's name; Je - sus, th'am - bas - sa - dor of  
To sing the sav - iour's name; Je - sus, th'am - bas - sa - dor of  
To sing the sav - iour's name; Je - sus, th'am - bas - sa - dor of

19

1. 2.

peace, How cheer - ful - ly he came, came!

peace, How cheer - ful - ly he came, came!

peace, How cheer - ful - ly he came, came!

2. It cost him cries and tears,  
To bring us near to God;  
Great was our debt, and he appears,  
To make the payment good.  
My saviour's pierced side,  
Poured out a double flood;  
By water we are purified,  
And pardoned by the blood.
3. Infinite was our guilt,  
But he our priest atones;  
On the cold ground his life was spilt,  
And offered up with groans.  
Look up, my soul, to him  
Whose death was thy desert;  
And humbly view the living stream  
Flow from his breaking heart.
4. There, on the cursed tree,  
In dying pangs he lies!  
Fulfills his father's great decree,  
And all our wants supplies.  
Thus the redeemer came,  
By water and by blood;  
And when the spirit speaks the same,  
We feel his witness good.
5. While the eternal three  
Bear their record above;  
Here I believe he died for me,  
And sealed my saviour's love.  
Lord cleanse my soul from sin,  
Nor let thy grace depart;  
Great comforter, abide within,  
And witness to my heart.

# MEDFORD

Isaac Watts, Psalm 118

S.M.

Ho - san - na to the king Of Da - vid's roy - al blood: Bless

him, ye saints; he comes to bring Sal - va - tion from your God, Bless

him, ye saints; he comes to bring Sal - va - tion from your God, Bless

him, ye saints; he comes to bring Sal - va - tion from your God, God.

him, ye saints; he comes to bring Sal - va - tion from your God, God.

him, ye saints; he comes to bring Sal - va - tion from your God, God.

- 
2. We bless thine holy word,  
Which all this grace displays  
And offer on thine altar, Lord,  
Our sacrifice of praise.

# MENOTOMY

Anne Steele

L.M.

To Je - sus, our ex - alt - ed Lord, That name, in heav'n and  
To Je - sus, our ex - alt - ed Lord, That name, in heav'n and  
To Je - sus, our ex - alt - ed Lord, That name, in heav'n and

8  
earth a - dored, Fain would our hearts and voic - es raise A  
earth a - dored, Fain would our hearts and voic - es raise A  
earth a - dored, Fain would our hearts and voic - es raise A

14 *Piano*  
cheer - ful song of sa - cred praise. But all the notes which  
cheer - ful song of sa - cred praise.  
cheer - ful song of sa - cred praise.

21 *Forte*  
mor - tals know Are weak, and lan - guish - ing, and low; Then let our  
Then let our  
Then let our

28

warm af - fec - tions move, In glad re - turns of grate - ful love!

warm af - fec - tions move, In glad re - turns of grate - ful love!

warm af - fec - tions move, In glad re - turns of grate - ful love!



# MILTON

Isaac Watts, Psalm 17

L.M.

*Slow*

My flesh shall slumber in the ground,

My flesh shall slumber in the ground,

My flesh shall slumber in the ground,

6 *Brisk*

'Till the last trumpet's joyful sound; Then burst the

'Till the last trumpet's joyful sound; Then burst the

'Till the last trumpet's joyful sound; Then burst the

11

chains with sweet surprise, And in my saviour's image

chains with sweet surprise, And in my saviour's image

chains with sweet surprise, And in my saviour's image

17 *Andante*

rise, And in my saviour's image rise. O

rise, And in my saviour's image rise. O

rise, And in my saviour's image rise. O

23 *Piano* *Piano*

glo - r'ous hour! O blest a - bode! I shall be near,  
 glo - r'ous hour! O blest a - bode! I shall be near,  
 glo - r'ous hour! O blest a - bode! I shall be near, I shall be near,

31 *Forte*

I shall be near, and like my God! When flesh and sin no more con-  
 I shall be near, and like my God! When flesh and sin no more con-  
 I shall be near, and like my God! When flesh and sin no more con-

39

troul The sa - cred pleas - ures of the soul, When flesh and sin no  
 troul The sa - cred pleas - ures of the soul, When flesh and sin no  
 troul The sa - cred pleas - ures of the soul, When flesh and sin no

47

more con - troul The sa - cred pleas - ures of the soul, soul.  
 more con - troul The sa - cred pleas - ures of the soul, soul.  
 more con - troul The sa - cred pleas - ures of the soul, soul.

# MINORCA

Anonymous

P.M. [8.8.6.8.8.6]

*Slow*

Al - might - y king of heav'n a - bove, E - ter - nal source of  
Al - might - y king of heav'n a - bove, E - ter - nal source of  
Al - might - y king of heav'n a - bove, E - ter - nal source of

5  
truth and love, And Lord of all be - low, With  
truth and love, And Lord of all be - low, With  
truth and love, And Lord of all be - low, With

8  
rev' - rence and re - li - gious fear, Per - mit thy sup - pliants  
rev' - rence and re - li - gious fear, Per - mit thy sup - pliants  
rev' - rence and re - li - gious fear, Per - mit thy sup - pliants

11  
to draw near, And at thy feet to bow, bow.  
to draw near, And at thy feet to bow, bow.  
to draw near, And at thy feet to bow, bow.

2. Thy sov'reign fiat formed us first,  
Thy breath can blow us back to dust,  
Frail, sinful, mortal clay;  
'Tis thine undoubted right to give  
Those earthly blessings we receive,  
And thine to take away.
3. All things are under thy control,  
Eternal wisdom rules the whole,  
Educing good from ill;  
Submissive therefore we resign,  
Our wills are swallowed up in thine,  
In thy most holy will.
4. In heav'n above, thy will is done;  
There, angels wait around thy throne,  
Thy counsels to obey;  
Adoring at thy feet they fall,  
Confess thee sov'reign Lord of all,  
And own thy pow'rful sway.
5. Lord, may we join the heav'nly throng,  
May mortals learn th'angelic song,  
Who dwell beneath the sun;  
May ev'ry tongue thy praise proclaim  
This be the universal theme,  
"Jehovah's will be done."

# MORNING HYMN

Isaac Watts, Hymns II No. 6

C.M.

Once more, my soul, the ris - ing day Sa -  
lutes thy wak - ing eyes: Once more, my voice, thy tri - bute pay To  
him who rules the skies. Night un - to night his  
name re - peats, And day re - news the sound; Wide as the

4

8 *Brisk*

12

18

heav'n on which he sits, To turn the sea-sons 'round.

heav'n on which he sits, To turn the sea-sons 'round.

heav'n on which he sits, To turn the sea-sons 'round.

2. 'Tis he supports my mortal frame,  
My tongue shall speak his praise;  
My sins would rouse his wrath to flame,  
And yet his wrath delays.  
On a poor worm thy pow'r might tread,  
And I could ne'er withstand:  
Thy justice might have crushed me dead  
But mercy held thy hand.
  
3. A thousand wretch'd souls are fled,  
Since the last setting sun;  
And yet thou length'nest out my thread,  
And yet my moments run.  
Dear God, let all my hours be thine,  
Whilst I enjoy the light:  
Then shall my sun in smiles decline,  
And bring a pleasant night.

# MORNING HYMN [II]

Isaac Watts, Hymns II No. 6

C.M.

Once more, my soul, the ris - ing day Sa -  
Once more, my soul, the ris - ing day Sa -  
Once more, my soul, the ris - ing day Sa -

6  
lutes thy wak - ing eyes; Once more, my voice, thy  
lutes thy wak - ing eyes; Once more, my voice, thy  
lutes thy wak - ing eyes; Once more, my voice, thy

11  
tri - bute pay, To him that rules the skies.  
tri - bute pay, To him that rules the skies.  
tri - bute pay, To him that rules the skies.

16  
Night un-to night his name re - peats, And day re - news the  
Night un-to night his name re - peats, And day re - news the  
Night un-to night his name re - peats, And day re - news the

23

sound; Wide as the heav'n on which he sits, To turn the sea-sons 'round.

sound; Wide as the heav'n on which he sits, To turn the sea-sons 'round.

sound; Wide as the heav'n on which he sits, To turn the sea-sons 'round.

2. 'Tis he supports my mortal frame,  
 My tongue shall speak his praise;  
 My sins would rouse his wrath to flame,  
 And yet his wrath delays.  
 On a poor worm thy pow'r might tread,  
 And I could ne'er withstand:  
 Thy justice might have crushed me dead  
 But mercy held thy hand.
  
3. A thousand wretch'd souls are fled,  
 Since the last setting sun;  
 And yet thou length'nest out my thread,  
 And yet my moments run.  
 Dear God, let all my hours be thine,  
 Whilst I enjoy the light:  
 Then shall my sun in smiles decline,  
 And bring a pleasant night.



# NATIVITY

Isaac Watts, Horae Lyricae

C.M.

Thus Ga - briel sang, and straight a - round The heav'n - ly

Thus Ga - briel sang, and straight a - round The heav'n - ly

Thus Ga - briel sang, and straight a - round The heav'n - ly

7 ar - mies throng, They tune their harps to loft - y

8 ar - mies throng, They tune their harps to loft - y

ar - mies throng, They tune their harps to loft - y

13 sound, And thus con - clude the song: "Glo - ry to God that

8 sound, And thus con - clude the song: "Glo - ry to God that

sound, And thus con - clude the song: "Glo - ry to God that

*Moderato*

18 reigns a - bove, Let peace sur - round the earth;

8 reigns a - bove, Let peace sur - round the earth;

reigns a - bove, Let peace sur - round the earth;

21



Mor-tals shall know their ma - ker's love, At their re-deem - er's birth."

Mor-tals shall know their ma - ker's love, At their re-deem - er's birth."

Mor-tals shall know their ma - ker's love, At their re-deem - er's birth."

2. Lord! and shall angels have their songs,  
 And men no tunes to raise?  
 O may we lose these useless tongues  
 When they forget to praise!  
 Glory to God that reigns above,  
 That pitied us forlorn;  
 We join to sing our maker's love,  
 For there's a saviour born.

# NEEDHAM

John Gambold

P.M. [10.11.10.11]

*Slow*

O tell me no more of this world's vain store, The time for such  
O tell me no more of this world's vain store, The time for such  
O tell me no more of this world's vain store,

4  
tri - fles, such tri - fles, The time for such tri - fles with  
tri - fles, The time for such tri - fles with  
such tri - fles, The time for such tri - fles with

7  
me now is o'er; A coun - try I've found where  
me now is o'er; A coun - try I've found where  
me now is o'er; A coun - try I've found where

10  
true joys a - bound, To dwell I'm de - ter-mined  
true joys a - bound, To dwell I'm de - ter-mined  
true joys a - bound, To

13

on that hap - py ground, To dwell I'm de - ter-mined on

on that hap - py ground, To dwell I'm de - ter-mined on

dwell I'm de - ter-mined, on that hap - py ground, To dwell I'm de - ter-mined on

16

1 that hap - py ground, 2 that hap - py ground.

that hap - py ground, that hap - py ground.

that hap - py ground, that hap - py ground.

# NEWTON

Philip Doddridge

C.M.

My sav - iour God, no voice but thine These

My sav - iour God, no voice but thine These

My sav - iour God, no voice but thine These

My sav - iour God, no voice but thine These

4  
dy - ing hopes can raise; Speak thy sal - va - tion to my soul, And

dy - ing hopes can raise; Speak thy sal - va - tion to my soul, And

dy - ing hopes can raise; Speak thy sal - va - tion to my soul, And

dy - ing hopes can raise; Speak thy sal - va - tion to my soul, And

8  
turn its tears to praise. My sav - iour God, this

turn its tears to praise. My sav - iour God, this

turn its tears to praise. My sav - iour God, this

turn its tears to praise. My sav - iour God, this

12

bro - ken voice Trans - port - ed shall pro - claim, And call on all th'an -

bro - ken voice Trans - port - ed shall pro - claim, And call on all th'an -

bro - ken voice Trans - port - ed shall pro - claim, And call on all th'an -

bro - ken voice Trans - port - ed shall pro - claim, And call on all th'an -

16

gel - ic harps To sound so sweet a name, name.

gel - ic harps To sound so sweet a name, name.

gel - ic harps To sound so sweet a name, name.

gel - ic harps To sound so sweet a name, name.

# NORFOLK

Isaac Watts, Hymns II No. 43

L.M.

Now for a tune of loft - y praise, To great Je - ho - vah's  
Now for a tune of loft - y praise, To great Je - ho - vah's  
Now for a tune of loft - y praise, To great Je - ho - vah's  
Now for a tune of loft - y praise, To great Je - ho - vah's

*Piano*

e - qual son! A - wake, my voice, in heav'n - ly — lays,  
e - qual son!  
e - qual son! A - wake, my voice, in heav'n - ly — lays,  
e - qual son!

*Forte*

Tell the loud won - ders he hath done, Tell the loud won - ders he hath done.  
Tell the loud won - ders he hath done, Tell the loud won - ders he hath done.  
Tell the loud won - ders he hath done, Tell the loud won - ders he hath done.  
Tell the loud won - ders he hath done, Tell the loud won - ders he hath done.

18 *Piano*

Sing how he left the worlds of light, And the bright

Sing how he left the worlds of light, And the bright

Sing how he left the worlds of light, And the bright

Sing how he left the worlds of light, And the bright

24 *Forte*

robes he wore a - bove; How swift and joy - ful

robes he wore a - bove; How swift and joy - ful

robes he wore a - bove; How swift and joy - ful

robes he wore a - bove; How swift and joy - ful

28

was his flight On wings of ev - er - last - ing love, How swift and joy - ful

was his flight On wings of ev - er - last - ing love, How swift and joy - ful

was his flight On wings of ev - er - last - ing love, How swift and joy - ful

was his flight On wings of ev - er - last - ing love, How swift and joy - ful



33

was his flight On wings of ev - er - last - ing love, — love!

was his flight On wings of ev - er - last - ing love, — love!

was his flight On wings of ev - er - last - ing love, — love!

was his flight On wings of ev - er - last - ing love, — love!

2. Down to this base, this sinful earth,  
He came, to raise our nature high;  
He came, t'atone almighty wrath:  
Jesus, the God, was born to die.  
Hell and its lions roared around;  
His precious blood the monsters spilt;  
While weighty sorrows pressed him down,  
Large as the loads of all our guilt.
  
3. Deep in the shades of gloomy death,  
Th'almighty, captive pris'ner lay;  
Th'almighty captive left the earth,  
And rose to everlasting day.  
Amongst a thousand harps and songs,  
Jesus, the God, exalted reigns;  
His sacred name fills all their tongues,  
And echoes through the heav'nly plains!

# NORTH-KINGSTON

Isaac Watts, Psalm 95

C.M.

Sing to the Lord Je - ho - vah's name, And in his  
Sing to the Lord Je - ho - vah's name, And in his  
Sing to the Lord Je - ho - vah's name, And in his

6  
strength re - joice; When his sal - va - tion is our theme, Ex -  
strength re - joice; When his sal - va - tion is our theme, Ex -  
strength re - joice; When his sal - va - tion is our theme, Ex -

12  
alt - ed be our voice. With thanks ap - proach his aw - ful  
alt - ed be our voice. With thanks ap - proach his aw - ful  
alt - ed be our voice. With thanks ap - proach his aw - ful

19  
throne, And psalms of hon - our sing; The great Je - ho - vah  
throne, And psalms of hon - our sing; The great Je - ho - vah  
throne, And psalms of hon - our sing; The great Je - ho - vah

25

reigns a - lone, The whole cre - a - tion's king.

reigns a - lone, The whole cre - a - tion's king.

reigns a - lone, The whole cre - a - tion's king.

2. Let princes hear, let angels know,  
 How mean their natures seem,  
 Those gods on high, and gods below,  
 When once compared with him.  
 Earth, with its caverns dark and deep,  
 Lies in his spacious hand;  
 He fixed the seas what bounds to keep,  
 And where the hills must stand.
  
3. Come, and with humble souls adore;  
 Come, kneel before his face;  
 Oh may the creatures of his pow'r  
 Be children of his grace!  
 Now is the time: he bends his ear,  
 And waits for your request;  
 Come, lest he rouse his wrath, and swear,  
 "Ye shall not see my rest."

# O Come, Let Us Sing Unto The Lord

Bible, Psalms 95, 99, and 100

The musical score is written in 2/4 time and consists of four systems of four staves each. The lyrics are distributed across the staves as follows:

System 1:  
Staff 1: O come, let us sing, let us sing un - to \_\_\_\_\_ the  
Staff 2: O come, let us sing, let us sing un - to the  
Staff 3: O come, let us sing, let us sing un - to the  
Staff 4: O come, let us sing, O come, let us sing, let us sing un - to the

System 2 (starts at measure 7):  
Staff 1: Lord, \_\_\_\_\_ let us make a joy - ful noise, let us make a joy - ful  
Staff 2: Lord, \_\_\_\_\_ let us make a joy - ful noise, let us make a joy - ful  
Staff 3: Lord, \_\_\_\_\_ let us make a joy - ful noise, let us make a joy - ful  
Staff 4: Lord, \_\_\_\_\_ let us make a joy - ful noise, let us make a joy - ful

System 3 (starts at measure 15):  
Staff 1: noise, \_\_\_\_\_ Let us come be - fore his  
Staff 2: noise, \_\_\_\_\_ Let us  
Staff 3: noise, \_\_\_\_\_ Let us come be - fore his pres - ence with thanks -  
Staff 4: noise, \_\_\_\_\_ Let us come be - fore his pres - ence with thanks - giv - ing,

20

pres-ence with thanks - giv - ing, and en - ter his courts with praise, and  
 come be - fore his pres-ence with thanks - giv - ing, and en - ter his courts with praise, and  
 giv - ing, and en - ter his courts with praise, and  
 with thanks - giv - ing, and en - ter his courts with praise, and

26

en - ter his courts with praise.\_\_\_\_\_ praise.\_\_\_\_\_ O come, let us wor-ship and bow  
 en - ter his courts with praise.\_\_\_\_\_ praise.\_\_\_\_\_ O come, let us wor-ship and bow  
 en - ter his courts with praise.\_\_\_\_\_ praise.\_\_\_\_\_ O come, let us wor-ship and bow  
 en - ter his courts with praise.\_\_\_\_\_ praise.\_\_\_\_\_ O come, let us wor-ship and bow

33

down; let us kneel be - fore the Lord\_ our ma - ker, let us kneel be - fore the  
 down; let us kneel be - fore the Lord our ma - ker, let us kneel be - fore the  
 down; let us kneel be - fore the\_ Lord our ma - ker, let us kneel be - fore the\_  
 down; let us kneel be - fore the Lord our ma - ker, let us kneel be - fore the

41

Lord our ma - ker, For he is our God; and we are the peo - ple of his

Lord our ma - ker,

Lord our ma - ker,

Lord our ma - ker,

47

pas - ture, For he is our God; and we are the peo - ple of his

For he is our God; and we are the peo - ple of his

For he is our God; and we are the peo - ple of his

For he is our God; and we are the peo - ple of his

53

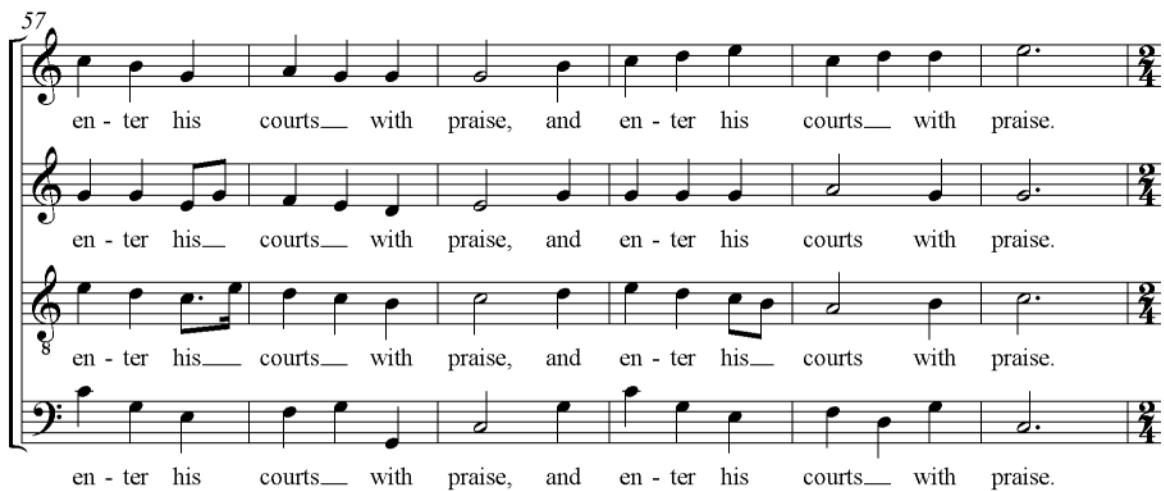
pas - ture, pas - ture. Let us come be - fore his pres - ence with thanks - giv - ing, and

pas - ture, pas - ture. Let us come be - fore his pres - ence with thanks - giv - ing, and

pas - ture, pas - ture. Let us come be - fore his pres - ence with thanks - giv - ing, and

pas - ture, pas - ture. Let us come be - fore his pres - ence with thanks - giv - ing, and

57



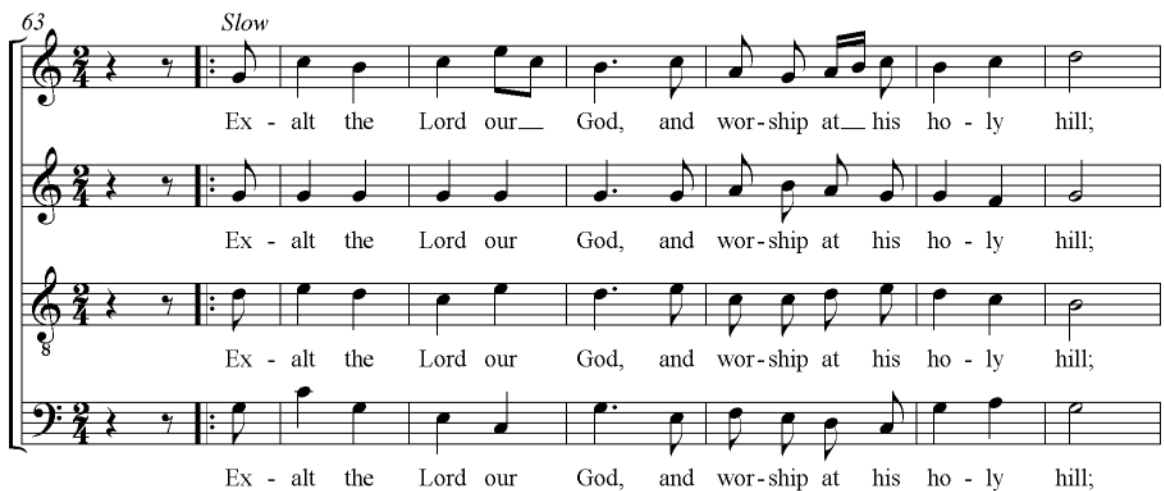
en - ter his courts\_ with praise, and en - ter his courts\_ with praise.

en - ter his\_ courts\_ with praise, and en - ter his courts with praise.

8 en - ter his\_ courts\_ with praise, and en - ter his\_ courts with praise.

en - ter his courts\_ with praise, and en - ter his courts\_ with praise.

63 *Slow*



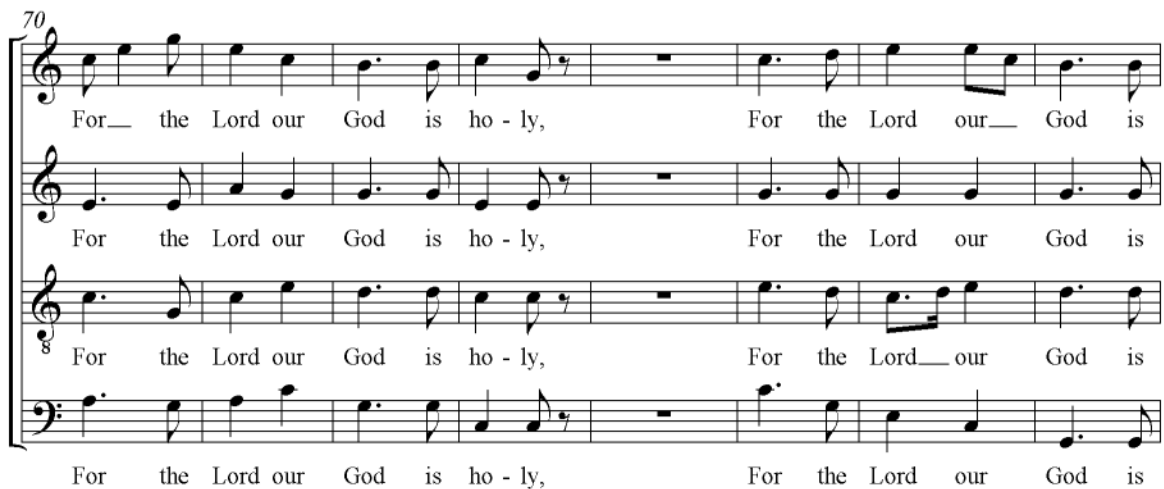
Ex - alt the Lord our\_ God, and wor-ship at\_ his ho - ly hill;

Ex - alt the Lord our God, and wor-ship at his ho - ly hill;

8 Ex - alt the Lord our God, and wor-ship at his ho - ly hill;

Ex - alt the Lord our God, and wor-ship at his ho - ly hill;

70



For\_ the Lord our God is ho - ly, For the Lord our\_ God is

For the Lord our God is ho - ly, For the Lord our God is

8 For the Lord our God is ho - ly, For the Lord\_ our God is

For the Lord our God is ho - ly, For the Lord our God is

78

1 2

ho - ly, ho - ly. Hal - le - lu - jah, a - men,

ho - ly, ho - ly. Hal - le -

8 ho - ly, ho - ly. Hal - le - lu - jah, hal - le - lu - jah,

ho - ly, ho - ly. Hal - le - lu - jah,

85

Hal - le - lu - jah, a - men, Hal - le - lu - jah, hal - le - lu - jah, a - men, a - men,

lu - jah, a - men, a - men,

8 hal - le - lu - jah, hal - le - lu - jah,

a - men, Hal - le - lu - jah, hal - le - lu - jah, a - men,

Hal - le - lu - jah, hal - le - lu - jah, a - men,

92

Hal - le - lu - jah, hal - le - lu - jah, a - men, a - men.

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

8 hal - le - lu - jah, a - men, a - men.

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



# OMICRON

John Newton

P.M. [8.7.8.7.7.7]

Let us love, and sing, and won - der, Let us praise our

Let us love, and sing, and won - der, Let us praise our

Let us love, and sing, and won - der, Let us praise our

7 sav - iour's name! He has quelled the law's loud thun - der,

8 sav - iour's name! He has quelled the law's loud thun - der,

sav - iour's name! He has quelled the law's loud thun - der,

13 *Piano* He has quenched Mount Si - nai's flame, He has washed us with his

8 He has quenched Mount Si - nai's flame, He has washed us with his

He has quenched Mount Si - nai's flame, He has washed us with his

20 *Forte* blood, Soon he'll bring us home to God.

8 blood, Soon he'll bring us home to God.

blood, Soon he'll bring us home to God.

2. Let us love the Lord who bought us,  
Pitied us when enemies;  
Called us by his grace, and taught us,  
Gave us ears, and gave us eyes:  
He has washed us with his blood,  
He presents our souls to God.
3. Let us sing though fierce temptations  
Threaten hard to bear us down!  
For the Lord, our strong salvation,  
Holds in view the conqu'rors crown:  
He who washed us with his blood,  
Soon will bring us home to God.
4. Let us wonder, grace and justice,  
Join and point to mercy's store;  
When through grace in Christ our trust is,  
Justice smiles, and asks no more:  
He who washed us with his blood,  
Has secured our way to God.
5. Let us praise, and join the chorus  
Of the saints, enthroned on high;  
Here they trusted him before us,  
Now their praises fill the sky:  
"Thou hast washed us with thy blood,  
Thou art worthy, Lamb of God!"
6. Hark! the name of Jesus, sounded  
Loud, from golden harps above!  
Lord, we blush, and are confounded,  
Faint our praises, cold our love!  
Wash our souls and songs with blood,  
For by thee we come to God.

# PALMER

Isaac Watts, Psalm 63

L.M.

I'll lift my hands, I'll raise my voice, While  
I'll lift my hands, I'll raise my voice, While  
I'll lift my hands, I'll raise my voice, While

<sup>5</sup>  
I have breath to pray or praise;  
I have breath to pray or praise; This  
I have breath to pray or praise; This work shall make my

<sup>9</sup>  
This work shall make my heart re-joice, This work shall make my  
work shall make my heart re-joice, This work shall make my  
heart re-joice, This work shall make my

<sup>13</sup>  
heart re-joice, And well employ my fu-ture days, days.  
heart re-joice, And well employ my fu-ture days, days.  
heart re-joice, And well employ my fu-ture days, days.

# PALMYRA

Isaac Watts, Hymns III No. 7

L.M.

*Moderato*

When I sur - vey the won - d'rous cross, On which the prince of  
glo - ry died, My rich - est gain I count but loss, And  
pour - contempt on all my pride. For - bid it, Lord, that  
I should boast, Save in the death of Christ, my God: All the vain

28

things that charm me most, I sac - ri - fice them to his

things that charm me most, I sac - ri - fice them to his

things that charm me most, I sac - ri - fice them to his

34 *Andante*

blood, I sac - ri - fice them to his blood. See from his

blood, I sac - ri - fice them to his blood. See from his

blood, I sac - ri - fice them to his blood. See from his

41

head, his hands, his feet, Sor-row and love flow min - gled down!

head, his hands, his feet, Sor-row and love flow min - gled down!

head, his hands, his feet, Sor - row and love flow min - gled down!

48

Did e'er such love and sor - row meet? Or thorns com -

Did e'er such love and sor - row meet? Or thorns com -

Did e'er such love and sor - row meet? Or thorns com -

54

pose so rich a crown? His dy - ing crim - son, like a

pose so rich a crown? His dy - ing crim - son, like a

pose so rich a crown? His dy - ing crim - son, like a

61

robe, Spreads o'er his bod - y on the tree; Then I am dead to

robe, Spreads o'er his bod - y on the tree; Then I am dead to

robe, Spreads o'er his bod - y on the tree; Then I am dead to

68

all the globe, And all the globe is dead to me, And all the

all the globe, And all the globe is dead to me, And all the

all the globe, And all the globe is dead to me, And all the

75

globe is dead to me, me. Were the whole

globe is dead to me, me. Were the whole

globe is dead to me, me. Were the whole

82

realm of na - ture mine, That were a pre - sent

realm of na - ture mine, That were a pre - sent

realm of na - ture mine, That were a pre - sent

87

far too small; Love, so a - maz - ing, so di -

far too small; Love, so a - maz - ing, so di -

far too small; Love, so a - maz - ing, so di -

92

vine, De - mands my soul, my life, my all.

vine, De - mands my soul, my life, my all.

vine, De - mands my soul, my life, my all.

# PLACENTIA

John Newton

P.M. [8.8.8.8.8.8.8]

*Moderato*

How te-dious and taste-less the hours, When Je-sus no long-er I  
How te-dious and taste-less the hours, When Je-sus no long-er I  
see; Sweet pros-pects, sweet birds, and sweet flow'rs, Have lost all their sweet-ness with me:—  
see; Sweet pros-pects, sweet birds, and sweet flow'rs, Have lost all their sweet-ness with me:—  
Sweet pros-pects, sweet birds, and sweet flow'rs, Have lost all their sweet-ness with me:—  
— The mid-sum-mer sun shines but dim, The fields strive in vain to look gay;— But  
— The mid-sum-mer sun shines but dim, The fields strive in vain to look gay;— But  
— The mid-sum-mer sun shines but dim, The fields strive in vain to look gay; But  
when I am hap-py in him, De-cem-ber's as pleas-ant as May, May.  
when I am hap-py in him, De-cem-ber's as pleas-ant as May, May.  
when I am hap-py in him, De-cem-ber's as pleas-ant as May, May.



2. His name yields the richest perfume,  
And sweeter than music his voice;  
His presence disperses my gloom,  
And makes all within me rejoice:  
I should, were he always thus nigh,  
Have nothing to wish or to fear;  
No mortal so happy as I,  
My summer would last all the year.
3. Content with beholding his face,  
My all to his pleasure resigned;  
No changes of season or place,  
Would make any change in my mind:  
While bless'd with a sense of his love,  
A palace a toy would appear;  
And prisons would palaces prove,  
If Jesus would dwell with me there.
4. Dear Lord, if indeed I am thine,  
If thou art my sun and my song;  
Say, why do I languish and pine,  
And why are my winters so long?  
O drive these dark clouds from my sky,  
Thy soul-cheering presence restore;  
Or take me unto thee on high,  
Where winter and clouds are no more.

# POMFRET

Isaac Watts, Hymns II No. 131

L.M.

Let ev - er - last - ing glo - ries crown, Thy  
 Let ev - er - last - ing glo - ries crown, Thy  
 Let ev - er - last - ing glo - ries crown, Thy

4  
 head, my sav - iour, and my Lord; Thy hands have brought sal -  
 head, my sav - iour, and my Lord; Thy hands have brought sal -  
 head, my sav - iour, and my Lord; Thy hands have brought sal -

7  
 va - tion down, And writ the bless - ings in thy word.  
 va - tion down, And writ the bless - ings in thy word.  
 va - tion down, And writ the bless - ings in thy word.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>2. What if we trace the globe around,<br/>         And search from Britain to Japan;<br/>         There shall be no religion found,<br/>         So just to God, so safe for man.</p>     | <p>Thy promises, how firm they be!<br/>         How firm our hope and comfort stands!</p>  |
| <p>3. In vain the trembling conscience seeks<br/>         Some solid ground to rest upon;<br/>         With long despair the spirit breaks,<br/>         'Till we apply to Christ alone.</p> | <p>5. Not the feigned fields of heath'nish bliss<br/>         Could raise such pleasures in the mind;<br/>         Nor does the Turkish paradise<br/>         Pretend to joys so well refined.</p> |
| <p>4. How well thy blessed truths agree!<br/>         How wise and holy thy commands!</p>  | <p>6. Should all the forms that men devise<br/>         Assault my faith with treach'rous art,<br/>         I'd call them vanity and lies,<br/>         And bind the gospel to my heart.</p>       |

# PRETORIUM

Isaac Watts, Hymns II No. 95

C.M.

*Moderato. Affettuoso.*

In - fi-nite grief! a - maz - ing woe! Be - hold my bleed - ing

7

Lord! Hell and the Jews con - spired his death, And used the Ro-man sword.

14

O, the sharp pangs of smart - ing pain, My - dear re -

20

deem - er bore, When knot - ty whips, and rag - ged thorns, His -

27

sa - cred bod - y tore, When knot - ty whips, and rag - ged thorns, His—

sa - cred bod - y tore, When knot - ty whips, and rag - ged thorns, His—

sa - cred bod - y tore, When knot - ty whips, and rag - ged thorns, His

34

sa - cred bod - y tore. But knot - ty whips, and rag - ged—

sa - cred bod - y tore. But knot - ty whips, and rag - ged—

sa - cred bod - y tore. But knot - ty whips, and rag - ged

41

thorns, In vain do I ac - cuse; In vain I blame the

thorns, In vain do I ac - cuse; In vain I blame the

thorns, In vain do I ac - cuse; In vain I blame the

48

Ro - man bands, And more the spite - ful Jews. 'Twas you, my

Ro - man bands, And more the spite - ful Jews. 'Twas you, my

Ro - man bands, And more the spite - ful Jews. 'Twas you, my

55

sins, my cru-el sins, His chief tor-men-tors were;

sins, my cru-el sins, His chief tor-men-tors were;

sins, my cru-el sins, His chief tor-men-tors were;

61

Each of my crimes be-came a nail, And un-be-lief the spear. 'Twas

Each of my crimes be-came a nail, And un-be-lief the spear. 'Twas

Each of my crimes be-came a nail, And un-be-lief the spear. 'Twas

69

you that pulled the venge-ance down Up-on his guilt-less head: Break, break, my

you that pulled the venge-ance down Up-on his guilt-less head: Break, break, my

you that pulled the venge-ance down Up-on his guilt-less head: Break, break, my

75

heart, O, burst, mine eyes, And let my sor-rows bleed, And

heart, O, burst, mine eyes, And let my sor-rows bleed, And

heart, O, burst, mine eyes, And let my sor-rows,

81 *Slow*

let my sor-rows bleed. Strike, might-y grace, my flint-y soul,—

let my sor-rows bleed. Strike, might-y grace, my flint-y soul,—

let my sor-rows bleed. Strike, might-y grace, my flint-y soul,—

87

— 'Till melt - ing wa - ters flow! And deep re - pent - ance

— 'Till melt - ing wa - ters flow! And deep re - pent - ance

— 'Till melt - ing wa - ters flow! And deep re - pent - ance

94

drown my eyes In un - dis - sem - bled woe.

drown my eyes In un - dis - sem - bled woe.

drown my eyes In un - dis - sem - bled woe.

# QUINCY

Isaac Watts, Psalm 50ii

P.M. [10.10.10.10.11.11]

*Moderato*

The God of glo - ry sends his sum - mons forth, Calls the south  
The God of glo - ry sends his sum - mons forth, Calls the south  
The God of glo - ry sends his sum - mons forth, Calls the south  
The God of glo - ry sends his sum - mons forth, Calls the south

7  
na - tions, and a - wakes the north; From east to west the sov' - reign or - ders\_  
na - tions, and a - wakes the north; From east to west the sov' - reign or - ders\_  
na - tions, and a - wakes the north; From east to west the sov' - reign or - ders\_  
na - tions, and a - wakes the north; From east to west the sov' - reign or - ders\_

14  
spread, Through dis - tant worlds, and re - gions of the dead. The  
spread, Through dis - tant worlds, and re - gions of the dead. The  
spread, Through dis - tant worlds, and re - gions of the dead. The  
spread, Through dis - tant worlds, and re - gions of the dead. The

21

trum - pet sounds; Hell trem - bles; heav'n re - joic - es: Lift up your

trum - pet sounds; Hell trem - bles; heav'n re - joic - es: Lift up your

trum - pet sounds; Hell trem - bles; heav'n re - joic - es: Lift up your

trum - pet sounds; Hell trem - bles; heav'n re - joic - es: Lift up your

27

heads, ye saints, with cheer - ful voic - es.

heads, ye saints, with cheer - ful voic - es.

heads, ye saints, with cheer - ful voic - es.

heads, ye saints, with cheer - ful voic - es.

2. No more shall ath'ists mock his long delay;  
His vengeance sleeps no more; behold the day:  
Behold the judge descend; his guards are nigh;  
Tempests and fire attend him down the sky.  
When God appears, all nature shall adore him;  
While sinners tremble, saints rejoice before him.
  
3. "Heav'n, earth, and hell draw near: let all things come,  
To hear my justice, and the sinner's doom!  
But gather first my saints," the judge commands;  
"Bring them, ye angels, from their distant lands."  
When Christ returns, wake every cheerful passion;  
And shout, ye saints; he comes for your salvation.



4. "Here," saith the Lord, "ye angels, spread their thrones,  
And near me seat my fav'rites and my sons:  
Come, my redeemed, possess the joys prepared  
Ere time began; 'tis your divine reward."  
When Christ returns, wake ev'ry cheerful passion;  
And shout, ye saints; he comes for your salvation.
5. "I am the saviour, I th'almighty God;  
I am the judge: ye heav'ns, proclaim abroad  
My just eternal sentence, and declare  
Those awful truths, that sinners dread to hear."  
When God appears, all nature shall adore him,  
While sinners tremble, saints rejoice before him.
6. "Stand forth, thou bold blasphemer, and profane,  
Now feel my wrath, nor call my threat'nings vain:  
Thou hypocrite, once dressed in saint's attire;  
I doom the painted hypocrite to fire."  
Judgement proceeds; hell trembles; heav'n rejoices:  
Lift up your heads, ye saints, with cheerful voices.
7. "Not for the want of goats or bullocks slain,  
Do I condemn thee; bulls and goats are vain,  
Without the flames of love: in vain the store  
Of brutal off'rings, that were mine before."  
Earth is the Lord's: all nature shall adore him:  
While sinners tremble, saints rejoice before him.
8. "If I were hungry, would I ask thee food?  
When did I thirst, or drink thy bullock's blood?  
Mine are the tamer beasts, and savage breed,  
Flocks, herds, and fields, and forests where they feed,"  
All is the Lord's; he rules the wide creation:  
Gives sinners vengeance, and the saints salvation.
9. "Unthinking wretch! how couldst thou hope to please  
A God, a spirit, with such toys as these?  
While, with my grace and statutes on thy tongue,  
Thou lov'st deceit, and dost thy brother wrong."  
Judgment proceeds; hell trembles; heav'n rejoices:  
Lift up your heads, ye saints, with cheerful voices.
10. "Silent I waited, with long suff'ring love:  
But didst thou hope that I should ne'er reprove?  
And cherish such an impious thought within,  
That the all-holy would indulge thy sin?"  
See, God appears! all nature joins t'adore him:  
Judgment proceeds, and sinners fall before him.
11. "Behold my terrours now: my thunders roll,  
And thy own crimes affright thy guilty soul:  
Now like a lion shall my vengeance tear  
Thy bleeding heart, and no deliv'rer near."  
Judgment concludes; hell trembles! heav'n rejoices:  
Lift up your heads, ye saints, with cheerful voices.

12. Sinners, awake betimes; ye fools, be wise!  
Awake, before this dreadful morning rise.  
Change your vain thoughts, your crooked works amend,  
Fly to the saviour, make the judge your friend.  
Then join, ye saints; wake every cheerful passion:  
When Christ returns, he comes for your salvation.

# RAMA

Samuel Medley

L.M.

Dost thou my earth - ly com - forts slay, And  
Dost thou my earth - ly com - forts slay, And  
Dost thou my earth - ly com - forts slay, And  
Dost thou my earth - ly com - forts slay, And

4  
take be - lov - ed ones a - way? Yet will my soul re - vere thy  
take be - lov - ed ones a - way? Yet will my soul re - vere thy  
take be - lov - ed ones a - way? Yet will my soul re - vere thy  
take be - lov - ed ones a - way? Yet will my soul re - vere thy

9  
rod, Be still, and know that thou art God.  
rod, Be still, and know that thou art God.  
rod, Be still, and know that thou art God.  
rod, Be still, and know that thou art God.

2. Then, be my trials great or small,  
There's sure a need-be for them all;  
Thus, then, thy dealings I'll applaud,  
Be still, and know that thou art God.
3. Let me not murmur, nor repine,  
Under these trying strokes of thine;  
But while I walk the mournful road,  
Be still, and know that thou art God.
4. Still let this truth support my mind –  
Thou canst not err nor be unkind;  
And thus may I improve the rod,  
Be still, and know that thou art God.
5. Thy love thou'lt make in heaven appear  
In all I've borne or suffered here;  
Let me, 'till brought to that abode,  
Be still, and know that thou art God.
6. There when my happy soul shall rise  
To joys and Jesus in the skies,  
I shall, as ransomed by his blood,  
Forever sing, thou art my God.

# RANDOLPH

Isaac Watts, Psalm 148

P.M. [8.8.8.8.8]

*With Spirit*

Loud hal-le - lu - jahs to the Lord, From dis - tant worlds where

Loud hal-le - lu - jahs to the Lord, From dis - tant worlds where

Loud hal-le - lu - jahs to the Lord, From dis - tant worlds where

Detailed description: This system contains the first three staves of music. The top staff is in treble clef, the middle in alto clef (marked with an 8), and the bottom in bass clef. The time signature is 2/4. The lyrics are: 'Loud hal-le - lu - jahs to the Lord, From dis - tant worlds where'.

7

crea - tures dwell; Let heav'n be - gin the sol - emn word, And sound it

crea - tures dwell; Let heav'n be - gin the sol - emn word, And sound it

crea - tures dwell; Let heav'n be - gin the sol - emn word, And sound it

Detailed description: This system contains the next three staves of music, starting at measure 7. The lyrics are: 'crea - tures dwell; Let heav'n be - gin the sol - emn word, And sound it'.

14

dread - ful down to hell. Each of his works his name dis -

dread - ful down to hell. Each of his works his name dis -

dread - ful down to hell. Each of his works his name dis -

Detailed description: This system contains the next three staves of music, starting at measure 14. The lyrics are: 'dread - ful down to hell. Each of his works his name dis -'.

21

plays, But they can ne'er ful - fil his praise.

plays, But they can ne'er ful - fil his praise.

plays, But they can ne'er ful - fil his praise.

Detailed description: This system contains the final three staves of music, starting at measure 21. The lyrics are: 'plays, But they can ne'er ful - fil his praise.'

2. The Lord, how absolute he reigns!  
Let ev'ry angel bend the knee:  
Sing of his love in heav'nly strains;  
And speak how fierce his terrours be.
3. High on a throne his glories dwell,  
And awful throne of shining bliss;  
Fly through the world, O sun, and tell  
How dark thy beams compared to his.
4. Awake, ye tempests, and his fame,  
In sounds of dreadful praise declare;  
And the sweet whisper of his name,  
Fill ev'ry gentler breeze of air.
5. Let clouds, and winds, and waves agree  
To join their praise with blazing fire;  
Let the firm earth, and rolling sea,  
In this eternal song conspire.
6. Ye flow'ry plains, proclaim his skill;  
Valleys lie low before his eye;  
And let his praise, from ev'ry hill,  
Rise tuneful to the neighb'ring sky.
7. Ye stubborn oaks, and stately pines,  
Bend your high branches, and adore;  
Praise him, ye beasts, in diff'rent strains;  
The lamb must bleat, the lion roar.
8. Birds, ye must make his praise your theme;  
Nature demands a song from you;  
While the dumb fish, that cut the stream,  
Leap up, and mean his praises too.
9. Mortals, can you refrain your tongue,  
When nature all around you sings;  
Oh for a shout, from old and young,  
From humble swains, and lofty kings.
10. Wide as his vast dominion lies  
Make the creator's name be known:  
Loud as his thunder shout his praise,  
And sound it lofty as his throne.
11. Jehovah, 'tis a glor'ous word  
O may it dwell on ev'ry tongue!  
But saints, who best have known the Lord,  
Are bound to raise the noblest song.
12. Speak of the wonders of that love,  
Which Gabriel plays on ev'ry chord!  
From all below and all above,  
Loud hallelujahs to the Lord.

# Remember Now Thy Creator

Bible, Ecclesiastes 12

*Moderato*

Re - mem - ber now, re - mem - ber now, re - mem - ber thy cre -  
Re - mem - ber now, re - mem - ber now, re - mem - ber thy cre -  
Re - mem - ber now, re - mem - ber now, re - mem - ber thy cre -  
Re - mem - ber now, re - mem - ber now, re - mem - ber thy cre -

7  
a - tor in the days of thy youth; be - fore the e - vil days come, —  
a - tor in the days of thy youth; be - fore the e - vil days come, —  
a - tor in the days of thy youth; be - fore the e - vil days come, —  
a - tor in the days of thy youth; be - fore the e - vil days come, —

14  
— and the years draw nigh, in which thou shalt say, I have no pleas - ure  
— and the years draw nigh, in which thou shalt say, I have no pleas - ure  
— and the years draw nigh, in which thou shalt say, I have no pleas - ure  
— and the years draw nigh, in which thou shalt say, I have no pleas - ure

20

1 2

in them, in them. Be - fore the sun shall be dark - ened and the

in them, in them. Be - fore the sun shall be dark - ened and the

8 in them, in them. Be - fore the sun shall be dark - ened and the

in them, in them. Be - fore the sun shall be dark - ened and the

26

keep-ers of the house shall trem - ble, and the sound of the grind - ing shall

keep-ers of the house shall trem - ble, and the sound of the grind - ing shall

8 keep-ers of the house shall trem - ble, and the sound of the grind - ing shall

keep-ers of the house shall trem - ble, and the sound of the grind - ing shall

32

cease: when men shall rise at the voice of the bird, and all the

cease:

cease:

cease:

cease:



39

daugh - ters of mu - sic shall be brought low, and all the daugh - ters of  
 and all the daugh - ters of  
 and all the daugh - ters of  
 and all the daugh - ters of

45

mu - sic shall be brought low; be - cause man  
 mu - sic shall be brought low; be - cause man  
 mu - sic shall be brought low; be - cause man  
 mu - sic shall be brought low; be - cause man

50

go - eth to his long home, and mourn - ers go a -  
 go - eth to his long home, and mourn - ers go a -  
 go - eth to his long home, and mourn - ers go a -  
 go - eth to his long home, and mourn - ers go a -

55

bout the streets. Then shall the dust re - turn to the earth as it  
 bout the streets. Then shall the dust re - turn to the earth as it  
 8 bout the streets. Then shall the dust re - turn to the earth as it  
 bout the streets. Then shall the dust re - turn to the earth as it

62

was, and the spir - it shall re - turn un - to God who gave it, and the  
 was, and the spir - it shall re - turn un - to God who gave it, and the  
 8 was, and the spir - it shall re - turn un - to God who gave it, and the  
 was, and the spir - it shall re - turn un - to God who gave it, and the

69

spir - it shall re - turn un - to God who gave it. Let us hear the con - clu - sion:  
 spir - it shall re - turn un - to God who gave it. Let us hear the con - clu - sion:  
 8 spir - it shall re - turn un - to God who gave it. Let us hear the con - clu - sion:  
 spir - it shall re - turn un - to God who gave it. Let us hear the con - clu - sion:

76

Fear God, and keep his com - mand - ments, for this is the du - ty of

Fear God, and keep his com - mand - ments, for this is the du - ty of

Fear God, and keep his com - mand - ments, for this is the du - ty of

Fear God, and keep his com - mand - ments, for this is the du - ty of

83

man, for this is the du - ty of man, Fear God, and

man, for this is the du - ty of man, Fear God, and

man, for this is the du - ty of man, Fear God, and

man, for this is the du - ty of man, Fear God, and

89

keep his com - mand - ments, for this is the du - ty of man.

keep his com - mand - ments, for this is the du - ty of man.

keep his com - mand - ments, for this is the du - ty of man.

keep his com - mand - ments, for this is the du - ty of man.

# RESIGNATION

Samuel Wesley, Sr.

C.M.

Be - hold the sav - iour of man - kind Nailed to the

Be - hold the sav - iour of man - kind Nailed to the

Be - hold the sav - iour of man - kind Nailed to the

5  
shame - ful tree! How vast the love that him in - clined

shame - ful tree!

shame - ful tree! How vast the love that him in - clined

10  
To bleed and die for thee! 'Tis done, 'tis

To bleed and die for thee! 'Tis done, 'tis

To bleed and die for thee! 'Tis done, 'tis

15  
done! the pre - cious ran - som's paid; Re - ceive my soul, he

done! the pre - cious ran - som's paid; Re - ceive my soul, he

done! the pre - cious ran - som's paid; Re - ceive my soul, he

20

cries: See where he bows his sa - cred head! He bows his

cries: See where he bows his sa - cred head! He bows his

cries: See where he bows his sa - cred head! He bows his

27

head, He bows his head, He bows his head and dies, dies.

head, He bows his head, He bows his head and dies, dies.

head, He bows his head, He bows his head and dies, dies.

# RESOLUTION

Isaac Watts, Psalm 55

S.M.

Let sin - ners take their course, And choose the road to

Let sin - ners take their course, And choose the road to

Let sin - ners take their course, And choose the road to

5  
death; But in the wor - ship

death; But in the wor - ship of my God, I'll

death; But in the wor - ship of my God, I'll spend my dai - ly

9  
of my God, I'll spend my dai - ly breath, But in the wor - ship

spend my dai - ly breath, But in the wor - ship

breath, But in the wor - ship

13  
of my God, I'll spend my dai - ly breath, breath.

of my God, I'll spend my dai - ly breath, breath.

of my God, I'll spend my dai - ly breath, breath.

2. My thoughts address his throne,  
When morning brings the light;  
I seek his blessings ev'ry noon,  
And pay my vows at night.
3. Thou wilt regard my cries,  
O my eternal God:  
While sinners perish in surprise,  
Beneath thine angry rod.
4. Because they dwell at ease,  
And no sad changes feel,  
They neither fear, nor trust thy name,  
Nor learn to do thy will.
5. But I, with all my cares,  
Will lean upon the Lord;  
I'll cast my burdens on his arm,  
And rest upon his word.
6. His arm shall well sustain  
The children of his love:  
The ground on which their safety stands  
No earthly pow'r can move.

# RESOLUTION [II] (DECISION)

Philip Doddridge

S.M.

And will the judge de - scend! And must the dead a -  
And will the judge de - scend! And must the dead a -  
And will the judge de - scend! And must the dead a -

<sup>5</sup>  
rise? And not a sin - gle soul es - cape His  
rise? And not a sin - gle  
rise? And not a sin - gle soul es - cape his all dis - cern - ing

<sup>9</sup>  
all dis - cern - ing eyes? And not a sin - gle  
soul es - cape his all dis - cern - ing eyes? And not a sin - gle  
eyes? And not a sin - gle

<sup>13</sup>  
soul es - cape His all dis - cern - ing eyes, eyes?  
soul es - cape His all dis - cern - ing eyes, eyes?  
soul es - cape His all dis - cern - ing eyes, eyes?



2.       And from his righteous lips  
          Shall this dread sentence sound;  
          And through the numerous guilty throng,  
          Spread black despair around?
3.       “Depart from me, accursed,  
          To everlasting flame,  
          For rebel angels first prepared,  
          Where mercy never came.”
4.       How will my heart endure  
          The terrors of that day:  
          When earth and heaven, before his face,  
          Astonished shrink away?
5.       But ere that trumpet shakes  
          The mansions of the dead;  
          Hark, from the gospel’s cheering sound,  
          What joyful tidings spread!
6.       Ye sinners, seek his grace,  
          Whose wrath ye cannot bear;  
          Fly to the shelter of his cross,  
          And find salvation there.
7.       So shall that curse remove  
          By which the saviour bled;  
          And the last awful day shall pour  
          His blessings on your head.

# ROXBURY

Anonymous

P.M. [6.6.6.6.8.8]

The Lord, he reigns a - bove, The ev - er - bless - ed

The Lord, he reigns a - bove, The ev - er - bless - ed

The Lord, he reigns a - bove, The ev - er - bless - ed

5  
God, Whose na - ture is all love, All worlds o - bey his

God, Whose na - ture is all love, All worlds o - bey his

God, Whose na - ture is all love, All worlds o - bey his

9  
nod; The great Je - ho - vah is his name;

nod; The great Je - ho - vah is his name;

nod; The great Je - ho - vah is his name;

13  
Come, cel - e - brate his match - less fame, fame.

1 2  
Come, cel - e - brate his match - less fame, fame.

Come, cel - e - brate his match - less fame, fame.

# SABBATH

Philip Doddridge

L.M.

Lord of the Sab - bath, hear our vows On this thy day, in  
Lord of the Sab - bath, hear our vows On this thy day, in  
Lord of the Sab - bath, hear our vows On this thy day, in  
Lord of the Sab - bath, hear our vows On this thy day, in

<sup>5</sup>  
this thy house; And let our songs and wor - ship  
this thy house; And let our songs and wor - ship  
this thy house; And let our songs and wor - ship  
this thy house; And let our songs and wor - ship

<sup>9</sup>  
rise, Like grate - ful in - cense to the skies.  
rise, Like grate - ful in - cense to the skies.  
rise, Like grate - ful in - cense to the skies.  
rise, Like grate - ful in - cense to the skies.

14

Thine earth - ly Sab - baths, Lord, we love; But there's a  
 Thine earth - ly Sab - baths, Lord, we love; But there's a  
 Thine earth - ly Sab - baths, Lord, we love; But there's a  
 Thine earth - ly Sab - baths, Lord, we love; But there's a

17 *Piano*

no - bler rest a - bove; To that our lab' - ring souls as - pire, To  
 no - bler rest a - bove; To  
 no - bler rest a - bove; To that our lab' - ring souls as - pire, To  
 no - bler rest a - bove; To

21

that our lab' - ring souls as - pire, With ar - dent pangs of strong de - sire.  
 that our lab' - ring souls as - pire, With ar - dent pangs of strong de - sire.  
 that our lab' - ring souls as - pire, With ar - dent pangs of strong de - sire.  
 that our lab' - ring souls as - pire, With ar - dent pangs of strong de - sire.

2. No more fatigue, no more distress,  
Nor sin, nor death, shall reach the place;  
No groans shall mingle with the songs,  
Which warble from immortal tongues.  
O long expected day, begin!  
Dawn on these realms of death and sin;  
Fain would we quit this weary road,  
And sleep in death, to rest with God.

# SMYRNA

Isaac Watts, Hymns II No. 50

L.M.

Now let my Lord, my sav-iour, smile, And show my name up -

Now let my Lord, my sav-iour, smile, And show my name up -

Now let my Lord, my sav-iour, smile, And show my name up -

7

on his heart; I would for - get my pains a - while, And

on his heart; I would for - get my pains a - while, And

on his heart; I would for - get my pains a - while, And

13 *Moderato*

in the pleas-ure lose the smart. But O! it swells my

in the pleas-ure lose the smart. But O! it swells my

in the pleas-ure lose the smart. But O! it swells my

20

sor - rows high, To see my bless - ed Je - sus frown; My spir - its

sor - rows high, To see my bless - ed Je - sus frown; My spir - its

sor - rows high, To see my bless - ed Je - sus frown; My spir - its

27

sink, my com-forts die, And all the springs of life are down.

sink, my com-forts die, And all the springs of life are down.

sink, my com-forts die, And all the springs of life are down.

34 *Lively*

Yet why, my soul, why these com-plaints? Still, while he

Yet why, my soul, why these com-plaints? Still, while he

Yet why, my soul, why these com-plaints? Still, while he

40

frowns, his bow-els move: Still on his heart he bears his

frowns, his bow-els move: Still on his heart he bears his

frowns, his bow-els move: Still on his heart he bears his

46

saints, And feels their sor-rows and his love.

saints, And feels their sor-rows and his love.

saints, And feels their sor-rows and his love.

# Song for the Anniversary of St. John the Baptist

Thaddeus Mason Harris

June 24, 5802 [i.e., 1802]

P.M. [11.12.11.12.12.12]

*Symphony*

8

Be - gin now the song the oc - ca - sion re - quires; Joy\_ thrills through our hearts, and at - tunes\_ all our voic - es; We wel - come the day in our mu - si - cal

14

hearts, and at - tunes\_ all our voic - es; We\_ wel - come the day in our mu - si - cal

20

choirs, The\_ day in which Ma - son - ry ev - er re - joic - es. Strength,



26

wis - dom, and beau - ty, now each find their place on The

wis - dom, and beau - ty, now each find their place on The

wis - dom, and beau - ty, now each find their place on The

28

*Symphony*  
fes - ti - val day of the first Chris-tian Ma - son.

fes - ti - val day of the first Chris-tian Ma - son.

fes - ti - val day of the first Chris-tian Ma - son.

31

fes - ti - val day of the first Chris-tian Ma - son.

2. Saint John was the herald to Jesus the Lord,  
And thrice he announced, as his blest proclamation,  
That from heav'n descends the ineffable word,  
The source of all freedom and hope and salvation.  
Sure the father of light then reflected his grace on  
His messenger Saint John, the first Christian Mason.
  
3. And O were our wishes of mighty avail,  
In regard to the age and the prospect before us!  
We would pray that religion and peace might prevail,  
And that through the whole world were repeated this chorus:  
Unite in expressions of joy and of praise on  
The festival day of the first Christian Mason.

# SPRING

Anonymous

P.M. [8.8.8.8]

*Moderato*

How sweet-ly a - long the gay mead The dai - sies and  
 How sweet-ly a - long the gay mead The dai - sies and  
 How sweet-ly a - long the gay mead The dai - sies and

4  
 cow-slips are seen; The flocks, as they care - less - ly feed, \_\_\_\_\_ Re -  
 cow-slips are seen; The flocks, as they care - less - ly feed, \_\_\_\_\_ Re -  
 cow-slips are seen; The flocks, as they care - less - ly feed, \_\_\_\_\_ Re -

7  
 1 2  
 joice in the beau - ti - ful green, \_\_\_\_\_ green!  
 joice in the beau - ti - ful green, \_\_\_\_\_ green!  
 joice in the beau - ti - ful green, \_\_\_\_\_ green!

2. The vines that encircle the bow'rs,  
 The herbage that springs from the sod,  
 Trees, plants, cooling fruits and sweet flow'rs,  
 All rise to the praise of my God.
3. Shall man, the great master of all,  
 The only insensible prove?  
 Forbid it, fair gratitude's call,  
 Forbid it, devotion and love.
4. The Lord, who such wonders can raise,  
 And still can destroy with a nod,  
 My lips shall incessantly praise,  
 My soul shall rejoice in my God.

# STOW

John Newton

P.M. [5.5.5.5.6.5.6.5]

The birds with-out barn Or store-house are fed, From them let us  
learn To trust for our bread: His saints, what is fit-ting, Shall  
ne'er be de-nied, So long as 'tis writ-ten, The Lord will pro-  
vide, So long as 'tis writ-ten, The Lord will pro- vide.

2. We may, like the ships,  
By tempests be tossed  
On perilous deeps,  
But cannot be lost.  
Though Satan enrages  
The wind and the tide,  
The promise engages,  
The Lord will provide.
3. His call we obey  
Like Abra'm of old,  
Not knowing our way,  
But faith makes us bold;  
For though we are strangers  
We have a good guide,  
And trust in all dangers,  
The Lord will provide.
4. When Satan appears  
To stop up our path,  
And fill us with fears,  
We triumph by faith;  
He cannot take from us,  
Though oft he has tried,  
This heart-cheering promise,  
The Lord will provide.
5. He tells us we're weak,  
Our hope is in vain,  
The good that we seek  
We ne'er shall obtain;  
But when such suggestions  
Our spirits have plied,  
This answers all questions,  
The Lord will provide.
6. No strength of our own,  
Or goodness we claim,  
Yet since we have known  
The saviour's great name;  
In this our strong tower  
For safety we hide,  
The Lord is our power,  
The Lord will provide.
7. When life sinks apace  
And death is in view,  
This word of his grace  
Shall comfort us through:  
No fearing or doubting  
With Christ on our side,  
We hope to die shouting,  
The Lord will provide.

# STRATTON

## New Version Psalm 34

C.M.

*Moderato*

O! mag - ni - fy the Lord with me, With me ex -  
alt his name! When in dis - tress to him I called, He to my  
res - cue came, He to my res - cue came.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 2. Their drooping hearts were soon refreshed,<br>Who looked to him for aid;<br>Desired success in ev'ry face<br>A cheerful air displayed; | 4. The hosts of God encamp around<br>The dwellings of the just;<br>Deliv'rance he affords to all<br>Who on his succour trust.  |
| 3. "Behold (say they), behold the man<br>Whom providence relieved;<br>So dang'rously with woes beset,<br>So wondrously retrieved!"        | 5. O! make but trial of his love,<br>Experience will decide<br>How blest they are, and only they,<br>Who in his truth confide. |

6. Fear him, ye saints; and you will then  
have nothing else to fear:  
Make you his service your delight;  
He'll make your wants his care.
7. While hungry lions lack their prey,  
The Lord will food provide  
For such as put their trust in him,  
And see their needs supplied.
8. Approach, ye piously disposed,  
And my instruction hear;  
I'll teach you the true discipline  
Of his religious fear.
9. Let him who length of life desires,  
And prosp'rous days would see,  
From sland'ring language keep his tongue,  
His lips from falsehood free:
10. The crooked paths of vice decline,  
And virtue's ways pursue:  
Establish peace, where 'tis begun;  
And, where 'tis lost, renew.
11. The Lord from heav'n beholds the just  
With favourable eyes;  
And, when distressed, his gracious ear  
Is open to their cries:
12. But turns his wrathful look on those  
Whom mercy can't reclaim,  
To cut them off, and from the earth  
Blot out their hated name.
13. Deliv'rance to his saints he gives,  
When his relief they crave:  
He's nigh to heal the broken heart,  
And contrite spirit save.
14. The wicked oft, but still in vain,  
Against the just conspire;  
For, under their affliction's weight,  
He keeps their bones entire.
15. The wicked, from their wicked arts,  
Their ruin shall derive;  
Whilst righteous men, whom they detest,  
Shall them and theirs survive.
16. For God preserves the souls of those  
Who on his truth depend:  
To them and their posterity  
His blessings shall descend.

# SUNDAY

## New Version Psalm 118

C.M.

*Moderato*

This day is God's; let all the land Ex - alt their cheer - ful

*Piano* *Forte*

5 voice: Lord, we be - seech thee, save us now, And\_ make us still re -

8 voice: Lord, we be - seech thee, save us now, And\_ make us still re -

10 voice: Lord, we be - seech thee, save us now, And\_ make us still re -

10 voice. Then op - en wide the

8 voice. Then op - en wide the tem - ple gates To\_

10 voice. Then op - en wide the tem - ple gates To which the just re -

14 tem - ple gates To\_ which the just re - pair, That I may en - ter

8 which the just re - pair, That I may en - ter\_

pair, That I may en - ter in and praise\_

17

in and praise My great de - liv' - rer there, there.

in and praise My great de - liv' - rer there, there.

— My great de - liv' - rer there, there.

1 2



# TRIUMPH

Elizabeth Scott

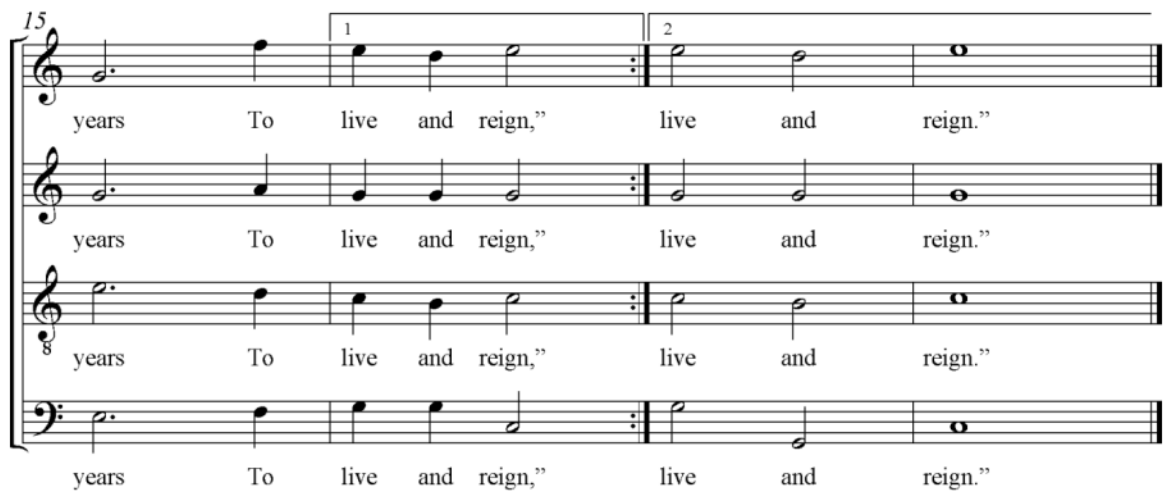
H.M.

All hail, tri - um - phant Lord! Heav'n with ho - san - nas

rings; While earth in hum - ble strains Thy praise re - spon - sive sings:

11 *Soft (Repeat Loud)*  
"Wor - thy art thou, Who\_ once wast slain, Through end - less\_  
"Through end - less\_  
"Wor - thy art thou, Who\_ once wast slain, Through end - less\_  
"Wor - thy art thou, Who\_ once wast slain, Through end - less

15



years To live and reign," live and reign."

years To live and reign," live and reign."

8 years To live and reign," live and reign."

years To live and reign," live and reign."

The musical score consists of four staves, each with a different clef: Soprano (treble), Alto (treble), Tenor (treble with an 8 below it), and Bass (bass). The music is in a common time signature. The lyrics are: "years To live and reign," live and reign." The score includes a first ending bracket labeled '1' and a second ending bracket labeled '2'. The first ending leads to the second ending, which concludes the phrase with a final double bar line.

# TRURO

New Version Psalm 149

P.M. [5.5.5.5.6.5.6.5]

O praise ye the Lord! Pre - pare your glad  
O praise ye the Lord! Pre - pare your glad  
O praise ye the Lord! Pre - pare your glad  
O praise ye the Lord! Pre - pare your glad

<sup>5</sup>  
voice, His praise in the great As - sem - bly to sing. In  
voice, His praise in the great As - sem - bly to sing. In  
voice, His — praise in the great As - sem - bly to sing. In  
voice, His praise in the great As - sem - bly to sing. In

<sup>10</sup>  
their great cre - a - tor Let all — men re - joice, And  
their great cre - a - tor Let all men re - joice, And  
their great cre - a - tor Let all — men re - joice, And  
their great cre - a - tor Let all men re - joice, And

14

heirs of sal - va - tion Be glad in their king, And

heirs of sal - va - tion Be glad in their king, And

heirs of sal - va - tion Be glad in their king, And

heirs of sal - va - tion Be glad in their king, And

18

heirs of sal - va - tion be glad in their king.

heirs of sal - va - tion be glad in their king.

heirs of sal - va - tion be glad in their king.

heirs of sal - va - tion be glad in their king.

2. Let them his great name  
Devoutly adore;  
In loud swelling strains  
His praises express,  
Who graciously opens  
His bountiful store,  
Their wants to relieve, and  
His children to bless.

3. With glory adorned,  
His people shall sing  
To God, who defence  
And plenty supplies;  
Their loud acclamations  
To him their great king,  
Through earth shall be sounded,  
And reach to the skies.

4. Ye angels above,  
His glories who've sung,  
In loftiest notes,  
Now publish his praise:  
We, mortals, delighted,  
Would borrow your tongue;  
Would join in your numbers,  
And chant to your lays.

# VERNON

Isaac Watts, Psalm 45i

L.M.

Now be my heart in-spired to sing, The glo - ries of my sav - iour  
king; My tongue shall all his worth pro - claim, My  
tongue shall all his worth pro - claim, My tongue shall all his worth pro - claim, And  
speak the hon - ours of his name, name.

2. O'er all the sons of human race,  
He shines with a superior grace;  
Love from his lips divinely flows,  
And blessings, all his state compose.
3. Dress thee in arms, most mighty Lord,  
Gird on the sharp, victorious sword;  
In majesty and glory ride,  
With truth and meekness at thy side.
4. Thine anger, like a pointed dart,  
Shall pierce thy foes of stubborn heart;  
Or words of mercy, kind and sweet,  
Shall melt the rebels at thy feet.
5. Thy throne, O God, forever stands,  
Grace is the sceptre in thy hands;  
Thy laws and works are just and right,  
Justice and grace are thy delight.
6. Thy father, God, hath richly shed,  
His oil of gladness on thy head;  
And with his sacred spirit blest,  
His first born son above the rest.

# VIENNA

New Version Psalm 148

H.M.

Ye bound-less realms of joy, Ex - alt your ma - ker's  
Ye bound-less realms of joy, Ex - alt your ma - ker's  
Ye bound-less realms of joy, Ex - alt your ma - ker's  
Ye bound-less realms of joy, Ex - alt your ma - ker's

5  
fame; His praise your songs em - ploy A - bove the star - ry  
fame; His praise your songs em - ploy A - bove the star - ry  
fame; His praise your songs em - ploy A - bove the star - ry  
fame; His praise your songs em - ploy A - bove the star - ry

9  
frame; Your voic - es raise, Ye  
frame; Your  
frame; Your voic - es raise, Ye cher - u - bim And  
frame; Your voic - es raise, Ye cher - u - bim And ser - a - phim, To

13

cher - u - bim And ser - a - phim, To sing his praise, — And  
voic - es raise, Ye cher - u - bim And ser - a - phim, To sing his praise, And  
ser - a - phim, To — sing his praise, — And ser - a -  
sing his praise, Your voic - es raise, Ye cher - u - bim And

17

ser - a - phim, — To — sing his praise, — praise.  
ser - a - phim, To — sing his praise, — praise.  
phim, To sing his praise, — praise.  
ser - a - phim, To sing his praise, — praise.

2. Thou moon, that rul'st the night,  
And sun that guid'st the day,  
Ye glitt'ring stars of light,  
To him your homage pay:  
His praise declare,  
Ye heav'ns above,  
And clouds that move  
In liquid air.

3. Let them adore the Lord,  
And praise his holy name,  
By whose almighty word  
They all from nothing came:  
And all shall last,  
From changes free:  
His firm decree  
Stands ever fast.



4. Let earth her tribute pay;  
Praise him, ye dreadful whales,  
And fish that through the sea  
Glide swift with glitt'ring scales:  
Fire, hail, and snow,  
And misty air,  
And winds that, where  
He bids them, blow.
5. By hills and mountains (all  
In grateful consort joined)  
By cedars stately tall,  
And trees for fruit designed;  
By ev'ry beast,  
And creeping thing,  
And fowl of wing,  
His name be blest.
6. Let all of royal birth,  
With those of humbler frame,  
And judges of the earth,  
His matchless praise proclaim.  
In this design  
Let youths with maids,  
And hoary heads  
With children join.
7. United zeal be shown,  
His wond'rous fame to raise,  
Whose glor'ous name alone  
Deserves our endless praise.  
Earth's utmost ends  
His pow'r obey:  
His glor'ous sway  
The sky transcends.
8. His chosen saints to grace,  
He sets them up on high,  
And favours Isr'el's race,  
Who still to him are nigh.  
O therefore raise  
Your grateful voice,  
And still rejoice  
The Lord to praise.

# WALTHAM

Isaac Watts, Hymns I No. 137

L.M.

Now to the pow'r of God su - preme Be ev - er - last - ing

hon - ours giv'n: He saves from hell, we bless his name, He

calls our wand'-ring feet to heav'n. Not for our

14

du-ties or de - serts, But of his own a-bound-ing grace, He works sal - va - tion

du-ties or de - serts, But of his own a-bound-ing grace, He works sal - va - tion

du-ties or de - serts, But of his own a-bound-ing grace, He works sal - va - tion

du-ties or de - serts, But of his own a-bound-ing grace, He works sal - va - tion

19

in our hearts, And forms a peo - ple for his praise.

in our hearts, And forms a peo - ple for his praise.

in our hearts, And forms a peo - ple for his praise.

in our hearts, And forms a peo - ple for his praise.

2. 'Twas his own purpose that begun  
 To rescue rebels doomed to die:  
 He gave us grace in Christ his son,  
 Before he spread the starry sky.  
 Jesus, the Lord, appears at last,  
 And makes his father's counsels known;  
 Declares the great transactions passed,  
 And brings immortal blessings down.

# WATERTOWN

John Newton

C.M.

Je - sus! my shep - herd and\_\_\_ my friend,\_\_\_ My pro - phet,  
Je - sus! my shep - herd and\_\_\_ my friend,\_\_\_ My pro - phet,  
Je - sus! my shep - herd and\_\_\_ my friend, My pro - phet,

6  
priest, and king;\_\_\_ My Lord, my life, my way, my  
priest,\_\_\_ and king;\_\_\_ My Lord, my life, my way, my  
priest, and king; My Lord, my life, my way, my

11  
end, Ac - cept\_\_\_ the praise\_\_\_ I bring. Weak is the ef - fort  
end, Ac - cept\_\_\_ the praise\_\_\_ I bring. Weak is the ef - fort  
end, Ac - cept\_\_\_ the praise\_\_\_ I bring. Weak is the ef - fort

18  
of\_\_\_ my heart, And cold my warm - est thought;\_\_\_ But  
of\_\_\_ my heart, And cold\_\_\_ my warm - est thought;\_\_\_ But  
of my heart, And cold my warm - est thought;\_\_\_ But

24

when I see thee as thou art, I'll praise thee as I ought, ought.

when I see thee as thou art, I'll praise thee as I ought, ought.

when I see thee as thou art, I'll praise thee as I ought, ought.

31

'Till then I would thy love proclaim With ev'ry fleeting breath; And

'Till then I would thy love proclaim With ev'ry fleet - ing breath; And

'Till then I would thy love pro-claim With ev'ry fleet - ing breath; And

36 *Piano*

may the music of thy name Refresh my soul in death, And

may the mu - sic of thy name Re - fresh my soul in death, And

may the mu - sic of thy name Re - fresh my soul in death, And

*Forte*

40

may the music of thy name Refresh my soul in death.

may the mu - sic of thy name Re - fresh my soul in death.

may the mu - sic of thy name Re - fresh my soul in death.

# WESTON

Isaac Watts, Horae Lyricae

S.M.

*Moderato*

Je - sus, the sav - iour, stands To court me

Je - sus, the sav - iour, stands To court me

Je - sus, the sav - iour, stands To court me

Je - sus, the sav - iour, stands To court me

4

from a - bove, And looks and spreads his wound - ed hands, And

from a - bove, And looks and spreads his wound - ed hands, And

from a - bove, And looks and spreads his wound - ed hands, And

from a - bove, And looks and spreads his wound - ed hands, And

8

shows the prints of love. But I, a stu - pid

shows the prints of love. But I, a stu - pid

shows the prints of love. But I, a stu - pid

shows the prints of love. But I, a stu - pid

12

fool, How long have I with - stood The bless - ings pur - chased

fool, How long have I with - stood The bless - ings pur - chased

fool, How long have I with - stood The bless - ings pur - chased

fool, How long have I with - stood The bless - ings pur - chased

16

with his soul, And paid for all in blood, blood?

with his soul, And paid for all in blood, blood?

with his soul, And paid for all in blood, blood?

with his soul, And paid for all in blood, blood?

2. The heav'nly dove came down,  
 And tendered me his wings,  
 To mount me upward to a crown,  
 And bright immortal things.  
 Lord, I'm ashamed to say  
 That I refused thy dove,  
 And sent thy spirit grieved away,  
 To his own realms of love.
3. Not all thine heav'nly charms,  
 Nor terrors of thy hand,  
 Could force me to lay down my arms,  
 And bow to thy command.  
 Lord, 'tis against thy face  
 My sins like arrows rise,  
 And yet, and yet (O matchless grace!)  
 Thy thunder silent lies.

4. O shall I never feel  
 The melting of thy love?  
 Am I of such hell hardened steel,  
 That mercy cannot move?  
 Now, for one pow'rful glance,  
 Dear saviour, from thy face!  
 This rebel heart no more withstands,  
 But sinks beneath thy grace.

# WILMINGTON

Isaac Watts, Hymns I No. 5

C.M.

'Tis God that lifts our com - forts high, Or  
'Tis God that lifts our com - forts high, Or  
'Tis God that lifts our com - forts high, Or  
'Tis God that lifts our com - forts high, Or

sinks them in the grave; He gives, and bless - ed  
sinks them in the grave;  
sinks them in the grave;  
sinks them in the grave; He gives, and bless - ed

be his name! He takes but what he gave, He takes but what he  
He takes but what he gave, He takes but what he  
He takes but what he gave, He takes but what he  
be his name! He takes but what he gave, He takes but what he



12

gave, He gives, and bless - ed

gave, He takes but what he gave, He gives, and bless - ed

gave, He takes but what he gave, He gives, and bless - ed

gave, He takes but what he gave, He gives, and bless - ed

16

be his name! He takes but what he gave.

be his name! He takes but what he gave.

be his name! He takes but what he gave.

be his name! He takes but what he gave.

2. Peace, all our angry passions, then,  
Let each rebellious sigh  
Be silent at his sovereign will,  
And every murmur die.
3. If smiling mercy crown our lives,  
Its praises shall be spread;  
And we'll adore the justice too,  
That strikes our comforts dead.

## **10.0 LEMUEL BABCOCK EDITION**

The following two pieces are the only ones that have been securely attributed to Lemuel Babcock. Both had first printings in central Massachusetts.

# EUPHRATES

New Version Psalm 137

L.M.

When we, our wear - ied limbs to  
When we, our wear - ied limbs to  
When we, our wear - ied limbs to  
When we, our wear - ied limbs to

5  
rest, Sat down by proud Eu - phra - tes'  
rest, Sat down by proud Eu - phra - tes'  
rest, Sat down by proud Eu - phra - tes'  
rest, Sat down by proud Eu - phra - tes'

9  
stream, We wept, with dole - ful thoughts op -  
stream, We wept, with dole - ful thoughts op -  
stream, We wept, with dole - ful thoughts op -  
stream, We wept, with dole - ful thoughts op -

13

pressed, And Si - on was our mourn - ful theme.

pressed, And Si - on was our mourn - ful theme.

pressed, And Si - on was our mourn - ful theme.

pressed, And Si - on was our mourn - ful theme.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>2. Our harps, that when with joy we sung<br/>Were wont their tuneful parts to bear,<br/>With silent strings neglected hung<br/>On willow-trees that withered there.</p> <p>3. Mean-while our foes, who all conspired<br/>To triumph in our slavish wrongs,<br/>Musick and mirth of us required,<br/>"Come, sing us one of Zion's songs."</p> <p>4. How shall we tune our voice to sing?<br/>Or touch our harps with skillful hands?<br/>Shall hymns of joy to God our king<br/>Be sung by slaves in foreign lands?</p> <p>5. O Salem, our once happy seat!<br/>When I of thee forgetful prove,<br/>Let then my trembling hand forget<br/>The speaking strings with art to move!</p> | <p>6. If I to mention thee forbear,<br/>Eternal silence seize my tongue;<br/>Or if I sing one cheerful air,<br/>'Till thy deliv'rance is my song!</p> <p>7. Remember, Lord, how Edom's race,<br/>In thy own city's fatal day,<br/>Cried out, "Her stately walls deface,<br/>And with the ground quite level lay."</p> <p>8. Proud Babel's daughter, doomed to be<br/>Of grief and woe the wretched prey,<br/>Bless'd is the man, who shall to thee<br/>The wrongs thou laid'st on us, repay.</p> <p>9. Thrice bless'd, who with just rage possessed,<br/>And deaf to all the parents' moans,<br/>Shall snatch thy infants from the breast,<br/>And dash their heads against the stones.</p> |
|--|---|

# SOLITUDE

Isaac Watts, Horae Lyricae

L.M.

See where he lan - guished on the cross; Be -  
See where he lan - guished on the cross; Be -  
See where he lan - guished on the cross; Be -  
See where he lan - guished on the cross; Be -

5  
neath my sins he groaned and died; See where he sits to  
neath my sins he groaned and died; See where he sits to  
neath my sins he groaned and died; See where he sits to  
neath my sins he groaned and died; See where he sits to

9  
plead my cause By his al - might - y fa - ther's side.  
plead my cause By his al - might - y fa - ther's side.  
plead my cause By his al - might - y fa - ther's side.  
plead my cause By his al - might - y fa - ther's side.

2. If I behold his bleeding heart,  
There love in floods of sorrow reigns,  
He triumphs o'er the killing smart,  
And buys my pleasure with his pains.
3. Or if I climb th'eternal hills,  
Where the dear conqu'rer sits enthroned,  
Still in his heart compassion dwells,  
Near the memorials of his wound.
4. How shall a pardoned rebel show  
How much I love my dying God?  
Lord, here I banish every foe,  
I hate the sins that cost thy blood.
5. I hold no more commerce with hell,  
My dearest lusts shall all depart;  
But let thine image ever dwell,  
Stamped as a seal upon my heart.

## **11.0 AMBIGUOUS BABCOCK ATTRIBUTIONS**

These five compositions have ambiguous attributions. See Part I of this dissertation for documentation of the reasons that they are most likely by Lemuel Babcock, though no definitive proof exists to confirm this attribution. Four were first printed in central Massachusetts, while the fifth was first printed in central Connecticut. Two alternate versions, published by compilers known to have associations with the Babcocks, are also supplied.

# ADMIRATION

Isaac Watts, Horae Lyricae

L.M.

The musical score is arranged in four systems, each with four staves (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass). The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/2. The lyrics are: "In - fi - nite grace! al - might - y — charms! Stand in — a - maze, ye whirl - - - maze, ye whir - ling — skies! Je - in — a - maze, — ye whirl - ing - - - ing — skies! Je - whirl - - - - ing skies! Je -".

System 1:  
Soprano: In - fi - nite grace! al - might - y —  
Alto: In - fi - nite grace! al - might - y —  
Tenor: In - fi - nite grace! al - might - y —  
Bass: In - fi - nite grace! al - might - y

System 2:  
Soprano: charms! Stand in — a -  
Alto: charms! Stand  
Tenor: charms! Stand in — a - maze, ye whirl - - -  
Bass: charms! Stand in — a - maze, — ye

System 3:  
Soprano: maze, ye whir - ling — skies! Je -  
Alto: in — a - maze, — ye whirl - ing  
Tenor: - - - - - ing — skies! Je -  
Bass: whirl - - - - - ing skies! Je -



11

sus the God, with na - ked arms, Hangs  
 skies! Je - sus the God, with na - ked  
 sus the God, with na - ked arms, Hangs  
 sus the God, with na - ked arms, Hangs

15

on a cross, Hangs on a cross, Hangs  
 arms, Hangs on a cross, Hangs  
 on a cross, Hangs on a cross, Hangs  
 on a cross, Hangs on a cross, Hangs

19

on a cross of love, and dies.  
 on a cross of love, and dies.  
 on a cross of love, and dies.  
 on a cross of love, and dies.

2. Did pity ever stoop so low,  
Dressed in divinity and blood?  
Was ever rebel courted so  
In groans of an expiring God?
3. Again he lives; and spreads his hands,  
Hands that were nailed to tott'ring smart;  
"By these dear wounds," says he; and stands  
And prays to clasp me to his heart.
4. Sure I must love; or are my ears  
Still deaf, nor will my passion move?  
Then let me melt this heart to tears;  
This heart shall yield to death or love.

# ADMONITION [ADMIRATION II]

Isaac Watts, Horae Lyricae

L.M.

In - fi - nite grace! al - might - y—

In - fi - nite grace! al - might - y—

In - fi - nite grace! al - might - y—

In - fi - nite grace! al - might - y

4

charms! Stand in\_\_\_\_\_ a -

charms! Stand

charms! Stand in\_\_\_\_\_ a - maze, ye whirl - - -

charms! Stand in\_\_\_\_\_ a - maze,\_\_\_ ye

8

maze, ye whirl - ing\_\_\_ skies! Je -

in\_\_\_\_\_ a - maze,\_\_\_ ye whirl - ing

- - - - - ing\_\_\_ skies! Je -

whirl - - - - - ing skies! Je -

11

sus the God, with na - ked arms, Hangs  
 skies! Je - sus the God, with na - ked  
 sus the God, with na - ked arms, Hangs  
 sus the God, with na - ked arms, Hangs

15

on a cross, Hangs on a cross, Hangs  
 arms, Hangs on a cross, Hangs  
 on a cross, Hangs on a cross, Hangs  
 on a cross, Hangs on a cross, Hangs

19

on a cross of love, and dies.  
 on a cross of love, and dies.  
 on a cross of love, and dies.  
 on a cross of love, and dies.

2. Did pity ever stoop so low,  
Dressed in divinity and blood?  
Was ever rebel courted so  
In groans of an expiring God?
3. Again he lives; and spreads his hands,  
Hands that were nailed to tott'ring smart;  
"By these dear wounds," says he; and stands  
And prays to clasp me to his heart.
4. Sure I must love; or are my ears  
Still deaf, nor will my passion move?  
Then let me melt this heart to tears;  
This heart shall yield to death or love.

# SPRINGFIELD

Charles Wesley

P.M. [7.6.7.6.7.7.8.6]

Je - sus drinks the bit - ter cup, The  
Je - sus drinks the bit - ter cup, The  
Je - sus drinks the bit - ter cup, The  
Je - sus drinks the bit - ter cup, The

5  
wine - press treads a - lone, Tears the graves and  
wine - press treads a - lone, Tears the graves and  
wine - press treads a - lone, Tears the graves and  
wine - press treads a - lone, Tears the graves and

10  
moun - tains up By his ex - pir - ing groan:  
moun - tains up By his ex - pir - ing groan:  
moun - tains up By his ex - pir - ing groan:  
moun - tains up By his ex - pir - ing groan:

15

Lo! the pow'rs of heav'n he shakes; Na - ture

Lo! the pow'rs of heav'n he shakes; Na - ture

Lo! the pow'rs of heav'n he shakes; Na - ture

Lo! the pow'rs of heav'n he shakes; Na - ture

18

in con - vul - sion lies, The earth's pro - found - est

in con - vul - sion lies, The earth's pro - found - est

in con - vul - sion lies, The earth's pro - found - est

in con - vul - sion lies, The earth's pro - found - est

21

cen - ter quakes, The great Je - ho - vah dies!

cen - ter quakes, The great Je - ho - vah dies!

cen - ter quakes, The great Je - ho - vah dies!

cen - ter quakes, The great Je - ho - vah dies!

# SPRINGFIELD [II]

Charles Wesley

P.M. [7.6.7.6.7.7.8.6]

Je - sus drinks the bit - ter cup, The  
Je - sus drinks the bit - ter cup, The  
Je - sus drinks the bit - ter cup, The  
Je - sus drinks the bit - ter cup, The

5  
wine - press treads a - lone, Tears the  
wine - press treads a - lone, Tears the  
wine - press treads a - lone, Tears the  
wine - press treads a - lone, Tears the

9  
graves and moun - tains up By his ex -  
graves and moun - tains up By his ex -  
graves and moun - tains up By his ex -  
graves and moun - tains up By his ex -



13

pir - ing groan: Lo! the pow'rs of heav'n he shakes; \_\_\_

pir - ing groan: Lo! the pow'rs of heav'n he shakes; \_\_\_

pir - ing groan: Lo! the pow'rs of heav'n he shakes; \_\_\_

pir - ing groan: Lo! the pow'rs of heav'n he shakes; \_\_\_

17

Na - ture in con - vul - sion lies, \_\_\_ The

Na - ture in con - vul - sion lies, \_\_\_ The

Na - ture in con - vul - sion lies, \_\_\_ The

Na - ture in con - vul - sion lies, \_\_\_ The

20

earth's pro-found - est cen - ter quakes, The great Je - ho - vah dies!

earth's pro-found - est cen - ter quakes, The great Je - ho - vah dies!

earth's pro-found - est cen - ter quakes, The great Je - ho - vah dies!

earth's pro-found - est cen - ter quakes, The great Je - ho - vah dies!



14

sleep, wel- come, wel- come, sweet\_\_\_ sleep that driv'st a -  
 sweet sleep, Wel- come, wel- come, sweet\_\_\_ sleep that driv'st  
 wel- come, sweet\_\_\_ sleep that driv'st\_\_\_ a - way The  
 wel- come, wel- come, sweet sleep,\_\_\_ that driv'st\_\_\_

18

way The toils\_\_\_ and fol - lies of the day, The  
 a - way The toils and fol - lies, The  
 toils\_\_\_ and fol - lies of\_\_\_ the\_\_\_ day, The  
 a - way The toils and fol - lies, The

22

toils\_\_\_ and fol - lies of the\_\_\_ day.  
 toils and fol - lies of the day.  
 toils\_\_\_ and fol - lies of the day.  
 toils\_\_\_ and fol - lies of\_\_\_ the\_\_\_ day.

# WESTBOROUGH

Isaac Watts, Hymns II No. 62

C.M.

Sing \_\_\_\_\_ to the Lord, ye \_\_\_\_\_ heav'n - ly

Sing \_\_\_\_\_ to the Lord, ye heav'n - ly

Sing \_\_\_\_\_ to the Lord, ye \_\_\_\_\_ heav'n - ly

Sing \_\_\_\_\_ to the Lord, ye \_\_\_\_\_ heav'n - ly

5  
hosts, And thou, O \_\_\_\_\_ earth, a - dore: Let death and

hosts, And thou, O earth, a - dore: Let death and

8  
hosts, And thou, O \_\_\_\_\_ earth, a - dore: Let death and

hosts, And thou, O \_\_\_\_\_ earth, a - dore: Let death and

10  
hell, through all \_\_\_\_\_ their \_\_\_\_\_ coasts, Stand trem - bling,

hell, \_\_\_\_\_ through all their coasts, Stand trem - bling,

8  
hell, \_\_\_\_\_ through all \_\_\_\_\_ their \_\_\_\_\_ coasts, \_\_\_\_\_ Stand trem - bling,

hell, \_\_\_\_\_ through all their \_\_\_\_\_ coasts, Stand trem - bling,

14

trem - bling, trem - bling at his pow'r.

trem - bling, trem - bling at his pow'r.

trem - bling, trem - bling at his pow'r.

trem - bling, trem - bling at his pow'r.

18

His

His sound - ing

His sound - ing char - iot shakes the

22

sound - ing char - iot shakes the sky; He

char - iot shakes the sky; He makes the clouds his

sky; He makes the clouds his throne; There all his stores of

26

makes the clouds his throne; 'Till  
 There all his stores of light-ning lie, 'Till  
 throne; There all his stores of light-ning lie, 'Till  
 light-ning lie, 'Till venge-ance darts them down, 'Till

29

venge-ance darts them down. What shall the wretch, the  
 venge-ance darts them down. What shall the wretch, the  
 venge-ance darts them down. What shall the wretch, the  
 venge-ance darts them down. What shall the wretch, the

34

sin-ner do? He once de-fied the  
 sin-ner do? He once de-fied the  
 sin-ner do? He once de-fied the  
 sin-ner do? He once de-fied the

38

Lord; But he shall dread the thund' - rer

Lord; But he shall dread the thund' - rer

8 Lord; But he shall dread the thund' - rer

Lord; But he shall dread the thund' - rer

42

now, And sink be - neath his word.

now, And sink be - neath his word.

8 now, And sink be - neath his word.

now, And sink be - neath his word.

# WRENTHAM

Anonymous

L.M.

Me - thinks I hear the heav'ns re - sound, And all the  
Me - thinks I hear the heav'ns re - sound, And all the  
Me - thinks I hear the heav'ns re - sound, And all the  
Me - thinks I hear the heav'ns re - sound, And all the

4  
earth ex - alt - ing ring, To ush - er in the glo - r'ous day, And  
earth ex - alt - ing ring, To ush - er in the glo - r'ous day, And  
earth ex - alt - ing ring, To ush - er in the glo - r'ous day, And  
earth ex - alt - ing ring, To ush - er in the glo - r'ous day, And

8  
hail the spot - less in - fant king,  
hail the spot - less in - fant king,  
hail the spot - less in - fant king,  
hail the spot - less in - fant king, To ush - er in the glo - r'ous day,



13

To ush - er in the  
To ush - er in the glo - r'ous\_ day, And hail the spot - less  
And hail the spot - less in - fant\_ king, And hail the spot - less

17

To ush - er in the glo - r'ous\_ day, And  
glo - r'ous\_ day, And hail the spot - less in - fant king, And  
in - fant king, And hail the spot - less in - fant\_ king,  
in - fant king, And hail the spot - less, hail the spot - less, hail the

21

hail the spot-less in - fant king, And hail the spot-less in - fant king, king.  
hail the spot-less in - fant king, And hail the spot-less in - fant king, king.  
And hail the spot-less in - fant king, king.  
spot-less in - fant king, And hail the spot-less in - fant king, king.

2.     Amazing and stupendous thought,  
       That God should in a manger lie;  
       But oh! How much more wond'rous still  
       That he for sinful man should die.
  
3.     Let all the whole creation join,  
       With me, to praise his holy name;  
       A saviour's born, let all rejoice  
       And loudly sound his glor'ous fame.

## 12.0 CRITICAL COMMENTARY AND INDEXES

### 12.1 ABBREVIATIONS AND SHORT TITLES

The following abbreviations and short titles are used in the commentaries.

Abbreviation/Short Title	Full Citation
Barbauld, <i>Poems</i>	Barbauld, Anna. <i>Poems</i> . London: Printed for J. Johnson, 1773.
Belknap, <i>Poetry</i>	Belknap, Jeremy. <i>Sacred Poetry: Consisting of Psalms and Hymns</i> . Boston: Thomas Wells, 1820.
Bible	<i>Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments</i> . Boston: Thomas and Andrews, 1814.
Boston First Universal	<i>Psalms, Hymns and Spiritual Songs: Selected and Original, Designed for the Use of the Church Universal</i> . Boston: Thomas and Andrews, 1792.
Carew, <i>Poems</i>	Carew, Thomas. <i>Poems and Masque of Thomas Carew</i> . Edited by Joseph W. Ebsworth. London: Reeves and Turner, 1893.
CH	Stone, Joseph, and Abraham Wood. <i>Columbian Harmony</i> . [Worcester, MA, 1793].
CM	Munden, John. <i>Church Music, Vol. 1st</i> . London: J. Bland, [1788].
<i>Columbian Centinel</i>	“Further Respectful Testimonials Sacred to George Washington, Deceased: Funeral Honors at Watertown.” <i>Columbian Centinel</i> , 8 January 1800.
CRH	Holyoke, Samuel. <i>Christian Harmonist</i> . Salem: J. Cushing, 1804.
EH	Belknap, Daniel. <i>Evangelical Harmony</i> . Boston: Thomas and Andrews, 1800.

Abbreviation/Short Title	Full Citation
EI	Little, William, and William Smith. <i>Easy Instructor, or, A New Method of Teaching Sacred Harmony</i> . [Philadelphia: W. Little and W. Smith, 1801].
Leavitt, <i>Seamen's</i>	Leavitt, Joshua. <i>Seamen's Devotional Assistant and Mariners' Hymns</i> . New York: American Seamen's Friend Society, 1838.
MacKenzie, <i>Selection</i>	MacKenzie, John. <i>Choice Selection of Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs</i> . Woodstock, [VT]: D. Watson, 1819.
Medley, <i>Hymns</i>	Medley, Samuel. <i>Hymns</i> . 1st American ed. Boston: Manning and Loring, 1801.
Methodist Episcopal	Collection of <i>Hymns for the Use of the Methodist Episcopal Church</i> . New York: B. Waugh and T. Mason, 1836.
MH1	Babcock, Samuel. <i>Middlesex Harmony: Being an Original Composition of Sacred Music in Three and Four Parts</i> . Boston: Thomas and Andrews, 1795.
MH2	_____. <i>Middlesex Harmony: Being an Original Composition of Sacred Music in Three and Four Parts</i> . 2nd ed. Boston: Thomas and Andrews, 1803.
New Version	Brady, Nicholas, and Nahum Tate. <i>New Version of the Psalms of David Fitted to the Tunes Used in Churches [New Version]</i> . London: J. Roberts, 1749.
Newton, <i>Olney</i>	Newton, John, and William Cowper. <i>Olney Hymns in Three Books</i> . London: W. Oliver, 1779. (I, II, and III refer to Books I, II, and III, respectively.)
PA2	Forbush, Abijah. <i>Psalmody's Assistant</i> . 2nd ed. Boston: Manning and Loring, 1806.
PSA	[Howe, Solomon]. <i>Psalm-Singer's Amusement</i> . [Greenwich, MA?: J. Howe, 1804?].
Rippon, <i>Selection</i>	Rippon, John. <i>Selection of Hymns from the Best Authors, Intended to be an Appendix to Dr. Watt's Psalms and Hymns</i> . Elizabethtown, [NJ]: S. Kollock, 1792.
Worcester, <i>Hymns</i>	Worcester, Samuel. <i>Select Hymns: The Third Part of Christian Psalmody</i> . 5th ed. Boston: Samuel T. Armstrong, 1821.
SH1	Law, Andrew. <i>Select Harmony</i> . Farmington, CT: [W. Law], 1779.

Abbreviation/Short Title	Full Citation
TH2	Washburn, Japheth Coombs. <i>Temple Harmony</i> . 2nd ed. Hallowell, ME: Goodall, Glazier and Co.; China, ME: J.C. Washburn, 1820.
UH1	Holden, Oliver. <i>Union Harmony, or, Universal Collection of Sacred Music</i> . Vol. 1. Boston: Thomas and Andrews, 1793.
Watts, <i>Appendix</i>	Watts, Isaac. <i>Appendix Containing a Number of Hymns, Taken Chiefly from Dr. Watt's Scriptural Collection</i> . Boston: J. Edwards, 1762.
Watts, <i>Horae</i>	_____. <i>Horae Lyricae: Poems, Chiefly of the Lyric Kind</i> . New York: E. Duyckinck, 1813.
Watts, <i>Hymns</i>	_____. <i>Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs of the Rev. Isaac Watts</i> . New ed. Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1847. (I, II, and III refer to Books I, II, and III, respectively.)
Watts, <i>Psalms</i>	_____. <i>Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs of the Rev. Isaac Watts</i> . New ed. Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1847.
Wesley, <i>Collection</i>	Wesley, John. <i>Collection of Psalms and Hymns</i> . Charlestown: L. Timothy, 1737.
Wesley, <i>Hymns</i>	Wesley, John, and Charles Wesley. <i>Hymns on the Lord's Supper</i> . Bristol: Felix Farley, 1745.
Winchell, <i>Psalms</i>	Winchell, James. <i>Arrangement of the Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs of the Rev. Isaac Watts</i> . Boston: J. Loring; Gould, Kendall and Lincoln, 1832.

## 12.2 COMMENTARY FOR PIECES BY SAMUEL BABCOCK

### ANDOVER

Text att.: Words by Relly. A hymn by John Relly, stanza 1. Text supplied from Boston First

Universal, Hymn No. 238.

MH2 Published earlier in MH1.

MH1-2 differ as follows: m.1, bass, key signature is A-sharp.

### **ASHFORD**

No text att. Newton, *Olney* I, No. 58, stanzas 3-5. These are the final stanzas in the hymn.

MH2 Published earlier in MH1.

MH1-2 differ as follows: m.5, Forte placed over n.2; m.19, bass, n.1 is G.

Performance note: mm.29, 46, tenor, the grace note is an appoggiatura performed as a quarter note with the following dotted quarter note performed as an eighth note.

### **AUSPICIOUS MORN**

No text att. Barbould, *Poems*, Hymn No. 3, “For Easter Sunday,” stanzas 1 and 3. Because of Babcock’s unusual text selection, no further stanzas have been supplied. Underlaid text differs as follows: m.21, “on” instead of “in.”

PA2 Not printed by Samuel Babcock.

Performance note: m.12, treble, tenor, the grace notes are appoggiaturas performed as quarter notes with the following dotted quarter notes performed as eighth notes.

### **BABEL**

No text att. A psalm by Thomas Carew, stanza 1. Text supplied from Carew, *Poems*, Psalm 137.

Stanzas 3 and 4 of Carew’s psalm do not fit Babcock’s music, thus they are not supplied.

Remaining stanzas have been renumbered. Text source differs as follows: m.7, “fill’d” instead of “swell’d;” m.8, “Whilst” instead of “When;” mm. 11, 16, “Sion” instead of “Zion.”

MH2 Published earlier in MH1.

### **CALEDONIA**

No text att. Newton, *Olney* I, No. 58, stanza 1. The remaining stanzas of Newton’s hymn do not fit Babcock’s music, thus no further stanzas are supplied.

MH2 Published earlier in MH1.

MH1-2 differ as follows: m.24, tenor, extra barline between nn.2 and 3.

### **CAMBRIDGE**

No text att. *New Version*, Psalm 100, stanzas 1-4. The entire psalm is set. Since *New Version* numbers stanzas according to biblical verses, stanzas have been renumbered according to poetic meter. Text source differs as follows: m.39, “gate” instead of “gates.”

### **MH2**

MH2 differs as follows: m.5, “Loud” placed over m.6; m.9, tenor, bass, n.1 lacks fermata; bass, quarter rest instead of eighth rest; m.13, “Loud” placed over m.14; m.17, tenor, bass, no first or second endings; m.26, tenor, bass, n.1 lacks fermata; m.48, treble, n.2 is a quarter note; m.51, tenor, bass, no first or second endings; m.56, tenor, bass, n.1 lacks fermata; m.60, tenor, n.2 lacks fermata; bass, n.1 lacks fermata; m.72, tenor, bass, no first or second endings.

Performance note: MH2 includes the following note, “N.B. Psalm 97, first part, by Dr. Watts, may be sung in this tune.” M.26, treble, tenor, the grace notes are appoggiaturas performed as quarter notes with the following half note performed as quarter notes; m.71, treble, tenor, the grace notes are appoggiaturas performed as quarter notes with the following dotted quarter notes performed as eighth notes.

### **CAMBRIDGE [II]**

Text att.: N.B. Psalm 97, first part, by Dr. Watts, may be sung in this tune. Watts, *Psalms*, Psalm 97, stanzas 1-4. The entire psalm is set.

### **MH2**

MH2 differs as follows: m.5, “Loud” placed over m.6; m.9, tenor, bass, n.1 lacks fermata; bass, quarter rest instead of eighth rest; m.13, “Loud” placed over m.14; m.17, tenor, bass, no first or second endings; m.26, tenor, bass, n.1 lacks fermata; m.48, treble, n.2 is a quarter note; m.51, tenor, bass, no first or second endings; m.56, tenor, bass, n.1 lacks fermata; m.60, tenor, n.2 lacks fermata; bass, n.1 lacks fermata; m.72, tenor, bass, no first or second endings.

Performance note: m.26, treble, tenor, the grace notes are appoggiaturas performed as quarter notes with the following half note performed as quarter notes; m.71, treble, tenor, the grace notes are appoggiaturas performed as quarter notes with the following dotted quarter notes performed as eighth notes.

#### **CANA**

No text att. A hymn by Anna Barbauld, stanza 1. Text supplied from Belknap, *Poetry*, Hymn No. 216.

MH2

#### **CHARITY**

No text att. Watts, *Hymns* I, No. 134, stanzas 1-4. The entire hymn is set.

MH2

MH2 differs as follows: m.33, bass, n.2 is a quarter note (corrected in errata); m.38, counter, tenor, bass, n.1 lacks fermata; m.39, counter, tenor, bass, n.1 lacks fermata.

#### **CHINA**

Text att.: Words by Dr. Watts. Watts, *Hymns* II, No. 1, stanza 1.

UH1 Not printed by Samuel Babcock.

UH1 differs as follows: m.1, all parts, half rest lacking.



## **CHRISTIAN'S HOPE**

No text att. Watts, *Hymns* I, No. 18, stanzas 1-3. The entire hymn is set. Text source differs as follows: m.2, "from" instead of "of;" m.9, "savour" instead of "mem'ry;" m.23, "suff'rings" instead of "suff'ring;" m.25, "sins" instead of "sin;" m.30, "this" instead of "the."

MH2

## **CHRISTMAS**

Text att.: Words by Mr. George Richards. A hymn by George Richards, stanzas 4-6. Text supplied from Boston First Universal, Hymn No. 115. These are the final stanzas in the hymn.

MH2 Published earlier in MH1.

MH1-2 differ as follows: m.47, Pia. placed over m.48; m.51, treble, nn.1-3 slurred; m. 55, Forte placed over m.56; m.68, Slow placed over n.2.

Performance note: mm.52-53, all parts, the wedge-shaped signs are "Marks of Distinction" and are to be performed as accents, not staccato marks.

## **Comfort Ye, My People**

Orig. title: Anthem. Isaiah, 40th Chap.

Text att.: Isaiah, 40th Chap. Bible, Isaiah 40:1-5 with omissions and alterations; hallelujah chorus added.

MH2 Published earlier in MH1.

MH1-2 differ as follows: m.22, tenor, n.1 lacks dot; m.41, tenor, no first or second endings; m.93, bass, rhythm is eighth, quarter, eighth; m.121, counter, second ending labeled as first ending.

## CONSECRATION

No text att. Watts, *Horae*, “Self-consecration,” stanza 4. Stanzas renumbered to reflect

Babcock’s choice of text. The remaining stanza of Watt’s poem does not fit Babcock’s music, thus it is not supplied. Text source differs as follows: m.7, “song” instead of “praise;” m.10, “notes” instead of “song.”

### MH2

MH2 differs as follows: m.1, treble, meter signature is 4/4; m.8, n.2 forte appears in m.10.

Performance note: mm.8, 16, 25, tenor, m.20, treble, the grace notes are appoggiaturas

performed as quarter notes with the following dotted quarter notes performed as eighth notes.

## CRETE

No text att. *New Version*, Psalm 120, stanza 1. Since *New Version* numbers stanzas according to biblical verses, stanzas have been renumbered according to poetic meter.

### MH2

MH2 differs as follows: m.23, tenor, n.1 may be A.

Performance note: m.9, tenor, the grace note is an appoggiatura performed as a quarter note with the following dotted quarter note performed as an eighth note.

## CRUCIFIXION

No text att. Watts Psalm No. 22, stanzas 1-2. Stanzas renumbered to reflect Babcock’s choice of text.

### MH2

## **DELAWARE**

Text att.: Dr. Watt's Lyric Poems. Watts, *Horae*, "The Song of Angels Above," stanzas 18-19.

Stanzas renumbered to reflect Babcock's choice of text. Of the three remaining stanzas in the hymn, one will not fit Babcock's music. Stanza 22, as follows, has been omitted:

I am confined to earth no more,  
But mount in haste above,  
To bless the God that I adore,  
And sing the man I love.

MH2 Published earlier in MH1.

MH1-2 differ as follows: m.26, tenor, n.1 dot lacking; m.36, Pia. placed over m.37; m.39, Forte placed over m.40.

Performance note: mm.12, 20, 36, tenor, mm.36, 39, treble, the grace notes are appoggiaturas performed as quarter notes with the following dotted quarter notes performed as eighth notes.

## **DISSOLUTION**

Text att.: Words by Dr. Watts. Watts, *Hymns II*, No. 28, stanzas 1-2. Stanzas renumbered to reflect Babcock's choice of text. Text source differs as follows: m.14, "lip hangs" instead of "lips hang;" m.17, "is" instead of "are."

MH2 Published earlier in MH1.

MH1-2 differ as follows: m.24, "Pia." placed over m.25. MH2 differs as follows: m.1, tenor, n.1 is a half note; m.3, bass, n.1 is a half note.

## **DORCHESTER**

Text att.: Words by Dr. Watts. Watts, *Hymns II*, No. 122, stanzas 1-2. Stanzas renumbered to reflect Babcock's choice of text.

MH2 Published earlier in MH1.

MH1-2 differ as follows: m.21, treble, r.1 is a whole rest.

### **DOXOLOGY**

No text att. Bible, I Timothy 1:17. Text source differs as follows: m.9, “honour” instead of “glory;” m.10, “glory” instead of “honour;” mm. 10-11, “through Jesus Christ” omitted.

MH1

### **Elegant Tribute**

Text att.: By the Rev. Mr. Elliot [sic]. A poem by Richard Rosewell Eliot. Text supplied from *Columbian Centinel*. Text source differs as follows: stanza 3, line 3, last word is “given” instead of “giv’n;” stanza 3, line 4, last word is “Heaven” instead of “Heav’n.”

Music is not extant. This text does not fit any of the music included in this edition.

### **ELEVATION**

No text att. Watts, *Hymns* II, No. 104, stanza 1.

MH2

MH2 differs as follows: m.15, treble, second ending, n.1 is D; m.15, tenor, bass, no first or second endings.

### **ELIM**

No text att. James Merrick, Psalm 136, stanza 1. Text supplied from Belknap, *Poetry*, Psalm No. 136.

MH2

### **ELIM [II]**

No text att. An anonymous variant of a hymn by James Merrick (See ELIM). The source of the text is unlocated.

TH2 Not printed by Samuel Babcock.

## **EPHRATAH**

No text att. A hymn by Nahum Tate, stanzas 1-2. Stanzas renumbered to reflect Babcock's choice of text. Text supplied from Worcester, *Hymns*, No. 9.

MH2

MH2 differs as follows: m.1, all parts, rests lacking.

## **FLANDERS**

No text att. *New Version*, Psalm 11, stanza 1.

MH2 Published earlier in MH1.

MH1-2 differ as follows: m.1, bass, key signature has flat on D.

## **FLORENCE**

No text att. Watts, *Hymns* I, No. 148, stanza 6. Stanzas renumbered to reflect Babcock's choice of text.

MH2

Performance note: m.4, treble, tenor, the grace notes are appoggiaturas performed as quarter notes with the following dotted quarter notes performed as eighth notes.

## **GIHON**

No text att. Watts Psalm No. 93ii, stanza 1.

MH2

MH2 differs as follows: m.1, all parts, half rest lacking; m.15, counter, tenor, bass, no first or second endings.

Performance note: m.10, treble, the grace note is an appoggiatura performed as a half note with the following dotted half note performed as a quarter note.

## **GRATITUDE**

No text att. Watts Psalm No. 116ii, stanza 1.

MH2

MH2 differs as follows: m.15, tenor, bass, no first or second endings.

## **HAMBURG**

Text Att.: Dr. Watt's Lyric Poems. Watts, *Horae*, "Confession and Pardon," stanza 16. This is the final stanza in the poem. Text source differs as follows: mm.2-3, "says" instead of "saith;" mm:16-17, 20-21, "to wash" instead of "that washed."

MH2 Published earlier in MH1.

Performance note: mm.14, 18, tenor, the grace notes are appoggiaturas performed as quarter notes with the following half note performed as a quarter note.

## **HARVARD**

No text att. Watts Psalm No. 147, stanza 5 lines 1-3, stanza 6 lines 1-2, stanza 5 line 4. Because of Babcock's unusual text selection, no further stanzas have been supplied.

MH2

MH2 differs as follows: m.28, tenor, bass, no first or second endings.

Performance note: m.24, treble, tenor, the grace notes are appoggiaturas performed as quarter notes with the following dotted quarter note performed as eighth notes.

## **HOREB**

No text att. Wesley, *Hymns* No. 23, stanza 1.

MH2 Published earlier in MH1.

MH1-2 differ as follows: m.18, Forte placed over n.2; m.22, Piano placed over n.2; m.26, Forte placed over n.2; m.30, Mezzo Piano placed over n.2.

## **HUMILITY**

No text att. Watts Psalm No. 39iii, stanza 1.

MH2

MH2 differs as follows: m.14, tenor, bass, no first or second endings.

Performance note: m.7, treble, m.11, tenor, the grace notes are appoggiaturas performed as quarter notes with the following dotted quarter note performed as eighth notes.

## **IMMANUEL**

No text att. A hymn by John Bakewell, stanzas 1-2. Stanzas renumbered to reflect Babcock's choice of text. Text supplied from Belknap, *Poetry*, Hymn No. 93. Text source differs as follows: mm.21-22, "Bearer of" instead of "Thou didst bear;" m.26 "merits" instead of "merit."

MH2

## **INTERCESSION**

Text att.: Dr. Watt's Lyric Poems. Watts, *Horae*, "The Law and Gospel," stanzas 3-4. The remaining stanzas of Watt's poem do not fit Babcock's music, thus no further stanzas are supplied.

MH2 Published earlier in MH1.

Performance note: m.19, all parts, the wedge-shaped signs are "Marks of Distinction" and are to be performed as accents, not staccato marks.

## **LEXINGTON**

No text att. A hymn by Philip Doddridge, stanzas 1-2. Stanzas renumbered to reflect Babcock's choice of text. Text supplied from Watts, *Appendix*, Hymn No. 103.

MH2

MH2 differs as follows: m.1, all parts, half rest lacking; m.17, all parts, n.1 is a dotted half; tenor, bass, no first or second endings.

### **LIMA**

No text att. Watts, *Hymns* I, No. 51, stanzas 1-2. Stanzas renumbered to reflect Babcock's choice of text. Watt's hymn contains a fifth stanza that does not fit Babcock's music. Stanza 5, as follows, has been omitted:

To our redeemer God  
Wisdom with pow'r belongs;  
Immortal crowns of majesty,  
And everlasting songs.

### **MH2**

MH2 differs as follows: m.1, all parts, half rest lacking; m.17, tenor, bass, no first or second endings.

### **Lord, Thou Hast Been Our Dwelling Place**

Orig. title: Anthem. Psalm 90.

Alternate title in index: Psalm 90th.

Text att.: Psalm 90. Bible, Psalm 90:1-3, 9 and 12.

MH2 Published earlier in MH1.

MH1-2 differ as follows: m.49, tenor, n.4 is G natural.

Performance note: m.53, treble, the grace note is an appoggiatura performed as a quarter note with the following dotted quarter note performed as an eighth note.

### **LUBEC**

No text att. Watts, *Hymns* III, No. 9, stanzas 1-2. Stanzas renumbered to reflect Babcock's choice of text. Text source differs as follows: m.9, "fetch" instead of "bring."

### **MH2**



MH2 differs as follows: m.21, tenor, bass, no first or second endings.

### **MEDFORD**

No text att. Watts Psalm No. 118, stanza 5. Stanzas renumbered to reflect Babcock's choice of text.

### **MH2**

MH2 differs as follows: m.1, all parts, half rest lacking; m.13, tenor, bass, no first or second endings.

### **MENOTOMY**

No text att. A hymn by Anne Steele printed in Belknap, *Poetry*, Hymn No. 258, stanza 1, stanza 2 lines 1-2, and stanza 3 lines 3-4. Because of Babcock's unusual text selection, no further stanzas have been supplied. Text source differs as follows: m.26, "O" instead of "Then."

### **MH2**

MH2 differs as follows: m.1, all parts, rest lacking; m.26 Forte placed over m.27.

Performance note: mm.13, 20, treble, tenor, m.26, treble, the grace notes are appoggiaturas performed as quarter notes with the following dotted quarter notes performed as eighth notes.

### **MILTON**

No text att. Watts Psalm No. 17, stanza 6 followed by stanza 5. These are the final stanzas in the psalm. Text source differs as follows: m.2, "will" instead of "shall;" m.35, "And" instead of "When."

MH2 Published earlier in MH1.

MH2 differs as follows: m.42, tenor, bass, n.3 is a quarter note (corrected in errata).

Performance note: m.19, treble, tenor, the grace notes are appoggiaturas performed as quarter notes with the following dotted quarter notes performed as eighth notes.

### **MINORCA**

No text att. An anonymous hymn printed in Belknap, *Poetry*, Hymn No. 11, stanza 1.

### **MH2**

MH2 differs as follows: m.13, tenor, bass, no first or second endings.

### **MORNING HYMN**

No text att. Watts, *Hymns* II, No. 6, stanzas 1-2. Stanzas renumbered to reflect Babcock's choice of text. Text source differs as follows: m.13, "The" instead of "And." Underlaid text differs as follows: m.8, "that rolls" instead of "who rules."

### **MH2**

MH2 differs as follows: m.1, all parts, half rest lacking.

### **MORNING HYMN [II]**

No text att. Watts, *Hymns* II, No. 6, stanzas 1-2. Stanzas renumbered to reflect Babcock's choice of text. Text source differs as follows: m.13, "The" instead of "And." Underlaid text differs as follows: m.8, "that rolls" instead of "who rules."

EH Not printed by Samuel Babcock.

### **NATIVITY**

No text att. Watts, *Horae*, "Nativity of Christ," stanzas 5-6. Stanzas renumbered to reflect Babcock's choice of text.

### **MH2**

MH2 differs as follows: m.20, tenor, n.2 lacks fermata; bass, n.1 lacks fermata; m. 21, tenor, bass, nn.1-3 lack marks of distinction.

Performance note: m.21 all parts, the wedge-shaped signs are “Marks of Distinction” and are to be performed as accents, not staccato marks.

### NEEDHAM

No text att. A hymn by John Gambold, stanza 1. Text supplied from Methodist Episcopal, Hymn No. 260. Because of Babcock’s unusual text setting, no further stanzas have been supplied.

MH2 Published earlier in MH1.

### NEWTON

Text att.: Words by Dr. Watts. A hymn by Philip Doddridge, stanzas 5-6. These are the final stanzas in the hymn. Text supplied from Watts, *Appendix*, Hymn No. 100.

MH2 Published earlier in MH1.

### NORFOLK

No text att. Watts, *Hymns II*, No. 43, stanzas 1-2. Stanzas renumbered to reflect Babcock’s choice of text. Text source differs as follows: m.28, “the” instead of “his.” Watt’s hymn contains seven stanzas, one of which will not fit Babcock’s music. Stanza 6, as follows, has been omitted:

Lift up your eyes, ye sons of light,  
Up to this throne of shining grace;  
See what immortal glories sit  
Round the sweet beauties of his face.

MH2

MH2 differs as follows: m.7, Pia. placed over m.8; m.19, Pia. placed over n.2; m.26, For. placed over m.27; m.34, tenor, n.4 is B; bass, n.2 is A; m.36, counter, tenor, bass, no first or second endings.

Performance note: m.7, treble, tenor, the grace notes are appoggiaturas performed as quarter notes with the following dotted quarter notes performed as eighth notes.

#### **NORTH-KINGSTON**

No text att. Watts Psalm No. 95, stanzas 1-2. Stanzas renumbered to reflect Babcock's choice of text. Text source differs as follows: m.19, "sight" instead of "throne;" mm.22-26, "The Lord's a God of boundless might" instead of "The great Jehovah reigns alone."

#### **MH2**

Performance note: m.26, tenor, the grace note is an appoggiatura performed as a quarter note with the following dotted quarter note performed as an eighth note.

#### **O Come, Let Us Sing Unto the Lord**

Orig. title: Anthem. Psalm 95, and Other Scriptures.

Alternate title in index: Psalm 95th, and Other Scriptures.

Text att.: Psalm 95, and Other Scriptures. Bible, Psalm 95:1-2, 6-7, Psalm 99:9, and Psalm 100:4 with omissions and alterations; hallelujah chorus added.

MH2 Published earlier in MH1.

MH1-2 differ as follows: m.1, bass, eighth rest; m.19, treble, nn.1-2 are dotted eighth and sixteenth. MH2 differs as follows: m.59, bass, n.2 is an A (corrected in errata).

#### **OMICRON**

No text att. Newton, *Olney* III, No. 82, stanza 1. Text source differs as follows: m.6, "the" instead of "our;" m.10, "hush'd" instead of "quell'd;" mm.21-24, "He has brought us nigh to God" instead of "Soon he'll bring us home to God."

MH2 Published earlier in MH1.

## **PALMER**

No text att. Watts Psalm No. 63, stanza 8. This is the final stanza in the psalm. Text source differs as follows: mm.14-15 “spend the remnant of my” instead of “well employ my future.”

## **MH2**

MH2 differs as follows: m.1, all parts, half rest lacking; m.16, tenor, bass, no first or second endings.

## **PALMYRA**

No text att. Watts, *Hymns* III, No. 7, stanzas 1-5. The entire hymn is set. Text source differs as follows: mm.33, 37, “thy” instead of “his;” m.66, “am I” instead of “I am.”

MH2 Published earlier in MH1.

MH1-2 differ as follows: m.44, treble, n.1 is C (corrected in errata); m.73, treble, quarter rest instead of eighth rest; m.92, treble, n.1 is D-sharp. MH2 differs as follows: m.68, treble, n.3 is an eighth note (corrected in errata).

Performance note: m.92, treble, tenor, the chromatic clash appears to be intentional.

## **PLACENTIA**

No text att. Newton, *Olney* I, No. 46, stanza 1.

## **MH2**

MH2 differs as follows: m.5, tenor, n.2 lacks fermata; bass, r.2 lacks fermata; m.12, treble, fermata over rest; tenor, n.5 lacks fermata; bass, n.4 lacks fermata; m.16, tenor, bass, no first or second endings.

## **POMFRET**

No text att. Watts, *Hymns* II, No. 131, stanza 1.

MH2 Published earlier in MH1.

MH1-2 differ as follows: m.3, tenor, n.2 is a dotted sixteenth; m.4, treble, nn.1-3 slurred; tenor nn.2-4 slurred; m.5, tenor, nn.1-3 slurred.

Performance note: m.7, treble, tenor, the grace notes are appoggiaturas performed as quarter notes with the following dotted quarter notes performed as eighth notes.

### **PRETORIUM**

No text att. Watts, *Hymns* II, No. 95, stanzas 1-6. The entire hymn is set. Text source differs as follows: m.53, “Twere” instead of “Twas;” m.66, “a” instead of “the;” m.68, “Twere” instead of “Twas.”

### **MH2**

MH2 differs as follows: m.57, all parts, quarter rest instead of eighth rest; m.75, all parts, quarter rest instead of eighth rest; m.76, treble, quarter rest instead of eighth rest; mm. 84-85, treble, bass, marks of distinction lacking.

Performance note: mm. 2, 60, treble, m. 11, treble, tenor, the grace notes are appoggiatura performed as quarter notes with the following dotted quarter notes performed as eighth notes; mm. 84-85, all parts, the wedge-shaped signs are “Marks of Distinction” and are to be performed as accents, not staccato marks; m.25, tenor, the grace note is an appoggiatura performed as a quarter note with the following half note performed as a quarter note.

### **QUINCY**

No text att. Watts Psalm 50ii, stanza 1. Text source differs as follows: m.11, “the” instead of “his.” Stanzas 4, 10, and 12 of Watts’ psalm do not fit the music; the remaining stanzas have been renumbered.

## MH2

MH2 differs as follows: m.9, counter, tenor, bass, n.1 lacks fermata; m.19, counter, tenor, bass, n.1 lacks fermata; m.22, counter, tenor, bass, n.1 lacks fermata.

## RAMA

No text att. A hymn by Samuel Medley, stanza 3. Text supplied from Medley, *Hymns*, Hymn No. 67. Stanzas renumbered to reflect Babcock's choice of text. Text source differs as follows: m.8, "thy" instead of "the."

## MH2

Performance note: m.6, treble, the grace note is an appoggiatura performed as a half note with the following whole note performed as a half note; m.11, treble, the grace note is an appoggiatura performed as a half note with the following dotted half note performed as a quarter note.

## RANDOLPH

No text att. Watts Psalm No. 148, stanza 1.

## MH2

Performance note: m.8, tenor, the grace note is an appoggiatura performed as a quarter note with the following dotted quarter note performed as an eighth note; m.16, tenor, the grace note is an appoggiatura performed as a quarter note with the following half note performed as a quarter note.

## Remember Now Thy Creator

Orig. title: Anthem, from Eccl. 12th Chap.

Alternate title in index: Ecclesiastes, 12th Chap.

Text att.: Eccl. 12th Chap. Bible, Ecclesiastes 12:1-5, 7 and 13 with omissions and alterations.

MH2

MH2 differs as follows: m.20, counter, tenor, bass, no first or second endings; m.28, counter, tenor, bass, nn.1-2 lack marks of distinction; m.33, bass, half rest; m.54, counter, nn.1-2 are F and E (corrected in errata).

Performance note: m.28, all parts, the wedge-shaped signs are “Marks of Distinction” and are to be performed as accents, not staccato marks; m.44, counter, tenor, the chromatic clash appears to be intentional.

### **RESIGNATION**

No text att. A hymn by Samuel Wesley, Sr., stanzas 1 and 3. Text supplied from Wesley, *Collection*, Hymn No. 7. Because of Babcock’s unusual text selection, no further stanzas have been supplied.

MH2 Published earlier in MH1.

Performance note: mm.14-15, all parts, the wedge-shaped signs are “Marks of Distinction” and are to be performed as accents, not staccato marks.

### **RESOLUTION**

No text att. Watts Psalm No. 55, stanza 1.

MH2

MH2 differs as follows: m.15, tenor, bass, no first or second endings.

### **RESOLUTION [II] (DECISION)**

Text att.: Hymn 572. A hymn by Philip Doddridge, stanza 1. Text supplied from Rippon, *Selection*, No. 572.

CRH Not printed by Samuel Babcock.



## **ROXBURY**

No text att. The source of the text is unlocated. No other setting of this text has been identified; it may not have been published elsewhere.

PA2 Not printed by Samuel Babcock.

## **SABBATH**

No text att. A hymn by Philip Doddridge, stanzas 1-2. Stanzas renumbered to reflect Babcock's choice of text. Text supplied from Belknap, *Poetry*, Hymn No. 157. Doddridge's hymn contains five stanzas, one of which will not fit Babcock's music. Stanza 4, as follows, has been omitted:

No rude alarms, no raging foes,  
To interrupt the long repose;  
No midnight shade, no clouded sun,  
To veil the bright eternal noon.

## **MH2**

MH2 differs as follows: m.18 Pia. placed over barline between m.18 and m.19.

## **SMYRNA**

No text att. Watts, *Hymns* II, No. 50, stanzas 1-3. The remaining stanzas of Watt's hymn do not fit Babcock's music, thus no further stanzas are supplied.

## **MH2**

MH2 differs as follows: m.2, tenor, bass, n.1 fermata lacking; m.4, tenor, bass, n.1 fermata lacking.

Performance note: m.12, treble, tenor, the grace notes are appoggiaturas performed as quarter notes with the following dotted quarter notes performed as eighth notes.

## **Song for the Anniversary of St. John the Baptist, June 24, 5802**

Alternative title in MH2 Preface: MASON SONG. Alternative title in MH2 Index: SONG FOR THE ANNIVERSARY OF ST. JOHN.

Text att.: Words by the Rev. Mr. Harris. Text supplied from MH2. The Rev. Mr. Harris is most likely Thaddeus Mason Harris and the poem was probably written specifically for Babcock to set to music for a local 1802 celebration of the anniversary of St. John. In the Preface of MH2 Babcock wrote, “At the request of a number of gentlemen of that Fraternity, he [Babcock] has published, at the end of this Work, the MASON SONG, which was composed by their particular desire, and for their use.”–[ii]. Harris breaks the meter in stanzas 2-3. Stanza 2, line 5 and stanza 3, lines 2 and 4 each have 13 syllables. See performance notes, below, for a possible solution in each case.

### **MH2**

MH2 differs as follows: m.8, tenor, bass, fermatas lacking; m.21, bass, n.1 dot lacking; m.27, tenor, bass, nn.4-5, marks of distinction lacking; m.29, tenor, bass, n.5 fermatas lacking; m.33, tenor, bass, nn.4-5 marks of distinction lacking.

Performance notes: mm.1-8 and 33-33, the “symphonies” are passages for unspecified instruments. The instruments should also play along with the voices when they are singing; m.12, all parts, sing two syllables on the sixteenth notes to make stanza 3 fit the music; m.20, all parts, sing two syllables on the sixteenth notes to make stanza 3 fit the music; mm. 21-23, bass, the dotted quarter notes should be played rather than sung; m.25, all parts, make quarter note into two eighths to make stanza 2 fit the music; m.27, all parts, m.32, bass, and m.33, all parts, the wedge-shaped signs are “Marks of Distinction” and are to be performed as accents, not staccato marks.

## **SPRING**

No text att. An anonymous hymn printed in Belknap, *Poetry*, Hymn No. 119, stanza 1.

MH2

MH2 differs as follows: m.8, tenor, bass, no first or second endings.

## **STOW**

No text att. Newton, *Olney* I, No. 7, stanza 2. Stanzas renumbered to reflect Babcock's choice of text.

MH2 Published earlier in MH1.

MH2 differs as follows: m.20, tenor, n.2 is a quarter note (corrected in errata).

## **STRATTON**

No text att. *New Version*, Psalm 34, stanzas 3-4. Since *New Version* numbers stanzas according to biblical verses, stanzas have been renumbered according to poetic meter.

MH2

Performance note: mm.2-3, 5, 15, treble, tenor, the grace notes are appoggiaturas performed as quarter notes with the following dotted quarter notes performed as eighth notes; m.8, treble, the grace note is an appoggiatura performed as a quarter note with the following half note performed as a quarter note.

## **SUNDAY**

No text att. *New Version*, Psalm 118, stanza 24 followed by stanza 19. Since *New Version* numbers stanzas according to biblical verses, stanzas have been renumbered according to poetic meter. Because of Babcock's unusual text selection, no further stanzas have been supplied.

MH2

MH2 differs as follows: m.19, tenor, bass, no first or second endings.

### **TRIUMPH**

No text att. A hymn by Elizabeth Scott, stanza 3. Text supplied from Leavitt, *Seamen's*, Hymn

No. 431. This is the final stanza in the hymn. Underlaid text differs as follows: m.5,

“hosanna” instead of “hosannas;” m.7, “humbler” instead of “humble.”

MH2

MH2 differs as follows: m.16, counter, tenor, and bass, no first or second endings.

### **TRURO**

No text att. *New Version*, Psalm 149, stanzas 1-2. Text supplied from Belknap, *Poetry*, Psalm

No. 149.

MH2

### **VERNON**

No text att. Watts, *Psalms*, Psalm 45i, stanza 1. Text supplied from Belknap, *Poetry*, Psalm No.

45i.

MH2

MH2 differs as follows: m.10, treble, n.2 stem lacking; m.14, tenor, bass, no first or second endings.

### **VIENNA**

No text att. *New Version*, Psalm 148, stanzas 1. Since *New Version* numbers stanzas according to

biblical verses, stanzas have been renumbered according to poetic meter.

MH2

MH2 differs as follows: m.19, counter, tenor, bass, no first or second endings.

## WALTHAM

No text att. Watts, *Hymns* I, No. 137, stanzas 1-2. Stanzas renumbered to reflect Babcock's

choice of text. Text supplied from Winchell, *Psalms*, Hymn No. 226. Text source differs as follows: m.14, "nor" instead of "or." Watt's hymn contains five stanzas, one of which will not fit Babcock's music. Stanza 5, as follows, has been omitted:

He dies! and in that dreadful night  
Did all the pow'rs of hell destroy;  
Rising, he brought our heav'n to light,  
And took possession of the joy.

## MH2

MH2 differs as follows: m.15, bass, n.2 is a quarter note (corrected in errata).

## WATERTOWN

No text att. Newton, *Olney* I, No. 57, stanzas 5-7. These are the final stanzas in the hymn. Text

source differs as follows: m.2, "husband" instead of "and my."

MH2 Published earlier in MH1.

MH1-2 differ as follows: m.30, bass, no first or second endings.

Performance note: mm.8-11, all parts, the wedge-shaped signs are "Marks of Distinction" and are to be performed as accents, not staccato marks.

## WESTON

Text att.: Dr. Watt's Lyric Poems. Watts, *Horae*, "Confession and Pardon," stanzas 7-8. Stanzas

renumbered to reflect Babcock's choice of text. The 15th and 16th stanzas of Watt's poem do not fit Babcock's music, thus they are not supplied.

MH2 Published earlier in MH1.

## **WILMINGTON**

No text att. Watts, *Hymns* I, No. 5, stanza 3. Stanzas renumbered to reflect Babcock's choice of text. Text source differs as follows: m.2, "who" instead of "that."

MH2

### **12.3 COMMENTARY FOR PIECES BY LEMUEL BABCOCK**

## **EUPHRATES**

No text att. *New Version*, Psalm 137, stanza 1. Since *New Version* numbers stanzas according to biblical verses, stanzas have been renumbered according to poetic meter. Text source differs as follows: m.3, "weary'd" instead of "weary;" m.14, "Sion" instead of "Zion."

PSA

Performance note: m.15, treble, n.4, counter, n.2, chromatic clash appears to be intentional.

## **SOLITUDE**

No text att. Watts, *Horae*, "Love on a Cross and a Throne," stanza 2. Stanzas renumbered to reflect Babcock's choice of text.

CH Not printed by Samuel Babcock.

Performance note: m.5, counter, tenor, nn.4-5, major seconds appear to be intentional.

## 12.4 COMMENTARY FOR PIECES WITH AMBIGUOUS BABCOCK

### ATTRIBUTIONS

#### ADMIRATION

No text att. Watts, *Horae*, “Desiring to Love Christ,” stanza 4. Stanzas renumbered to reflect Babcock’s choice of text.

CH Not printed by Samuel Babcock.

CH differs as follows: m.4, tenor, n.1 is a half note.

Performance note: mm.1-2, the meter change may have been a printer’s error. The opening would be easier to conduct and sing if the first m. was in 3/2 starting with a half rest.

#### ADMONTION [ADMIRATION II]

No text att. Watts, *Horae*, “Desiring to Love Christ,” stanza 4. Stanzas renumbered to reflect Babcock’s choice of text.

EI

EI differs as follows: m.12, counter, n.4 is G.

Performance note: mm.1-2, the meter change may have been a printer’s error. The opening would be easier to conduct and sing if the first m. was in 3/2 starting with a half rest.

#### SPRINGFIELD

No text att. Wesley, *Hymns*, Hymn No. 21, stanza 4. Text source differs as follows: m.18, “convulsions” instead of “convulsion.” Underlaid text differs as follows: m.19, “The” added to beginning of line. Because Babcock broke the poetic meter, the remaining stanzas of Wesley’s hymn do not fit the music, thus no further stanzas are supplied.

SH1 Not printed by Samuel Babcock.

Performance Note: The dissonances caused by the counter part in mm.6, 9-10, 18, and 21 have been removed in the second version of the tune.

### **SPRINGFIELD [II]**

No text att. Wesley, *Hymns*, Hymn No. 21, stanza 4. Text source differs as follows: m.18, “convulsions” instead of “convulsion.” Underlaid text differs as follows: m.19, “The” added to beginning of line. Because Babcock broke the poetic meter, the remaining stanzas of Wesley’s hymn do not fit the music, thus no further stanzas are supplied.

CH Not printed by Samuel Babcock.

### **WARREN**

No text att. A poem by Thomas Flatman, stanza 1. Text supplied from MacKenzie, *Selection*, Hymn No. 667. The remaining stanzas of Flatman’s poem do not fit Babcock’s music, thus no further stanzas are supplied.

CH Not printed by Samuel Babcock.

CH differs as follows: m.24, treble, n.3 is G.

### **WESTBOROUGH**

No text att. Watts, *Hymns II*, No. 62, stanzas 1-2 and 5. Text supplied from Winchell, *Psalms*, Hymn No. 563. Because of Babcock’s unusual text selection, no further stanzas have been supplied.

CH Not printed by Samuel Babcock.

### **WRENTHAM**

No text att. An anonymous hymn, stanza 1. Text supplied from CM. Text source differs as follows: mm.2-3 “resounding” instead of “resound;” m.6 “the” instead of “this.”

CH Not printed by Samuel Babcock.



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